Statte - Per

ITH KERALA

## INTENSIFY CAMPAIGN OF SOLIDARITY



Marching in Defence of Their Government-A Workers' Procession in Kerala. Below-Rally after District Party Conference in Alleppey.



#### SEE INSIDE-

- EMS Speech on June 16 at Trivandrum EMS Charge-Sheets Congress Solidarity Campaign Reports Latest Trivandrum Despatch from Our Staff Correspondent Ramdass Press Reactions

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**P**. T. Chacko's telegram to Indira Gandhi has revealed beyond a sha-dow of doubt where the dow of doubt where the responsibility for playing, with human lives in Kerala lies—despite the desperate attempts at extrication now being made. Chacko has stated in his telegram that it was U. N. Dhebar on behalf of the Congress on behalf of the Congress High Command who san-ctioned at Ooty the resort to "extra-constitu-tional methods" to overthrow the Kerala Government.

The High Command which in public was paying lip service to non-violence and peaceful constitutional methods, violence and peaceful constitutional methods, was at the same time giving the KPCC the green signal to go ahead with plans the latter had drawn up in the Liai-son Committee with its partners in the crime, the religious bigots and avowed communalists of the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. Since then events have taken their expected and logical course. After school closure in Malabar proved a damp squib and the Deliverance Day hartal did not turn out a hartal did not turn out a success in any sense, forces that the Catholic Church had prepared were brought into action. With ringing Church bells and other such means of raising religi-ous fervour to a fanatical pitch, crowds have been

pitch, crowds have been egged on to attack cooperative shops and pub-lic property. The myth of this "ope-

ration overthrow" enjoy-ing anything like majo-rity support was further exploded when a larger number of schools re-opened in Trivandrum too, on June 15. Again, apart from the forces of the Church being thrown into violent, desperate actions, the Opposition had no means of making its vaunted strength felt. It is thus obvious that

if peace in Kerala has been disturbed and the future of Indian demo-cracy stands in jeopardy, the responsibility for it lies squarely and above all on the Congress Party in Kerala and Party in Kerala and on its all-India High Command Public opinion and press all over the country have reacted strongly against their desperate gambler's tactics

However much they may now try to falsify facts and continue to malign the Communist Party as having no faith in the "spirit" of demo-cracy, life itself has shown who it is that seeks to strangle demo-cracy and cut short the normal working out of the constitutional pro-

Far from the desperate gamble and conspiracies coming to an end, Sri Dhebar and his like can be depended upon to pursue their course, despite the sane advice that quarters which cannot be accused of being friendly to Communists are giving them in abundance.

them in abundance. Hence the need to in-tensify and further de-velop the all-India cam-paign of solidarity with the people and Govern-ment of Kerala which has already made a deep impression all over the country. Hence, the need for mounting mass presfor mounting mass pres-sure on the Congress leadership to call off un-conditionally their move-ment in Kerala.

There can be no sense of complacency. On the contrary, the magnificent campaign that has al-ready forced the reac-tionaries to retreat must sweep forward with greater intensity.

Congratulating all its members and friends, all democrats, educationists and cultural figures who and cultural figures who have done such splendid work, the Communist Party urges them to carry on with tripled energy till the conspiracy in Kerala against the Constitution is totally Constitution is totally scotched and democracy in India saved.



#### More Discredit For The Discredited

HAT passes for the opposition in Kerala now happens to be a mix-ture of diametrically opposed elements. The communal groups, the Catholics and the Nair Service Society, have been sworn enemies for generations and their present honeymoon cannot be more than a one day's wonder.

"On the political front both the Congress and the PSP will never go a peg higher in popular estimate unless the present frustrat-ed leadership is replaced wholesale by younger ele-ments with unsullied names.

"What will happen tomor-row and during the next few days, therefore, will only be so much sound and fury. and much sound and fury, and cuss except the resignation of perhaps killing, signifying no-thing healthy. The Kerala Government will not topple with a programme-less agita-tion of the present period. The agitation will only further discredit the discredited." (Free Press Journal, June 11).

#### Holding Up Society To Ransom

DEMOCRATIC set-up provides remedies for treating the people's ills along strictly constitutinal lines. There is no necessity to dec-lare a hartal because, how-ever laudable the aims of who do so and however ready they are to abide by they strict non-violence, they would be letting loose forces that would inevitably result in

"A hartal was one of the Contradictions weapons used by Mahatma used To Used Gandhi against foreign rule and it needed all his greatness and powers as a true satyagrahi to wield it without many untoward consequences

"But its use in our internal political quarrels and without the full authority of a leader like Gandhiji to direct it is not to be undertaken lightheartedly. At best it brings the life of the entire community to a standstill and often it leads to lamentable acts of violence.

"No one, no party has the right to hold up society to ransom in order to achieve political or other ends." (Hindu, June 11).

#### Calculated

#### Game

"SATURDAY night's shooting incidents near Ernakulam, which resulted in the death of several peo-ple, have already exposed the unreality of Mr. Nehru's exhortations to all concerned in the 'direct action' to remain peaceful and of the claim by the State Congress leaders that they were determined to avoid vio-

lence... "And it would be dishonest for the Congress organisation to deny that its leadership foresaw the trend which the agitation in Kerala has taken. The Congress leaders now participating in the 'direct action' are seasoned politi-cians, with previous knowledge of the use by Authority of force, including police guns,

"The honest truth is that

the organisers of the agitation hoped to use a few unfortu-nate deaths at the hands of the police to further strengthen their movement, as has happened in the course of other planned agitations of the past. "In other words the leaders

of the 'direct action' were taking a calculated risk and should have been prepared for the worst, irrespective of saintly advice from New

Delhi .... ".... we have no hesitation now in supporting the steps taken by the Kerala government to assert its authority, especially as the basic motive of the agitation is to overthrow the govern-ment by means which we have previously described as unconstitutional ....

"Mr. Shankar ruled out the possibility of negotiations with the Chief Minister and said: We have nothing else to dis-cuss except the resignation of the Ministry.' His words con-trast strangely with the claims Press Conference, though most people were never in doubt about the aim of the Kerala agitation.

"We have already expressed ourselves strongly against the unwise step which the opposition groups in Kerala have taken and we have no hesita-tion in repeating that the agitation is ill-conceived, ill-ad-vised and fraught with grave danger to the reputation of the Congress organisation, which stands for upholding the Constitution." (Tribune, June 15).

### Hard To Understand

HAT the Congress intends in Kerala is presumably a large-scale civil disobedience and noncooperation campaign with its inherent potentialities of violence. But there is still time before the plunge is taken. Discarding the usual gubernatorial silence on delicate political controversies, Mr. Ramakrishna Rao has given a proper lead to the people of Kerala by ask-ing political organizations conducting the agitation not to tarnish their names with the stigma of violence ....

"Even in the Central Government, in spite of the Prime Minister's reference to the 'mass upsurge' in Kerala, opi-nion seems divided. There is, otherwise, no plausible expla-nation why Mr. Krishna Menon, if correctly reported, should have declared that it was up to the State Government to safeguard the liber-ties of the individual; that the Centre would respond to any assistance to maintain the rule of law, and that no Government could be expected to quit by demands made at public meetings or by demonstrations organized against it. And if the Union Government is divided in its views the Congress is evident-ly much more so.

"There is no reconciling the Congress President's welcome assurance that the Kerala Congress is agitating against the States Government on 'specific issues' with the Ke-rala Pradesh Congress Chief's statement that he has only one objective-removal of the

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON KERALA

#### A Sample Selection From English Dailies

ernment has to go'; Mr. Shan-kar contradicts: 'Only two alternatives\_resignation or removal of the Communist

about their grievances'. The istries in other States. Communist Party offers a "If there are grievances, round table discussion to find they should, and could, be re-a peaceful solution to all con- medied without resorting to treasurer who spoke of 'means

dent comes out the next day with his direct action plan which would take 'all Ministry within the bounds of forms'. Mr. Nehru is un- peace. happy about Congress alli- "If they (the Opposition) plan which would take all Ministry within the bounds of forms'. Mr. Nehru is un-peace. happy about Congress alli- "If they (the Opposition) ances with communal and had been true to their caste organizations; the profession they would never Kerala Congress seems to have organized picketing glorify in and derive of schools and of collecto-

**Supervising Statutory** 

Corporations

THE reported recom-

mendations of the Sub-Committee set up by

the Congress last year under the chairmanship of

Sri V. K. Krishna Menon

to report on the question

sion over Statutory Corpo-

rations and other State

enterprises have evoked

widespread interest in the

country. And naturally, too, for the controversies in the wake of the LIC-Mun-

dhra deal had amply prov-

ween the two was anything

More than this relation-

n of these enterpri

ship, however, it was the de-

fective administrative orga-

nisation of these enterprises which had come under fire during the last two years, and in spite of the later ex-oneration of the leading lights of the Life Insurance

Corporation by the Govern-ment the capacity of its per-sonnel to withstand the pres-

sure from vested interests continues to be seriously

doubted. Fortunately Srl Krishna Menon and the members of the Sub-Com-

mittee have given us a set of recommendations in this be-half as well.

Regarding the first, the

Sub-Committee has sugges-ted setting up of a Third Committee of Parliament

(the other two being the Public Accounts and the

to

Estimates Committees)

NEW AGE

ed that the relation

but perfect.

supervi-

bet-

of Parliamentary

Communist Ministry. Mrs. practically the whole country ment offices and those who Indira Gandhi affirms: T am — are hard to understand and, want to prevent them from not saying that the State Gov. in the long run, harmful to ernment has to go; Mr. Shan- the Congress itself. The draft and wrongs of the police firernment has to go'; Mr. Shan- the Congress itself. The draft and wrongs of the police fir-kar contradicts: 'Only two of the charge-sheet against ings—and they can hardly be alternatives—resignation or the Communists now released inquired into so long as the removal of the Communist was in reality prepared a few campaign continues — the days after the Congress lost sponsors of 'direct action' "The Congress President de-the general election in that cannot disown their moral mands that 'if people there' State; marky of the accusa-responsibility for the mob (Kerala) should feel aggriev-tons could be, and have been, violence that has broken out. ed, something should be done levelled against Congress Min-about their gravances'. The targic irony of it is

a peaceful solution to all con- medied without resoring to troversial issues and to correct direct action, and Central any mistakes in its approach Congress leadership should to Opposition parties. This never encourage, or convive is not the first time that the at, unconstitutional agitation. Communists have made an Is the Central organization overture; an earlier approach wilfully blind or is it power-was turned down by the K.P.C., less?" (Statesman, June 16).

treasurer who spoke of means other than the ballot box' to overthrow the Ministry. "The Prime Minister asks Congressmen in particular. to be peaceful and non-violent; the K.P.C.C. Presi-dent comes out the next that is is difficult to keep a day with big direct action campaign to overthrow the

strength from these bodies. rate and taluka offices. In extra-parliamentary means "Such contradictions in a organising such picketing they will indeed weaken the other national political organization have openly invited clashes parties more than the Com-—the largest and most res- between those who want to munists. (Times of India, June ponsible, the one that rules attend schools and Govern- 17)

"The tragic irony of it is

that the Congress, which is the ruling party in all the other States, should have been a party to the open defiance of law and order in Kerala. That the local leaders of the party even ignored the advice given by the Prime Minister and the Congress President, both of whom were against picketing, shows how irresponsible they have been in associating themselves with avowedly with avowedly communal organisations. Even now it is not too late for the a campaign which can only encourage the forces of lawlessness.

"If they want to fight the Communist Ministry there are more peaceful and more effec-tive means of doing so. To try to overthrow a government, so long as it enjoys the confidence of the legislature, by

liament, weighted in favour

of representatives of the propertied classes will not

take as serious a view of the

rests, as one, representing the 'have-nots,' will do.

"Autonomy" of state en-terprises is a much cherish-ed ideal, but it ceases to be

so the moment the enter-

hob-

autonomous bodies' nobbing with vested

### INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

exercise control on questions of policy and broad working of auton ous hodies words of the Sub-Committee itself, the new Committee will not be a faultfinding body. Nor will it be a sort of super-organisation lording it over the statutory hodies

Its function will be confined mainly to receive "in-formation regarding the circumstances in which the State concerns function" so as to be better able to lay down broad policies regarding their operations. At the same time "there can be no fettering of the judgement of this Committee and the expression of its views in good arliamentary traditio

as far as they go, but the trouble with them is that they do not go far enough. For, in spite of the last proviso regarding the sovereign rights of Parliament the curbs on "fault-finding"

The crux of the problem, therefore, consists not in laving down broad norms to regulate this relationship —but in the factors which decide their being put into practice. Surely, a Par-

\* SEE PAGE 15 JUNE 21, 1959

This shortcoming, the Sub-

Committee has sought to re-

medy through a thorough reorganisation of the Boards

of Management of the auto-

nomous bodies. They should have no part-time directors,

it says, either from the ranks of "civil servants,

# Rally Climaxes Intense Campaign

### \* By MOHIT SEN

A great story lies behind the splendid meeting on June 14 which climaxed Kerala Week in Delhi. It is a story of the common man's involvement in the drama which has its centre in Kerala but its tensions throughout India.

ten.

It was this dedication to the

Kerala. He said that the Commu-

nunist Party sought to func-tion in other States.

But a strict line had to be

its centre in Kerala but its tensions introdgring discovery for a true socialism, viciously opposed by those who hated the opposed by those who hated the people and their advance. An intense and militant several thousand strong audience not discovery of the Kerala achievements of the Kerala thousand strong audience not so much listened as participated in the 1½ hours sarcastic and passionate speech of Comrade

Dange. Earlier processions from different parts of the city had marched firmly through the narrow streets of the capital, stirring up the populace e on this hot and dusty day.

Before the main speaker, Comrade Y. D. Sharma made a forceful and factual speech giving the necessary details of the Education Act. He showed clearly the utterly reactionary nature of the opposition gang-up in Kerala and brought forup in Kerala and brought for-ward a convincing case for sup-port to the Kerala Ministry not only by Communists but by all who believed in democracy and

who believed in democracy and wanted India's progress. Then Comrade Darge rose to his feet and the crowd quite literally sat up. Nor were they disappointed. He began by a series of la-

were they disappointed. He began by a series of la-shes at the Congressmen's brand of morality, their in-trigues not only against their opponents but their own leader-Nehru. His barbed attacks on Morariibhai led to opponentsbut their own<br/>leader—Nehru. His barbed<br/>attacks on Morarithai led to<br/>veritable roars of laughter.<br/>Then Dange went on to exa-<br/>mine the Congress conception<br/>and practice of socialism, how it<br/>had hit the poor, pampered the<br/>rich and led to an utterly lam-<br/>entable rate of growth.toon un outer states.<br/>Ime had to be<br/>opposition and the open incite-<br/>opposition in the issues in<br/>other States of the indian<br/>Union took their cue from the<br/>Congress tactics in Kerala.

prises pass the bounds of propriety to placate the 'haves'. In that case no Parliament, truly representative of the will of the people, can withold coming on them with a sledge-hammer to set them right. The necessity to sound the tocsin in this respect arises

from the experience with the autonomous undertakings so far. Let alone the LIC, which has earned a notriety These recommendations of the Sub-Committee are good, all its own, even the Hindu-stan Steel Ltd., which had been entrusted with some of the most important projects under the Plan, has a immune from the corrupt in-fluence of vested interests.

curbs on "fault-finding" might be stretched to debar it from discussing what might even legitimately fall within its province.



# CAPITAL GOES ALL-OUT TO SUPPORT KERALA GOVT.

He ended with a firm warn-ing to the Kerala "liberators". He told them not to imagine that the Ministry there would hesitate to put down all those who sought to break the law, damage property or endanger the peace and security of Ke-

rata's people. As this peroration proceeded, the crowd, responded with warmth and unity. As a matter of fact it was Dange's warnings to the Common that iterations

Dange briefly sketched the achievements of the Kerala Ministry. He said that its chief distinctive feature was that it refused to go along with and kow-tow to the vested interests. With all the limitations within which it had to work, it had showed that determination to serve the people could enable it to do more in two years than earlier regimes had done in ten. deration on June 11 at Consti-It was this dedication to the people and shunning of the ves-ted interests that had made the Kerala Ministry the target of the attacks of the combined former of reserving. acked room

issues of democracy and social-ism involved, the serious forces of reaction. Then came the highlight of ism involved, the serious threats to India's chosen path of nen came me ingninght of what was clearly a masterly speech. Dange touched on the methods of the Opposition in growth. But Bhupesh Gupta as well as the leading Students' had also Federation speakers receration speakers had also concentrated on giving a most detailed account of the Educa-tion Act—its genesis, its main features and its value. He said that the Commu-nist Party had no objection at all to the Opposition organis-ing demonstrations and agi-tations and taking up differ-ent issues. As a matter of fact, this was how the Com-munist Party sought to func-

But even earlier meeting, the movement had swing to the stage of deep penetration. In the densely po-pulated areas of Karol Bagh, putated areas of Karol Bagh, Darya Ganj, Jama Masjid and in the rather less cramped New Delhi areas door-to-door can-But a strict line had to be drawn between this kind of opposition and the open incite-ment to violence, chaos and overthrow which poured forth not from the Catholic and Nair communalists alone but from responsible Congress leaders in Kerala. vassing began.

vassing began. It is not possible here, unfor-tunately to give an account of the many street-corner meet-ings, handbills and posters and small group discussions that went on throughout the Kerala Week all over the capital.

As a typical example, the perience of Subzimandi, a dominantly working class evnerience area, can be taken.

All the Party members ral-1 man. The Branches lied to a man. The Branches planned their activity on an



Comrade S. A. Dange addressing the rally in Delhi on

individual and house-to-house individual and nouse-to-nouse basis. Every comrade decided to spare two hours in the morning and another two hours in the evening for the pork.

On a rough estimate some 4 to 5 thousand homes were "in-vaded" and the residents told about the issues and situation in Kerala. Then regular fac-

and carried forward into street corner meetings—some 125 of them in this district alone—attended by crowds ranging from 50 to 150. A novel feature was chalk-written Party News Boards where facts and figures

tory-gate meetings were held,

as well as short write-ups ap-peared daily and were read cagerly by throngs of people.

, eagerly by inrongs or people. Apart from rallying support for Kerala, the campaign did an immense amount of good to the Party in Subzimandi. After a long time, regular training was imparted to Party agitators was imparted to Party agitators —two selected from each Branch and instructed by lead-ing comrades from the District and State Committee.

Dynamic use was made of Lynamic use was made of the pamphlet written by Com-rade Ajoy Ghosh on Kerala. English, Hindi and Urdu edi-tions were all in great demand. In this district itself, close to 1,000 comies were cold 1,000 copies were sold.

Small processions of Party Small processions of Party members regularly marched through the different locali-ties, rousing the people and popularising the main slo-gans: "Save Kerala from the Congress-Communalist Con-spiracy", "The Reactionaries Will be Exposed and the Communists Will Rule in Ke-rala", "More and More Ke-ealae will come." ralas will come."

The campaign in Delhi as whole was very much helped by the reasoned and factual editorials in Milap, the premier Urdu daily. Sharp exposure of the unholy opposition game and \* SEE OVERLEAF

PAGE THREE



A view of the mass meeting at Gandhi Grounds, Delhi, on June 14. -Photos Virendra Kumar.

NEW AGE

## Day Of Mourning Was Against Agrarian Law

We Shall Enact More Such Bills. Says E.M.S.

\* From RAMDASS

#### TRIVANDRUM, June 17.

Those who were talking loudest about the Constitution all these years and advising others to follow the constitutional path are the very people who to-day, when faced with the weakening of their power have come forward to subvert the Kerala Govern through unconstitutional methods, declared Chief Minister E.M.S. Namboodiripad addressing a mammoth gathering on the outskirts of the historic temple of Sree Padmanabha in the heart of Trivandrum City on Tuesday evening.

before, this time also the Ophow the Government was fail because his Govgoing to ernment had been put in poer by the workers and peaagricultural labou rore and other toilers, to better their life and he was confident that these millions and all people who wish for so-cialist transformation of the country through democratic eforms will rally behind this

Being the day following firing in two places in Tri-vandrum District, there was a atmosphere and still thousands flocked to the meeting.

The meeting ground was filled with people and as the Chief Minister arrived and mounted the rostrum,- the crowd gave him a prolonged ovation. Shouts of "Commu-nist Party Zindabad, Kerala Sarkar Zindabad" rent the air. All through, his speech the Chief Minister was lustily cheered and applauded.

An attempt was made by gitator elements to provoke the crowd by setting fire to a Government school a lit-tle away from the meeting place. Just as the Chief Minister was about to begin speaking a fire was noti behind the audience. The organisers of the meeting appealed to the restless crowd to be calm and sit quiet and it was heeded to with applav

The glow. of the burning school was still visible for a long time as the Chief Min-

suggestion that the Bill should THE Chief Minister told the ister spoke to the people about cheering crowd that as the Agrarian Relations Bill again be sent to an and the tactics of the opposi-tion to defeat that Bill and bly would not accept the sug-gestion, it was tried at every how they were now desperate stage of the passing of the to try unconstitutional me-thods to oust the Communist Ministry. Bill to delay it. Thus it took one and a half months to complete the consideration of

Namboodiripad Comrade started by expressing regret that the press did not reflect the large mobilisations and meetings which were held all over the State during this period to express the joy of the people at the passing of the Agrarian Relatins Bill but gave all prominence to meet-ings of Mannath Padmana rominence to meet bhan called to remove the Government from power. Demonstrations and meetir far bigger than Mannar meetings meetings had taken place in the State expressing the joy of the people at the legislation. But as peasants and agricultural workers rejoiced. s people were sad about this event. Just one day after the Agrarian Relations Bill was passed, these people observed their mourning by raising

black flags. "We wear black and raise black flags when we are bereaved at the loss of someone near and dear to us. This, therefore, shows the

of these people to the Agra-rian Relations Bill. "All these parties have their own flags. But when they unite, they can only raise the black flag (applause). For raising hlack flags, they could unite. They could not unite to solve any one of our people's problems. On the other hand, when ures are taken to solve

cleansing sweep of explanation

And so much of sympathy,

For all com

spreading the message of Ke-rala was a moving experi-

extricably into the lives of

It would be a crime to con-

the

ready

clude this very brief, sketchy

only did they cover almost everybody in their own com-

munity but were ever ready when any job had to be done.

Seeing the special gusto and elan with which they worked, one understood what was at

stake in Kerala—the dream of a people and the tomorrow of India.

account of a magnificent paign, without mentioning the

inexhaustible energy of Malayalee comrades and s pathisers in the capital.

rala was a moving exper ence, bringing them more in

of fellow-feeling lies ready for expression, waiting

only to be found and awak

#### CAPITAL SUPPORTS KERALA

and agitation.

ened.

e people.

#### \* FROM OVERLEAF

firm support to the Kerala Govwas the running

thread of these editorials. Generally in the campaign it was discovered that the working class as a whole, responde ckly and warmly to the canvassers and agitators. They were also generous when it came to a call for funds.

In middle-class circles, well, there was a great deal of sympathy. And there was particular appreciation of the argument that the fury of the Congress had been roused, above all, because it had lost its of power. In house monopoly of power. In house after house, to say nothing of mass meetings, it was this exlanation that seemed to go me at once.

What the Communist Party in Delhi has found during this one week of stormy campaigning is the great need for such work. uch ignorance. confusion, prejudice exist waiting for the ment it "But these people are not for it. They try to prevent They say that there is no hope unless this Government is removed immediately. The

the Bill.

progressive

the

together and observe mourning. "It is not accidental that

they had their mourning when

the Agrarian Relations Bill

was passed. In fact, they tried all they could to delay its passing. When the Select

Committee Report came be-fore the Legislature and all hoped for quick legislation, the leader of the Opposition

Sri Chacko came out with the

committee for scrutiny. When

was found that the Assem-

because the peasants, workers, poor people in the State and

stepping stones towards so

cialist transformation of the

has become necessary to im-plement this legislation. It is

the duty of all those who love

e who consider such

legislations

sant to try to imple-

98

fact is that their struggle is fact is that their struggle is not actually to remove this Government. It is really against the Agrarian Bela-tions Bill. It is against the legislation which could not even be initiated during the ten years rule of the Con-gress but which was passed in 21 years of Communist Government." these problems, they join

Government. Continuing EMS declared that the Communists are not the people who wanted to sit in Ministerial chairs at any cost. "The question who would sit in the Ministers' chairs is small question. The real Issue is the implementation of the Agrarian Relations Bill and such other progressive reforms." And he declared in vehement tones—"The Agra-rian Relations Bill will be im-plemented surely. Like the Education Bill, this also will be implemented. "The Communist Ministry

more such legislations and all those will be implemented also." will continue to pass many

EMS declared to the accompaniment of loud cheering by the audience: "Even with a "It was able to pass the Bill majority of one single vote, the Communists will be able to rule. None from their midst can be 'bagged' by the Opposition That has been tried before and has failed and it is bound to fail again.' country supported it. Now it

The Chief Minister pointed out that direct action of the Opposition was only the latest in a series of attempts made by them to oust the Ministry There is a Constitution in this land. It is in the of that Constitution that Congressmen opposed the Communists and all others till now. They told us: You can even change the Central Gov-

ernment headed by Pandit Nehru but you should do it only according to the Consti-

"And these people today have declared that they will remove by unconstitutional methods a Government which was elected to power and which has remained for 21 years in such a manner that the Opposition parties could not dare even to bring no-confider st it in the Assembly all this time.

"They have declared that they will paralyse work of all Government offices from village to the State level. It is the party that is in pov the Centre and in 13 other States that is saving this But why do they not remem-ber that administration in Ke. rala is only a part of the administration in the whole ountry?

"They forget that these Government offices here are places where the Five-Year Plan and development pro-jects to improve the life of our country about which Prime Minister Nehru is so inspired whenever he speaks are carried out."

Referring to the charge that the Communist Gov-ernment has lost confidence of the people. Namboodiripad said that it is the party which had thrice lost confidence of the people, every time more than before, that is turning round to accuse the Communists of losing people's confidence. It is range. As before, this time also

they are going to be defeat-ed in their effort to pull down this Ministry, EMS

### WHOSE IS THE VIOLENCE ?

When

#### by K. P. SUBRAMANYA MENON

Government".

Thus the whole psychology

of the protagonists of the strug-gle and their followers has

been attuned to an atmosphere

of civil war and it is these peo-

ple who now shout about vio-lence.

The Catholic Church-NSS combine and the Congress-PSP

gang have been guilty of

provocation against the people of the State in their efforts to

whip up hysteria. For example, Sri K. R.

reported to have said at 'Iri-

chur on June 6 at a public meeting: "If anywhere in the world, the Communists have

been beaten out of nower, it

1 1 1 2 2

thode and

resorting to fascist m

Chummar, a Congress 1

The "Liberation" struggle started by the Catholic-Church-NSS combine with the support and encouragement of the Kerala Congress and active participation of Con-gressmen has inevitably led to violence.

whose is the violence and interesting experience. whose the provocation? What he attended the mass at a lo-cal church yesterday, he heard the priest preaching in terms of sort of people are these who lead this crusade and what they been planning? are questions which 'mar-like action'" (Free Press which Journal, June 16). These are questions which arise in one's mind when we hear these new paragons of On June 12, the Statesman,

Delhi, reported from Trivan-drum: "It is difficult to say how the situation will develop and virtue. We have in the past few weeks given enough facts to lay the situation will develop and what consequences will follow. It is a unique situation wherein have their conspiracy to mudall parties except the Commu-nists had declared 'a war' on

dy the political life of the State with rabid communalism, to disrupt the growing unity of the neonle of all all the people of all classes, castes and religious persuasions and to perpetrate on the people of the State a fratricidal miasma. Let us, however, present the facts as narrated by very respectable and non-Co apers.

The Special Correspon the Free Press Journal, Bombay reporting from Trivandrum said, "One of the many vosaid, "One of the many vo-lunteers, who have been draftduto picketing duty at the schools ... told the Free Press Journal that he agreed to this as he was asked by the priest of his Church ..., He revealed that arrangements have been made for a long drawn-out struggle.

"Foodstuffs were stored in has been done only by Catho-the churches to feed hundreds lics.... In Spain in 1936 the of volunteers for several days. padris and the faithful Catho-Meanwhile, a newsphotogra- lics overthrew the Communist the churches to feed hundreds Meanwhile, a newsphotogra- lics overthrew the Communist pher, on special duty...had an State and created a different

State.... Since then the voice of the Communist Party has never been heard of in Spain." With a flourish, he boasted: "Thus, it is the Catholics who annihilated the Communists in

Then he quoted an exhortation in the Old Testament: "Let the rich open their money bags. Let these who have no swords sell their clothes and buy (Translation from swords". Malayalam) He continued, "This is the time to practise this. The Catholics today should open their purses and purchase swords and those who have no money should sell their clothes and purchase swords. The Ca-tholics will do that. They will defend their faith wi th money and sword" (Kerala Kaumudi June 12).

Here is the report of a reception at Vaikom organised the "Liberation-wallahs":

"The volunteers who flank ed the Sman-Charlot of nom at a reception ing here today marched in the perfect military style brand-ishing strong thick batons and unsheathed daggers... The volunteers were brought in large numbers in lorries from distant places, and were shouting and gesticulating. The whole sight created the impression of an imminent invasion" (Kerala Kaumudi, June 10)

This is the sort of campaign that has gone on behind the "mass upsurge'.' This is the sort ocation indulged in by the clerical fascists and their secualr Congress satraps.

JUNE 21, 1959

#### G From Our Special Correspondent

Rajaji has characteristically elucidated his ideas about this new Rightist party:

"Swatantra means ourself having control and power of action over ourself. Paratantra means a man or a woman who was in the hands of another and his activities and thinking all depend on another person." HE then adds: "The social-

citi-

through the techniques of the st pattern of society which so-called socialism tantra Gandhiji's theory of trustee the ship, it held, could bring about State should have to regulate both social justice and welfare: "We believe that all educationand control and be the master of the activities of other peral activities of the Governm ons, the citizens being not indirect and indirect, should be It meant that sosuch as to emphasise the moral obligation of those who possess ciety should be so organised that the State took away all wealth to hold it in trust for the Swatantra of the citizens society.

> to the new party, "is best attained through the continu-ance of self-employed pea-sant-proprietor who stands the highest yields from the

> > Innd

our village.

starting

cult.

#### Against 'Totalitarianism'

the new party.

ultimately.

corresponded to the Parata philosophy, wanted that

"There was a threat of con-

zens by a gradual process. Therefore they had also to de-

fend themselves by a gradual process." Hence the need for

fiscating Swatantra from

The job of the new party, according to its sponsors, is to fight the "totalitarian trend" in the present set-up. It is not a mission, for, during last three years particularly since the stress laid on public sector in planning—a frontal at-tack on it has been kept up by -ful section of Big Bus a pov a powerful section of lag bar ness. And it is not accidental that the pre-view of the new party was provided by both Masani and Rajaji at a meeting held under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise at Bagalore on May 29.

Equally significant is the fact that the first get-together of the sponsors of the new opposition party came at an informal eeting convened by the All-India Agricultural Federation in Madras on June 4. This august body can be regarded as e sort of Forum of Free of the powerful landed interests.

Relving on these two prop the Forum and the Federation —the Swatantra Party has al-ready mobilised support. from n interesting cross the country's "nublic opinion from Sri N. G. Ranga and Sri Khasa Subba Rao to the former civil servant Sri V. P. Menon, has been chosen as one o the secretaries of the coming convention to be held in Ban-galore in the first week of

#### JP's

#### Rlessings

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan attended the first get-together and blessed the new venture although he does not have faith in the party system of democracy. He holds that "the final guarantee of de the canacity of the people to look after themselves and this capacity could come only through private initiative and enterprise."

At the informal meeting in ndum was Madras, a memorandum was issued giving the blue-print of Madras. the new party. It stated that "social justice and welfare can be reached more certainly and

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ment passing the necessary amendment to the Constitution. Against this progressive dment of the Constitu tion the new party has de-clared: "We hold that the guarantee specified in the original Constitution in respect of freedom of property, trade,



properly in other ways than

Food production, according initiative and freedom and is interested in obtaining

"We believe in the need for every kind of servicing for agri-culture but are opposed to cultivation through organisations which are a loose kind of multiple ownership." Rajaji condemns cooperative

farming because it "not only at-tacks the farmer but it attacks the family." When cooperative farming would come into effect, he warns, the families of the peasants would not go to work on the fields as they do now in

In the industrial sector, the party wants "the encourage-ment of the incentive for higher roduction and expansion whi are provided by competitive enterprise." It, of cou rse, wants "adequate safeguards against excessive and unreasonable prices, profits, and dividends" but these safeguards are to be invoked "when competition itself does not secure these ends The public sector is to be restricted to heavy industries "to upplement private enterprise that field, such national services as railways." Besides, it is to take up the onerous job of tearing "pioneer industries starting "pioneer industries" where private initiative is diffi-

In other words, private en terprise is to have a free field wherever there are prospects. of profit, while public sector undertake all non-profit ventures-out of making ventures—out of which the private sector is to benefit finally.

Taxation should be confined minimum needed for administration and social services and "yet not so high and exacting or so ubiquitous as to prevent capital formation and in-vestment by individuals."

The move of the vested interests to nullify, through the supreme Court, legislation for the taking over of private pro-perty by the State even on pay-ment of compensation—as in the case of abolition of zamindaris-was thwarted by Parlia-

employment and just compensation for any property cquired for public purposes, could be restored."

#### American Welcome

It is to be noted that such a party answers to the clamours of Western circles as well. America wants private foreign investment in this country of rublic stead of promotion sector. The World Bank itself has given the slogan of "Con-solidate before Advance" so far as developing our public sector is concerne

is concerned. It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that New York Times should welcome the formation of the Swatantra Party. "The division should be l State Socialism has in Mr Nehru an eloquent champion. It will be good for India to hear the case of private enterpris put with equal vigour."

With all its openly reaction-ary slogans, it would, however, wrong and dangerous imise the likely impact this party may have on the public. Rajaji who starts with proclaiming his hatred for so ialism call ing it Paratant does not disdain to claim that the Swatantra Party wo work for "People's Socialism

Deceptive demagogy is their weapon and it is clear that the leaders of the Swatantra Party will point their finger to every weakness in the Congress armour, and thereby, not only discredit the Government but also try to everse even the formal de clarations of a positive nature that the Congress has so far

made. Rajaji has touched on the Mundhra deal: "When the Con-gress Government distributed land or money, they would give only to those who voted them, who earned them votes, etc. These party considerations will weigh with them, not a sense of justice and fairplay."

Rajaji also exposes the topbureaucratic administra tion with almost the same arguments as advanced by the Left, and then pushes in his point view: "If the millionaires in the country were dispossessed of their wealth and the money was ought to be distributed the poor, it would hardly touch the fringe of the problem.

"The money cornered like that would be consumed by the expenditure on the administrative machinery required for such a distribution," he said amidst laughter at a Madras meeting.

Rajaji is unsparing with his criticism of the Congress, with all its defects. He called it an "old broom" which has "more dirt on it than the dirt removed by it" and so he pleads: "There-fore, let us supply a new broom; it may do well for some time at least, and it will be good enough for some time."

He has gauged the volume of anti-Congress feeling in the country: "I do not want to at-tract Congress members into this-God forbid."

Against this new offensive of test of its concern for any pro-gressive stand. Pandit Nehra new born Swatantra Party.

at his press conference mented on the coming campaign of the new party against

ooperative farming: "It is to the good—though it may do some harm. It is all to the good in the sense that the thief difficulty in India is a ertain anathy in thinking. People relax, considering that it is too much of a mental effort to think. They become compla

cent. "Now, if there is a certain attack on a thing you wake up and you meet that attack with vigour. Complacer Therefore, I · rather Complacency goes Mr. Masani and his party Without meaning any respect, I do not think his ideas are likely to go very far any-where in India. I am not worried about it."

The Congress in tacklin this new new move from the Right is however shown up more revealingly in Smt Indira Gandhi's recent comnents. Speaking in Madras before a Congress gathering, on June 7, the Congress Pre-sident held that "Communism was the main danger in India now" and she feared that the rightists by their action throw the Indian people into the arms of the Communist Partu."

She went on to be more explicit: "Today the poor peop and peasants expected some thing of their leaders; if they feel their leaders are leaning to the right and are favouring the haves' and not the 'haves-not', haves' and not the 'haves-not', then there is the danger of the people turning to Communism. That is the danger of any rightist movement in India.

It is significant that the Cons has made no appeal for the rallying of all progressive forces in countering the rightist move-rather by its recent ac-tions in Orissa as well as in Kerala-it has shown its anxiety to join hands with reactoinaries, rather that aries being left isolated and ex-

There is good reason that. It is no secret that guite an influential section of the Congress, particularly at higher levels, have more than a lurking sympathy for all that Rajaji's new party stands for.

The crystallisation of the Right in a political party, carrying an impressive array names, may prove to be a sinis-ter pointer to the future of ter pointer to the future Indian politics. If today enrawling conglomeration is Congress, is held together by the personality and mass popu-larity of Jawaharlal Nehru, nobody should miss the fact that there will be a contomorrow there will be a con-certed bid from the Right to maintain itself in power. Rajaji has indicated the per-

"If only there was strong movement in the country, they would find Mr. Nehru coming t in the country, they down, if they were strong, and in course of time, they had ca-pable leaders, then they could think of having the Prime Ministership of the country later on'

Mount the offensive today to the Right, how does the Con-gress leadership react? For its slip off when he is gone-the reactions would be one more is the strategy of the Right, an is the strategy of the Right, and of the

#### Cochin Convention Of Kerala Catholic League

The Cochin Taluk Con-The Cochin Tatuk Con-vention of the all-Kerala Catholic League was held on May 31. About 700 dele-gates from all parts of the taluk took part in the ses-sion. The following resoluions were adopted:

-Condemning the suicidal policy of the Catholic Church hierarchy in lining Church hierarchy in lining up under the leadership of lannath Padmanabhan to oppose the Kerala Educa-tion Act, section 11 of which promises reservation for minorities (which includes Latin Catholics also who form a big section of Caholics)

-Welcoming the Kerala Igrarian Relations Act which would be very bene-ficial to the lakhs of Cathoc peasants.

-Demanding popular committees for the admiistration of Church proerty.

After the delegates sesion a huge procession of bout five thousand Catholic men and women was taken out. The processionists held flags on which crosses were inscribed.

The procession culminated in a meeting about ten thousand per-sons gathered at which Sri M. M. George presided.

#### Last Rites Of A Catholic Worker

On June 5 Sri P. R Raphal, a worker belo ing to Fort Cochin, d He was denied the sacraments as he was a member of the Catholic The vicar of th eague Cruz Cathedra Church, where he should normally be buried refused him the regular rites.

Hearing the news a large number of Catholics of the locality gathered and the dead body was taken in a huge procession of thou sands of men and women all holding crosses and candles. He was taken to the cemetry to the accom paniment of a band and buried in the place reserve or the forelorn.

The pit was filled not by the grave diggers but by the bare hands of the thouands who had gathered.

The last rites were Der formed by Sri K. L. Ber-nard, Secretary of the Catholic League and the fund al oration was perform Com. T. M. Abu, leade of the Cochin Dock Work ers. The vicar, however, received his usual fee of Re 511

The ceremony reminder the venerable elders in the locality of the cremation of Govar. Vakko of Fort Cochin who had boldly op-posed the Catholic Church ierarchy, 25 years ago. In hose days even the place reserved for the was not allowed forelon to his Sahodaran K. Ayyappan and rationalist Sri M. C. Joseph had then to take aim to the beach, where the dead body was cremat

PAGE FIVE

## TIME HAS COME TO FORM ALL-INDIA UNION -CALL OF ANDHRA AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

Over 220 delegates from different parts of Andhra gathered at Penumantia, West Godavary District on May 25 and 26 for the Fourth Conference of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Workers' Union.

T HE panchayat elections being in full swing, the Telen-gana district had, unfortunately, to go unrepresented.

The conference was in ed by N. Prasada Rao and presided over by Sri G. Bapanayya, MLC, one of the founders of the organisation.

Dealing with the work done in the past two-and-a-half years the Secretary's report fogussed attention both on the major campaigns as well as on day-to-day work in the localities

One such major campaign arose out of the Tenancy Act. Together with the Kisan Sabha the Union organised Tenants' Conferences in prac-tically all the districts of the State. More than six thousand petitions claiming security of tenure were filed.

MASS EVICTION

The landlords, with the active sistance of the administration. struck back. It has been esti-

mated that some 80 per cer the tenants were evicted. Criminal cases followed by heavy jail sentences was the answer to the petitions. The tenancy Act proved actually to be an Eviction Act!

was unforutnate that the ioint movement of the Kisan Sabha and the Agricultural Workers' Union was unable either to defeat this eviction offensive or to get the Act suitably amended

more successful campaian

was the State-wide food movement. Some 15 lakhs of poor peasant sand agricultural workers participated in hun-dreds of demonstrations and meetings. The slogans were "One Cheap Grain Depot in in Every Village" and "Rice and jowar at 3 and 5 seers per rupee."

Yet another massive campaign swelled up through resistance against the orders evicting the setters on Government waste ande This resistance had its effect.

In Telengana, the orders of wiction were withdrawn and all cultivators in possession of waste land in 1954 were given pattas. Widespread agaitation deve-

lopped and is still continuing against the Government orders joutting up lanka lands for auc-tion. These lands had, for a se lands had, for a long time, been given on a nominal lease to the Field Labour and Tenants Cooperative So-cieties. The auctions were heavy blows indeed against societies

In August 1958 the Working Committee of the Union initiat-ed a State-wide agitation against the reactionary provisions in the Andhra Government's ceilings Bill. Its demand were that no category of land should be exempted from the ceiling and that a net income of Rs. 3,600 should determine the ceiling. Following this campaign 9.000 workers from the Union joined the Land Reforms Week which swept through the State in February 1959.

Apart from enumerating these

ing of the employment situawage ion and the consequent denression

The number of farm servants hired on an annual basis has decreased since the employers prefer to offer work on a seasonal basis. Fur-ther, all the dry crops on the unlands having failed for the last three years, an apprecia-able increase in the migration of labour has taken place. On top of this, the com tion of wages in kind to cash has resulted in a cut in the daily wage. A serious situa-tion faces the agricultural workers in Andhra.

As a result of persistent work and struggle, however, in Gun-tur district and some villages in Kakinada and Warangal some wage increase was secured. is the way out of the impa se was secured. This

Local Agricultural Labourers' Unions in Kurnool, Hyderabad, Krishna and West Godavary districts took up the cudgels against untouchability and defended the cause of Harijans, demonstrating that economic issues are not the only problems that facing the Union.

The Secretary's report did not fail to sharply point out the grave weaknesses m organisation: work s marring the local and sporadic; State-with campaigns are not followed up; total membership is a meagre 60,000 and whole-time cadres are lacking. After a whole day's discus-

sion, the Conferen

campaigns, the Secretary's re-port also dwelt on the worsen-ing of the employment situa-The Conference next discus-agricultural workers to laun-The Conference next discussed important issues facing the movem tions on them. The resolution on Land Reforms demanded a ceiling on land at Rs. 3,600 and distribution of surplus land,

instead of handing it over to panchavats. DISTRIBUTE

### SURPLUS LAND

The resolution on waste lands demanded pattas to lands already under occupation of sants and agricultural labourers, distribution other unoccupied waste lands cancellation of Governmen which put large orders number of categories of lan on the prohibited list and cancellation of penal rates on un-authorised cultivation.

The Conference called upon the agricultural workers ceaselessly campagn for the workers to demands and get ready for a big struggle to win them.

By another resolution, the Conference demanded a minimum daily wage of Rs. a 1.50 and annual wage of 30 bags of paddy, 30 days leave, including holidays for fas-tivals, 8 hour work for the Paleru (farm servant) and elimination of false measures. On the question of food, the Conference demanded opening

s discus- of cheap grain depots in all elected adopted villages and supply of rice and mittee.

agricultural ch a vigorous campaign on this nt and adopted resolu- issue, in cooperation with the common mass of the peasant and be prepared for a struggle if necessary. Resolutions were also passed

on lanka lands, fishing rights of fishermen's societies, condemning the tactics of the oposition parties in Kerala and expressing sympathy for the struggle of the NGO of Andhra.

In a resolution the Conence expressed its opi that the time has come to form an all-India Agricultural Workers' Union and ap-pointed a sub-committee with pointed a sub-committee with Sri N. Prasada Rao as convenor and Sri G. Bapanaya and Sri P. Sundarayya (President and Vice-President of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Warkers' Union) as members to meet similar organisations in other States and take suitable steps towards the early formation of an all-India or agnisation.

Sri G. Bapanayya, MLC was re-clected President; Sri K. Mohan Rao and Sri P. Sundarayya, MLA were re-elected Vice-Presidents; Sri T. Govindayya was re-elected General Secretary; Sri G. Rama Rao and Sri Malakondayya were re-elec-ted Joint Secretaries and Sri i Mal J. S. R. A. Sastry was re-elected Treasurer of the Agricultura Workers Union of Andhra Pra-Agricultural desh. Another 20 members were elected to the Working Com-

## Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill Passed IMPOSSIBLE IF CONGRESS RULED

#### \* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The historic Agrarian Relations Bill was finally passed by the Kerala Legislative Assembly on the June 10, 1959 at exactly sixteen minutes past one in, the afternoon

T is a telling commentary on the conduct of the Oppo-sition in Kerala that when the Bill was finally passed, only 18 Opposition members were pre-sent. None of the leaders of the Opposition parties were present on this historic occapresent on this historic occa-sion. As soon as the Commu-nist MLAs came out of the Assembly Hall after passing the bill, a vast concourse of people greeted them with joy

and applause. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill has been on the anvil for quite some time. It was published first in a Gaze tte Extraordinary on December 18, 1957, then introduced in the Assembly on December 21. The preliminary discussion on the Bill took place in the Assembly during Decem-ber 1957 and March 1958. On April 2, 1958, the Assembly decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

In the meantime, the Kerala Karshaka Sangham and the Communist Party organised State-wide discusons on the Bill, explaining its provisions to peasants throughout the State, taking

note of the suggestions of the people for improvement as well as their criticisms. and apprehensions.

Thus the Bill became a great instrument of popular parti-cipation in a legislative measure of this sort. The India Kisan Sabha also discussed it and suggested amendments and alterations. The Select Committee touring all the districts of the State, collected a mass of evi-. In all, the Committee dence. In all, the community had sixty sittings. It examined 269 witnesses and collected thousands of memoranda. A number of clauses of the Bill were re-written, new clauses added and some deleted.

377 days after the bill was eferred to it, the Select Comreferred to it, the Select Com-mittee submitted its report to the Assembly on April 14, 1959 and the Assembly started dis-cussion on the Bill as reported by the Select Cmmittee.

#### \* FROM FACING PAGE

porting the agitation of that NSS-Catholic) group"? (the NSS-Catholt') group '. Let us hear Chacko: 'Mr. P. T. Chacko, Leader of the Op-position in Kerala Assembly, told newsmen that Kerala Con-told newsmen that Kerala Contota newsmen that Kerata Con-gress was opposed to the new Education Act and it supported the anti-Education Act agilation proposed to be launched by pri-vate school managers" (Indian Express, June 12).

So whom should the people of India believe? I think we of india believe. I think we can only believe the people who are on the spot since their proare on the spot since then pro-nouncements are backed by ac-tions. And experience is the only criterion for judging truth. One is, therefore, left with

but unfortunate imthe sad, but unfortunate in-pression, that either Sri Nehru does not know the truth, or that followers in Kerala know his that they can ignore his I tudes and go right on doing as they please.

During the discussion State

note

made

Important

Features

In the distribution of surplus lands, special consider-ation has been given to agri-cultural labourers and poor peasants. The Act also has provisions for fixing fair provisions for fixing fair rents, confers fixity of tenure on all sorts of tenants on a uniform basis throughout the State. Thus it is the most thoroughgoing land legislation yet attempted in any State in India.

landlords hard enough to make them howl with pain make them howl with pain and fight like beasts at bay. That precisely is the secret behind the present "libera-tion" agitation in the State today. Comrade Gouri replying to

the discussion pointed with bitter sarcasm at the Congress benches and said:

999  $\square$ (II) ROOHAFZA DELICIOUS & REFRESHING Roohafza has a taste and excellence that simply cannot be imitated. It is healthful, refreshing and economical and most welcome in all parties DELHI - Kanpur - Patua

KERALA CONGRESS LEADERS PAY NO HEED TO NEHRU W HEN Prime Minister Nehru declared at his press the present moment the party

W conference in Delhi on June 10 that he was "particu-larly disturbed at the `communal element that has been brought into this (the Kerala situation) what might have been a political conflict", and that "I should like to say, quite clearly that I am entirely opposed to any kind of picketing of schools there or anywhere", honest people thought that the Kerala Congress leaders will at least now heed the categorical expression of disapproval of their action by India's topmost Congress leader and will resile from their ill-advised adventure.

Nothing of the sort. No sooner Kerala, the Commu repudiated Nehru word for mord.

For example, Prime Minister ehru was asked: "Congress envisages an agitation to pull down a Government outside the parliamentary Constitution. Do vou concede

to this Sri Nehru replied: "That I believe, has been said by those people who are opposing the Kerala Government, not the Congress people . ... I do not think that is the position of the Congress as such."

Later. Sri Nehru reiterated, I am opposed to unconstitutional means anyhow at any time, because once you adopt them in one place, they will be justified in other contexts. You cannot have such things minus néans. If we have a democratic party, it should function decratically.'

NEW AGE

had reports of Nehru's press ernment was not only not obconference come out in print, serving democratic principles, the Congress leaders of Kerala but was also deliberately trying to destroy democracy therefore, there was nothing wrong in adopting non-constitutional forms of agitation to remove the Communist Govent from office. ernm

"He said this principle could be adopted in other States of India if Governments in those States acted like the Communist Government in Kerala" (Indian Express. June 12).

How far the Congress Governments in other States will welcome this exhibition of Chacko's generosity to their oppo-. sition is a matter to be experienced yet. But neverth there can be no doubt that the Leader of the Congress party in Kerala Assembly was indeed telling the Leader of the Congress party in Parliament that he had better not interfere in their affairs.

When Sri Nehru was asked to Now let us hear Sri P. T. name the communal forces wor-Chacko's reply to Nehru: "In king in Kerala, he replied "At

group that is making or noise is the party which is, I suppose, the combination of Mr. Padmanabhan's Nair Serthe Catholic vice Society and Organisat Sri Nehru: "....they (Con-

gress) certainly are not in line supporting the agitation of that group.

Now let us turn from Delhi to Frnakulam. "Representatives of opposition political parties in Kerala and Deliverance Day Action Council, headed by Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan decided Mannath Padmanabhan de at a joint meeting last night to to launch direct action against the Communist Government immediately after observance of Deliverance Day' on June 12. "Mr. R. Shankar, KPCC pre-

sident, Mr. Panampilly Govin Menon, Mr. C. M. Steph Stephen, Mr. P. T. Chacko, Mr. Pattom Mir. F. T. Charko, Mr. Mannath Pad-manabhan, Mr. Kalathil Vela-yudhan Nair and M.V.O. Abraham were among those who attended the meeting yesterday...." (Indian Express, June 12).

Now let us hear Shankar and Chacko, after the meet-ing. Mr. R. Shankar later told women that they were getting ready for a prolonged fight.... and that "not only picketing but all forms of direct action would be resort-

Are the Congress "in line or \* SEE FACING PAGE

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Revenue Minister K. R. Gouri who piloted the Bill.

over 3,000 amendments were moved on different clauses. Many clauses were again re-written in the light of the amendments and finally the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill was over on May 8, 1959. After the final reading on June 10, the bill was passed unanimously without a single dissenting

discussions. And in has the history, at no time has the Assembly sat for so many days continuously and for Assembly sat for and for days continuously and for such long hours. All those who participated in this great event can truly claim to have

nade history. One of the important special features of the Kerala Agrarian Bill is that firstly, it fixes the ceiling limit on land holdings with the fewest possible exceptions. Secondly, all kinds of tenants are en-abled in an easy way to purership rights of the chase ownership rights of the lands they till. Even tenantsthe same

ands they till. Even tenants at-will are given the same rights as regular tenants. Special provisions are there to protect the inter-ests of small land-holders. Thus it can be claimed that the Act confers substantial benefits on the widest sec-tions of the peasantry in the tions of the peasantry in the

nted with

if there are some Congressmen who cannot see the good points in the Bill, it is only because they have been blinded by anti-Commun-

She went on to say: She went on to say: "Let me first express my thanks to the members of the Assembly, the Speaker, the Secretariat of the Assembly and the Secretariat of the nent for having help-Governn dovernment for internet in bring-ing forward and passing this important Act, in this form. impo use getting upset "It is no when I say that some of the amendments, especially those which came from were of a retrograde gress side nature. For example, amendments brought by Sar-vashree K. M. George, K. R. Narayanan, Alexander Param bithara and K. C. Abraham in regard to the provisions on Kudikidappukars (occupants of huts in a landlord's land) were definitely against the interests of Kudikidappukars. We have accepted many amendments brought forward by the Opposition. We have re-written many clauses of the bill incorporating the prin-ciples contained in some of the amendments of the Opposition. But the behaviour of many of the Opposition members was not very coopera-

tive "For example, with the intention of accepting some of the amendments brought for-ward by the Opposition, when Observers say that no bill we did not move amendments observers say that no bill we did not move amendments has undergone such prolonged of our own, those Opposition discussions. And in Kerala's members backed out and did not move the amendments or even withdrew some of them. This put us in a very difficult position.

"Sri Viswanathan pointed out that this Act may require amendments. I accept that proposition. If any difficulty f practical arises at the time of practical implementation of the Act, we will definitely remove defects might have crept in the Bill; difficulties. but in the making of this Bill, we have done all that is hu-manly possible to remove such defects.

"The Secretariat and the Government prepared the bill with great care. In addition, many members have meticulously examined the Bill during its discussion in the House. In this connection, I have especially to commend the services of Sri T. A. Thomman (Congress) and Sri M. Narayana Kurup (PSP). They have not brought forward amend-ments, but have pointed out then and there the defects

in the clauses. We have noted that some Opposition members have severely criticised the conferment of certain powers on the Government by certain clau-ses of the Bill. The Opposi-tion asserts that the Govern-No doubt it has hit the big ment will utilise those power andlords hard enough to for the benefit. of the Com-

for the benefit. of the Com-munist Party. "But it is also provided in the Act that all notifications issued by the Government in exercise of the powers con-fered by this bill should be placed before the Assembly within ten days of the issue within of such notifications. But in

NEW AGE

ernment. For example, take some provisions of the Hyde-rabad and Bombay Tenancy position.

"The Opposition members have no objection to give such powers to those State Governments. But when this Government is conferred much less powers, they, say that those powers will be mis-used for our party purposes." (These forces have elymetric that those powers will be mis-used for our party purposes. used for our party purposes. They seem to accept the noto-rious Goebbelsian principle rious Goebbelsian principle that if a lie is repeated a hundred times, it will become the truth.

"In the eyes of our Congressmen, there are still Caste Hindus and untouch-Caste mindus and untouch-ables. The Congressmen who rule other States are all Caste Hindus, where as the Communists who rule Kerala are untouchables.

Kerala are untoucnaples. "I heard complaints about the appointment of Land Tribunais. I ask: Can you suggest a more convenient and more democratic method and more democratic method in this respect than this pro-vision? Government could have appointed the Tribunals

"But we thought that it will not be democratic. That is why we provided that two-thirds of the membership of the Tribunals should be elec-ted by the Benkerster allows "But we thought that it will the Tribunals should be elec-ted by the Panchayats. Along with this elected element; the Government will appoint a legal expert to the Tribunal. "WHY SHOULD THE OP-

"WHY SHOULD THE UP-POSITION FEAR THIS PROVISION, IF THEY DO NOT FEAR THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL GET THE MAJORITY IN ALL THE PANCHAYATS IN THIS STATE?

STATE? "Even after travelling from Karachi to Nagpur, there are come Congressmen who cansome Congressmen who can-not see the good points in the Bill. But at the same time, I this Act." do not forget that there are many who can see the bene-fits arising out of it.

#### Rabid

#### Communalism

"There are some people who made rabid communal speeches against the Bill. Generally speaking, I do not usually give much importance to the views of Sri Chazhikadan. But when he said that this bill will ruin Nairs, he exceeded the limits. It was unfortunate that the com-munal animosity running high outside should have been in-

ward land reform bills having been overthrown in the malism. It is name of C unfortunate that the Congress and the PSP are aligning with r of the Nair Service Society, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan in his com nal agi-

naonan in nis communal agi-tation to prevent the imple-mentation of this Act. "If Congress was ruling this State, this bill would not have been brought forward. Nor would it have been passed. Now you are opposing us when we are doing this good thing. We know the fate of those we know the late of those the tried to get this sort of legislation passed. "When Pattom was ruling,

ome such bill was introduced

mittee meeting. That was the

Today, Congress members "The Opposition members of that Select Committee like

> Government overthrown any which tried to bring forward-bills like this. Within three months of introducing the land bills, the PSP ministry was thrown out. When the Ministry in which Sri A. A. Rahim (present Congress MLA) was a member tried to When the bring in a bill, the same reac-tionary forces conspired and threw them out. "Only the Communist Min-

withstand their istry could subversion. I am proud that I am a member of this Com-"There are some

Congressmen who oppose this measure from A to Z. I know that. Sr Pillai who M. Gopinathan moved amendments to remove each and every clause of this bill is a Congress MLA. Sri

my speech. I will only remind the Assembly of the famcus song in the drama."You Made in which Me a Co the agricultural sing: "The fields labourers which we

to thousands of peasants and tenants in our State. May I expect the coope-ration and help of the Assembly and its members in this Act? I implementing this Act. I once mure who helped me in passing



## CHIEF MINISTER CHARGE-SHEETS CONGRESS AS FIRST INCIDENTS Those very same people who it would put an end REVEAL SINISTER GAME

my duty if I do not inform. Smt. Gandhi that the State leaders of her organisation

have not taken a cooperative

attitude. I would give just an exam-

ple: In March or April this

year, Smt. Gandhi and other all-India leaders of the Con-

gress had discussions in Delhi

on how to integrate the work

of the State Congress organ-isations and the State Gov-

ernments in carrying out the Kharif Campaign. They de-

Kharif Campaign. They de-cided to set up a liaison or-

ganisation between the Food

and Agriculture Ministry at

the Centre and the Congress

High Command, and a similar

liaison between the State Min-

istry and the State Congress

Circulars and notes contain-

ing written instructions as to how this should be done were sent by the All-India Congress

Committees and a copy of that was sent by Sri A. P. Jain to all the State Chief Ministers.

On receiving this letter from

should undoubtedly have re-

ceived from the Congress President.

I did this because I wanted

to assure them that the exist-ence of a non-Congress Gov-

ernment in this State would

not be a bar for them to set

up the same sort of liaison

between the Congress organ-

isation and the Government

in order to carry out the Food Production Drive in this State

as laid down by the Congress

Unfortunately, however, I

have not yet received any

reply from them; they are obviously so busy with the framing of the "charge-

sheet" against us and with

making preparations for that "uncompromising"

campaign of "direct action

which would take "all forms" that they have no

time for carrying out one of

the most important items of the Congress plan of work

today - food production

I may also remind Smt.

friends of the Congress who

are charging us with neglect-

that, during the ten years of

High Command

organisation.

**NEVER RAISED A FINGER FOR KERALA'S PROGRESS** NOW BENT ON BLOWING UP ALL PROSPECTS

Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodirinad in course of a statement issued on June 13, says:

Ever since our Ministry took charge in April 1957. wild charges were levelled against us by Congressmen, including such All-India leaders of the organisation as its former General Secretary, Shriman Narayan. We had told them that, if individual instances of irregularity or mistakes were brought to our notice, we would take prompt remedial action. We have, in fact, examined every such individual instance that was brought to our notice.

**M**OST of these were, on clear that no effort is being haseles in which there was even a particle of truth, we did take prompt action This however. would not satisfy those who made the charges; they were bent on repeating the general without hothering charges themselves to substantiate them

It was under these circumstances that the then Congress President' Sri Dhebar, made a tour of Kerala sometime in August or September last. He had then painstakingly collected all the individual inslected all the individual ins-tances that were brought to his notice. He had the kind-ness to pass them on to me, so that I may examine them and take appropriate action. Simultancously with this, a list of charges was lodged with list of charges was lodged with the Speaker of the Lok Sabha by Dr. K. B. Menon, who wanted a debate in the Lök Sabha on Kerala. The list supplied by Dr. Menon was, in most respects, the same as was supplied to Sri Dhebar, and through him to me.

#### Earlier Charges Proved Baseless

Our Government, therefore. made a detailed examination of all these cases and sent our replies to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, as well as to Sri Dhebar. The latter was pub lished in the form of a booklet since Sri Dhebar's report - Working Com the Cor to the Congress Working Com-nittee, had found its way to the press

If the Congress were as scrupulous of making only such charges as are "clear and unassailable" (as Smt. Gandhi claims), they would have first examined the list of charges which Sri Dhe-bar had passed on to me and my reply to them. For. anybody who has seen that material could see that the charges levelled against us seless as I have proed to the hilt.

It was, therefore the bounden duty of the Congress, eidisprove the facts ther to stated in my reply, or to ad-mit that the high office of the Congress President had been istration and to enlist people's d to pass on wild and baseless allegations against us. these things. It has, instead, nual affair for the propagation decided to repeat the same of green manures, the Minor wild and general charges Irrigation Week that was ob-(without bothering itself to substantiate them) in the name of preparing a "charge- duction councils. the encoursheet." That "charge-sheet" been given in the form of industrial cooperatives-th

Always Uncooperative We are grateful to the large ber of friends belonging to the opposition parties who have given us their cooperation in these activities. I would, however, be failing in

examination, found to be made either to disprove the ess while in a few cases, facts given by us earlier in our replies to Sri Dhebar and Dr. B. Menon, or to give new facts and instances. On the other hand, very

wild allegations are being made on the basis of which it is proposed to launch an "uncompromising" campaign of "direct action" which would take "all forms."

Plan

Progress

I reserve to a future occain this statement. That reates to "criminal negligence in carrying out developmental projects" regarding which the statement says: "the schemes in the 5-year plan had not only been not executed but the allotments made Sri Jain, I wrote to Sri Sankar and Sri Chacko enquiring of them as to what are the facifor them were allowed to lapse

If this is an example of lities that they require from the Government to carry out the instructions that they the "clear and unassailable" charges that are to be inthe cluded in the "chargesheet," I can only pity the friends who made these friends who made these charges. For. as I had stated in one of my replies to Sri Dhebar, plan fulfilment is ebar, plan making steady progress since we assumed office.

T would now quote the upto-date figures of financial expenditures during the period of the Second Plan : For the year 1956-57, the total annual provision in the budget was for Rs. 18.60 crores while the actual expenditure was Rs. 10.81 crores; for the year 1957-58, the provision was for Rs. 17.90 crores while the expenditure was Rs. 15.12 crores; for the year 1958-59, the provision was for Rs. 18,51 crores while the expenditure was Rs. 17.43 crores.

While this is the position with regard to the progress of Plan expenditure during the Second Plan period, steps are being taken to improve the working of planning admincooperation for it. The Glyricidia Fortnight Recall Congress

The Congress did neither of that has now become an an-Record nual affair for the propagation served in January this year, Gandhi, Sri Sankar and other the formation of village proagement given to farming and ing the job of Plan fulfilment a 37-clause statement which are a few examples of the Congress and Congress-spon-was released yesterday. It is efforts being made to improve sored PSP rule in this State,

no worthwhile effort was made the working of the agricultural to increase agricultural pro-duction. The record of Plan and industrial departments with the full mobilisation of the productive capacities of the entire pepole.

fulfilment in the former Travancore-Cochin State, juring the period of the First Plan was the lowest in India. being only 43 per cent of the target. With regard to industrial development too, nothing worthwhile was done under the Congress or Congresssponsored PSP rule.

It will be good for the Conleaders (who include lack of industrial development among the charges levelled against us) to remember that practically no industry, big or small, was set up in the former Travancore-Cochin State during the ten years of their rule.

I am afraid that the very people who are now speak-ing of a "charge-sheet" against us owe an explana-tion to the people to the definite and serious charge that has been laid at their doors that, during a whole decade in which the admin-istration of this State was in their hand, they did practically nothing to tackle

> CHURCH BELLS INCITE ATTACK AT ANKAMALI

The first outbreak of violence and toll of lives in the anti-Communist "liberation struggle" in Kerala has been reported from Ankamali.

HE Government press note issued here today stated : "The programme of direct action launched against the Government of Kerala by the leadership of the Congress took a violent turn on the campaign's opening day itself, namely 13th June, 1959, when at Ankamali, a township some 18 miles north of Ernakulam. violent mob attacked the police station, necessitating

police opening fire. "In Ankamali, which is a predominantly Christian area, there has been for some days past, a campaign of picket-ing of toddy shops organised by Catholics as a temperance movement. Ankamali is not

within the prohibition area. "On Saturday, 13th June, a complaint was registered with the police that while picketing was going on, a person coming out of a toddy shop run by a Toddy Tappers' Co operative Society was assault-ed by some persons. The police arrested one of the persons named as having been the

reditont "At 9-30 n.m. Church hells began tolling incessantly, as is done only in times of danger to the community or other emergencies. A crowd estimated between 3,000 to 5.080 nersons armed with

did nothing when they could relative stability of adminis-do something are now creat- tration that this State has ing all manner of obstructions and difficulties for the present two years and that the situa-Government, which for the tion of continuous and cons-first time in the history of this tant Governmental instability State is trying to do something to improve the agricultural production and to or-'now? ganise various industries in the State cess of their campaign would herald the defeat of all

schemes and plans of national

other leaders of the Congress organisation to answer the

definite charge. which I am

laying at their doors, that by launching the campaign of

"direct action" which they are

single impediment in the

carrying out of developmental schemes in this State.

Such impediments in deve-

lopmental work in a State in which their party has the misfortune of not being in

power are probably good from their own narrow partisan interests. But would they al-

low these considerations of

narrow partisan interests to

have greater weight in the

formulation of their policies

than the interests of the nation as a whole, which re-

quire complete cooperation

situation became too hot.

For some time past, trouble

as a result of the loss of their business with the advent of

Toddy shops in Ankamali

Toddy Tappers' Cooperative Society. The so-called tem-

Society. The so-called tem-perance movement which aimed to paralyse the work of this society, had behind it the contractors and local Catholic priests. That it was

meant only to destroy the

workers' cooperative can be seen from the fact that picketing has been only

against the toddy shops run

by the society. Other toddy

shops as well as arrack

The sponsors of the move-

ment do not also oppose use of foreign liquor, etc. Their tactics included intimidating

the tappers as well as the customers who go to the shops

run by the cooperative society

damaging the palm trees to prevent extraction of toddy,

attacks on shops and workers and propaganda that toddy sold by the society is adulter-

ated stuff. A large number of

shops are not picketed.

e run by the Parur Taluk

the Cooperative.

between the Government and

**Answer This** 

I would, therefore, request

development in this State?

#### Blessed By High Command

Anybody who knows the Smt. Gandhi, Sri Sankar and conditions of our State today should know that the Congress campaign of "direct action" which would take "all forms" which obviously has the blessing of the Congress High Command, will create further obs- obviously doing today, they tructions and difficulties in will be putting the biggest the way of those very developmental projects in the name of which the leaders of the the leaders "charge-sheet" agitation are now swearing.

Is it not clear that the Definite Charge continuance of the campaign of picketing of Government offices, non-cooperation in administrative and legislative work and, if we are to believe the reports, even campaigns against the Small Savings and National Plan Loan Drives, etc., would make it difficult for the State Government to carry out those schemes and projects which are given im-portance by the Planning Commission and the Central Government?

Is it not further clear that, the two most important. Is it not further clear that, problems of the State—food, if their ambitions of removing and unemployment. this Government are fulfilled, opposition in all the States of India?

TRIVANDRUM, June 14. gress MLA, M. A. Anthony nce and toll of lives in struggle?" in Kerela

has been brewing in Ankamal as a result of attacks against lethal weapons moved totoddy shops run by the Toddy Tappers' Cooperative Society, which had earned the bitter wards the police station after having assembled for a brief meeting. wrath of private contractors

"Forcing their way inside the police station's premises, the mob attacked the police station and set fire to a jeep belonging to the Tappers' Co-operative Society which runs the toddy shop. The police tried to clear the crowd and failing to do so, made a lathi-

charge. "The crowd continued to attack, as a result of which 27 policemen including a circle inspector and a sub-inspector received injuries. The police was forced to open fire, as a result of which 5 persons were

killed and 22 injured. "All through the attack, Church bells kept on tolling. The mob did not finally disperse till after the tolling stopped at about midnight.

#### Anger Against Cooperatives

"The collector and District Superintendent of Police proceeded to Ankamali on receipt of the information about the attack. The police reinforcements have been rushed to the area. The situation is under control.

control." trees from which the workers It is now learnt that Con. take toddy have, thus, been

to the **DELIVERANCE** DAY 9 pensation by the employers Khadi and Village Industries dminis-to has tration that this State has been enjoying during the last WAS ONLY characteristic of the previous PARTIAL SUCCESS 10 years would repeat itself Is it not clear that, under such circumstances the suc-

> Although the Kerala Pradesh Congress President claimed the Deliverance Day hartal on Friday as a 'complete success," the results of the hartal did not indicate any shift from the Government strength to that of the Opposition in Kerala.

EPORTS received from various districts of Kerala confirm the fact that Friday's hartal was partial - and not successful in many respects. All important services like transport, electricity and wa-Government offices were not affected by the hartal. Newspapers also came out as usual. Despite "decisions" by Bar Associations in certain centres to participate in hartal. lawyers attended courts and there was normal functioning of lav

courts everywhere. As regards industrial labour, except for a few instances of enforced idleness caused by pro-Congress employers locking out their establishments for the day promising wages to workers, the overwhelming majority of the factories in the State worked as usual. The working class was almost to-tally out of the hartal, despite the joint appeal issued by the INTUC, HMS and UTUC

In places where employers closed factories, workers thus affected recorded their protest by staging dem strations to condemn hartal. They also, as in Kozhikode, refused to accept wages of-fered, because they said that they were perpared to work and would not take "bribes" to stop them from working.

#### destroyed.

On the night of May 26, volunteers of the temperance movement destroyed a palm tree belonging to one agricultural worker and also pelted stones at members of the worker's family who raised a hue and cry. One small child was severely hit. Later the police arrested six persons who were alleged to be responsible for the incident and a crowd gathered, demanding their release. They threw stones at the police van breaking its glass. One person was arrested for this.

It was immediately alleged by some opposition papers that the police had let loose repression. Congress MLA, K. C. Abraham moved an adjournment motion in the Assembly on June 1 to discuss "nolice repression" in Ankamali. The motion was, how-ever, disallowed.

The Minister for Police. Achutha Menon, while re-plying to the member's allerations denied that there was any police repression and said that for some time past workers of the coope-rative were being attacked and that the Government rative were being attacked the schools. and that the Government The Trivandrum Bishop is had taken measures to curb the manager of St. Joseph violence

sticks, knives and other

In Kozhikode, as a result of banks. this insistence by workers, In certain employers agreed to open and give work to them.

tory gates and passed resolutions protesting against the closure Resolutions have been orwarded by the workers to the Union Government by telegram.

About four thousand wo men workers of cashew industry staged a demonstrain Quilon declaring their readiness to work. Slogans like "INTUC's hartal, Employers' hartal," and "Long live Kerala Government which passed Land Bill and Maternity Act" were nonstrators. raised by the der It is learnt that the cashew factories were closed in Quilon on an understanding between leaders of INTUC, employers and leaders of the 'Liberation Struggle' in a meeting held in the office of one employer.

The Secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council, Comrade P. Balachandra Meclosure by management.

#### **Big Merchants**

loin

As for closure of shops in Quilon, it was mainly by big merchants and bullion dealers in the main business areas. Small and medium shops and ing establishments everywhere shops and persuaded merch-

In Alleppey, big export their business centre and heart of the coir The Catholi industry, out of nearly 280 coir closed till 1 factories in the town only four In Quilon cashew factories. Christian-owned factories re-were closed by employers. Christian-owned factories re-workers gathered before fac-workers were attending duty except for the loading and in factories. The coir factory workers' union has informed employers of the four closed factories that they should pay compensation to the workers. Wholesalers and big merchants closed while smaller trad\_ ers opened their shops. Hartal in Alleppey was partial in spite of strong propaganda and even some intimidation.

hartal was only partial. It is reported that about 50 per cent of the shops opened. Even some shops which closed on the persuasion of hartal ele-. ers put up notices declaring ments, later opened one or two shutters of their shops and traded. Banks were also open, posing hartal on unwilling

In **Trivandrum**, there was hartal in two important busi-ness areas namely Chalai and Main Road. It was compensated by other parts of the city which did not join the hartal. The Rubber Works and Titacomrade F. Balachandra Me-non MLA, has issued a state-mum Factory, the only two ment congratulating the work-ers for staying away from the hartal and demanding that workers should be paid com-Bhavan, run by the Kerala

Board, which opened as usual in the morning, let down its shutters when demonstrators demanded it to be closed.

In Ernakulam hartal was ineffective in majority of areas. However, active Con-gressmen and a large number of Catholic merchants were prominent in the hartal. In the morning almost all shops were found open: thereupon batches of all open. It was a special fea-ture of the hartal that cater- sing for closure. They entered in the State kept out of the ants to close. Some of those hartal as also most of the who thus closed later opened their shufters and carried on

The Catholic Syrian Bank closed till 1 n.m. and then opened and did business as usual. In the Cochin port, unloading work which is controlled by stevedores.

In Trichur, a town with con-siderable Congress influence, hartal was partial, only-big Catholic and Congress merchants taking octive part. Middle class and small traders were not affected. All the four textile mills in Trichur were working. Workers led by the In Kottayam, one of the Labour Congress of Sri Pan-chief centres of Catholic and ampily Govinda Menon also Congress influence, also the attended duty in the Seetaram Textile Mills, Banks were also

> • ers put up notices declaring that their establishments are closed for the day thereby imworkers. These workers staged demonstrations declaring the particular feature of the hartal that the Muslims as per custom did not open shops on Friday, and not all shops that were closed were for hartal. But some Muslim shops in Trichur opened their shops breaking the custom.

Our correspondent. tour-\* SEE PAGE 12

#### FORCES MUSTERED INSIDE SCHOOLS

ment would take action to prevent it.

Such is the background to the outburst of violence on June 14, which swift government action has prevented from running its fatal course. Evidence is piling up of the violent ambitions and plans of the "liberators" of all shades and hues. Trivandrum is one of their chosen "storm centres "

As schools in Trivandrum District are to reopen to-morrow, (Monday, the 15th), volunteers mobilised by the volunteers mobilised by the Church are being gathered in local schools and kept ready for action. The police raided one such hide-out and arrested volunteers secretly housed there: One hundred and thirty-

seven people from Valiathura (coastal area of Trivandrum city) were arrested this even-ing from St. Joseph's High School, where they had been kept behind closed doors sumably for being put into action tomorrow in nicketing

School. It is learnt that one VIOLENCE. School. It is learnt that one He declared that the Gov- Pereira, steward to the Bishop ernment were aware that such was the leader of this force. attacks against workers and He, however, told the police their society would take place that he is only the keeper of again and that the Govern- the school and the police did

not arrest him

Volunteers gathered in the school said that they were volunteers of the "Liberation Struggle" and that they had been brought there at the instance of the school manage ers. Since the main gate of the school was locked, the police had to scale the gate and get and inviting central interveninto the school compound to conduct a search and make arrests. The arrested persons were taken into custody under Section 151 Criminal Procedure Code (arrest to prevent commission of cognisable

schools in Kottavam and other

St. Joseph's School where the A party of policemen under a sub-inspector of Kuthia-

have a plan to create trouble in Trivandrum tomorrow and try to force the police to open fire. They are anxis not to allow their struggle to go down at the outset itself:

It is also learnt that Man-nath Padmanabhan and the

Trivandrum Bishop were closetted today discussing seriously about the plans for the next move

But the Opposition is obviously not going to confine its violence to Trivandrum. This would hardly be in line with their object of creating chaos tion. A violent mob attacked

policemen this afternoon (Sunday the 14th) near Aroon in Alleppey District when they proceeded to the area to apprehend a local rowdy. First offence). telephone reports received in Meanwhile, it is learnt that Trivandrum at 6-30 p.m. state. there is a plan to import more that the police party, which volunteers from Kottayam consisted of one police cons-district into Trivandrum as table attached to Aroorkutt! police station and two constaareas are not reopening to-bles of the district armed morrow. Schools in Trivan-police were heavily stoned by drum district alone will open a crowd, which gathered on tomorrow. 200 M.S.P. were guarding Church bells ringing in alarm.

According to informed the Station, rushed to the sources, the "liberators" spot, but the crowd continued to attack the police three of whom were injured. They were removed to Alleppey District Hospital, Reinforcements have been rushed to the area from Alleppey, said a Government press note. It is reported that the situation has calmed

## TEXTILE WORKERS UNITE TO MEET OFFENSIVE

### **Conference In July To Discuss Problems**

### \* By RAJ BAHADUR GOUR M. P.

It is evident that textile bossess all over the country are in no mood to listen to reason and are continuing in their offensive against the textile workers throwing over board all codes and conventions and tripartite decisions.

WAGES

Not merely is it true that the

wages of textile workers have remained pegged over a period of years, but the rise in prices

has also brought down the real wage quite substantially. While

in 1956 the average per capit

earning of a textile worker was Rs. 1,360 it was Rs. 1,363 in

of the Indian worker is very

low and, therefore, the low wage. But a comparison with other countries reveals that in

USA the hourly wage is 18.65

the hourly wage is 9.90 for a productivity of 4.5; in Italy

it is 9 53 for 3.3; while in India

a productivity of 5.6; in U.K.

**T** EXTILE workers all over not 'decasualisation' of substi-have been resisting this tute labour. offensive of closures and lay-off, of automation and retrenchment, d of rationalisation and brute work-load beginning with the great Kanpur strike in 1955.

The total number of textile workers on the rolls all over workers on the rolls an over the country has alarmingly fal-len from 9,48,134 in January o 9,15,445 in January 1958 and 8,85,958 in January 1959. The average daily emplyoment has gone down from 8,36,689 in January 1957 to 7,96,257 in January 1958 and 7,69,804 in

January 1959. Employment in the third shift has fallen from 97,433 in Jan-uary 1957 to 81,665 in January 1959. The fall in the first shift employment during the same period is by 25,000 and that in the second shift is by 19,000.

The gap between the average daily employment and the total number of workers on rolls is growing — perhaps signifying lay-off and forced loument

#### CLOSURE MENACE

Closures of textile mills has become a serious menace. The number of spinning mills or spinning departments in site mills that remained composite mills that remained closed in January 1958 was 32; their number increased to 46 their number in in January 1959.

The number of weaving de-partments in composite mills that remained closed increased from 28 in January 1958 to 37 in January 1959.

**5** 1 1 1 1 1 1

W Bu		ined closed	Weaving Depart ments in compo site mills that re mained closed –		
	Jan.	Jan	Jan.	Jan	Ċ,
	'58	'59	'58	'59	
Bombay	. 8	15	6	11	
Madras	3	5	1	7	
Mysore	2	3	2	5	. ·
Punjab	1 L	2		<u> </u>	٩.
Rajastha	n 4	2 4	3	3	
W. Beng	a 3.	2	2	1	•
U.P.	5	7	2	1 5 3	
M.P.		1		3	۰.
Rest	6	7	12	2	
All India		46	28	37	e.

that in practically We see We see that in practically every textile centre the distress of closures is mounting and Bombay is leading the offensive. In 1954, with great fanfare was introduced the so-called

sualisation' of substitute abour scheme in Kanpur and Nagpur to begin with. We know to our cost how the mill-owners everywhere have torn this 'voluntary' scheme asunder and everywhere the hadli (substitute worker) is the first to be axed. Such is the 'decapitation' and

exploitation in our country is obviously the most intense, the surplus that we put into the hands of the capitalists much more. Hence, the universal demand

for rise in wages. Hence, our welcome to the appointment of the Central Textile Wage Board. But the employers are turn-ing heaven and earth to sabotthe wage board. The Birlas in Calcutta refuse to implement the Omnibus Textile Tribunal Award. The employers all over the raising a hue and cry of 'crisis' in the textile industry. Closures and lay-off are a part of this campaign of intimida-tion. They want to:

risen by 8 per cent during the same period. It is said that the productivity Intimidate the Government to grant more concessions Intimidate the Wage Board

to water down its recommendations Intimidate the workers to submit to heavier work-load

and retrenchment, wage cut and less amenities the respective figures are 2.43 and 1.00.

nd 1.00. It is evident that the gap In July 1957, at the 15th between the wages is much Indian Labour Conference at wider than the productivity Delhi a tripartite agreement was gap, when the Indian arrived at to the effect that:

worker is compared with 1 Rationalisation shall not be the worker even in these resorted to unless on proworker is compared with these costed to unless on pro-capitalist countries. The per scrutiny it is found unavoi-erminitation in our country is dable for conomic working of the mill concerned.

It would not result in the 2 retrenchment of any

3 The work-load shall not be 5 heavy and shall be deter-mined in agreement with the

The benefits of rationalisa-tion, as reflected in the increased earnings of the mills shall be equitably shared by the workers.

But no employer ever cared for this agreement. Government failed to enforce it. Unions were ignored and the offensive continued unabated.

Workers continued to resist all over. The climax was reached when Bombay's textile workers threatened a gestrike if neral mills continued to remain closed

Sri Gulzarilal Nanda intervened and invited the leaders of this movement for a discussion at Nainital in May 1958 in order and less amendes
at Nainital in May 1958 in order
to seek a solution. Here were, line up behind the emplo-yers and desist from supporting the cause of the workers.
at Nainital in May 1958 in order
to seek a solution. Here were, therefore, gathered together textile workers' leaders from the main centres of distress the main centres of distress Bombay, Kanpur and Indore, and the representatives of all the Central trade-union organ sation, the employers and the

Central and State Governments. The sub-committee of the 16th Indian Labour conference which discussed the matter in detail found that the reasons for detail found that the reasons for the so-called 'crisis' in textile industry were: prolonged liti-gation among directors and neglect of mills; serious mismanagement and fraud; sticking to coarser counts when the taste the consumer public had changed; lack of fina ances to renovate machinery or expand it; even in arranging working capital.

CAUSES OF CRISIS

The 16th Indian Labour Conour Conference, therefore, re-commended that: — Credit facilities from the

State Bank of India and the scheduled banks shall be made available to needy con-

cerns Government shall afford licence and credit facilities for necessary renovation or addition of balancing equipment to make economic wor-king of the concerned mills possible.

n case of proposed retrenchnent, the employers shall give a month's advance no-tice and in case of threatened uce and in case of threatened closure, two months' notice so that the intervening pe-riod is utilised by the Gov-ernment and by all concern-ed to enquire into the matter and take steps to avoid the calamity. All this is being observed only

All this is being observed only in the breach. On the recomendations of the Nainital Conference, the Mini-stry of Commerce and Industry appointed the Joshi Committee to enquire into the position of the mills and make recommen-

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# LIBERATION

An important article appeared in the World Marxist Review of May 1959 by Bachir Hadj Ali en-titled "The Present State of the Liberation Struggle in Algeria". Some extracts from this article are given below:

credit.

National

THE Algerian Communist. pendence is the basic condi-Party, jointly with all tion for all other points.... patriotic forces, is fighting for national independence. **Communist** has never concealed however, that after winning inde-pendence and carrying thro-ugh the national democratic Fighters revolution, Algeria should advance towards complete liberation. The Communist Party considers that a socialist Algeria will be built in the future, an Algeria in which there will be no exploitation of

man by man. It declared in March 1957: "We Communists—a small part of the people—want to build a socialist Algeria in peace, under the leadership of the working class; in alli-ance with the poor peasan-try, with the forward-look. ing intellectuals and with the majority of the people. "We want to build socia-

lism basing ourselves on the tested universal theory of Marxism-Leninism, apply-ing it in the mational con-ditions of Algeria." But today Algeria is faced

with the choice not between colonialism and socialism but between colonialism and democratic national liberation. That is how the Communist Party sees it; and for this reason, it is sparing no effort in the common cause of national liberation

The Party's programme on this question can be expressed in four words: independence, land, bread and peace. Inde-

groung By agree nent these fighters, like all the ALN soldiers, obey the National Liberation Front. Many of our fighters fell in action together with their nationalist brothers. The Communist Party and the FLN also cooperated fruit-

fully in other spheres. Our Party intends to continue this coope-ration, remaining independent organisationally and politically. On November 27, 1957, it called upon its members and sym-pathisers, and on the members of the Trade Union Amalgama-

### TEXTILE WORKERS

itself.

9, 1959)

#### \* FROM FACING PAGE dations to remedy the situation.

The Committee suggested: Relief in excise duties, which was immediately granted; Installation of automatic

looms as a measure of raalisation to produce 'faultless' cloth for export, which the Government readily conceded;

Floating of a corporation **6** by the Government to take over closed mills and run them, which the Government quite ignored

It is evident that the Gov-It is evident that the Gov-ernment has accepted what the mill-owners demanded and has rejected what preci-sely would have brought re-lief to the suffering workers. The Government is refusing to invoke the statutory pro-

visions of Industries (Development) Regulation (Section 15) which empower the Goviment to enquire into misanaged concerns and take them over. Where such mills were taken

over as in Bombay, they are working very well and making

The Seeta Ram Mills in Kerala, which was taken over by the Kerala Government as the Kerala Government as to avoid drain on foreign ex-merely a mortgagee in posses-sion, is doing very well and making profits in spite of the obstructionist tactics and Tibe-ration struggle' of Sri Panam-He was conscious of the fact pilli Govinda Menon.

TUNE 21 1959



Massive demonstration of the Mumbai Girní Kamgar Union, March 1959. NEW AGE

JUNE 21, 1959

## **ALGERIAN COMMUNISTS IN FIGHT FOR NATIONAL**

Before being outlawed in 1955, the Algerian Communist Party used all legal opportunities to mobilise the people for the struggle initiated by the the struggle initiated by the first Moudjahiddines (warriors); it called upon its members to join the guerilla members to join the guerilla forces. When the Party was banned it formed its military organisation, "Liber at i on Fighters", which has not a few.military operations to its

In 1956, the Party, striving for unity, dissolved this organi-sation in agreement with the Liberation Front (FLN); its members joined the National Liberation Army National Liberation Army (ANL) individually and in



Review of a detachment of the National Liberation Army of Algeria.

tion, to join the Union of Working People for the purpose of achieving working class unity. In the poliitcal sphere our Party constantly supports the FLN which is directing the struggle. This support is all the more solid because it has its source in the agreed programme of the two organisations—th basis of the political unity of th nc\_\_\_the people-and in their identity of views in the mater of imme-

diate aims. The Front and the Party, naturally have ideological differences; there can be dif-fcrent assessments of one or another aspect of the situation or of alliances; but unity gains in strength when opi-nions are expressed freely, the views of others and when all efforts are directed against

#### In Alliance With FLN

And so we find in practice an alliance between the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party.

We are supporting the provisional government in the strug-gle for liberation. We are helping to rally the masses round government so that it can achieve this noble aim. Our Party has expressed the desire to join the provisional govern-ment but so far it has been denied this. However, it does not make participation in the government a condition of its suporf.

Despite the years of illegality. the war and the brutal repres-sions, our Party has carried on extensive work among the masses to raise the political, ideological and organisational level of the national struggle and consolidate the popular forces. It also continues to win the workers of European origin away from reactionary influence and draw the more class-cons. cious of them into the liberation struggle....

Some people in the national movement suggested that we should dissolve our Party in order, as they said, to work better for the common cause. But the four-year experience of the war has demonstrated that the Communist Party has always been a positive fluencing the national liberation struggle.

No patriot can say that the existence of our Party has harmed the cause, the popular movement, the Algeran Government or the war of liberation.

The mork carried out bu Party has helped solidate the political unity of the people; our support of the National Liberation Front has enhanced its representative character and prestige in the eyes of the world. In our memoranda to the United Nations and in our appeals, we nailed the enemy's lie alleging differences between the parties and discord among the natriots....

Everything that goes for the

when there is no silencing of mass organisations applies, but in a greater degree, also to our advanced national and revolu-tionary Marxist-Leninist Party, which is the supreme expression of the present and future vital interests of the nation, and especially of the working class and the poorer peasantry.

Dissolution of the Communist Party would, therefore, have adverse consequences for the entire national liberation movement. This is not a question of or mistrust, as can be trust seen from our support of the Front and the provisional government in the war of indendence

The existence of the Communist Party and its activity reflect the internal laws of development in Algeria; and an offshot of this development is the working class, with its poli-tical and social organisations ideology.

Any organisational and political strengthening of our Party signifies a greater desire for unity. Consequently, it means closer unity of the nation and a higher level of the struggle headed by the FLN. Any re-treat by our Party: would be detrimental to the national liberation struggle. The existence of our Party, far from being an obstacle, imparts momentum to the liberation struggle.



PAGE ELEVEN

cause of mismanagement, and could run economically even without those changes if the of India and other State Govmanager

of India and other State Gov-ernments not move in in spite of the statutory powers that they enjoy? The conclusion is inescapable that the Govern-ment refuses to take over these mills as this would unleash the inestitute domand for nationirresistible demand for nationalisation of textile industry we know closures are mount-

ing in Bombay, in U.P., in Madras and Madhya Pradesh. We see mills lying closed in Rajasthan for the last three to four years. We find some mills in every State on the verge of

Inaugurating the recently formed Delhi Productivity Council, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Commerce and Industries Minister admitted that the management of textile industry was "wholly unsatisfactory". (Times of India, June

He also admitted, though belatedly, that labour rela-tions in this industry had de-teriorated because the em-ployers were "dealing with the labour unions in a haphazard manner with no ra-tionale behind it."

While agreeing to modernisa-tion in principle, Sri Shastri rightly observed that we have to avoid drain on foreign ex-

ent were to be changed or the Government took it over.

TO MEET

However important and correct Sri Shastri's observations might be, he only stops at airing late his conclusions into action. Nevertheless the workers everywhere are fighting back the millowners' offensive. Nagpur workers have fought a great struggle. In Vidarbha, in Indore, in Kanpur – everywhere the workers are fighting. Coimba-tore has made history in relentless struggle for a period of months

And Bombay's workers, true to their glorious tradi-tions, have risen in challenge. Their great and united Mum-bai Girni Kamgar Union has invited all the textile workers' unions in the country to a conference in Bombay on July 18-19, 1959 to discuss the problems facing India's eight lakh textile workers and chalk out a minimum pro-gramme of country-wide united action to save the industry and their own work and working conditions.

This news of the conference has undoubtedly roused the enthusiasm of the textile workers all over the country. Textile unions are preparing to pa cipate in this historic con to partition struggle' of Sri Panam-He was conscious of the fact ence, climaxing the growing un-that many mills could not run rest and united action among Why then do the Government properly even if renovated berest and united action among India's textile workers.

## BIHAR CONFERENCE DECIDES ON State-Wide Satyagraha Against Tax-Increase

## And High Prices on such a suffering people that the Bihar Government has imposed more than Rs. 6 crores of new taxes in this one year.

### \* From ALI ASHRAF

The movement against high prices and tax increases has entered a new stage in Bihar. The State Conference recently held at Patna has given a rousing call for a Statewide satuaraha.

Rice today is selling in the

open market in Bihar at Rs.

26 per maund and more. Dal

has reached an all-time peak of Rs. 40 a maund. Sugar has

crossed the limit and is sell-

ing at about Rs. 50 per

It is the State Government's

ponsible for this price rise

State trading, it deliberately allowed the big hoarders to corner all the foodgrains. When

the requirements of State trad-ing needed a minimum stock

ing needed a minimum stock of three lakh tons, it set the

target at no more than a lakh tons. Actually it did not take

effective measures to collect stock of more than 17,000 tons

enter the market in a big

Now it pleads inability to

and force the prices down, thus leaving the people to

It is in such conditions and

Sri P. M. Joseph MLA, and Sri

The police arrested 26 of

the picketeers. According to a

whole of the State in connec-

tion with the hartal and

Processions with black flags

various centres by "libera-

which joint

istrat-

were taken out in the evening

tion struggle" elements, and

Standing Committee of Strug-

gle, listing 37 omissions and

commissions of the Commun

ist Government and calling

for resignation of the Govern-ment were read out and

Black flag processions and

silent processions were or-ganised with the help of the

children along with elders were mobilised for the proces-

sions. Government supporters

as well as large sections of

non-party people kept aloof and refused to be provoked.

The balance sheet of the

ed the close liaison between

Opposition parties and the Catholic Church. While the

business community as a whole

were read out and

church. Catholic

Government announcem Government announcement, there were 73 arrests in the

school-closure agitation.

meetings were held in

the declaration of the

passed.

Catholic

licies which are directly res-

or this price rise in Openly distrustful of

maund.

suffer.

'DELIVERANCE DAY'

ing a large part of the State, Matthre Maniyangadan MP,

ing a large part of the State, Sri P. M. Joseph Min, and S. covering portions of South Sri P. M. Joseph Min, and Malabar and all the way George Potipara MLA and Malabar and all the way gicketed the Collectorate.

THE Conference, held at the discontent against rising prices I local Anjuman Islamia Hall and increased taxatio on June 7, was attended by re than three hundred de gates from all over the State. These delegates were, in most cases, elected at similar conferences against high prices and tax increases, at the local, subdivisional and district levels. Many came on behalf of the lovels. Vyapar Sanghas (buvarious siness organisations).

They included people from all classes and sections, industrial workers and middle-class mployees, peasants from the elds, students as wo' chers and lecturers, medica practitioners and then business medical

They included members almost all political parties in the State except the Congress and the Jan Sangh. Sri Maha-maya Prasad Sinha, leader of the PSP group in the Bihar Le-movided sembly, presided gislative Assemb over the Conferen

This broad unity was the result of widespread and deep

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

from Trichur to Trivandrum

among the people and the

merchants as regards the hartal. The hartal was taken

seriously mostly by rich sec

tions of the merchant com-

munity as well as those who actively subscribed to Oppo-sition political parties. Mid-

nary people kept out of it

This division between the

two sections of the people was visible everywhere. As a result,

there was little dislocation or

their daily necessities, because there were good number of

small shops open even though big ones had shut up. Life in

the villages went on normally.

have been received from cer-tain centres. There was pic-

keting of Government offices

and Taluk Offices at Changa-

Kanjirappalli and

nacherry, Meenachil

Reports of intimidation and

of force to close shops

ulty for people to procure

sities, because

in Kottayam under the hartal once more demon leadership of the Congress. ed the close llaison be The Kottayam Collectorate Opposition parties an

generally

Patronised

By Wealthy

and poor sections of

well as ordi-

noticed marked div

They are the multipoint sales tax which according to the la-test notification of the Bihar tax which according to the latest notification of the Bihar Government comes into force from July 1, the education cess and the professional tax. The betterment levy is yet in the Select Committee stage. The multipoint sales tax will

be imposed on the basis of a gross daily sale of Rs. 14.50 and will include all the elementary essities of life like food, me-

The professional tax has been made compulsory for all the municipal committees to levy. Within municipal limits it will be imposed on all who receive a salary of Rs. 200 per month or more; have a monthly income of Rs. 125 or more, if they are engaged in some indepen-dent profession, or if they are iness, pay a monthly r in hu of Rs. 10 for their shops. On the other hand, while the minimum quantum of the professional tax is fixed at Rs. 12 the maximum is no more than Rs. 250.

#### Fear Of Elected Bodies

It is evident that both the multipoint sales tax and the professional tax will hit the lower income groups most. The unpopularity of the tax is such that the Govern s finding it extremely difficult to impose the profession-al tax through elected muni-

inalities. In some cases—like Arrah the Government has not allowed the elected municipal committees to take charge committees nominated and the are making haste to impose the tax before they hand over. In many other cases the Government has threatened to stop all financial grants unless the municipalities impose the professional tax.

Then there has been the re-assessment of holding tax on houses in towns by the munici-. palities. There are cases where poor people paying Rs. 4 per marter have been reasse 16 or more. On the other hand, owners of big mansions rrect asare able to escape correct as sessment. In Patna, for exam ple, the rate of assessment 33-13 per cent of the rental value, i.e., one month's rent (or estimated rent) has to be paid as holding tax for every que ter. But hardly ever is this real-ly paid by the big landlords.

A novel way of escaping a correct assessment was evolved by a very prominent lawyer of Patna who translawyer of Patna who trans-ferred his palatial mansion to the name of his wife and then himself took it on a nominal rent. He is paying his holding tax on the basis of this

But the usual method is to corrupt the assessors to make low assessments. The exan of the Patna District Board, Sri Khaderan Singh, ad-dressing the delegates' session Kottayam DCC office went to headership of DCC President, Sri M. C. Chacko, Sri ers. of the anti-high prices and tax increase conference, referred to the Krishna Chowk: buildings had the backing of the over- opposite the Patna junc whelming section of the work- which fetches a rental inco junction into four figures. But

the quarterly holding tax is over and brought them toge-much less, a taken inspired there it no doubt inspired the 

belongs to the family of the newly-elected Chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council. Attitude To

Plan It is estimated that even if

the present rate of assessment is somewhat reduced but honest and correct assessments are made, that will increase the present income of the Patna such Municipal Corporation to such an extent that it will not be necessary to impose the pro-

fessional tax. The Bihar State Conference against high prices and tax increases made its attitude to the Second Plan perfectly clear. Addressing the Conferen e the ominent Communist Chandra Shekhar Comrade Chandra Shekhar Singh said that the people stand for national reconstruction. But vhile on the one hand high prices and increased taxes suck their very life blood, and corruption, inefficiency and was-tage take their toll, the people cannot be expected to make any worthwhile contribution to national reconstruction:

Hence the struggle agains high prices and increased taxes is a struggle for real and better national reconstruction. In this context, Sri Nageshwar Misra, ex-Secre-tary of the Darbhanga Dis-trict Bharat Sevak Samaj, stressed the importance of the struggle against corruption.

The Conference was not opposed to all taxes. Its resolu-tion merely demanded the postent of the new taxes till alternative sources were tried. To mitigate the efforts of high prices the Conference dem opening of cheap foodgrain shops and supply of foodgrains

The Conference expressed its readiness to negotiate with the Government and appointed a fifteen-man deputation to meet the Chief Minister. And if its voice of reason was not listened to and the people's demands were not conceded, the people will have no alternative left but resort to State-wide peaceful movement and satyagraha. The Conference directed its Standing Committee to take ne-

The decisions of the Conference express the maturity and the strength of the mass movement behind it. The inspiration hartal was observed

These two actions were or-ganised at the initiative of the Communist Party. These had become possible on the basis of a broad and longed movement over the last few months which em-

ther. It no doubt inspired the formation of the joint preparawhich conventory committee which c ed the recent Conference

This Preparatory Committee was headed by Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha. while its, two secretaries were Sri Jankinan-dan Singh, the General Secretary of the Bihar Jan Congress and Sri Ramavtar Shastri, member of the Bihar Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

The Conference doubt, succeeded in building a very broad unity—and fighting unity at that—of the people of Bihar. It should not be thought, however, that this unity is complete or there are no hurdles in the way. Serious difficulties the way. Serious difficulties still remain to be faced and overcome.

A local Hindi daily reported that the dominant leadership of the Bihar PSP instructed Sri Mahamaya Frasad Sinha to re-sign from the Preparatory Com-mittee of the Conference. But Sinha, Sri Mahamaya Prasad as the report goes, refused to follow a policy which would only disrupt the people's move-ment and prove suicidal for the which would PSP itself.

He presided over the conference and at the open rally in the evening publicly appealed to the PSP to join the common movement, against, the reactionary price and taxation policy of the Bihar Government. · . . .

The 31-men Executive Committee includes the following office-bearers: Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha as President, and Sri Paramanand Keiriwal, proof Muzaffarpur, Sri. Ram Bin MLA. Dr. Lakshman Jha and nist leader Sri Chandra Communist leader Sri Chandra Shekhar Prasad Singh as Vice-Sri Jankin Presidents. Singh is the General Secretary and Sri Ramavtar Shastri the Secretary. A hundred-man Council has also been formed.

The main resolution of the Conference demanded opening of fair price shops where wheat and rice should be sold at Rs. 14 and Rs. 16 per maund respectively. constitution of all-parties advisory committees for distribution o food and to check corruption suspension of the professional tax, multipoint sales tax, education cess and betterment levy and lifting the ban on meetings and processions and withdrawal of cases in this connection.

By another resolution the conference decided to observe hartal hold demonstrations and satyagraha before the gates of the Patna Corporation when the resolution imposing professional tax on the citizens of Patna is introduced there.

The Conference also adopted condemning the resolution nmunal riots at Sitamarhi and Akhta and appealed for maintaining communal amity and peace, especially during the ng Bakrid festival.

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JINE 21. 1950

CAMPAIGN FOR KERAL

\* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS

As we go to press, telegrams, express letters, neatly-written postcards pour in like an avalanche. And from what we can gather, this is only a muffled echo of the Kerala Solidarity Campaign that sweeps through the length and breadth of the country. The tempo is reminiscent of the election period.

TAZARDING a generalisation one could say that India since Independence has not seen such a national campaign. Unfortunately space mits only a cursory report of the bigger meetings. But we would like here to offer our tributes to the thousands thousands of members and friends of the Party who have worked like Trojanscanvassing, postering, agitatthis campaign the cleansing whiriwind that it has been. In West Bengal, Calcutta the stupendous followed up the stupendous rally of June 6 with a series of meetings, covering all the im-portant localities. The entire arty moved tirelessly and ta moved with the

conference.

the Kerala Government.

Of the numerous meetings held in the different districts

of West Bengal, particular

mention has to be made of the rallies at Belghoria, Dum Dum, Asansole and Ranaghat. Au-

diences were seldom less than

jab show that well over 100 meetings were held through-

out the State. culminating in

big mass rallies on June 13. Besides mobilising workers and peasants, reports indicate

that a large section of the middle class was also drawn

into the campaign. At the meetings resolutions were

passed expressing support to

communalism

pesh Gupta delivered the key-

the work done by the Kerala

note address. Quoting tell

democratic structure

ended with a moving plea for all the democratic forces, all the educationists and cultural

figures to rally round the Ke-rala Ministry in the name of

JUNE 21. 1959

June 14.

vears.

First reports from the Pun-

held throughout the brisk selling done of Kerala pamphlets and large-scale dis-tribution of handbills. The Calcutta moved with them. The Federation of Metal and Engineering Worker's Union, representing 50,000 workers passed a resolution of solidarity at its annual culmination came with a 3,000 trong public meeting. one of the largest held in the town in recent times. All over Andhra the Com-The Malayalee residents of

educationists-inc

and cultural

Meetings

rala.

Calcutta set up a broad-based committee, named Kerala Janadhipatya Samrakshana munist Party moved into action to rouse the people for amity, to mobilise support. he Samity issued a leaflet, Kerala. Comrade M. Basavapunniah distributed in thousands of copies and launched a mass signature campaign urging the Prime Minister to support

June 12 he declared: whether a Communist Gov-ernment is going to remain in one of the 14 states of India. The question rather is whether the principles of democracy are going to triumph or the reactionary forces opposed to all pro-gress and bent on using un-constitutional methods shall sed to all probe allowed to overwhelm de-

mocracy." In Vijayawada throughout Kerala Week prabhat pheris were taken out, covering the entire city, acquainting its citizens with the issues involvacquainting its ed in Kerala. Apart from street-corner meetings a special feature was the energetic literature sales drive. On June 15 a large mass

the Kerala Government and calling upon the Prime Minis-ter to prevent his followers in meeting in the city was ad-dressed among others by M. Kerala from indulging in vioong others by M. Hanumantha Rao, Editor of The highlight of the cam-Vishalandhra daily. paign was the impressive Of the meetings that took place in different towns and rural areas of Andhra mention 10.000 strong public meeting Amritsar's Golbagh on can only be made of those in Tekkali, Peddkurupadu and Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet made a powerful speech, sharply exposing the character of the Kerala Oppo-Nuzvid.

In a place by itself was the big mass meeting orga-nised in Hyderabad city on sition and its open incitement to violence. Comrade Bhu-June 16. Comrade Mahendra presiding over the meeting said that it was facts and figures he outlined

Government in the past two rest to raise their voice against the present agita-tion in Kerala. Comrade R. N. Reddy, who Iso spoke, said that the Ke-He went on to deal at length with the more fundamental issues raised by the events in Kerala. India's rala agitation had raised a fundamental question whether the Congress believed in delution was itself at stake and its very Constitution in danger of subversion. Comrade Bhupesh Gupta

sixty years. "The agitation seemed to show that the Congress believed in democracy only when and where the elections gua-

at cheap rates.

wide

sing taxes.

The State-wide hartal of April 15 roused the people all

cessary steps in this connection.

Strong

Move ment

for this conference came from the mass actions on March 18 and April 15 this year, when the State-wide demonstration took place before the Bihar le gislature and successful State-

against high prices and increa

ed various forms of mass action by the people.



democracy and progress. Sixteen Punjabi writers and haksh Singh Preet-Lari, Navtej, Sant Singh Sekhon, Professor Mohan Singh-have condemned the anti-Education Act agitation and expressed solidarity with the teachers workers of Ke-

#### Street-Corner

Typical of the work done in different areas all over the Punjab was the observance of Kerala Week in Rewari. Street-corner meetings town,

undertook an extensive tour of the East Godawary and Vizianagram districts. In a Vizianagram districts. In a the opposition parties. speech at Rajamundry on A mammoth meeting

K. L. the bounden duty of all de-mocrats in their own inte-

mocracy as genuinely as it had professed during the past

ranteed its being in power,"

he stated. Comrade Makhdoom Mohiuddin, leader of the Opposi-tion in the Andhra Legislative Council, in a brilliant speech drew sharp attention to the fact that parliamentary de-cracy itself was being impeby what the Congress nd communalists were in Kerala.

He said that while it was good that Pandit Nehru had expressed his disapproval of adopting unconstitution means to oust a constitution ally-elected government, it was not enough. The Con gress High Command, and Pandit Nehru in particular, should categorically insist that the Congress at once withdraw from the agitation in Kerala.

"If this was not done, I think it is only fair to utter the warning that the entire grave consequences that might follow would be the responsibility of the Congress High Command," said to the warm cheers of the big crow

#### Mammoth Meeting

In over 62 major towns in Tamilnad, throughout this week, meetings were held to support the Kerala Ministry against the "undemocratic campaign to overthrow it by

anagram districts. In a the opposition parties. ech at Rajamundry on A mammoth meeting was held in Madras city on Thurs-"The question today is not hether a Communist Gov-rament is going to remain held in Madras. The Kerala Minister, who spoke for over an hour, explained at length the "progressive steps taken by New Kerala under the leadership of EMS Namboodiripad" and declared that if the Communist Ministry continued in office for the full term-as it would under all hluow he cos\_\_\_it found that it enjoyed the fullest and widest support of the Kerala masses

He said the Congressmen who were afraid of the pros pect of losing the support of the masses totally were now resorting to "undemo cratic and unheard-of me thods" to oust the democratic Government set up. He said the Government i fident of winning the "pre sent battle of nerves forced on us by the sheer shortsightedness of the opposi-tion groups."

In all over 50 meetings were held in the different divisions of Madras city.

In Madurai, a huge public meeting was held, presided over by Comrade T. K. Than-gamani, M.P. The meeting unanimously passed a resolu-tion pledging full support to the Kerala Ministry in whatever measure they might take to "put down the lawless agitation started by the rank communalists and opportunists."

In Coimbatore, meeting by textil largely attended workers praised the progres r policy of the Kerala Government and called "for massive working class de-fence against the onslaughts made into the democratic rights of the Kerala people. into the democratic Meetings were held in mafor towns of Dindigal, Poola-

chi, Trichy, Vaniambadi and Tiruppur as part of the ob-servance of the Kerala Week.

#### Ciwil Lihorias Union

Sri S Krishnamurti, Gene ral Secretary of the Madras Civil Liberties Union, in the course of a Press statement issued on June 14 stated: "The Kerala agitation against the democratically-elected people's government is a challenge to the very concept of parliademocracy, the verdict of the ballot is sought to be altered there by violence and bloodshed.

"The anachronism has been let loose in Kerala should cause deep concern to 'right-thinking people, the world over .... As a positive measure of disapproval of the undemocratic agitation we should rally round in support of the pro gressive policies of the Keala Government."

In Assam the State Council of the Communist Party has called for the observance of a Kerala Fortnight from June 7 to 21. In preparation for this campaign a special amphlet has been prepared in Assamese on Kerala, high-lighting the achievements of the Ministry and the reactionary of against it. offensive launched

State Executive members have in a planned manner dispersed to the various dis-tricts for the campaign. For the first week emphasis is being laid on very intensive work-street corner meetings, door-to-door canvassing and small local meetings. Towards the end of the campaign in the third week of this month big mass rallies are planned in all the big towns in the State.

The big "Cover Assam movement was given a flying start by a many thousands strong opening rally at Gauhati, where the Party leaders who spoke urged all Party members and friends, all democrats to exert their utmost. In Uttar Pradesh Kerala

now (June 13), Kanpur (June 14) and Aligarh (June 15). Dr. Z. A. Ahmad addressed all the three rallies, apart from prominent Party leaders of the State

In these three big rallies the chief theme of all the main speeches was the grave por-tent of the Opposition's acti-vities in Kerala.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that it was not just any kind of agitation against any kind of government. It was an openly re-actionary, communal offen-sive for the violent over-throw of the only progressive government that e had yet been able to elect in India.

Therefore, it was the duty of all people who desired ordered progress and cherished democracy to call a halt to the Oppositio nin Kerala and to rally round the Communist led Ministry.

the campaign was The way and conducted in Jhansl Chandausi was quite representative. In Chandausi a very large number of streetcorner meetings were held on June 12, 13 and 14. On the last date a big public rally was held in which not only Party leaders but also Sri Munshi Lal Siddha Vaidya, one of the initiators of the national movement in the city in the early 1920s participated. In Jhansi a very representative united front of party and non-party individuals issued a joint hand-bill in support of the Kerala Ministry, which was a prelude to joint cam-paigning and meetings.

From Madhya Pradesh only report so far received is from Rajnandgaon. The Party District Committee there brought out its own booklet on Kerala in 3,000 copies, of which in t itself 700 copies were of which in the town a single day. Squad sales are still continuing

Both at Rajnandgaon and Durg town Party leaders addressed nearly 40 street-corner meetings. In addition an extensive signature campaign was launched on a petition Week was marked in the first pledging support to the Kerala place, by the meeting in Luck-Ministry.

#### FEROZ DIN MANSUR

arrested and convicted in Peshawar Conspir

After his release he join ed the band of early pio-neers who formed the first Party group in the Punjab. His worth as a journalis and namphleteer becam idely recognised. He was loved by all for

his simplicity, steadfastnes and devotion.

After the partition h continued to serve the peo-ple as a leader of the Comunist Party of Pakistan. The reactionaries conti-The rea nued to victimise him but undaunted he continu

the great fight to which he had given all his life. We dip the Red Flag in his Secretariat.

#### National Council

Communist Party of India (Next week we publish tw irs of Comrade Man rkishe Surject and Sajjad Zahir.

PAGE THIRTEEN



THE mourn the death of a very old and loved Comrade, Feroze Din Manoor. He loyally served the cause of Communism all his life. In his early youth he<sup>-</sup> joined the Khilafat 21 ement and with a group of young re volution ary Muslims went to the USSR. When he came back in early twenties he was

## AGAINST SOARING PRICES & VANISHING STOCKS

### W. BENGAL WILL OBSERVE HARTAL ON JUNE 25

#### \* From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

June 15 marks the beginning of a Statewide struggle against the food policy of the West Bengal Government. It will be followed by a complete general strike and hartal throughout the State on June 25. This decision was taken on June 11 by the Price

Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC), which consists of all left parties except the PSP, and

workers and the middle-

classes, have already soared to

Rs. 34-35 a maund. It needs no mention that, with the soaring prices of rice, those of other necessities of life too are steadily on the

increase. The Government's price control has utterly failed. It

was designed to give a long

rope to the hoarders, and they

have made mince-meat of it. Even the Statesman, which

cannot be accused of harbour-

is impossible to ensure proper distribution in the retail

"The Enforcement De-

partment is active but, it

partment is active but, it seems, only against retail-ers, judging from the type of people arrested for al-leged infringement of the Food Control Order and the

Anti-Profiteering Act....A question widely asked is: Is

the Government willing to

take action against the big

has passed into the hands of

illers and wholesalers ....

the solution obviously lies in unearthing hoarded stocks

and making them available to

About 25,000 maunds of rice

of Calcutta. This

were unearthed in the past ten days by people in different

abundantly proves that large stocks have been sent under-

It is widely believed here

that the Government knows who these hoarders are and where they have hidden their stocks. But the Gov-

ernment would not touch them as a matter of policy.

The Government makes tall

claims about the success of its modified rationing scheme, under which an adult card-holder is entitled to draw one-and-a-half seers of rice and

greater than last year.

If these brazen-faced claims were true, modified rationing would have had at least some

impact on the rice prices. But, till now, it has not been

surplus

distribution in the

merchants?

consumers.

localitie

ground

Govt.'s Tall

Claims

internal marketable

trade.

Rs 34-35 a maund.

West Bengal Kisan Sawest Bengal Kisan Sa-bha had given a call for a statewide hartal on June 15. It has now endorsed the pro-that has now endorsed the pro-that has now endorsed the pro-It has now endorsed the pro-gramme drawn up by the of the medium grades, gene-rally consumed by better-paid

PIFRC. Reports of the harrowing distress of the people in rural areas are appearing every day in the local press. - Starvation on a mass scale has begun and several starvation deaths also have occurred.

HEART-RENDING NEWS HAS JUST COME IN FROM 24-PARGANAS OF A FA-THER, PRABHUDHARI DALVI OF SANDESHKHALI POLICE STATION, HAVING KILLED BIS TWO SONS, AGED NINE AND SEVEN YEARS, BECAUSE HE COULD NOT PROCURE FOOD FOR THEM FOR EVERAL DAYS. HE HAS CONFESSED HIS "GUILT" TO THE POLICE.

The tragic trek of hungry to Calcutta in search ople to Calcutta in search food and work has started. Several thousand families of landless labourers and sharemonners from the adjoint district of 24-Parganas have already come to the city.

#### Alarming Trek

The seasonal migration from 24-Parganas at this time of the year due to acute dis-tress has become almost an tress, feature. This year annual however their number ha ready reached alarming di-

Even the 24-Parganas District Congress Commit-tee authorities estimate that the daily influx has shot up to 3,000 ('Statesman.' June 9)

Without any shelter in this city, whole families of these hapless people are huddled together on pavements, and the onset of the monsoon has added to their misery.

As regards work, one in three persons in Calis already unemployed. No wonder therefore, that these hungry people have been forced to take to begging.

The sight of peasant mo-thers, wives and daughters asking for food sends a chill shiver down one's spine—it painfully brings back to mind the nightmarish days of 1943. the past one-and-a-hal months the prices of rice have

been spiralling upwards, beyond the reach of the mass

yond the reach of the mass of people. The West Bengal Govern-ment fixed the retail prices of rice with effect from January 1, 1959, the rates for different grades varying from Rs. 17.60 to Rs. 21.60. to Rs. 21.60.

But, since the promulgation of the Price Control Order rice has never been available at the controlled rates. And, to-day, entire ocks have completely dis-

PAGE FOURTEEN

able to make the slightest dent in the rapidly worsening

situation. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister himself admitted in his Press statement of June 4 that "in spite of the supply of a large have been un quantity of rice" through the hoarder. Its

more than 100 trade unions. MARLIER in the month, the appeared from the open shops are Rs. 19.20 and Rs. 20.60. But there is plenty of gravel in both the varieties. And, more often than not, the rice is unfit for human con-

sumption. The supplies of rice to ration shops in all districts except Calcutta, 24-Parga-nas, Nadia and Murshida-

nas, Nadia and Murshida-bad have now been totally stopped. Government relief to the

distressed rural people has been negligible. It is officially stated that between April 1 and June 2 last, about 300,000 persons were employed under test relief works or received gratuitous relief. Even if this claim is accept-

cannot be accused of harbour-ing leftist sympathies or of being opposed to the Govern-ment, reported in its issue of tion of West Bengal. And the June 11: "It is universally recognised worked out at Rs. 11.3 per that without rigorous control -head per month! over wholesalers, who form A little over Rs. 31.50 lakhs the kingpin of the market, it is impossible to ensure proces

were distributed as agricultu-ral loans during the same pe-riod. But the peasants did not get the loans in time. Se-condly, the amount this year, when distress was most acute, was very much less than the sums disbursed in the corresponding periods of 1957 and 1958.

The critical turn in the food situation and mounting op-position to the Government's policy have thrown the Con-gress in jitters. The danger of further political isolation of the Congress from the people looms large before rank-and-file Congressmen. In many districts, they ... there is no doubt the the bulk of this year's people have drawn the Govern attention to the gravity of the food position. What is, howvery significant is that, ever, very significant is that, unlike in the past, some of have started voicing them their feelings in public

The 24-Parganas District Congress Committee had conducted a survey of the last paddy yield in the district The facts disclo alarming. The DCC were demanded certain Government measures, including relief, intensive Government buying of rice stocks and postponement of realisation of land revenue ement of nd rent.

But the Government, the DCC authorities complain, practically did nothing.

It is now reliably learnt that an influential section of 24-Parganas Congressmen are thinking of convening a con-ference of District Congress workers to discuss the State's

food policy. the Congress Recently, the Congress leaders of Howrah district leaders of Howrah district sent telegrams to the Chief Minister and the Food Minis-ter at Darjeeling, where all the Ministers and State Ministers had gone to avoid the gruelling heat of the plains. gruelling heat of the plains. "The rice position is hopeless. Please take immediate action before rice disappears com-pletely from the market," the telegrams stated.

#### NEW AGE

The entire responsibility for the present famine condi-tions in this State lies square-ly on the shoulders of the West Bengal Government and practices Its policy dly pro-

hoarder. Its attitude is one quantity of rice" through the ration shops "prices do not seem to have stabilised"! The prices charged for two titles of rice at the ration

In his statement of June 4, Dr. B. C. Roy made the astounding claim that the average price of ric this year was Re. 1.71 less than during the correspond-ing period in 1958. He further asserted that it was the people who were responsible for the failure of the Government's price contro measures, and ended by advising them to eat "more

It is now officially admitted that the internal deficit in rice this year amounts to 950,000 tons—the largest since 1947. It is an eloquent testito the "achievements mony to the "achievement.

#### Warnings Ignored

As early as January last, the Communist Party, Kisan Sa-bha and PIFRC had repeatwarned the Governme edly about the magnitude of the deficit this year, and had put forward concrete suggestions for tiding over the difficulties during the lean months. But the Government paid during the

no heed to them. It refused to procure in-ternally at least five lakh tons of rice directly from the isantry. It turned down the sug-

gestion to increase the levy on rice mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent of their production. And, above all, the 

hoarders were given a noniders were given of ree hand. According to a report published in the 'States-man' of June 11, it appears free

that the Union Govern-ment "feels perplexed that the food situation is taking such a turn despite the fact that it has been supplying all the wheat and rice the State Government has been

But, there is nothing to be perplexed about. The present situation has been brought about by the State Government's bungling and appease ment of hoarders. Further, the State Government has so far failed to provide the Cen-tre with a clear picture of the actual food position here.

Food Minister. It is strongly rumoured that the Centre will

Dr. Roy talks glibly about popular co-operation, but his Government has rejected all the proposals made by the Oprical assurance given in Sep tember, 1958, the Government has consistently refused to set up all-parties Food Advisory Committees up to the Union and Ward levels. Even the State Food Advisory Commit-tee has been reduced to a

farce, because not one sugges-tion coming from the Opposi-tion members on the Committee is accepted by the Government

Now that all methods of Now that all methods of warning, persuasion and ap-peal, have failed, the Opposi-tion have decided to launch a movement against the Gov-ernment's food policy.

ernment's food pointy. The immediate programme of action is as follows: — Observance of "Protest Observance of Day" on June 15 through-

out West Bengal. Protest demonstrations all over the State on June 20.

Street-corner meetings in Calcutta on June 21. strike Statewide general

and hartal on June 25. Meanwhile, meetings and demonstrations are taking place in every part of the State. Thousands of pe are participating in them. nds of people

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, M.P., has in a letter to Prime Minister, given a detail-ed picture of the grave food situation in West Bengal and has requested him to give his

has requested -attention to it. Tamrade - Jyoti Basue, Comrate Jyoti hastle, Leader of the Opposition in the State Legislature, has also asked the Governor to "immediately summon" an emergent session of the Asembly to discuss the food situation and evolve steps to solve the problems."

The Congress in Kerala has drawn up the so-called "charge-sheet" against the Communist Ministry and is out to overthrow it by any

But here, in West Bengal, is this one charge alone—the man-made famine — not enough reason for throwing the Congress Government?

Yet, the Opposition, of which the Communist Party is the leading force, have not taken recourse to unconstitutional and violent means They have only demanded certain changes in the Government's present food policy. These demands are:--

Supply of 2-1|2 seers of foodgrains, including 1-1|2 seers of good quality rice, per head in urban as well as rural areas;

2) Strict enforcement of anti-hoarding measures with the cooperation of the people and the formation of popular committees at all levels:

3) Building up of adequate buffer stocks through internal procurement and supplies from the Centre;

4) Starting of test relief works on a large scale:

5) Distribution of sufficient amounts of agricultural loans, gratuitous re-

#### CKC ANNOUNCEMENT

The meeting of the Central Kisan Council which was earlier announced for July 1 and 2 has now been due to' certain unavoidable reasons. Net dates will be announced

JUNE 21, 1959

### FOREIGN MINISTERS MUST CONTINUE PARLEYS

It has been a sad week for the West. A week of a pre-cipitous decline of prestige and a blatant display of bankrupt obduracy.

RST of all, a little earlier go on even briefly to notice the had come the remarkable faux pas by the London Times ver the er the supposed shifting of lwyn Lloyd from his Foreign Ministership. The mystery st remains as to who gave the story and why. There is even a whisper that Selwyn Lloyd himself planted the story to ensure public disavowal by Macof any intention to get rid of him.

The whole world watched with rather grim amusement that among those responsible for quite fateful decisions there should be this kind of horseplay.

As if this was not bad enough, Adenaeur decided to deliver another—and a rather heavier-blow by flatly re-pudiating his previous decision to give up the Chancellorship.

mittee

It came as a shock, above all, o his own party—the Christian Democratic Union—and to his roposed successor, Dr. Erhard. to his own party—the Christian Democratic Union—and to his proposed successor, Dr. Erhard. The latter had been negotiating in Washington and immediately openly expressed his disapproval of Adenaeur's sudden decision. In a television inter-view, he condemned the move not only as bad but also as ocratic

His anger had not evaporated when he landed in West Ger-many and declared that the many and declared that the last had not been heard of the matter. But in the end, Adenaeur's threats and bluster won day—his party reluctantly decided not to stand in his way. The old man, of course, had his dig at his prospective rival when he stated on June 13: "Herr Erhard.... does not have sufficient experience in foreign policy matters. If you give a a few brushes, a pot of paint and an easel, this does not make him an artist." (Time of FOR BERLIN

June 15) But the real reason for the entire rumpus was straight-forwardly put by the New York Times of June 7 when it commented that this conflict aros "mainly because the two do not see eye-to-eye on foreign po-licy. Dr. Erhard, for example, has been cool to the six-natio

on Market and European Com of the other European some nic integration plans advocated by Dr. Adenaeur. "Dr. Erhard is also regarded as far more

as far more willing than Dr. Adenaeur to try to negotiate with Russia on Germany's fu ture and other European prob-The Western powers and

specially their West German shock brigade, have come to a shock origade, have come to a sorry pass when even so doughty a champion of their way of life, the "miracle worker" Erhard is not re-garded as reliable enough.

It is a frightening thought that it is to a power controlled by such rigid neace-haters Adenaeur that America turned to provide the leadership in Europe. It has to be noted that quite respectable British Conservative papers have, folowing the recent incidents, run a rather sharp campaign against W. Germany

But Adenaeur's decision be understandable when we

shortly. -Bhowani Sen, Gen. Secy., AJKS.

position. Despite the

asking for."

The Union Food Secretary had been to Calcutta a few days ago for discussions with the Chief Minister and the

not allow the situation drift.



great flexibility and tenacity with which the Soviet delegates have functioned at Geneva. The West refused to untie the west refused to untie their package. They refused to consider a peace treaty with Germany; they turned down the reasonable proposal to give West Berlin the status of a free city, and openly proclaimed their intention to continue their 14-year-old occupation regime. Their game was clear-to wreck the Geneva talks and then declare that high-power negotiations were useless. Their target of attack was clearly the mmit talks. Eisenhot his press conference early in June said as much-only to draw a sharp retort from Senator Humphrey, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

Both Khrushchov and Grothat blackmail did not pay in international negotiations, while the former put the unanswera-ble case that if the Foreign Ministers did fail then the need for a Summit became even greater—the "heavyweights should come in," he said. This then is the most im-

portant single issue on which Indian opinion has to express itself. We must not silent at this concerted bid to prevent negotiations continuing at the highest level. The Government of India could make its influence felt by suitable diplomatic moves stressing the need to keep the Big Four negotiating — pres-sure on Britain would evi-dently be useful.

#### NEW SOVIET PLAN

The other more detailed issue emerging at Geneva is the lat-est Soviet plan for Berlin and

sentials of Soviet policy remain —remove the tension-point -remove the tension-r character of West Berlin; get German States to enter into closer relations and thus lay the foundation of a Europe free from the menace of German militarism and re-

INTERNATIONAL

Seeing that the Western powers were not prepared for any fundamental and radical solutions, Gromyko advanced certain proposals which can aptly be called a minimum programme for European security today.

First, the West Berlin scheme. He agreed that the city might be accorded a temporary status for a year. This mporary the fact status would include that there would be no full abolition of the occupation regime, to which the Western bloc so dearly clings.

But the number of Western troops should be reduced to token contingents, hostile proreduced to paganda against the German Democratic Republi c and other socialist countries should discontinue and espionage isations should In addition no rock or atomi installations should be set up in West Berlin.

This temporary status should be supervised by the Big Four and the German Democratic Republic, on whose territory the city is situated. The whole agreement could be registered with the United Nations and the Big Four could act as a supervisory body to see that it was being implemented.

This proposal manifested the essence of compromise. The West should be more than satisfied with the recognition of their rights (by conquest) of occupation, while at the same time-without becoming a free city-the danger of a world conflagration being ignited at the Brandenburg Gate is made much less.

Together with this new attempt at conciliation. Gromyke advanced certain very simpli-suggestions for a break in the stalemate over the larger German question. He placed for sion the idea of setti dism up an all-German Committee of representatives of the German Germany. In this plan, the es- Democratic Republic and the



onstration in Bambure (West Germany) held on May 9, 1959 demanding perceful problem. German



Adenauer-the Hitler of today.

Federal Republic of Germany on a parity basis.

The job of the Committee would be to promote the ex-pansion and development of contacts between the two States, as well as to draft and discuss specific measures aiding German reunification and a German peace treaty.

Further, if such a committee was unacceptable to either of the German States, they might devise other mutually acceptable for ms of able forms of cooperation. A one-year term is stipulated here also.

In this, too, we have principle of compromise at work. The basic principles are retained-the essence solution to the German problem is to recognise the reality of two German States and the need for them to mence some sort of fruitful dialogue.

At the same time, since the West will not accept the terms of the Soviet draft for a German peace treaty, let it at least agree to the two German States being allowed to make an attempt

To this latest Soviet move, all the Western delegates could do was to shout that Gromyko had advanced another this time of 12 months duration. And simultaneously they de-clared that they wanted the West Berlin occupation regime to end but only after Germany was united!

This is really to stand things on their head. It is precisely through a solution of the Berlin question, through mutual give and-take between the two Ger man States that German unity will finally be attained. To refuse to see this and insist sitting tight, till out of the blu German unity descends on a grateful world is only to be mad with a method

No wonder that against this Western stand, especially the bellicose postures of their own Government a big movement is developing, in the first place, in West Germany. It is this move-ment that will in the end remove Adenaeur from Chancel lorship and impel the West German Government to accept the outstretched hand from the

-1. 8.

June 16.

### ECONOMY

#### **\* FROM PAGE 2**

inessmen or public men" The chairman and the managing directors should be whole-time officers of the company, while other direc-tors should be drawn from among its senior executives and wherever possible from the ranks of labour.

The membership of boards. in its view, should nor should it comprise of people drawn from public life, "who will not work in the concerns and might even have considerable other and even rival interests".

In other words no indus trialist, unless he severs all connections with his existing business, should be given nland in manag nent, noi ould any public me n, including members of Parlia-ment, be considered for ap-pointment on the board of rectors.

In prescribing these "don'ts" the Sub-Committee has surely done yeoman ser-vice. But its recommendations in this respect cannot have more than a symbolic significance. For, the of big business being what it is, it is not difficult for it to present a good array of its proteges without any apparent connections with their patrons. Nor will there be dearth of "representatives" of Jah ur who will be more prone to serve the interests of the employers rather than of the workers:

Here again what matters is not the formal composition of the boards of management but the spirit of service, and the fidelity to national intethe fidelity to national inte-rests, imbuing their leading personnel. In this along with the laying down of qualifications, and seeking of individuals to meet them, what is needed is a consistent and progressive drive to clip the wings of private interests to prevent them from influencing the working of public enterprise ESSEN

## CONFUSION REIGNS IN KERALA CONGRESS AS PEOPLE RALLY IN GROWING SUPPORT OF GOVT.

### + FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT RAMDASS

#### TRIVANDRUM, June 17.

The second blow fell on the The second blow her of De-leaders of the agitation on De-liverance Day they had called. The Joint Action Committee of

Congress, PSP and Muslim League had called for the ob-servance of the day with hartal and strikes the Astronomical

and strikes, the Action Council of Mannam & Co. endorsed this call, and the INTUC had called

But, for all those who had expected to find life paralysed on that day in Kerala, it was

Especially so for some of the

had hoped to see even street

fights and had been ready with their movie cameras and tape recorders.

Chief Minister Namboodiri-

pad succinctly summed up the Day when he said, if by hartal

is meant closing down of shops, it was partially successful. But

if by hartal is meant bringing

of life to a standstill, it was a

private buses were running. All newspapers appeared as usual

the next day. No factory was closed in Trivandrum; in Qui-

lon it was the factory-owners

who locked out their establishments and the workers organ-

ised a mammoth demonstration

to protest against it. In Ernakulam, factories open-ed and worked, including those, where the workers are in the INTUC union. Only Port Car-on Workers, work, not working

go Workers were not working -because here it was a closed shop union ard the INTUC lea-dership did not give token to the workers when they report-

In Trichur, even INTUC workers of the Sitaram Mills reported for duty. The entire estate belt was working. In Malabar, except for hand-loom and tile factories which were closed by the owners, the rest were operating normally. Even in the closure of shops, the bartel organisers were only

the hartal organisers were only

partially successful. All pres-

sure had been brought on the shopowners, including refusal of overdrafts from bank if they

did not close. In many places, shops which were opened had

to be closed when violence was

But in many places, Muslim shops, for instance, which us-ually remain closed on Fridays

opened on this Friday. It was their defiance of the hartal call.

There were plenty of similar instances of opening of shops

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Workers were not working

even INTUC

to protest against it.

ed for work.

threatened.

In Trichur,

go.

Transport was normal,

foreign correspondents

disappointment.

nho

-all

on the workers to strike.

a thorough

DISMAL

FAILURE

dismal failure.

With the fiasco, of the hartal and the "Deliverance Day" on June 12 and the school closure campaign in three districts of Malabar on June 11 and in Trivandrum District districts of Malabar on June 11 and in Trivandrum District on June 15, with total lack of people's enthusiasm for pick-eting of Government offices and with the statement of Sri Indira Gandhi that the Congress High Command had nor given permission for direct action in Kerala and the State Governor Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao condemning violence that has been generated, the front of struggle of the op-position parties and communal reaction can be said to have landed itself in a state of disarray after their much-trummeted declaration of paralusing education and adtrumpeted declaration of paralysing education and administration in the State as a first step in throwing out the Communist-led Government.

was 60 to 75 per cent, which LAST week I had written of the successive defeats of communal reaction since it beis about normal. gan its agitation at the begin-ning of April and how it was ning of April and how it was the Congress that had provided the crutches when communal agitation had no legs to stand upon. When schools reopened, the flasco of the anti-Govern-ment editation was not to an ment agitation was only too apparent.

Schools reopened in the three districts of Malabar area on June 11. The Malabar Private June 11. The Malabar Private School Managers' Association had threatened that on that day three thousand schools in that area would remain closed.

But on the morning of June 11, the actual position was that only 75 schools re-mained closed out of 3,945 schools in the area. Even some schools which had given notice of closure to the Government opened that day.

Most of the schools that were closed were those run by Ca-tholic managements. One clo-sed school was that of the Consea school was that of the Con-gress Member of Parliament, Jinachandran. Another school that closed was of PSP member of Parliament, Dr. K. B. Menon in Trittala. This latter school in ITITIAIA. INIS latter school reopened after two days, the management obviously deciding that discretion was the better part of valour.

Picketing was resorted to only in one or two cases and the picketeers returned crestfallen when the students walked into classes and the guardians, managements and teachers ex-pressed their determination to keep the education of children going.

In one or two places, guardians, teachers and others who had formed into broad Defend - Education-Committees immediately opened new schools and sought recognition from the Government. In Palghat District, for in-stance, students and teachers gathered before the school and after an hour when the the Government. management still refused to open the school, marched to a nearby shed-originally constructed to house a rice-mill

structed to house a rice-mill —and began a new school. If this was the fiasco the school-closers faced in the three districts of Malabar, their fate was no different when the schools reopened in Trivan-drum District on June 15. Of a total number of 725 schools drum District on June 15. Of a total number of 725 schools in the District, 503 are depart-mentally run and 222 private. Only 98 schools remained closed.

Average attendance, despite all the campaign appealing , to parents not to send their children to schools, even threatening that they would not be safe, and working of factories by people who owe allegiance to the organisations or parties that called for hartal.

And on the evening of the "Deliverance Day," demon-strations and meetings were organised which paled into insignificance before the mo-bilisation of the Communist Party before and after the dav.

The Communist Party, true to its declaration that it wanted to avoid all clashes, called off all meetings and demonstrations which had been scheduled for that day and there was hardly any incident.

Both ways the organisers of the hartal failed. If their aim Both ways the organisers of the hartal failed. If their aim was to show their strength, all that came out on the day was their weakness and isolation from the people. If their aim was to create clashes and throw the blame on the Communists, did not have a chance to do it

The next item on the agi-tationists' agenda was the picketing of Government offpicketing of Government of ices. This perhaps has been the biggest fasco so far. A handful of satyagrahis, fol-lowed by a few leaders of the lowed by a few tealers of the Opposition parties, march to the offices and are arrested. The Opposition has not been able to muster any sizeable crowds anywhere even to watch the satyagraha.

If picketing was meant to take the whole struggle to a higher plane, the actual result has been the spread of demora-lisation in the camp of struggle itself.

Not only were people totally absent from the scene, even in their own camp there was utter confusion. In Kozhikode, the District Congress Committee postponed the commencement of picketing and on June 13, satyagrahis consisted of only PSP volunteers. There was no coordination of action. In Kot-tayam District, picketing began on the "Deliverance Day" it-self; some other places it be-gan the next day and in still other places on the 15th." Any observer of the scene could see the utter confusion that prevailed, the leaders of the struggle did not seem to know what was going on or what they should do. If they Not only were people totally

know what was going on or what they should do. If they had looked around, as some of them must have, they would have seen their plan was miswould have seen their plan was the firing. They must have real-ised what the mass of people had already begun to see—that had already begun to see that the struggle was not gaining strength as these leaders expected.

pected. The Catholic Church, obvi-ously was most worried over what was happening. If the downward trend was allowed to continue; there would not be any struggle in a few days. And that was why they provoked the three firings. Even after provoking the

the three nrings. Even after provoking the firings, they have not succeed-in what they aimed at—rousing the anger of the people against the Government. The firing in Ankamali took

place in the night of 13th. On-14th, the unprecedented hap-14th, the unprecedented hap-pened here in Kerala. Barely 20 hours after a police firing, the ruling Party was holding meetings and demonstrations all over the State. Which other ruling party has dared

NEW AGE

confident of people's backing?

duby

And they were no ordinary meetings and demonstrations. They were the high watermark of the Communist Party's political campaign. The Agrarian Relations Bill was adopted by the Assembly on June 10 and the Party gave a call for ob-servance of the 14th to congratulate the Government for passing the Bill.

And from one end of Kerala And from one end of Kerala to another, from Parassala to Kasergode, the people rallied to the Party as never before! In Cannanore, a two-mile long procession marched to end in a mammoth rally Kien lea-

in a mammoth rally. Kisan lea-ders who had marched 10 and 12 miles, beamed with pleasure and their clenched fists were an expression of their firm determination when they should-"We will defend this Government which has passed the Land Bill," "It is a Government whose future has been guaranteed by the Kerala people.'

#### GRAND RALLY

In Kozhikode, the procession in Koznikode, the procession was 10,000 strong, 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> times that of the "Deliverance Day" de-monstration. The whole demon-

stration and numberless people stration and numberiess people watching were thrilled when two Sikhs standing nearby could not stay still any longer and joined it shouting slogans in their own language. In Palghat, the demonstration

was 10,000 strong and the rally 30,000. On "Deliverance Day," the opposition had been able to put on the streets just about 300 people and collect an audience of 2500. The spontaneous support from the people to the Government can be seen when it is mentioned the Party itself had expected only a 3, strong demonstration and 3,000 rally of 10,000.

In Quilon, the rally addres-In Quiton, the faity darks sed by Kerala Secretary of the Party, Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair was the big-gest in the town and in Changanachetry; Mannath Padmanabhan's so-called forruamanaoun's so-cauea for-tress, the demonstration and rally on the 14th overshadow-ed any demonstration which Mannam himself had been able to hold there.

The two firings in Trivan-drum suburbs took place on the 15th. Again as no Chief Min-ister of any State has been able to do, Chief Minister Nambuodiripad addressed one of the biggest rallies in the city the next day.

It is an indication of peo ple's mood. Instead of the people becoming angry and condemning the Government, as those who provoked the firings had thought, there were the people rallying in tens of thousands to the ruling party's meetings really inspired in their support to the Government.

It was a desperate Panampilly Govinda Menon who raved at Ankamali protest meeting and threatened the officers that they would have to account for their action when the Communists who were vagabonds yesterday again become vagabonds tomorrow. On behalf of himself and the struggle committee he for-

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to do this, which ruling party mally warned the officials, "If can dare do this if it is not you open fire at us today, we you open fire at us today, we will have our revenge to-

morrow. This is the extent of their This is the extent of the desperation and when the state-ment of Smt. Indira Gandhi and Governor Ramakrishna Rao came in this background, the agitators were feeling the agitators ground slipping away irom them

Governor , categorically The Governor categorically said, "These incidents may or may not have any connection with the agitations that have been launched by the Church authorities and other organisations. But the happenings at Ankamali yesterday contain a warning to all those who are concerned with the agitations. It has now become clear that even peaceful picketings can, lead to acts of violence and result in the destruction of public and private property loss of life." and

The wrath of the unholy alliance that conducts the Kerala struggle at this state-ment could be seen in Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai's speech ration than rules speech at a public meeting in Tri-vandrum. Throwing all de-cencies to the winds, he ask-ed the Governor, "What right have you to issue such a statement?" And he added, statement?" And he added, "If the Chief Minister, or the Centre or Krishna Menon or Centre or Kristina intent of even Nehru says that the agi-tation can only be through accepted constitutional chan-nels, then the people of Ke-rala will not accept it."

Their plight has become still worse when Smt. Indira Gansaid to pressmen in New Delhi that the Kerala Congress did not have permission of the Congress High Command to launch direct action. She had to admit that the High Command had telegraphically asked the KPCC President Shankar, not to begin the direct action, but reply to this came from Chacko saying that direct action had begun and that Sri Dhebar at Ootacamund had given permission for it.

There was confusion in Conrnere was confusion in Con-gress circles here—despite the fact that the Congress press it-self had blacked out the state-ment of the Congress President. The feeling is growing that the Congress will somehow try to get into the background and a get into the background and a realignment of forces is likely to take place, which will bring into the forefront a PSP-RSP-Church-Mannam combine.

#### STILL FOR CENTRAL INTERVENTION

All the more has it become necessary for the Congress and anti-Government forces of Kerala to get Central intervention. now. Their attempts now are to show that the Communists have indulged in violence and are indulging in violence are induliging a against opposition parties and their men, though it can be confidently asserted that not a single instance can be produced which they will be able to substantiate.

The danger of Central inter The danger of Central inter-vention remains—all the more so today when what they thought would be a short and swift struggle has failed to pro-duce the dividends they expec-ted tart