

#### From RAMDASS

#### TRIVANDRUM, July 15.

An important session of the National Council of the Communist Party of India opened in Trivandrum on July 13, with 84 members of the Council and members of the Kerala State Committee attending. Talking to the National Council members as they arrived ing to the National Council members as they arrived from their respective States one was struck by aware-ness of the importance of problems facing this ses-sion of the Council. It was this seriousness of the situa-tion which, despite short notice, brought from all parts of India such a large number of Council mem-bers to this southern-most end of the country.

A LL the eight members of as are all leaders from all States. The gravity of the situation was underlined by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, with whose report the Council session began. Since its for-mation said Comrade Ghosh mation, said Comrade Ghosh, the Communist-led govern-ment in Kerala which signified a breach in Congress monopoly of power, has given a powerful impetus to democratic movement all over the country and big prospects have opened out before the people.

Reactionary forces in Ke-rala, backed by moral and political support of a section of the Congress High Comof the Congress High Com-mand have, right from the be-ginning, striven to overthrow this government. What is being witnessed today in Kerala is the most powerful, concert-ed offensive so far against the Kerala government. Some specific features of the pre-sent offensive are—

That it is being launched at a time when the min-istry's mass base is firm and stronger, when the implemen-tation of several important measures, specially the Agra-rian Relations Bill, is on agenda;

That the movement is spearheaded by commu-forces—the Catholic M That nal nal forces-the Catholic Church and the leadership of the NSS-in order to work up mass hysteria to provide mass participation which earlier struggles lacked; That the movement is not on any specific de-mand but on the general slo-ren of overthrow of the min-

gan of overthrow of the min-istry, with the declared tactics

of paralysing the administra-tion so that Central intervention becomes possible, with the struggle taking the form of school picketing, stopping of transport vehicles, picket-ing of government offices, violent actions etc.;

 That the present move-ment has the open back-ing and the active support of the Congress High Command. But the one month that has elapsed now has shown that the Communist Party and its government have uptil now met the challenge effectively and defeated the moves of the Opposition.

It is also to be noted that It is also to be noted that powerful factors which are growing have operated in favour of the Kerala govern-ment. The Congress leader-ship hoped that Kerala would become an issue of Commun-ists versus non-Communists on the national scale, that the Communist Party would be isolated. isolated.

But public opinion saw it as an issue of defence of democracy, upholding of Constitution, opposition to communalism. defence of education, right of equal treatement to non-Congress ministry and defence of a government which was car-rying out democratic re-forms against threat of overthrow by reaction.

#### **Biggest-Ever** All-India Support

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The campaign in defence of Kerala and against the threat of Central intervention developed into the biggest campaign in the recent pe-

riod. This was a deep dilem-ma which faced the enemies of the Kerala government. ma which faced the enemies of the Keräla · government. The slogan of the overthrow of the ministry as the only slogan prevented gathering of mass support outside the State.

All these years Congress leaders themselves had prea-Congress ched that children should not ched that children should not be made pawns in the politi-cal game, that communalism and communal alliances were abhorrent, that the verdict abhorrent, that the verdict of the ballot box must be respected.

But in Kerala they them-But in Kerala they them-selves were doing all this, and that led to their political and moral isolation. There was the biggest mobilisation against Congress policies in Kerala and the High Command's role; never since independen-ce had the Congress High ce had the Congress High Command and Pandit Nehru been subjected to such sharp criticism. Against their ex-pectations of a country-wide pectations of a country-wide united front against the Com-munist Party what happened was just the opposite. The Kerala government won positive support from the work-ing class, the peasantry and big sections of the middle class from

sections of the middle class from all over the country. Democra-tic-minded elements, many of whom were no supporters of the Communist Party nevertheless sharply criticised Congress alliance with communalism, the school closure move and the un-constitutional actions to throw out the Ministry. Important cir-cles of the bourgeoisie even, who have always been hostile Communist Party criticised Congress action in creating a "dangerous precedent" which would imperil parliamentary democracy.

Not merely the tactics and slogans of the Opposition but also the positive measures taken by the Kerala govern-ment contributed enormously to discredit the Opposition to discreate the opposition and enhance the government's prestige, isolate the Congress politically and morally and to defeat till now the threat of Central intervention.

Non-resort to Preventive Detention Act and large-scale im-position of Section 144, etc., readiness to go to the utmost

ossible limits to settle controversial issues amicably like ac-ceptance of reasonable proposals made by the Prime Minister made by the Prime Minister after his visit to Kerala, etc., won respect of whole country. Plans of short and swift strugcountry. gle did not materialise. On the contrary the struggle suffered serious reverses. Out of seven thousand schools over 6,000 are functioning normally with in-creasing attendance, attacks on schools in the struggle and abuses have created revulsion among the people, active mass participation in the struggle is on the down grade.

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#### Against Mid-Term Elections

Defeated in the attempt to paralyse the administration and effect swift Central intervention, faced with growing volume of criticism all over the country, now the slogan of fresh elections has been given. But this slogan has deceived no one, it has been seen through as a democratic garb to an undemocratic de-mand for resignation.

The Communist Party opposed this slogan because

1. though apparently demo-mocratic it is patently disundemocratic; therefore

a ministry which has a majority in the legislature 2. must be allowed time to implement its programme—two years' are too short a period to do that and enable people to judge the ministry there;

3. if the party which told the people that it would ensure stable government, voluntarily quits, vast sections would feel that voting for the Communist Party was of no use because whenever the Opposition created enough trouble and the Centre backed them, the Communists would quit. The crisis that has developed

in Kerala shows the length to which the ruling class will go when its monopoly of power is breached in even one State and when the consolidation of the position of the democratic ministry led by the Party of the working class created the dan-ger of further weakening of that monopoly elsewhere. Kerala has shown that the ruling classes in India despite all talk of non-violence and constitutionalism are prepared to adopt any and every measure in order to throw out the Communist-led Mini-

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stry. The Kerala crisis has at the volume same time shown the volume of democratic opinion inside the country which, if harnessed and given expression to on the basis of correct slogans and approach, on the basis of mass mobilisation and mass action, can weaken the offenaction, can weaken the offen-sive of reaction and even de-feat it, if the Party and the democratic forces are suffi-ciently powerful, conscious and organised. The defence of the govern-ment of Kerala, concluded Com-rade Ghosh, means today the defence of the biggest achieve-ment of the democratic move-ment of the democratic move-

ment since the attainment of in-dependence; defence of working class, peasants and toiling peo class, peasants and toiling peo-ple against vested interests; defence of democracy against onslaught of reaction; defence of provincial autonomy against at-tacks of the Centre; defence of the Constitution and of funda-mental withte of citizen of mental rights of citizens of every State of India to vote for and elect a government of their own choice.

After Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's report, Comrade E.M.S. Nam-boodiripad reported on the im-pressions of talks he had had with the Rashtrapati, the Prime Minister and the Central Cabi-net minister net ministers.

Comrade Achutha Menon then \* SEE PAGE 4

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Braving heavy downpour people rally in Calcutta to hear Comrade Dange on Kerala (Report on Page 3)

-Photo Shambhu Banerjee



PRESS COMMENTS ON KERALA

# **NEHRU'S APPROACH RIDDLED** WITH CONTRADICTIONS

riddled with contradictions. He admits that 'this kind of trying to decide matters had' and yet he seeks to and soul. justify the agitation. He concedes that the system of recall will make for political instability under In-dian conditions and yet out how far they can be fails to see that what is substantiated? true of recall of legislators true of recall of legislators "The situation in Kerala is also true of campaigns to is far too explosive to permit force the resignation of a ministry which continues shilly-shallying. Mr. Nehru's disclosure that the Union the legislature to which it is responsible. is responsible.

"He argues that the Congress has been allowed to join the agitation to keep it peaceful and also ruefully admits that many Congress men, ignoring the party's directives, continue to picket schools. He agrees that it is improper normally to submit a charge-sheet against a State Government to the President and vet justifies it in the case of Kerala on the July 9).

WEVEN now Mr. Nehru's rather queer ground that 'it can be used even to upset the whole approach is is vaguely hanging in the air verdict of the polls, that dis-riddled with contradictions. in Parliament still.' There satisfied elements need not are ever so many things wait for the next election for mits that this kind of hanging in the air but that to decide matters does not mean that they verge on violence is should be all given a body realization of their politica objectives." (Statesman, Potical Commentary, July 8).

> In any case if there are specific charges, why has the "In any case if there Union Government done no-

> of further ambiguity and rala situation shows how impervious it has been to the gravity of the problem. Is it difficult for it to see that the agitation in Kerala is having far-reaching repercus-sions in the rest of the country and that the longer the present uncertainty lasts the more dangerous these reper-cussions will be?...."

### MUDDLED AND FOOLISH **CONGRESS** ACTIONS

TITHE balance of advan-tage does not even now lie with the Congress whose actions in recent whose actions in recent weeks have been both mudweeks have been both mud-dled and foolish. It would voice in the state's affairs. appear that the party's Props provided by Delhi can leadership in Delhi did not do it no good. see, in proper perspective happening in Kerala, and some in key positions misled themselve despite disclaimers such as of Mr. Dhebar's ....

".... there must be a cessation of talk such as that in-dulged in by some Congress-men in Kerala that if the also created forces which may mists obtain a maiority again a similar offensive would be mounted against them

gressmen as well as others in the Opposition in Kerala conothers in

for some time until one or the other side yields. "The propriety of the pre-sent attitude of the Congress (Times of India, Editorial, High Command has already been widely questioned throughout the country, and no amount of arguing that the Congress association with the agitation is intended to keep extremists under check will convince those who have been critical that Mr. Nehru and his Party are doing the

itself it rala rehabilitates

"Furthermore, it has to be realized that should there be posi- fresh elections in Kerala, the s and Congress will start the camtions misled themselves and congress will state the description of the paign as a party almost des-tined to be in a minority. It will have to fight the elec-tions in partnership with the other Opposition parties and would, therefore, not be able to set up candidates in all

well prove dangerous to de mocratic progress. Directly and indirectly, the Congress, which governs all over India Board of the Samyukta Ma-harashtra Samiti has played no mean part in bringing about this change among the "It would be better if Con- save in one State, has accepted that agitation has a place in constitutional life, that it

NEW AGE

heart-

# Engineering Workers FIRST ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE

The first National Conference of the engineering workers of India was held at Ranji Stadium in Cal-cutta on July 10, 11 and 12. Comrade S. A. Dange, MP, presided.

BESIDES several hundred Engineering Trade Union In-Reception Committee ternational of the WFTU, who membèrs, 950 delegates, a came here specially for the arge number of whom metallurgical workers, particinated in the Conference. Over 100 of these delegates had come from Bihar, An-dhra, Tamilnad, Mysore, Bombay, UP and Punjab.

elcoming the delegates guests, Comrade Ranen MLA, Vice-President of and guests, the ATTUC said that it was in the fitness of things that the first National Conference of the engineering workers was being held in Calcutta, which was the centre not only of industrialised West Bengal but of the whole of eastern India. Pointing out that the

employers in the engineering industry were minting millions, Comrade Sen said that the minimum wages, including DA, still stood at workers, is the establishment of a Wage Board for determining proper job-evaluation and classifica-tion of workers", he observ-

n Poli

POSITION

**REMAINS UGLY** 

HE position remains

ugly, despite Mr. Nehru's views on the type of agitation he disfavours. The absurdity of the Oppositions'

'chargesheet' against the Ke-

rala Ministry is admitted by the Prime Minister, as also

the impropriety of picketing

schools and transport ser-vices. Nevertheless he is in favour of some sort of agita-tion with the unconcealed ob-

jective of forcing Mr. Nam-boodiripad to agree to a General Election. A dead-

lock is, therefore, inevitable

right thing. .... (Tribune, Editorial, July 8).

Calculations

**Completely Upset** 

**WON** the Kerala front,

confusion in the Congress ranks. The High Com-

mand's calculations have

been completely upset. The

tempo for 'quick action' to

oust the Communist Minis-

try has suddenly died

"Behind this lies the story

of stormy exchanges between the top leaders of the Con-

leading to

"The Central Parliamentary

gress, leading to heat searching and re-thinking.

down.

there is chaos and

Brother Jean Marrillier, Secretary of the Metal and

power-ridden men of the ruling party. The Samiti's re-solution demanding the re-signation of the 'Bombay Cabinet and declaring its resolve to take further action to uphold the right of the people to unseat the State Government has put some fear in the minds of the Congressmen. "This was soon followed up

by the Communist Party in West Bengal which came forward with a lengthy 'charge-sheet' against the State Chief Minister.

"These developments set the erstwhile excited Congress High Command thinking. Its well wishers said that there was the other side of the picture too that 'charge-sheet-ing' was not the monopoly of the congress opposition alone. "....The draft of the 'charge-sheet' brought to Delhi by Sri R. Sankar underwent many changes at the hands of Sri Dhebar, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sri Sadiq Ali, the 'trio' in shaping the Kerala strategy. What is most surprising, the 'charge-sheet' began to be called 'memorandum' and later the memorandum came to be called 'petition' till at last the document went as just a letter to

fore Sri Sankar actually met the President. "So was enacted the Kerala drama by the President of the KPCC, in New Delhi. He returned to Trivandrum rather a sad man. He thought he would be going with the proclamation of the President's rule in his State, but he was told that the High Command—at least the wisest of them-were not prepared to be misled once

the President-24 hours be-

July 13).

occasion, inaugurated the Conference. He said that the metal workers had a vital role to play in the world-wide struggle of the working class against the capitalists. Although India had won Although India had won freedom, he observed, the struggle of the Indian workers had not ended—it had only entered a new phase. He hoped that the formation of a national organisa-tion would enable the Indian engineering workers to achieve important successes' in their struggle. Comrade M. Elias, MP, con-

venor of the Preparatory Committee, presented the main report. It dealt with the progress of the engineer-ing industry and strongly criticised the policy of the Government in relation to this only Rs. 75- per month. industry and the workers "The single outstanding de-mand of the Engineering the establishment of a Wage the establishment of a Wage Board and suggested tenta-tive grades and scales of pay for different categories of

Fraternal delegates from the Soviet Union could not attend the Conference be-cause they did not get visas. On the second day of the Conference, Comrade Dange delivered his presidential address, lasting for nearly three hours. Pointing out that

the progress made so far by the engineering industry in our country was a matter of national pride, he said that the policies of the Government and the employers stood in the way of full develop-ment of the industry.

He said that the Government and employers were sur-rendering before the foreign capitalists in the name of cooperation with them. But basic industries our could never become wholly inde-pendent with the help of these capitalists, because they would always retain their monopoly over some proprietory items.

The socialist countries, on the other hand, were ready to give us selfless help for our economic development, Comrade Dange pointed out. But, under pressure from for-eign capitalists and a section of Indian capitalists, the Government, was unwilling to take full advantage of this offer.

On the third and concluding day, the Conference set up a National Federation of the Engineering Workers of India.

The constitution, which was adopted by the Conference, provides for an Executive Committee of 51 members, of whom 33 were elected. remaining vacancies will be filled later on. Comrade S. A. Dange and M. Elias were elected President and General Secretary respectively of the newly-for med Federation

The newly-formed Executive Committee, which met after the Conference, fixed again by the advice of the after the Conference, fixed Kerala Congressmen". (Free August 21 as the "All-India Press Journal, Delhi Diary, Demands Day" for engineering workers.

# CALCUTTA AGAIN RAISES ITS MIGHTY VOICE FOR KERALA

#### 🛓 From Jnan Bikash Moitra

The week that has just passed has been packed with big events. Calcutta has swung into action aga-inst the threat of Central intervention in Kerala. Congress leaders and rulers at the Centre would do well to take note of the writing on the wall and keep their hands off Kerala.

ANDIT NEHRU might des- fence of the Kerala Governcribe Calcutta as a "dere-" city or choose any other Stretching for a distance of lict" city or choose any other epithet he pleases; but it is the city where men and women have laid down their lives in defence of the democratic cause under both British and Congress regimes Only three years ago, Cal-cutta stood in the forefront the people. of a historic struggle that foiled the conspiracy of the Congress rulers to merge West Bengal into Bihar and thus jeopardise the very existence of the Bengali peo-

ple and its distinctive culture. Can one expect such a city to tolerate the Congress High Command's attempt to butcher democracy and parliamentary institutions

in its narrow nartisan in-With Calcutta marching at the head, other parts of West Bengal have also begun to fall

in line Two memorable events last week, without a shadow dow of doubt, gave a glimpse of the mass temper, an indi-cation of the depth of popu-lar indignation against the double-faced resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board on Kerala and the Congress High Command's plot to clamp down President's rule on that State.

Calcutta sprang into life on the afternoon of July 7, when a demonstration of over 10,000 men and women, organised by the Calcutta District Council of the Communist Party, shook the streets.

The whole area along the route resounded with slogans: "Down with the Congress-League-NSS-a alliance in PSP-Muslim PSP-Muslim League-NS Catholic church alliance Kerala", "Defeat the cons racy for Central intervention' "Foil the attempt to oust the Kerala Government by mur-dering the Constitution", "People of India—rally in de-

The second implication of the resolution, he continued. was that a Ministry could be removed if the Congress Par-

tive effect".



Mass demonstration in Calcutta on July 7 in defence of the Kerala government.

JULY 19, 1959

over two miles, the demons-tration was the biggest in recent years. The occasion for the demonstration. its massive size and militant temper created a deep impression on

Immediately before it moved out on the streets, a brief meeting was held with Comrade Ganesh Ghose, MLA, as the Chairman while Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, MP, address-ed it. The meeting adopted a resolution which strongly gress Par liamentary Board's resolution and pointed out that the Board's attitude "is provocative and has helped to accentuate lawlessness and uncon-stitutional activities in Ke-

condemned the Cor

gress High Command.

rala".

At a Press Conference ear-At a Press Conference ear-lier in the day, Comrade S. A. Dange, MP, who had come here in connection with the First National Conference of the Engineering Workers' of India, lashed out at the Con-

He said that the Congress Parliamentary Board had en-unciated new principles of democracy. So long, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister had been telling them in Parliament that hartal. strike. satvagraha. etc., were out of place after inde-

Now such direct action had been thoroughly justified by the Parliamentary Board's re-solution, he observed. "I solution, he observed. "I congratulate the Board", he further remarked, "on this new interpretation of demo-cracy which justified every-thing we did in the past as constitutional with retrospecliamentary Board could be convinced of the necessity for such removal.

resolution also implied The that the opinion of the Pre-sident of the Congress, its General Secretary and the Prime Minister was quite an adequate standard to measure a Ministry's loss of popularity, though this was provided for in the Cons not

If the subconscious minds of these three gentlemen once came to the conclu-sion that a Ministry had lost its popular backing, the removal of the Minis-try would be perfectly con-stitutional and justified, Comrade Dange observed Comrade Dange observed sarcastically. Such subcon-scious conclusions could, of course, be substantiated by burning of a few buses!

Nailing down Pandit Nehru's claim that there was a "peo-ple's upsurge" in Kerala, ple's upsurge" in Kerala, Dange pointed out that if sending 10,000 people to jail, a strike and hartal and burn-ing a few buses were the in-gredients of a "people's upsurge", the Communists were prepared to show such an up-surge in every State in the

Asked why the Communists did not accept Pandit Nehru's suggestion for fresh elections, Comrade Dange retorted: Why should we submit ourselves to a special treatment simply because we are Communists

#### Unique Mass Rally

A call was given by the Communist Party for a mass rally on July 9, in defence of the Kerala Government, where Comrade Dange was the main speaker. But, from early morning it

rained almost incessantly. The sky was overcast with dark clouds. With slush and pools of water all over, the Maidan, the venue of the meeting, wore a dismal ape. The rain, however shortly before the earance stopped shortly before the scheduled time, and people began to trickle into the Within an hour, the

hambhu Banerjee. NEW AGE



Comrade Dange addressing the rally in Calcutta on July 9

and uniqueness of its own. A few minutes after Comrade Dange had risen to speak, a drizzle started which soon developed into a sharp shower. lights went out; the temporarily failed; the The people were literally soaked to their bones. Yet, not one son stirred from the meet-

And, Comrade Dange too was perhaps, at his best. In a masterly speech, which will be long remembered here for its devastating sarcasm, sharp home-thrusts and superb presentation, he tore to pie the mask of democracy donned by the Congress High Command and Prime Minis ter Nehru. It seemed as if he was impeaching the Con-gress leaders before the highest court of justice-the peo-

And the neonle too gave their verdict in no uncer tain terms. They listened to this sneech, lasting over with rapt an hour, with rapt atten-tion. It was difficult to escape the impression that the meeting had undergone a metamorphosis—the an-dience, burning with indignation at the Congress conspiracy, and the speaker, echoing their innermost thoughts, had merged into one single entity.

Addressing the rally, Com-rade Dange said that a Hindu follows the Vedas, a Christian the Bible, a Muslim the Ko-ran—and a Ministry must follow the Congress! That was what Pandit Nehru wanted.

He observed that Sri Asoka Mehta had spoken the truth once in his life when he said that if the Communist-led Ministry was allowed to con-tinue, the Opposition would never be able to come back to the government in the next elections.

Mentioning the measures adopted by the Kerala Government in the interests of all-powerful force called the different sections of people "people", and it was this force of the State, he said that if that had put the Commuthe State Government was allowed to run the adminis-

gathering had swelled to tration for the full term of several thousands. five years, it would introduce The rally had a grandeur more of such measures. And five years, it would introduce more of such measures. And the result would be that more neonle would vote for it in the next elections. Panicky at this prospect

and determined to sabotage the progressive legislations already undertaken by the Kerala Government, the realready undertaken by the Kerala Government, the re-actionary vested interests had launched the present agitation, he added

When the Congress talk-When the Congress talk-ed glibly about fresh elec-tions in Kerala, he said, "let it bring a bill in the ensuing session of the Lok Sabha to confer the right of recall on the people. Com-munists will whole-heartedly support the measure". It would then, be proved be-yond doubt whether or not

the people of Kerala were against the Ministry. Ridiculing Pandit Nehru's description at his Press Conference on July 7, of the agitation in Kerala as a "hys-teria", Comrade Dange asked the Prime Minister whether he wanted the Kerala Government to submit to this "hysteria" of the reactionary and vested interests. The Communist-led Government he firmly added, was not go-ing to oblige Pandit Nehru and the Congress leadership

Referring to recent contra-dictory statements and actions of the Prime Minister. Comrade Dange remarked that all these gave grounds for the suspicion that Pandit Nehru himself had become a victim of "hysteria!" "As the Prime Minister",

Comrade Dange continued, "Pandit Nehru has vast po-wers to do good as well harm. But, to the great misfortune of the country, all his powers are now being employed on the side of evil". It was a tragedy with Pan-

dit Nehru, Comrade Dange observed, that he had formed a wrong idea about him-self. But, there was such an

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PAGE THREE

# **KASHAG'S NEW CHIEF**

WHILE he has had to to succeed Sri Nehru on the gaddi of India's Prime Minister Sri Javaprakash Naravan has never ed to come forward to as-sume any exalted respon-discarded to their people is sume any exalted responmight summon him. The hat of the Prime Minister that of the Prime Minister that of the Prime Minister that of the Prime Minister the rebellion in Tibet which that of the Prime Minister of the self-proclaimed, self-exiled "Government" of Tibet that now sits in Mussoorie.

On behalf of this rump Sri Jayaprakash by now has had a full round of talks with Afro-Asian (plus the U.K.) envoys accredited to New Delhi in his declared mission of enlisting support against Chinese "imperialism". He has also delivered himself of mellifluous peroration in that holy cause to a packed Sapru House audien what may, he has announ his intention to keep up the holy crusade against China. For him the gentle admoni-tions of the Prime Minister and the mild hints of the diplomats about their feel-ing embarrassed have no de-terring effect. As a Sarvodava leader is he.not above all these petty botherations? Ordinary mortals undertak-ing any similar mission even this country of individual freedom would have been hauled up for prejudicing our relations with a friendly country.

According to his well-considered and written-out address which JP delivered at the Sapru House, he is an ardent anti-imperialist and a devout Hindu. It is in response to these two strong urges that he has taken upon himself the advocacy of Kashag's cause. For him the only imperialism worth fight-ing in the world today is the Rcd Imperialism of China and if it is anywhere that Hindus Hinduism have to be saved it is in Tibet.

#### Charging Against Windmills

THE whole case JP so me-ticulously built rested on the magnanimous concession of 'suzerainty' over Tibet to China. Like Don Quixote bravely charged against it saying, first, that it was an outmoded, imperialistic concept. Secondly, even if su-zerainty were accepted, it had een 'extinguished' by the Thinese 'assassination' of Tibetan autonomy on which it had been conditional.

dian Youth—expressed sur-prise at this attitude of the Good old JP, however, forgot that the wicked Chinese and the 'quisling' Tibetans (among whom till vesterday were his Mussoorie friends. too) have at no stage accepted China's suzerainty over Tibet. Consistently and always they have insisted on Tibet being an integral part of China. And unfortunately for JP and his friends, this country. in spite of all the ups and downs in the Tibetan afairs. hostility of the Youth Con-gress which this time has dehas always recognised and dmitted this fact. It has entered into a solemn treaty with China on that basis. Talking of 'quislings' it that this organisation had sent its representatives to the last Festival held in Moscow.

would be no use asking JP to pause and think before he dubs as such those who have preferred to stick to the land of their birth rather than

PAGE FOUR

The question as to who are hesitat- patriots and who have chosen to which history being currently answered in-ummon him. The side Tibet. Despite all the undoubtedly was of a handful iell-of creactionary upper-strata fus-clique has been effectively put down with popular sup-port. The Tibetan people, as is clear from the proceedings had of the Preparatory Commit-with the cassion recently held in tee session recently held in Lhasa, are now embarking full steam on a new life, un-hampered by the obstructions

that had been raised there a few years ago. It was so-called question of Indian aggression against Hyderabad and Junagadh. It will not be pointless here to recall that our good British friends while leaving this country had

THE Government

gates selected

India's policy of res-tricting the participation of Indian Youth in the inter-

national events has created

a flutter amongst the dele-

student and youth organisa-

Students and Youth open-ing in Vienna on July 26.

This they point out is not in

keeping with the policy the Government has followed

and the Bandung Students'

Indian Co-ordinating Com-mittee for the Vienna Festi-

including among others the

National Union of Students,

All-India Students' Federa-

tion, All-India Youth Federa-

tion and Federation of In-

been influenced by the open

cided not to participate in the Festival. It is well-known

The sudden change in the

attitude of Youth Congress

is reported to be result of

previous Festivals

Conference.

of

by various

of the dead wood of the past.

planned originally to create three\_not just eign State imperialisms of Princistan also besides and Pakistan. When thanks to the strength of our na-tional movement that plan

was wrecked, they tried their best to preserve at least Hy-derabad as its core. When that nest of imperialism was finally cleaned up no little amount of hue and cry went up about the independence of Hyderabad being extinguis ed, and about Indian imperia-lism running amuck and so on. Comic efforts were made tc raise the question at the UN also, and the threat to do so has been time and again repeated by the Pakistan press.

two-soveron its territory-

Let us hope our future Prime Minister will not re-duce India to those straits!

At U.N. As for raising the Tibet question before the UN, one may remind Sri Jayaprakash Narayan of another question that had been Mankekar writing in the In-dian Express on the 'Political Consequences of Jeypeeism' has some very harsh words to

say: "What's truth", asked the Jesting Pilate, and then did

not wait for an answer. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's pe-ripatetic incursions into politics are equally perplex-

ing. This Sarvodaya leader who claims to have eschewed politics, bobs up into politics every now and then, squirts some devastating advice to the country and world and then with-The draws from the scene under the cloak of political sanyas. This is privilege with-out responsibility.

At one time we find him denouncing party politics, declaring partiamentary de-mocracy unsuited to Indian and Asian conditions and advocating a partyless state. Then we see him exhort Mr. Nehru to throw up his Prime Ministership and 80 and work among the com rion people. Next we find this Socialist leader bless the anti-Socialist conservative Swatantra Party of Rajaji's. Now he is out to liberate Tibet from the Chinese yoke .....

....If speeches and reso-lutions were horses, the "Roof of the World" would have by now been cleared of the Chinese oppressors and the God-king been re-Chinese oppressors. installed on the throne in the Potala Palace in Lhasa.

This shower of gushing sympathy from the public and brave words of counsel from leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan seems to have led astray the youthful

Dalai Lama into political adventurism. The outcome was the extravagant state-ment of June 20.

The Ministers and advisers surrounding the Dalai including his bro-Lama, ther, are politically ambi-tious persons who would want to continue the fight against the Chinese from abroad—if not India, then from some where else.

#### Stop Political Pronouncements

HE Government of India's press note making it clear that there was no question of recognising any exile Gov-ernment of Tibet does not seem to be enough for the gentlemen in Mussoorie. Bc-cause, subsequent to that statement the Dalai Lama in an interview with the PTI not only announced his inten-tion of making another statement to further "clarify" "Government's" position. He also indulged in certain disabout the paraging . remarks Panchen Lama. One wonders how far it is a permissible thing to do-attack the act-ing head of the regional government of a friendly country and then go on disc ing all the time any inte any intention to embarrass the Government of India! Isn't it time that we request the Dalai Lama to de-sist from making any politi-cal pronouncements and see that it is observed?

-ZIA-UL HAQ

# **DELEGATION REDUCED TO A MOCKERY**

its affiliation with WAY tween the youth of the vari-(World Assembly of Youth) ous countries that the Festival which is not only unrepre-sentative in character inso-far as it does not carry with it any youth organisation from the Socialist world, but also openly hostile to any move for unity in the Youth ranks on the international level.

tions for participation in VIIth World Festival of The second point over which the student and youth organisations seem to be very to the complete cutting out of cultural participation. This till now in connection with decision of the Government, and these leaders feel is amazing for a Festival. An Indian delegation without a good culother events such as the Cairo Youth Conference tural team from India will be embarrassing for our country, for it is essentially to pro-mote cultural contacts befor it is essentially to Talking to newsmen on July 11 the members of the

val—a body which comprises more than 18 organisations \* FROM PAGE 1

reported on the law and order

situation in the State. First of all he debunked Government. It is learnt that the Government has decided to issue fifty passports in all to nine organisations. Student and wouth leader to mne organisations. Student and youth leaders had been convicted for picket-fail to understand the rea-ing of whom about 6,000 were sons which have led the Gov-in jail in the first week of July, mass mobilisation all over the country plus isolation of the struggle from the people of Kesons which have led the Gov- in jair in the first were of sub-ernment to take this attitude. the rest were only removed In this connection it is point- from the spot of picketing and ed out that the Government many of them had come back to of India's decision might have offer satyagraha, thus inflating been influenced by the open the number of the removed also.

He said that mass-scale police repression had not been resorted to. Even picketers who were arrested were put up under the Police Act u means a week in jail and not under the Penal Code which would mean six months' imwould mean six months' im-prisonment. He said that due to lack of withdraw from such activities

NEW AGE

is organised. The organisers of the In-

dian team point out that in the previous Festival Indian participation had been sizeable in number, going up to 500 and comprised of leading cultural groups, sports teams and representatives of different organisations.

This correspondent has been told that the Government of India's list of approved orga-nisations does not include many youth organisations (like All-India Youth Federation. Federation of Indian Youth All-India Youth Conference, etc. this time) which have decided to send delegates to the Youth Festival On the other hand the

quota of 50 passports has July 15.

of mass mobiliastion in defence

of democracy in Kerala. The

consensus of opinion in the Na-

tional Council was that it is this

rala itself which had prevented

the Centre from so far utilising

the situation to dismiss the

There was justified resent-

ment against the stand of the

Congress High Command which

talked about constitutionalism

and democracy but allowed its Kerala unit to violate every one

Ministry.

been divided among nine organisations some of whom like Youth Congress, Samaj-vadi Yuwak Sabha (PSP) and Bharat Sevak Samaj have declared their deci-sion not to participate in the Festival.

The members of the Indian Coordinating Committee point out that in effect it means that the total strength of the delegaion from India would be only about 25.

When approached the leaders of All-India Youth Federation and Federation of Indian Youth said that they have sent Memorandums to the Prime Minister and are writing to the officials concerned.

O. P. M.

## -----National Council Session

support, the movement had deor it should stand condemned as party to what is being done by its Kerala unit. berately organised violent acts. National Council members who followed with reports from When they leave Trivan-States gave an inspiring picture

drum, the National Council members will be going with fullest determination to mo-bilise public opinion in a still bigger way to defeat the threat of Central intervention.

Briefing pressmen this morn-Comrade P. Ramamoorthy said that the resolution of the National Council was likely to be ready by the evening. Answering a question about specu-lative reports which have appeared in a section of the Pres on compromise proposals the Chief Minister is supposed to have placed before the Prime Minister, Comrade Ramamoor thy said there was no truth in the reports and the opinion of the National Council is against mid-term elections in Kerala

OTHER MINISTER'S CONFIDENCE UPSETS OPPONENTS

#### ★ From O. P. Mehrotra

Attention last week shifted from Trivandrum to Delhi as leaders both of the Opposition and Government arrived here. All eyes turned to Comrade EMS after his meeting with Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Central Ministers. More so, because by then KPCC President Sri Sankar had finished all his ammunition-the charge-sheet, turned into a Memorandum, had been submitted to the President.

THE Chief Minister's re-marks (after meeting Pan-dit Nehru at Simla) that he "with your blessings" he hoped to continue as Chief Minister! was "very happy", his firm assertion that there was no possi-bility of Central intervention in three days. In the Canital du-Kerala came as a rude shock to the "Liberator" stalwarts.

Press Conference

Addressing an exceptionally crowded press conference Com-rade EMS refused to disclose the substance of his talks with the Prime Minister-apart from sparkling repartee about "dak-shina" from one Brahmin to another. He quoted Gandhiji: "one step ahead is enough for me" step anead is chough for the ending of "direct action" and the removal of the threat of Central intervention, when questioned about hypothetical "future situations

and backgrounds". He passionately and authoritatively repudiated the sly in-sinuations that the administra-tion in his State was being subjected to "Communist infiltrawas to ensure that nobody suffered because of his political affiliations-be it with the Con-gress, PSP, RSP or CPI.

In return he quoted an exam-ple from Simla where a respec-ted teacher, Kameshwar Pandit, had only recently been dismissed because he was a Commu-nist. "We shall not allow this discrimination," he declared.

Asked why he was so confident that there would be no Central intervention, the Central intervention, the Chief Minister stated: "I do not think that the circum stances in which such inter-vention is envisaged in the Constitution either exist or will come into being in Kerala. Besides, this is the total impression I have formed from my talks in New Delhi nd Simla".

nrade EMS also revealed that the suggestion of mid-term elections was only casually made by Pandit Nehru in Trivandrum. "Of course, he has evolved since then and his position now may be different".

#### First Things First

Despite repeated goading he refused to be provoked when it came to the question of a midterm poll. "First things first. We cannot hold such elections under the threat of Central in-tervention from above and 'direct action' from below. This duress must first be ended." Refuting the idea that mili-tary help would be required he stated that the State authorities

could quite well handle the sit-Just as he was about to rush away to see the Defence Minisas well as catch his plane manner.

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particular party is ruling there, but for der Announcing the decision of federalism and States' auto nomy? The Congress which is ruling in the Centre and in holding an All-India convention to discuss the serious implications arising out of the Kerala situation and sending a team of 13 out of the 14 States of India mants to wipe out by hook or crook the only non-Congress Government" he obimpartial observers, preferably comprising some Supreme Court or Hight Court Judges to that served. "Is it good for deve-lopment of healthy conven-tions of democracy?" he ask-State. Sri Chatterjee remarked that the agitation in Kerala posed serious issues of constitu-tional importance—a Govern-In contrast to the partisan ment democratically elected by stand of the Congress, the Com-the people is being sought to munist position was made clear removed in an unconstitutional by Comrade EMS when he said the people is being sought to removed in an unconstitutional "Every Party howsoever small

# CENTRAL INTERVENTION CANNOT COME

. The Press Conference had three days. In the Capital du-ring the last week Comrade EMS was the man who wanted by everybody everywhere—press, people and politicians. His replies to the Press at many occasions, his speech at the public meeting and, above all, his statesmanship have left a deep impression

as always. The spontaneous welcome accorded to him by the people of Capital on July 10, was commented on by the Press. Ac-cording to one of the dailies his reception was "one of the most largely attended meetings" The Constitution Club Hall can comfortably accommodate an audience when Sarvasri Asoka Mehta, Panampilly Govinda Menon or Sankar a meeting. But you do not find place But you do not find place even to stand—not to speak a chair to sit down—when Comrade EMS comes to speak there. This has been the oft-repeated experience of audiences and particularly was this so last Friday, when he addressed a meeting on the nature of the agitation in Kerala, organised by the Democratic Lawyers' Association and presided over by the eminent jurist Sri

come to address

C. Chatteries

Spontaneous

Welcome

The Hall was packed to capacity, eager crowds surging forward, people pushing one an-It was sweltering and suffocat-ing inside, but those in wouldn't for anything go out.

This spontaneous welcome accorded to Comrade EMS noticed and commented on by the chairman of the meeting Sri N. C. Chatterjee who further said. "The whole world is watching what is happening in Ke-rala today. It is a matter of concern to everybody interested in ocracy: Thousands of pe ple who are far, far away from the Communists are interested in Kerala-not because any

Reminding the audience of should have the opportunity to the opinion of Sri Patanjali: administer in a State while an-Shastri, who has critised thes other party may rule at the present unconstitutional agita. Centre and in other States. tion against the Kerala Government, he declared that if certain provisions of the Constitution are said to be applicable to Kerala there are others which can also be applied to the Central

Government. There was deafening applause and flash light cameras clicked when the Chief Minister step-ped forward to the mike. In his own modest way he remarked. "I have been put in an unenvia "I have been put in an unenvia-ble position. I am supposed, to speak on Constitutional Law". And with confidence which is also his characteristic he said "I was told that law is nothing but common sense. Rightly or wrongly I feel I am a man with common sense. Constitution is for man and not man for Constitution

#### Double Threat

"I have not heard of any precedent by which a Govern enjoying the confidence of the legislature is forced to accept mid-term elections under the double threat of direct action from below and Central intervention from above. Mid-term elections are being demanded by a party which is in power in 13 out of 14 States and which rules at the Centre. It is this party which has started direct action

was heard saying: "He put the case better than a lawyer the case better than a laythough he says I am a lay-

The speaker then dealt upon what Pandit Nehru says about 'direct action' the KPCC Lead-'direct action' the KPCC Lead-ers have something different in mind. Sri Sankar has repeatedly papers supporting the agitation mind. Sri Sankar has repeatedly said the aim of the 'direct action' is to paralyse the admi- ters are being lathi-charged' nistration.

in Kerala is not my private pro-perty. It is not my administration that is sought to be paralysed. It is Sri Nehru's own administration. If development programmes are paralysed it is not my development programme which suffers but those that are the part of the Second, Third or Fourth Five Year Plan".

Coming to the question of functioning of democracy under the Constitution he exposed the Congress stand: "If 'direct action' is to be sup-plemented with Central intervention, where is democracy. Stop Anti-Social

NEW AGE

We want it not only for ourselves but also for others, for the PSP if it comes to power in a State.

"I want it should take place even at lower levels. While a party rules at the State level it should be possible for oppositio parties to carry on administra-tion in the local bodies, in panchayats and district coun

In this connection he referred to the Kerala Government's District Councils and Panchayat Bills which give enormous pow-ers of administration to local bodies. He reminded the audi-ence of Gandhiji's idea of democracy-it should be practised at the grass roots.

"This is what the Kerala Government is doing through these measures. But how can democracy with 'gras roots develop if the ruling party in Centre cannot tolerate a State Government enjoying the confidence of the legislature?" he asked.

He declared amidst thun derous cheers, that the Kerala Government would not resign or order mid-term elections because it enjoyed the confidence of the legislature.

"When you read about picketing in Kerala, you might think that a big movement is going on there. This picketing has thing to do with its meaning in the nationalist dictionary of

A senior tawyer such y the sols who are neutral statistic the front row near the press was heard saying: "He puts classes, throw out the students and some times furniture is broken and a shed or two are

burnt." "Sri Sankar may say it is not 'direct action' as mentioned by part of our programme but it is Pandit Nehru: "In contrast with going on merrily. I won't say what Pandit Nehru says about Sri Sankar is doing it but when come out with news that 'pick-

Siration. "After all, the administration buses: "Some agitators come Kerala is not my private pro-and stop the buses, deflate the tyres. These people come with gadgets and implements. They put salt and sand in the petrol

And the same thing about toddy shops: "They do not pea-cefully picket the shops and request people not to visit them. Firstly, only those shops are be-ing picketed which are run by the Toddy Tappers' Cooperative. The shops run by contractors, are left out. Why this soft corner for the

## Activities

"These forms of action obviously do not have the blessings of the Congress High Command but still the KPCC has no word to say against these anti-social activities. They do not open their mouths against thes lent methods that are being resorted to", he declared with indignation.

The Congress on the other hand, is charging the Kerala Government of using the 'co-

00

ercive apparatus of the State." To this Comrade EMS replied: "There is no Section 144 every leader who goes on making a dozen speeches. every day giving calls for pa-ralysing the administration is free, not a single man has. been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act."

"Unfortunately this is creating difficulties for us. Certain unfortunate incidents—firings have taken place—we are sad about it. We want to use the 'coercive apparatus' as little as possible." possible

#### Minimum Use Of **Coercive** Apparatus

Referring to the reports about the number of picketers arrested at the request of the Chairman Sri Chatterjee, the Chief Minister said, "75 per cent to 80 per cent are let off every day after being rounded up. Out of the 29,000 or 30,000 that have been reported to be arrested not more than 5,000 have seen the inside of a jail-among these also the sentences vary from the rising of the Court to 10 days. Even this number includes people who have been sentenced twice or thrice".

In conclusion, the audience heard—and responded—to a stirring appeal to continue to give support to the Kerala Gov-ernment, in order that the in the only non-Congress-ruled the nationalist dictionary or State and threatens Central in-tervention. That is the peculia-rity of the situation", Comrade EMS pointed out. A senior lawyer sitting in a senior the press Nor the press Nor teachers come and enter the State and threatens Central in-India". Nor tervention. That is the peculia-rity of the situation", Comrade Nor teachers come and enter the Nor teachers come and enter the State and threatens Central in-India". Nor teachers come and enter the Nor teachers come and enter the State and threatens Central in-India". Nor teachers come and enter the State and threatens come and enter the statens the to by your friends in Kerala. Unfor-tunately the KPCC leaders take only the slogan of re-election but reject the other-not picketing the schools, transport bu-

"Today if there is any need "Today y inere is any need for intervention it is in the affairs of Kerala Congress by the Congress High Command. In the name of the common good, I request you to see that the Congress goes out of the present agitation and sits down to discuss particular issues. That will be the end of the present unconstitution al 'liberation war'"

Democratic opinion country has asserted itself to back the Kerala Government. More and more people are joining the struggle to save Kerala, which has become, in the literal sense, a struggle to save Indian democracy. People of all shades, representing all sections, are coming increasingly and actively to express their support. Comrade EMS caught a glimpse of this hurried stay in even in his the capital. He returns to his State but remains ever deeper in the hearts of the people of Delhi as the symbol of their sense of justice and their hopes.

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PAGE FIVE

Ever since the second week of June, almost the whole State of Assam, barring the hill districts, has FLOOD HAVOC IN ASSAM been inundated by devastating flood. Even the preliminary reports received so far show that this year's flood has surpassed all past records in living memory. The worst affected areas are the district of Cachar and north bank of the district of Kamrup.

THE Barak, with almost all her tributaries, is in spate flooding almost the en-tire district of Cachar. Similarly, the Brahmaputra, with a number of its tributaries, has inundated the Assam valley. In vast areas people caught unawares. were caught mawares. In many places, people woke up at midnight to find the sweeping tide of flood water rushing right inside their homes. With immense diffi-culty some could extricate themselves and rush to the

waiting for a precariously chance lift cannot as yet\_be said with any accuracy. According to official esti-

mates, which are far from accurate, about 1,400 square miles have been flooded, affecting not less than two lakhs families. In many pla-ces, the flood waters have been flowing four to nine feet deep over the house tops. Comrade Suren Bhatta, a member of the State Exe-

cutive Committee of the Communist Party and Com-rade Arabindo Ghose, Ge-neral Secretary, All Assam Refugee Association after a joint tour of Nalleari and Rangiya circles reported that in many places they found paddy-fields under about 14 feet of water. They found about 20 thousand people marconed on the embankment af Pagladia river. cutive Committee their on at the time.

river. An official Press Note says, "Even the PWD roads and the the embankments of rivers. How many are manooned, disrupted. Some of the vildisrupted. Some of the vin-lages were completely cut vin-and they could be reached with great difficulty." The Press Note points out that many areas being unaproach-able full details could not be

to sav.

obtained. Thousands of people who had taken shelter, if you can call it that, on the embank-ments of rivers are left with-out even a cover over their heads. The old and the young alike are lashed by monsoon obtained. alike are lashed by monsoon

\* From Madhusudan Bhattacharya rains and scorched by blazing some high lands were spared also the allegation of political sun when the fury of this and have been accommodated consideration prejudicially arians abates. Rushing out of in school and college buildhomes in a desperate ings. But non-official sources bid to save themselves from

NEED FOR GREATER CENTRAL HELP

have pointed out that these shelters are insanitary and diseases have already broken being washed away, none of them could bring anything except the clothes they had out and any moment these may take the horrid shape of Starvation is now a grim rival of the floods. Official a large-scale epidemic. Sup-ply of food even \* in these shelters is extremely inadeand non-official sources were able to supply some amount of rice but there was no-where to cook it. Flat rice quate, while the fate of those (chida) and gur has since been sent to these flood vic-Two air-force amphibians been sent to these flood vic-tims. Some chapaties, milk powder and biscuits also have been despatched. But how many it reached it is difficult and a helicopter have been requisitioned. The amphibian planes engaged in rescuing marooned people are doing a commendable job, no doubt, but many here wonder why more amphibian 'ducks' were Reports from Cachar show Reports from Cachar show that thousands have escaped to the hill-sides, protecting themselves from the sun and rain with improvised sheds made of pulp-hamboo mats not put into service. Delay in

not put into service. Detay in rescuing the marconed peo-ple may prove disastrous. The helicopter has been air-dropping food-stuffs besides made of pup-bamboo mats which can hardly resist the heavy monsoon downpour. A few thousands have taken re-fuge in the town areas where "The standing Aus crops which have been submerged

in the affected areas", says the Press Note, "have been completely destroyed". The extent of devastation of Aus paddy (summer paddy crop) can be gauged from the news reaching the Cachar district Kisan Sabha Office that not less than 83.700 acres of Aus less than 83,700 acres of Aus paddy field with an estimated output of about 25,114 tons have been washed away in that district alone.

Besides this seedlings of the Sali paddy (autumn crop) has been extensively damaged. The cattle have been very badly affected as well. Car-cases of dead cattle have been found floating in great num-bers. But the actual loss cannot be ascertained until the flood waters recede.

Thus, while the immediate problem is one of resoue and relief which, not-withstanding great effort and non-official endeavour, remain inadequate so far, the rehabilitation of the affected people after the flood waters have receded, will also be a formidable task. Apart from other things many inundated areas will become almost unsuitable for cultivation until the silt and sand that has accumulated is remov-ed. This will not be an easy job.

Moreover, the cultivators will need assistance at every stage for rebuilding their houses, reclaiming their fields hesides cattle and seed loan. Even cash loans by itself will not go a long way to meet the requirements.

As for relief work, people here contrast the effort of the Government in this connection with their solicitude for the Tibetan refugees. While Rs. 2½ lakhs are spend for the Dalai Lama every month, only Rs. 1 lakh has been sent for the relief of flood victims from the Prime Minister's relief fund. Locally many relief committees have been formed with officials and non-offi-cials. But what seems to be lacking is an effort to bring about systematic coordination between the various agencies. All the political parties

the Mayor and passed. The struggle, however, will but here, too, coordination seems to be lacking. There is have undertaken relief work.

and the anequation prejudicially affecting relief operations. The future of food production is evidently bleak. Althe food situation is ready very bad. The Government its intention has announced to feed the affected people through fair-price shops. But it is quite evident that very few of them will have the

necessary means to purchase food even from fair-price marooned or shelters in the shops. interior can well be imagined. Besides, the present supply mechanism also needs thornmachinery also needs thoro-ugh overhauling. It is com-mon knowledge here that the rice sent to fair-price shops immediately finds it way into black-market. The State Food Minister's loud claim of sufficient food stocks has already been blown up, even though he will not admit it. Rice has been selling at various places between Rs. 30|- to Rs. 40|- a helicopter has been air-dropping food-stuffs besides maund. The prices of every rescuing people from where other commodity have also it could land. registered a steep rise. Unless "The standing Aus crops the black-marketeers are strictly curbed it will not be long before a famine breaks out in Assam.

#### Why This

#### **Telephone-Tapping**?

**B**ELIEVE it or not, the Director of Post and Telegraph, Assam Circle, has arranged to tap telephonic conversation of Press correspondents and other journa-lists stationed in Shillong. In case any opinion critical about the Government is expressed in such conversations arrangements have been made to tape-record it. This has been done at the instance of the Congress Government of Assam Senior journalists here

recall that even in the British days journalists were not subjected to such me-thods. If the alien rulers ever attempted it, perhaps the very Congress leaders the very Congress leaders who are now on the gaddi would have been its most vociferous critics.  $\varkappa$ This action has rightly

aroused a great resentment among the local journalists, some of whom are thinking of surrendering their telephones as a mark of protest.

FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE ranks. Two PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY HAS BEEN SET UP IN PO-LAND. DUBING THIS BRIFF HISTORIC PERIOD POLAND HAS NOT ONLY RISEN FROM RUINS AND SHAKEN OFF HEB FORMER STATE OF BACKWARD. NESS, BUT HAS ALSO RANKED HERSELF AMONG THE MODERN INDUSTRIALIZED STATES. THE CUL-

July 22-New Poland Is

TURAL STANDARD OF MANY MILLIONS OF PEO-PLE ROSE SIGNIFICANTLY. VAST AREAS OF THE PLE ROSE SIGNIFICANTLY. VAST AREAS OF THE COUNTRY HAVE UNDERGONE SUCH ESSENTIAL CHANGES THAT THEY ARE NOW HARDLY RECOG-NIZABLE TO ANYONE WHO HAS NOT VISITED THEM LATELY. DOUBLEST ENEMIES OF THE SOCIA-The first general election to be held under people's rule drew near. The democratic par-ties formed a united bloc to face the electorate and won a crush-

LIST SYSTEM – INCLUDING THE REACTIONARY SECTION OF THE POLISH EMIGRES – ARE BOUND TO ADMIT THAT THESE TRANSFORMATIONS ARE DUE TO THE CHANGE OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THAT THEY RESULT FROM THE DEEP POLI-TICAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION ACHIEVED.

thorities.

Republic

W HEN during the dark of the PKWN the first steps years of the Nazi occu- were taken to introduce the pation the Polish Workers Party – predecessor of the Polish United Workers' Party -took up the struggle for the country's national and social liberation, it was faced with a situation much more difficult than any other revolutionary party had to tackle. In the preceding period – after the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland (CPP) in 1938-no Marxist party was

operating in the country. In taking up the fight the Polish Workers' Party had to begin almost at the beg "Almost" because despite all adversities, some of the cadres reared, tested and tried in the trolled by a new factorheroic ranks of the CPP had been preserved. There also was the ideology formed and tested over decades of self-sacrificing struggle led by the international proletarian movement and by the Polish revolutionary move-ment, whose traditions reached back to the eighties of the last

century. And, above all, there was the situation that called for immediate action. Every day people joined in to take active part in the fight for a new, free and just Polish People's Republic The Polish Workers' Party (PPR) took up the responsibi-lity for carrying this difficult task through. Speaking of this culminating point in the recent history of the Polish nation at First Congress of the PPR in 1945, Comrade Gomulka asid: "As a Party we have taken an empty place taken by no one before us and that no one was wanting to take

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine "the PPR had blended into an inseparable unity the fight for social and national liberation, the fight against the ers and the fight for the rule of the working masses under the leadership of the working class; it was the only Party to proclaim and consequently bring to life the idea of an alliance between Po-land and the USSR"

By following its policy of creating a wide national anti-fascist front and in constant struggle against the reactionary parties the PPR rallied vas parties the PPR rained vast sections of the people eager to combat the occupation forces. At the dawn of 1944 the Party initiated the setting up of the National Council of the Land (KRN). Fifteen years ago on July 22 1944 the KRN called into being the Belich Committee into being the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) at Lublin on the first strip of the home-land to be set free.

Six weeks after the setting up

JULY 19, 1959



PATNA HARTAL AGAINST PROFESSIONAL TAX

#### 🛨 From Ali Ashraf

**O** N June 26, the people U of Patna observed com-plete hartal and in the evening staged a demonstration before the Municipal Corporation, as the latthreat of withdrawal of financial assist- dra, Chandi Prasad and Comter under

The tax which is in the nature of the most oppres-sive poll tax will be levied ac-cording to present decision, at a flat rate, its incidence be-tra the highest on the low ing the highest on the low income groups.

Universal opposition has been expressed whenever any proposal was made to impose this tax. Twice in impose this tax. Twice in the past the Patna Munici-pal Corporation, in view of this opposition had rejected the plea of the Government this tax. On this to impose this tax. On this occasion, however, the offi-cial majority led by the Mayor had already announced its determination to im-pose the tax and reject the Opposition's demand to postpone the consideration of the tax till alternative sources for raising the re-quired additional funds had heap therearchile considered en thoroughly considered. The State Conference against high prices and new taxes recently held in Patna had, through a special resolu-tion decided to actively oppose this tax being imposed by the Patna Municipal Corporation. On June 24, two days before On June 24, two days before constituency who requested the Corporation meeting, the him to oppose the profession-Communist Party organised a torchlight procession through the main thoroughfares of the town. For more than a fortnight anti-tax meetings were held in the different wards of the town and more than six-teen ward anti-tax commit-

tees consisting of active work-ers from the localities had been formed. This intensive agitational and organisatioal work was carried on under the active guidance of Communist lea-ders Comrades Krishna Chan-dra. Chandi Prasad and Comdrawal of financial assist-ance from the State Gov-ernment assembled to de-cide upon the imposition of a tax on profession, tra-des and employments. dra, Chanci Prasad and Com-munist Councillors K. Gopa-lan and A. Bannerji, etc. De-monstrations were held and people resorted to hunger strikes before the house of prominent councillors of the prominent councillors of the official group—e.g., Sri Gol-wara, the deputy mayor, Sri Radhey Shyam, Sri M. L. Joshi and Sri Jamna Prasad—in an effort to persuade them to pro-

pose the proposed tax. On June 26 itself there was complete hartal since the morning. Even the wholesale market in the Patna City (old), the wholesale vegetable market in Mosallapur and all other shops, including hotels and teashops were closed. and teasnops were closed. Rickshaws, about ten thou-sand of which ply in the town, were nowhere to be

effort to persuade them to op-

From early in the afternoon, Mayor had already announ-roun early in the action of a demonstrators began to as-pose the fax and reject the semble before the Municipal Corporation office. They came in organised processions from different localities with pla-cards and shouting slogans like "Pesha kar wapas karo" etc. By the time the Corporae than tion meeting began mo 5,000 demonstrators had sembled at the gates of the Corporation office. As each Councillor came to attend the meeting he was approach demonstrators from his Ъy

al tax. In the Corporation meeting two amendments were moved respectively by Communist Councillor Sri K. Gopalan and by Dr. Damodar Prasad, lea-der of the United Independent Councillors Party. These These go on.

amendments sought to defer the consideration of the pro-posed tax till alternative sources of raising additional funds had been considered and tried.

It was pointed out, for ex-ample, that a correct assess-ment of the present holding tax on Government buildings and the big private mansions alone will bring in substantial additional amounts to the coffers of the Corporation. Many examples were cited. The Mayor, Sri Rajandhari Singh, who was determined on seeing the proposal for imposing the Professional Tax through, did not even allow a division on the amendments when demanded, at which the entire Opposition walked out . of the meeting.

Thereafter the Professional tax was passed "unanimously". The way in which the official group which the official group mustered support for this unpopular tax is exempli-fied by the following: Dr. Samaddar once an independent and who had been elected in the teeth of Congress opposition, is now a staunch supporter of the professional tax. Dr. Sama-ddar is a retained doctor ddar is a retained ubtor for Tatas' employees in Patna and supplies medi-cine to the Tata Main Hos-pital in Jamshedpur. At the same time it should be remembered that the Mayor Sri Rajandhari Singh

Mayor Sri Rajandhari Singh is the Liaison Officer of the Tatas in Bihar. But in view of the universal opposition to the professional tax even Dr. Samaddar could not keep his support to the tax measures unalloyed. He moved an amendment to the effect that those who do not come under the purview of the income tax should be exempted from the proposed income tax. The amendment was accepted by



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and not to NEW AGE

Address MARXBADI

# FIFTEEN YEARS YOUNG

agrarian reform in fulfilment of the historic resolution adopted by the KRN. Led by members of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the workers took con-trol of the factories and set them into operation, without even waiting for appropriate decrees to be issued by the au-

The pick of the Party's ranks were directed to serve in the State apparatus of the People's

Owing to the policies adopted by the Party and under the Party's leadership step by step life in Poland began to gain stability. The economy of People's Republic was from then on conmic planning. The first Three-Year Reconstruction Plan was launched in 1947, but that in itself did not solve all the exist-ing problems, nor did it remove many of the troubles.

The stability of political life was seriously hampered by the existing rift in the working class

the PPR and the PPS—were operating separately. Admitted-ly the PPS after having purged its ranks of reaction ments, was not similar to its pre-war predecessor, and on November 26, 1946 an agreement was reached betwee

the electorate and won a crushvictory over Mikolajczyk and the reactionaries supporting him, just as they had won the Popular Referendum in the spring of 1940. After the elec-tion victory of January 19, 1947 political stability increased still further, but another two years were to elapse before the work-ing class movement achieved complete unity.

The historic event by which the Polish working class and their vanguard achieved organic union took place at the Unity Congress in December 1948.

After the Congress, the Polish People's Republic entered upon the road of the construction of Socialism. Guided by the direc-tives of the Party the working class started implementing the Six-Year Plan adopted at the First Congress of the Seym of the People's Republic.

Looking back over the years, we perceive to what degree the life of our country has been revolutionized by the Six-Year Plan. The volume of industrial production has increased 2.8 times as compared to the pre-war period. Poland gained new branches of industry that she never had before, like the motor or ship-building industry. Many branches of industry underwent fundamental changes as was the case with foundries, machine-



Friendly meeting of Polish and Soviet youth

building and the chemical in-

dustry. Against the background of economic changes and in con- participation of the masses in nection with them, deep changes in the social structure have occured. Three million people have left the countryside and moved in to the towns to start Party, based upon the Leninist work in non-agricultural occu-pations. Public instruction, the tionalism, the friendship and cowork in non-agricultural occu-pations. Public instruction, the eradication of illiteracy, the immense development of secondary and higher education—all still more durable foundation. these factors exerted their im-pact on the cultural aspect of Polish United Workers' Party our life.

We also see 'today that over these years we did not avoid errors. This is particularly true of the period 1951-1953.

Being the revolutionary van-guard of the working masses and being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism the Polish United Workers' Party has thrust aside these errors. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviët Union followed some months later by the Eighth Ple-nary Session of the Polish Unit-ed Workers' Party Central Committee brought the process of correction to a climax. The Party cast off every thing that was holding up her progress. gramme

The methods of government have undergone a process of de-mocratization. New forms of the administration have cons tantly been found as dec entral ization has progressed.

Thanks to the policy of the operation between Poland and USSR have obtained a new and

called last March was, there fore, able to state that "The present political line of the Party, initiated at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee and developed at the plenary sessions that followed has passed the test of practice. The Third Congress also adopted the directives for the deve-lopment of the Polish People's Republic over the period 1959-1965, a plan for speedy and universal promotion of the coun-try's socialist economy.

The working masses are at present implementing the reso-lutions of the Third Congress in order to make a "leap forward" according to the

On left: The Nowy Swiat street in Warsaw in ruins (1945). On right: The reconstructed Nowy Swiat street. NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

#### Communist Party. WHO IS OUT OF TUNE WITH In the T.-C. area too, the then Socialist Party was able to secure only 11 seats. Even out of these, five were se-cured because of local united front agreements between the Party. PEOPLE'S MOOD IN KERALAP Furthermore. when elections took place in 1954 to the then District Board of Malabar, the Socialist Party was able to secure only one seat while the Communist Party got 24 seats and was tration.

On July 5, our Government completed 27 months of its existence. It should continue to rule for another 32 to 33 months.

That this is the constitutionally-correct position was admitted by the Central Congress Parliamentary Board in its recent resolution: "Normally, a Government continues to function for a full period of 5 years as laid down in the Constitution."

But then, the Congress Parliamentary Board name, that of the Kerala So-argues that this "normal procedure" does not and clalist Party and that, if that name is also included, the list should not apply to Kerala, because, according to its resolution. "it seems obvious that a big changeover has taken place among the people and many of those who supported the present majority party in Kerala Assembly during the last elections have changed over and are opposing it. It is a legitimate presump-tion that the Kerala Government now in no way re-presents the majority opinion of the State".

domono

of the Ministry.

Kerala Advocates' Ass

tion (representing advo-

cates throughout Kerala) and the Bar Associations of Tellicherry, Calicut, Pal-ghat, Alleppey, etc. have passed resolutions demand-

ng the resignation of the

yers in Trivandrum and 61

ments demanding the re-signation of the Ministry.

Several Bar Associations

had also passed resolutions calling for the observance

ation of the Government.

Out of the remaining six,

"This is the information

eminent men in Kerala

who are neither active Con-

bishops. One was a Chief Minister for 29 months in

the old Travancore-Cochin State in the initial stages

of its formation and an-

other was a highly placed official of the Government. He has now retired" (Times

I may readily admit that

this list does on the face of it

look formidable. The very

number of organisations given by Sri Dhebar would

indeed so loverwhelm the un-

wary reader that he may well think that the majority of the people of Kerala are behind the demand for the

esignation or the removal"

However, those who know

the reality behind these names would question the conclusion which Sri Dhebar,

and following his advice the

Parliamentary Board, has ar-

rived at. Let us, therefore, look a little into the details

of the names given by Sri

POLITICAL PARTIES &

He gives the names of five political parties and then adds what he calls the Vimo-

chana Dal. I may inform him that he has omitted another

THEIR STRENGTH

of the Ministry.

Dhe

of India, June 23).

nts of

four are run by the Com-

I have received from two

gress workers nor agents imperialism or Catho

munist Party directly.

of hartal on June 20.

on have issued state-

Ministry, Ninety-one law-

HOW did the Board come to this conclusion? What are the data which enabled it to come to this conclusion? Is it not necessary that what is "obto the Congress vious' should also be made obvious to impartial people? The Board itself admits "this is not easy to judge with any precision", but it nevertheless adds that eems obvious", etc. The least that one may expect of the Board, therefore, is to publish the material on basis of which it came to this conclusion. This, the Board's resolution fails to do

#### SRI DHEBAR'S FACTS

The only material which may be said to approximate to some data and which may have enabled the Board to this conclusion is the organisations which Sri Dhebar has given press statement issued by him from Delhi on June 22. I am giving below the full text of his statement.

"I am giving certain facts about the so-called normalcy of the situation in Kerala. The following organisations, institutions, elements and forces in Kerala have demanded the resignation of the Communist Ministry:

The Kerala "Political: Congress, Praja-Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists, Socialists (Lohia) and and Muslim League apart from the Vimochana Dal.

"Working Class: The Inal Trade Union dian Natio Congress, The United Trade Union Congress, The Hind Mazdoor Sabha and other non-Communist. indexe dent labour unions like the Cochin Thuramukha Thozhilali Union.

"Local self-governing ins-titutions: The Municipali-ties of Tellicherry, Calicut. Palghat. Trichur. Ernakulam, Kottayam, Quilon and Neyyattinkara have passed resolutions demanding the resignation of the stry.

"Panchavats: There are a total of 894 panchayats in the Travancore-Cochin area. Many of them have

would look a little more for-midable. But let me remind him and other friends that all the five political parties whose names have been included in the list and the KSP were opposed to the Communist Party even at the time of the last general elec-tions. There is, therefore, no question of any political party already passed resolutions ng the resignation which had supported us in the last general elections hav-ing shifted itself away from Associations: The

ns since then. us since then. Coming now to the mass influence of these political parties, two of them (the Lohia Socialists and the KSP) were so insignificant that they could not put up a single candidate to contest the general elections. As for the Revolutionary Socialists, they put up 28 candidates for the State Legislative Assembly, and three for the Lok Sabha Not only did they fail to get a single seat out of these, but lost their deposits in 22

"Newspapers: There are 32 daily newspapers in Ke-rala. Of this, 26 papers have demanded the resig-cialists are concerned, they got nine seats in the Assembly and one in the Lok Sabha. But, if we go a little into the circumstances in which these seats were secured, we get some interesting facts. Two of the seats were secured by them because of local united front agreement between the Communists and the PSP. The Chalakudy double-member constituency was contested jointly by a Praja Socialist and a Communist candidate and won by them against the and won by them against the "strong man" of the Con-gress, ex-Chief Minister Pa-nampilly Govinda Menon; while in the Pullyannoor constituency the PSP candi-date Sri Joseph Chazhikkattu, was supported by the Com-munists and won the election. Of the other seven seats, at least four were indisputably won by the PSP because of its united front with the Muslim League: I am refer-ring to the Hosdurg, the Koo-thuparamba, the Balusseri and the Quilandy constituencies. The Lok Sabha seat also was won by the PSP be-cause of its united front with the Muslim League. It is only with regard to the three re-maining Assembly seats in Trivandrum District that the PSP can with doubtful justification, claim that they were won on its own strength.

• Nor is this a peculiarity of the 1957 General Elections. More or less the same picture had emerged in earlier elec-tions too. The maximum number of seats which the this was because of the united

front of the Communist Party, the PSP, the RSP and the KSP.

In the previous, 1952 General Elections, the then So-cialist Party refused to have any united front with any united front with the Communist Party or other left Partles, but the then KMP Party did have a united front agreement with the Communist Party in the Mala-

bar area of the present Kerala

State. The result was that, respectively, the Socialist while the KMP Party and the Party secured only four seats. Communist Party were able Out of these on three seats to secure seven and nine seats they had the support of the

≡ bv

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

led to many tragic events

led to many tragte events Sri Nehru has indulged in equivocation and endorsed undemocratic demand for resignation of the Kerala Ministry. He has done so on the plea that "a state of near high excitement" nre-

very high excitement" pre-

vails in Kerala. But is it the contention of the Prime Minister that whenever a

section of the people espe-cially Congressmen, are in a high state of excitement

it is incumbent upon a gov-ernment to accept their demand, no matter how un-

As is well known the Ke-

rala Government after dis-cussions with the Prime Min-

ister and on the basis of ad-vice given by him, made ex-

vice given by him, made ex-tremely conciliatory propo-sals, proposals the like of which no Congress Ministry has ever made to the Oppo-sition and which the Prime

Minister himself says is "par-tial acceptance" of his sug-

gestion. Why can not Sri

Nehru call upon the Opposi-tion in Kerala to accept these

proposals and start negotia-

Are we to understand

that it is only for the Oppo-sition in States ruled by the Congress to adopt the method of compromise and

adjustment while Congress leaders, being people be-

longing to a privileged cate

gory, must have their full demand satisfied? Are Con-gressmen to enjoy this spe-

may be?

tions?

sonable their demand

FRAMEWORK AND SUBSTANCE

KERALA:

RSP.

# DEMOGRACY : AJOY GHOSH'S POSER TO NEHRU

#### TRIVANDRUM. July 9

The following statement by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was issued on July 9 from Trivandrum replying to certain points raised by the Prime Minister at his press confer-ence held two days earlier in New Lielhi:

**K** press conference the view that the Kerala Gov-ernment should resign and face new elections Prime Minister Sri Nehru expressed his belief that while the framework of democracy may have remained in Kerala, its substance has been gradually fading away. He asserted that the fading content of democracy has ceased to exist in Kerala. Sri Nehru says that he holds "everybody" responsible for this state of affairs. But the whole tenor of his press conference leaves one in no doubt that he accuses mainly the Government of

Kerala. One would have been grate ful to the Prime Minister if he had taken the trouble to elaborate this grave accusa-tion which significantly eno-ugh finds no mention in the resolution adopted by the Parliamentary Board only a few days ago.

I am sure that the Prime Minister knows about the various measures taken by the Kerala Government during the last two years: Eviction of peasants was stopped in Kerala as soon as the Commun-TTOO Government ist-led Government was formed, though Sri Nehru been advocating this without any result for years. The Agrarian Relations Bill The Agrarian relations Bill has been passed which Sri Nehru himself approves. The Debt Relief Act gives substan-tial benefit to the peasants. The cooperative movement has been put on a sound foot-

selves. The factory workers find in the Government a consistent defender of their rights. The Education Act, frees teachers from petty tyranny and corrupt practi-PSP was able to secure was tyranny and corrupt practi-19 and that was in the 1953-54 ces and brings about vast im-elections in the T.-C. State: provements in their status. Apart from this, pending be-

R EITERATING at his fore the Assembly are the

rore the Assembly are the Panchayat and District Council Bills which confer wide powers on local elected organs and decentralise administration. The Government have also waged a consistent battle against communalism which against communalism which has been the bane of politics in the State and hampered the growth of the democratic outlook Do all these things mean

Do all these things mean the fading away of demo-cracy? Do they not on the contrary mean giving de-mocracy a positive content and making it something real for the vast majority of the people? Moreover in which State in reade bes the Government

India has the Government granted such freedom of criticism and action to the Op-position as the Kerala Govposition as the kerala GOV-eriment has done? A raging and tearing campaign was launched against it as soon as it was formed. The cam-paign which has reached a new pitch of intensity in renew pitch of intensity in re-cent weeks with the threat to

paralyse the administration has been marked by open ins-tigation of, and indulgence in violence, incitement to the police and the services disobey the orders of the Government, attacks on schools and buses and heavy

damage to public property. Yet, despite all this up to now, not once has the Preventive Detention Act been used. Not a single newspaper has been suppressed. No act-ion has been taken against against the leaders of the struggle No ban has been placed on meetings and processions. I would request Sri Nehru

ing and placed entirely in to point out a single Con-control of the workers them- gress Ministry which has acted with such restraint in face of such grave provocation. One finds it difficult, therefore, to agree with Sri Nehru's comments on lack of democracy in Kerala.

It is to be deeply regret-ted that instead of calling upon his followers in Kerala

ces are actually helping the forces of chaos and lawlessto abandon the disastrous struggle which has already

It almost appears that a of nerves is being war of herves is being waged against the Kerala Government with a view to tire it out, to keep up the tension, prevent restoration of normal condition and break the morale of the break the morate of the services, so that a situation may arise when President's rule may be justified. If such is the intention it should be stated plainly.

Sri Nehru has argued that elections will help to restore normalcy. One should not however that Sri Chacko a nowever that Sri Chacko a few days ago and Sri Sankar, the President of the KPCC, after meeting Sri Nehru and members of the Congress High Command, on July 8, has publicly stated in Delhi that if elections were held and the Communists were returned in a majority to the legislature again, the agita tion to oust them would be revived "if they behaved in the same manner as now" Evidently the demand for

elections is being made not with a view to test public minion but with the bject of throwing out the unist Ministry by any Communist Ministry by any and every means. It is for Sri Chacko, Sri Sankar and his friends, blessed by the Congress High Command, to decide when fresh elec-tions are to be held and it is also for them to decide whether a Government other than their own formed after elections is func tioning democratically and should, therefore, be allowed to function.

cial privilege, unheard of in any democratic country, just because they run the Central Government? Sri Nehru has also stated that he would like to avoid Central intervention but "if there is no other way one has to take it". Many a time we have point-

ed out that it is this conti-nuous threat of Central intervention that has emboldened the opposition parties to go ahead with their struggle which is more and more aswhich is more and more as-suming the character of hooligan activity against the people and against public property. I regret to say that and against public blackman. I have no doubt I regret to say that that all right thinking peo-Sri Nehru's utteran- ple will support its stand.

Not one Congress leader Not one congress leader, not even Sri Nehru himself, has criticised this blatantly undemocratic stand, a stand of those who seek to hold society to ransom and perpe-tuate chaos and instability in Kerala in their mad lust for power. The Kerala Government

has made its position clear in the statement issued by the Chief Minister. It is always ready for compromise. But it will not submit to blackmail. I have no doubt

and the Communist

take over the adminis-TT WOILD THUS BE CLEAR THAT THE PSP BY ITSELF IS NOT MUCH OF A POLITICAL FORCE IT IS ONLY KERALA; IT IS UNLY SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN OTHER SMALLER PARTIES LIKE THE KSP. THE LO-

HIA SOCIALISTS AND THE That leaves us with only two political parties, the Cor

gress and the Muslim League. campaign for several Congress The Muslim League has cer-tainly a place in the Muslim nity which enabled it to secure almost all the As-sembly and Lok Sabha seats where the Muslims form the majority of the population. But then the Muslim League was opposed as much to the Communist Party as to the Congress in all previous elec-tions as well as in 1957.

Although the League has its influence among the Muslim masses it does not hold undisputed sway: Out the es it does not of the eight constituencies in the Muslim majority areas, it was only in three constituencies that the League was able to sècure more than 50 per cent of the votes polled.

As regards the Congress: I need not say anything except that this party has been successively defeated at the polls in the course of three general elections: The combined votes secured by the congress in the then T.-C. and Malabar parts of present day Kerala in 1952 was only 34.57 per cent: in 1953-54 in the then T.-C. State, it was 43 per cent; and finally, in 1957 in the present Kerala State, it was

only 37.5 per cent. It will, thus, be clear that the political parties whose names have been given by Sri Dhebar are those very parties which were either not strong enough to con-test the last General Elec-tions or did contest but were defeated. Moreover they were all opposed to the Communist Party both during the last General Elections as well as after the Elections. That Sri Dhebar should have tried to depend on the strength of even such parties as dared not contest the last General Elections for giving sustenance to his followers in Kerala shows the miserable plight in which he finds himself and his party.

Now comes the last organisation included by him in the category "political"—the VI-mochana Dal. I take it that he means by this term the "Vimochana Samara Samiti" formed by a combination of the leaders of Christian Churches and the leader of the Nair Service Society (NSS). Here, too, let it be made perfectly clear, the components of this Samit had never suported the Communist Party. Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan, for example, did not campaign for any unist candidate in any constituency.

candidates.

As for the Christian Churches, their leaders had Churches, their leaders had either carried on a raging and tearing campaign against the Communist Party (as the majority of them did), or kept aloof from any election camaloof from any electron char-paign (as a minority of them did). There is, therefore, no truth in the implied assertion that the Vimochana Samara Samiti's opposition to the Government is an indication of a shift in public opinin.

A question may arise that though all these political parties taken separately are weak, will not their very unity become a strong force? Is it not true, it may be asked, that the Communist Party's success in the last General Elections was due to the divi-sion between these various political parties? Now that they have all come together and united themselves with a view to overthrow this ernment and to defeat the Communist Party at the next General Elections, can it not be said that they jointly represent a bigger force the Communist Party? force than

#### UNITY CAN ONLY BE NEGATIVE

Now, unity or United Front of political parties will be a great force only if it is based on a minimum agreement on the most essential points of the country's econo political life. The parties and groups which have now "unit-ed" themselves in Kerala have no such minimum agreement on any of the essential points

Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan, for example, started his campaign with the slogan, "Scrap the reservation for Backward Communities" and "Withdraw the Agrarian Relations Bill". The entire Mus-lim League is opposed to the first slogan raised by Sri Padmanabhan while the Congress is divided on it. As for the second slogan, all the politi-cal parties in the State are at least paying lip sympathy to the Agrarian Relations Bill. Similarly, there are hosts of concrete economic and pe cal problems, on each of which there are sharp differences between these various parties and groups.

Furthermore, the personal and group rivalries fo which the major partner in the alliance, the Congress, has long been notorious, is still continuing as acutely as eve fore; personal rivalries be-

tween the leaders of the various parties are also serious impediments to the development of unity among them

The forces that are rallied under the joint leader-ship of these political par-ties and groups cannot therefore act as a positive force in moulding the des-tinies of the State. tini

What it can at best do is to create continuous tension in the State, keep the people of the State divided into supporters and opponents of the Government of Kerala and ruin the State's public life through such anti-social acti-vities as destruction of public property and causing inconvenience to peaceful citizens

As against this negative inity based on the common, hatred of these parties and groups for the present Gov-ernment of Kerala is the real mity of the democratic eleby the ments represented Communists and indepen-dents allied to them. That That they won a victory in the last General Elections, though on a minority of votes, is a fact of great significance for the future of the State. For, it helped the people of this State, for the first time after decade of instability and chaos in Governmental affairs, to secure the establishment of a stable administration.

It helped the various ele ments in the democratic life of the State to get started on the path of those socio-econ mic transformations for which the Congress itself stands but which the Congress was unwhich the Congress was un-able to carry out because of its inherent weaknesses. It elped the formation of Government the way of so running the administration for the noraniministration for the hor-mal five-year term, that, at the end of that term, the people can judge it on the basis of its record of work.

#### THREAT\_TO CONSTITUTION

If, in the meanwhile, any other political party or com-bination of parties so works among the people as to secure their loyalty and allegiance this Government will certainly be replaced through the normal constitutional process. It is this normal constitutional process. The so-called unity of these desperate elements on whom Sri Dhebar and his friends unfortunately depend

\* SEE PAGE 12



# TIBET TURNS A NEW LEAF

### PANCHEN OUTLINES REFORMS

A new page has now been turned in the history of Tibet. The Tibetan people have entered a new epoch-the epoch of democracy and socialism, stated Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region before the plenary session of the Com-mittee when it opened on June 28.

I fore us, as was pointed out should be observed in the lama-in the resolution of the first ses- series. The lamas should be sion of the Second National People's Congress, is to carry out the democratic reform long awaited and urgently demanded by the masses of people in Tibet.

Present-day society in Tibet is still a serf society of manorial estates without any change. The manorial lords are the serf-

The democratic reform to be Ine aemocrane reform to be carried out after the quelling of the rebellion will be peace-ful one, that is, bloodless reform. Under the brilliant leadership

of the Central Authorities and uided by the correct policy, we guided by the correct poncy, we will, in carrying out the reform, adopt the policy of buying out, that is the policy of peaceful re-form, toward the members of the upper strata in Tibet who have not joined the rebellion. This will be beneficial to both the emancipation of the broad ses of the working people and members of the upper strata. All members of the upper strata who support, agree to and ta. All members of the actively take part in the reform will have their livelihood secu-red and their political status guaranteed

Those who have used land to exploit the broad masses of the exploit the broad masses of the people for centuries and thus should, as a matter of course, become debtors of the people, return the land to the people without receiving any compen-sation. But now the policy of buying out will be adopted towards the upper strata members who have not taken part in the rebellion. The people will not take their past misdeeds into account, and will guarantee their livelihood and political

Temples and monasteries will inevitably be involved during the reform, since the ter nasteries and some of the high-ranking lamas in them also possess manorial estates and are serf-owners. It will not neficial to religion if the serfs of the aristocratic feudal government are emancipated while the serfs of the lamaseries remain in bondage. Genuine and philanthropic religion must not retain any stigma of serfdom.

Therefore, many feudal systems of oppression and exploi-tation existing in the lamaseries tation existing in the failast less should also be reformed. First of all, feudal exploitation through the use of land, debts and others which are identical with those of the aristocrats will

be subject to reform. During the carrying out of the eform, different treatment will be given to those who joined the rebellion and those who did

The attitude of the government and the people towards the lamaseries is based on the Constitution. Every one in the temples and monasteries on ning of age enjoys the rights of citizenship. He may become a people's deputy, hold a government post, work in a govern-ment office, take part in social activity and undertake productive labour. But in the past the titution was not adhered to in the monasteries and temples where there existed laws runing counter to the Constitution

The imperative task now be- of the State. The Constitution given freedom of person and recognised as citizens. Like all other people, they should enjoy the rights and duties of citizens.

stipulated in the Constitution.

#### TRUE RELIGION

Our religion teaches the deli-verance of all beings. 'All beings' means the mass of the common people. The rebels who were a small minority of the people carried out arson, murler, rape and plunder to harass masses. In order to protect the the safety and happiness of the masses, we should enforce the law against the small number of evil doers according to the extent of their crimes. If those who are most hated by the peo-ple and whose lives are de-manded by them admit their mistakes and decide to turnover a new leaf, we may persuade the masses to spare them and give them an opportunity to become new persons and become new persons and re-deem their misdeeds.

It is necesasry to distinguish good from bad, and right from wrong. If the small from wrong. If the small number of evil doers were permitted to harass the masses, how could this be called the deliverance of all beings Therefore, anything detri-mental to the masses, according to religious teaching, can and should be reformed. What I have just said is inspired by a true love for our religious teaching and in the interests of the broad masses of the people in Tibet. I believe anyone who has a sense of tice will understand thes highest and eternal principles We should make it clear that democratic reform and the protection of freedom of religious belief and cultural relics and lamaséries are different things The Government has time and again stated that the policy of freedom of religious belief has not changed and will never change, and practical life has time and again proved it.

Democratic reform is aimed at wiping out all systems of feu-dal exploitation and oppression in society, including those in the lamaseries, and at liberating the over one million labouring people from the yoke of three kinds of serf owners. Hence this is a social question.

Earlier in the course of his speech Panchen Erdeni stated: The People's Liberation Army, aided by the Tibetan people, had in the main put n the rebellion in Tibet and was now in control of all the remote areas formerly occupied by the rebels. The reactionary rule of the cruel feudal serf-owners had been abolished, the policy of ('the crops to the tillers' on the land of rebel serfowners) had been announced and interest-free loans had been

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, Panchen Erdeni said the Central People's Govern-ment and the People's Liberation Army units and function-aries stationed in Tibet have

On June 28 the Second Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for sion were Chang Ching-wu Representative of the Cen

Tibet Autonomous Region opened in Lhasa to discuss the question of carrying out democratic reforms in Tibet. The session was presided over by Panchen Erdeni,

Acting Chairman of the Committee. More than 600 observers were attending the session, among them being leading functionaries of the Work-ing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet for the Tibet Region and Committee Autonomous the Tibet Military Area Command, and representatives of people's organi-sations, various social strata, religious circles and the labouring people of

Lhasa. Special feature of the session was the presence of 100 and odd representatives of the labouring people who in the past had been looked down upon as "inferior" people.



Panchen Erdeni

consistently adhered to the Seventeen-Article Agreement. • They have persisted in the po-licy advocating the unification of the motherland, national unity, national equality and the gradual realisation of national regional autonomy and democratic reforms.

licy of freedom of religious be

and overcome all sorts of difficulties to promote the political, economic and cultural progress of the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Ti-bet Autonomous Region was at in 1956.

all these years Panchen Erdeni

In pre-liberation days there was not a single highway in Tibet. Since liberation, the tionality, together with the Tibetan people, have built high-ways totalling more than 7,000

tric station. the biggest of its kind in Tibet, is under construc-

NEW AGE

#### Preparatory Committee Meets Also present at the ses-

tral People's Government and Secretary of the Work-ing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, and Wang Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commis-sion of the State Council and Vice Head of the United Front Work Depart-ment of the Central Com-mittee of the Chinese Com-

munist Party. The session was opened by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme Secretary General and Vice-Chairman of the Committee, who said, "The current session to discuss the carrying out of the democratic reform is of great historic significance to Tibet. The session is faced with a glorious, tremendous task. It will discuss and make decisions on the questions of thorough suppression of the rebellion and work in the

> Panchen Erdeni made his speech. factories and borax works have been established and have gone gone into production in some areas. These small factories and mines have laid the foun-

rural and pastoral areas.

and the

dation for the Tibetan people to establish their own industry step by step. In the past eight years, the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command have granted pcor peasant sand herdsmen interest-free loans amounting interest-free loans amounting to 1,553,000 yuan and have supplied them with one million yuan worth of tools free of charge.

There was not a single medical institution in Tibet in the past and the Tibetan peo-

ple suffered illness and death without medical aid. After the entry into Tibet of doctors and medical workers: army or civilian, of Han nationality, three hospitals of considerable size were established in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo. Health cenres, clinics and mobile medical teams were established in various places. They have extended free medical treatment to the Tibetan people.

Functionaries coming to Tibet have alos established dozens of veterinary centres in hig towns and pastoral areas. They have given injections and treatment to millions of head of livestock a year and have saved the lives of tens of thousands of cattle and sheep.

In the past not a single regular school existed in Tibet and the children of the masses of labouring people had no opportunity of schooling Now various kinds of school schooling. have been set up and thousand of Tibetan children are now able to study. Large numbers of Tibetan functionaries have graduated from the Central Institute of Nationalities and all kinds of other schools and have also gained experience by taking part in administrative work. But the upper-strata Tibettion. an reactionaries, who attempted an reactionaries, who attempted to maintain forever their reactionary rule of serfdom

were afraid of the awakening of the masses of the people, afraid of any progressive me-asure in Tibet. They consist-ently opposed the Central People's Government and obsmicted the carrying out of the Seventeen-Articl Agreement.

The Seventeen-Article Agree-ment stipulated that the Tibetan army was to be reorganised and that the social systemthat is, the serf system—was to be reformed in conformity with was to the wishes of the people. Neither of these two essental tasks were fulfilled owing to obstru-ction by the reactionary elewere fu

But for consistent obstrucof the upper-strata reaction-ary clique, there 'would cer-tainly have been much greater progress and many more achie-vements in Tibet.

Tibet is an integral part of our great motherland. The put-ting down of the rebellion and the carrying out of any work in Tibet is China's domestic affair, in which no foreign in-tervention is allowed.

#### TWO STAGES

THE democratic reform in Tibet is proposed to be carried out in two stages. This was revealed by Vice-Chairman of Preparatory Committee Chang Kuo-hua in his report to the Committee. Chang Kuo-hua is also Vice-Secretary of the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet.

The first stage he said will consist of mobilising the masses, through suppression of the rebellion and the campaign to oppose rebelli paid forced labour and slavery and to reduce rent and interest. The second stage will be the redistribution of land.

The key link is the mobilisation of the masses, abolition of unpaid forced labour and of the treatment of persons as chattels and reduction of rent and inte-rest by those manorial lords who did not take part in the rebellion.

Meanwhile, the old regime in the countryside will be aboli-shed and peasants associations established. These associations will become the basic form of organisation to organise lead the masses to carry out democratic reform. In the period of democratic reform these asociations will in effect exercise the functions and power of gov-ernment at the basic level in the countryside.

To protect and encourage livestock raising, the herds of owners in the pastoral areas wil not be redistributed and the policy of mutual benefit between livestock owners and nen will be followed. The herds of the rebels will be confiscated and given to those who tended them. Livestock owners who have not taken part in the rebellion will still retain their animals.

Commerce will be safeguarded and law-abiding foreign merchants will be protected. Handicrafts will be-promoted.

tribution, the land, extra houses, draught animals and farm tools se who have not taken part in the rebelli will be hought out in the same way as those of the capitalists in other parts of China.

> \* SEE FACING PAGE JULY 19, 1959

\* FROM FACING PAGE

against the rebell

said.

Communist Party

ctimulated.

Between June 29 and July 3, stock-owners and herdsmen members of the Preparatory would be strictly carried out. Committee and the observers But the campaign would be laheld group meetings, at which they discussed the reports made on June 28, by Panchen Erdeni Kuo-hua and expressed full support for them.

N GAPO Ngawang Jigme Vice-Chairman and Secre-tary General of the Preparatory Committee addressing the Ple-nary session on July 3, dealt with the present fundamental and tasks in Tibet.

"In order to develop Tibetan economy and culture, and to pave the way for the Tibetan people to set out along the socialist road toward common socialist road toward common prosperity and progress toge-ther with the people of other nationalities of the mother-land, feudal serfdom in Tibet should be completely destro-ued and demogratic reterm yed and democratic reform

carried out," he said. After dealing with the two stages in democratic reform, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme descrithe immediate measures to be taken in the rural areas.

 "The system of unpaid forced labour must be abolished. Peasants and herdsmen must be emancipated from their position as chattels and regain freedom of person," he stressed.

After rent reduction, the rs of land owned by the manorial lords who had not taken part in the rebellion would share 80 per cent of the crops with seed deducted in advance, he said. The remainder would go to the manorial lords.



#### Ngapo Ngawang Jigme

All debts owed by the labouring people to the mano-rial lords at the end of 1958. would be rescinded, Ngapo Nga-wang Jigme declared. But comloans would not be mercial affected. Monthly interest of one per cent would be payable on loans granted to the labouring people this year by manorial lords who had not taken part in

The agricultural slaves (nangzan). of the mano-rial lords who had not joined the rebellion should be emancipated and would become hired labourers.

Peasant associations would be organised with poor pea-sants and farm labourers as the

backbone. The existing combackbone. The existing com-mittees formed to put down re-bellion and for production would be abolished on the for-mal founding of these associations which would become a basic form of organisation to rally the peasants for carrying rally the peasants to carrying out democratic reform and de-veloping production. At a given period, they would also exercise the power and functions of the basic level of government in the

rural areas. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme said the main tasks in the pastoral areas were to protect liveoral areas were to protect ive-stock and promote animal hus-bandary. The policy of non-re-distribution of herds owned by the livestock-owners and of mutual benefit between live-ditions."

JULY 19, 1959

Sec.



#### EIGHT YEAR'S RECORD

Recounting the work done in

They have adhered to the po-They have taken all measures

People's Liberation Army units and functionaries of Han na-

kilometres in length. Power plants have been built in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo. The Lhasa hydro-elec-

PAGE TEN

T HE Greek national SAVE MANOLIS GLEZOS !

unched in the pastoral areas the system of unpaid forced la bour and enslavement, he point-ed out. The pastoral slaves emancipated in the campaign would become hired herdsr the livestock-owners and rece-ive reasonable pay.

Rent to be paid to the ma-norial lords and their agents who own the grazing grounds would be abolished, he said. The livestock owned by the rebels would be confiscated by the ernment and distribu the herdsmen who tended them.

"Herdsmen's associations similar to peasant associa-tions will be established in carrying out the above-mentioned tasks," Ngapo Ngawang Jigme

The policy of rent and interest reduction would also apply to the land and debts owned by monastèries which had not taken part in the rebel-lion, he said. These monasteries would receive Government subsidies if their revenue henceforth was insufficient to support the livelihood of their

During the carrying out of democratic reform, freedom of religious belief would be proected in accordance with the policy laid down by the Chinese and the Govcommunist Farty and the Gov-ernment, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme pointed out. Patriotic and law-abiding lamaseries and cultural relics would be safeguarded.

rencs would be saleguarded. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme said that industry and commerce would be protected. Protection would also be given to foreign traders who observe Chinese law. Handicrafts beneficial to the national economy and peo-ple's life would be helped and

The present administrative division of Tibet—Chikyab, Dzong and Chi—which coincides the feudalistic carving up of the land according to the ownership of manors by the three sections of manorial lo is absolutely irrational and inconvenient for government, he

"It is essential to make a rational re-division. We intend to divide the whole autonomous region into seven areas and one municipality, namely, Shigatse, Chamdo, Takun, Loka, Gyantse, Nagchuka, Ari and the Lhasa municipality."

Ngapo Ngawang Jigme stated that in order that their living standards would be unaffected after the carrying out of democratic reforms in Tibet, manorial lords who did not take part in the rebellion not take part in the repellion would be recompensed for their land and other means of pro-duction and proper arrange-ments would be made for them politically so that all these upper-strata people would be happy to take the road of democratic reform. This would be heneficial to the complete emancipation of the working people. Concrete measures to imple-ment this buying-out policy were to be fully discussed at this session, he said.

cise 🕘 "The land owned by the nasteries and temples which did not take part in the rebellion will also be bought out. The lamas who stay on in the monasteries and 'temples after democratic reform and have difficulties in maintaining

hero, a sterling fighter against fascism and valiant defender of peace and his defender of peace and his country's democratic free-dom and national inde-pendence, Manolis Glezos ---the "Hero of Acropolis" --is under threat of a death sentence from a secret military tribunal.

Clapped into prison since December 5, 1958, Manolis Glezos is now to be tried on the fake charge of "espionage"—a favourite weapon of the Greek reactionaries against recogni sed patriots who have given the best years of their lives to the service of Greece and its people. Shortly before the com-mencement of his "trial", Manolis Glezos, in a letter to the Greek Prime Minister, Karamanlis, made a damning indictment of the reactionary policies of the Greek ruling circles.

"In the dock of Athens military court military court and threatened by a death sentence will be the demodeath cratic laws of the country,



the coming trial are u doubtedly spear h e a d e d against the unity of the nation... Foreign impe-rialists and the oligarchy associated with them are exerting desperate efforts to split the people, to foster differences within the ter amerences within the people, to enforce closer control over our national problems, to tie the coun-try to the chariot of their policy. "But internal political

developments, repeated elections and the daily since they are the object elections and the daily cious life. It is essential of the conspiracy whose struggle have made it quite that the Indian people, struggle have made it quite that the Indian people, clear that the demand for speedily join their efforts and all together stay the patriot. ... "Our persecution and masses.... The Govern- on Manolis Glezos.

ment is mistaken in believing that a court sentence against anyone would re-duce to naught or limit the tremendous this demand." response to

Peace-loving peoples and the democratic Press, throughout the world, in Britain or in China, in Italy or in USSR, in France or in Viet Nam, in Belgium or in Indonesia, Burma or Iraq-are demanding that the Greek Government cancel its atrocious decision and give Glezos at least the chance of a fair trial in a civil court. The President of the Soviet President of the Solicov Union, Comrade Voroshilov has in a message to King Paul appealed to him to take measures to release this gallant Greek patriot.

Through public meetings, by sending messages, letters, telegrams, etc., to the Greek authorities ling messages, the Greek authorities world public opinion is ing to save this pre-ife. It is essential mobil essential cious life.



NEW AGE

# WHO IS OUT OF TUNE?

#### **\* FROM CENTRE PAGES**

their campaign against this Govern Sri Dhebar then names the

working class organisations. Here again, it should be admitted that the list is for-midable—three central trade union organisations and several so-called "non-Communist dependent labour unions".

Sri Dhebar should, however, know that what matters is not the number of trade union organisations, but their mem-bership and the loyalty of the number of trade working class masses to them The total combined strength in the membership of the organisations which Sri Dhebar nentioned (INTUC, HMS, and UTUC) is only 90 thousand the strength of the ATTUC Unions that have dec. lared their support to the Government is 2.74 lakhs!

No more telling evidence of the miserably weak character of those organisations on which Sri Dhebar de-pends for support to his party can be given than the total failure of the united all given by all these organisations for a one-day strike on June 29. Such industrial centres as Can-nanore, Calicut, Palghat, Trichur, Alwaye, Ernakulam. and Alleppey had normal industrial life and with almost all the factories working with their normal comements of workers. same was the case with such industries that function all over the State as the plan-tations the public and pri-vate transport, beedi and cigar. etc.

It was only in Trivandrum and Quilon where the strike did have some effect. Ever here, it was only a minority of workers in almost all the strike-affected factories that joined the strike. Not even the most enthusiastic supporters of the working class organisations mentioned by Sr Dhebar would claim that the strike created even a ripple in the economic life of the State.

#### LOCAL BODIES.

Sri Dhebar then mentions the municipalities and pan-chayats, many of which, he points out, have demanded the "resignation or removal" of the present Ministry. He probably mentions this as a vindication of the claim made him and his friends that the present Ministry is not in keeping with the mood of the people whose representatives are, according to him, up in arms against the Ministry This, however, will not de-ceive anybody who has studied the recent trends in byeelections to municipalitie panchayats: I would just te a few figures regarding quote a few lights to the pan-the bye-elections to the panchayats that took place after the present Ministry took office.

The total number of `elections held to panchayats from February 1957 to February 1959 was for 175 seats. Whi the Communist Party alone secured 54 seats, the Congress secured only 34c The most significant fact is that about half of the seats secured by Communists were those gained from Congress hands Besides, there are 22 out of the 47 Independents returned who had Communist support and who vote with the Communist blo

PAGE TWELVE

example the Communist Party secured 14 seats in the bye-elections while the Congress got only two and PSP three. the seven independents five

are Communist supporters. In Kottayam District where the Communist Party was relatively weak during the general elections the panchayat bye-elections after April 1957 prove the growth of the Party there. Bye-elections were held for 27 seats: Congress got 13 Communists 12, Independents and INTUC one each. Most of the 12 seats the Commu nist Party got were gained from Congres

In Palghat District, 14 hveelections were held. Before the bye-elections there was not a single seat for the Communist Party in this place. After the bye-elections the Communist Party got 9 seats

from the Congress. In Trichur District out of the 51 bye-elections Congress won 19, Communists 14 and Independents 18, Many Inde pendents have won with Communist support, and vote with the Party.

Panchayat bye-elections held in Thiruvalla Taluk are a striking example of the growing strength and mass support of the Government. The position before the byeelections were held was as follows:

Congress	20
Communists	2
Independents	3
Total	25
The position after the	bve
election is as follows:	
Congress	9
Communists	. 7
Communist	•
Independents	5
P.S.P.	5 2
Non-Party	. 4
Independents	2.
Total	25
Thus, while the Conjust 11 seats the Comp	

lost 11 seats the Commun Party and its supporters have gained 10 seats.

As for municipal councils. 19 bye-elections took place between April 5, 1957 and May 1959. Of these, 15 were originally held by the Opposition and only four by the Opposition nist Party. Now bowerer nist Party. Now, however, the Communist Party holds 10 and the Opposition has nine.

THE QUESTION, THERE-FORE, NATURALLY ARI-SES: WHO IS OUT OF TUNE WITH THE MOOD OF THE PEOPLE: THE THE PEOPLE: THE MINISTRY, OR THOSE LO-CAL SELF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE DEMANDING ITS "RESIGNATION OR RE-MOVAL"?

May I, in this connection, further remind Sri Dhebar that the municipalities and panchayat boards which are dopting these resolutions were elected much earlier than the present Legislature. Many of them were elected as long ago as 1952-53. They are all due for re-election in a few months when the new Panchayat Bill and District Councils Bill come into force Sri Dhebar mentions several Bar Associations. I admit Bar Associations. I admit that a substantial section of Bar the lawyers of the State do not take kindly to our Gov-ernment. Nor do I think will they take kindly to the Connunist bloc. gress itself if it actually starts In Trivandrum District for carrying out the resolutions

which it has adopted, such as the Nagpur resolution on Land Reforms. Many lawyers are opposed to the fundamental. socio-economic transformations for which the Communist Party stands and some of which are accepted by the Congress at least on paper.

There are however large numbers of lawyers who are disturbed at the disruptive trends that are given encouragement to by the friends and followers of Sri Dhebar (prevention of the normal functioning of schools stop page of transport buses, des-truction of school and transport property etc., etc.) Many of them have given expres-sion to their apprehension as to what will happen if every political party that is defeat-ed in a General Election proceeds to organise direct action against the Government form ed by the party that won the elections

Lastly comes the category of "newspapers". Sri Dhebar triumphantly proclaims that 26 out of 30 daily newspapers have demanded the resigna-tion of the present Government. May I remind him that most of these 26 papers had carried on a raging and tearing campaign against the Communist Party at the time of the last General Elections? The results of the Elections showed that it was those papers, and not the Commu-nist Party, which was out of tune with the mood of the people. Is it not legitimate to conclude that their deman for resignation today is a continuation of their opposition to the Communist Party at the time of the General Elections, as is true in the case of the political parties?

#### WHERE IS THE SHIFT ?

This brief description of the organisations and groups list-ed by Sri Dhebar would be enough to disprove the contention that large sections of people have shifted their oyalty from the Government the Opposition

The reality is that organisations and groups which were in opposition from the beginning have changed over from an apparent tole-ration of, or rather an apparently constitutional opposition to the Government to openly unconstitutional opposition, i.e. "direct ac-tion of all forms with a view to paralysing the ad-ministration" as Sri San-kar, President, KPCC put it.

This changeover was made by them not because they have any reasonable ground for doing so, nor because they are confident of conducting a powerful movement in the State against the Government.

What emboldened them to do this was the hope that, if they resort to some form of direct action and create trouble for the Government. they will get direct assist-ance from the Central Government which, after all, is headed by a party that had suffered defeat at the hands of the Party which is heading the Government in this State.

It is not necessary for me o trace the history of the attempts made by the Opposition with the h the help of a sec-All-India leadertion of the All-India leader-ship of the Congress to create

NEW AGE

nfidence in their own ranks that the Central Government will come to their rescue. I need only point out the last occasion on which some such assurance seems to have been given to them. I am referring to the discussion between the Kerala Pradesh Congress leaders and certain members of the Congress High Com-mand at Ooty in the last part of May and the beginning of

What transpired between the Kerala Pradesh and All-India leaders is not fully clear. There is nevertheld the fact that Sri P. T. Chacko, the leader of the Opposition in the Kerala Legislature, told the Congress President, Smt. Indira Gandhi, that it was Sri Dhebar who dictated the draft of a statement subseque statement subsequently sued in the name of Sankar, the President of KPCC, which was inter-preted by the Pradesh Congress leaders as sanction for all that they did on June 12 and subsequently.

#### WHAT WAS THE **MISUNDERSTANDING ?**

When the copy of this tele-gram was published by a news agency, the Congress Presi-dent who was asked by journalists about it did not either the existence telegram or the fact that the statement was dictated Sri Dhebar. Her only expla nation was that there was some "misunderstanding" between the Pradesh and India leaders. Sri Dhebar himself subsequently confirm-ed this, stating that the "misunderstanding" concerned the scope of direct action and that the statement dictated by him had itself given room such misunderstanding neither Sri Dhebar nor erstanding. Smt. Gandhi explained what the misunderstanding was or how it was cleared

Did the Congress High Command give sanction to the Pradesh Congress leaders for starting the direct action? If so, what was the scope and limit of the direct action to which they gave their sanc-tion? Did the Pradesh Congress leaders follow these instructions set by the High Command? If they did really transgress the limits set by the High Command, were they pulled up and asked to limit themselves to the original ins-tructions? Or, did the High Command itself stretch the scepe and limit of the direct action beyond their original conception and follow the Pradesh Congress leaders and bless them in resorting to the direct action as was actually practised by them?

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Above all; was Sri Sankar, the President of the KPCC, following the instructions of the High Command when he made repeated declarations that the "direct action" which they were resorting to would take "all forms" and that its objective was to "paralyse the

administration"? The very silence of the Pradesh and All-India Congress leaders on these as-pects of what was called by Smt. Gandhi and Sri Dhebar as a "misunderstanding", is significant. Sri Dhebar and his friends will kindly pardon us for coming to the conclusion that they have given the assurance to Sri Sankar and others that, if the "direct action" that was being launched by the Op-position would really succeed in "paralysing the administration" the Centre would

IN ANY CASE, IT IS OB-IN ANY CASE, IT IS OB-VIOUS THAT THE MAIN PROP OF THE SO-CALLED UPSUIRGE PEOPLE'S UPSURGE AGAINST THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF KE-RALA" HAS BEEN THE HOPE SEDULOUSLY FOS-TERED AMONG THEIR FOLLOWERS THAT, IF THE STATE GOVERNMENT RE-STATE GOVERNMENT RE-FUSES TO RESIGN AS DE-MANDED BY THE OPPO-SITION, THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WILL USE ITS AUTHORITY TO DIS-MISS THEM.

A casual perusal of the 26or so daily newspapers re-ferred to by Sri Dhebar, will show that they have all been stressing the need for and the possibility of the Centre dis-missing the Ministry on some pretext or other. This has been the refrain of the editorials, other articles, featur-ing of news, etc., etc. How did this universally expressed hope of these papers, or Sri Dhebar depends for sup-port, come to take this line unless it has somether unless it has something to do with the way in which the Ooty "misunderstanding" Ooty came to develop as mention-ed above? standing"

The point today is: Is the Congress prepared to say un-equivocally that it does not depend on the Central Government for the attainment of its objective of the present Government? I am sure that, if the various opposition parties and groups that have now come together for organising such forms of "direct action" as will "paralyse the administration told that the Central Government cannot look upon direct action in Kerala as in any way different from direct action in any other State, this whole so-called "people's upsurge" will die down in a. few hours.

Last week in Kerala saw the further development of classes were on. At Karikkode to scare the people and attack-the mass campaign in support of the Communist Govern-ment and the simultaneous intensification of violence and nearby bars with the support of the communication of the second desperation of the forces of reaction.

I harget of attack was the Harijan agricultural labourers. On July 11, at Changanassery, the newly built beautiful office of the Communist Party was at-Harijan On July 11, at Changanassery, the newly built beautiful office tacked and damaged by a gang of about 500 rowdies under the eadership of the Congress. Some comrades who were in the office at that time were in-jured due to stone-throwing. Black granite stones and iron rods were showered on the

Another despicable tactic employed by the Congress and other opposition parties is to spread lies that Communists have attacked them and under that cover start assaults on Communist Party cadres and sympathisers.

For example, they distributed a leaflet in Thiruvella alleging that the Communist conspi-red to murder the local Con-gress MLA, Shri M. M. Mathai and the Panchavat President. On another occasion they issued another false statement that the Communists attacked the Malleppally Congress Office and Khadi store. While issuing such false and provocative statements, the MLA concerned and his followers go on call-ing from public platforms for the assassination of Commun-ists, the destruction of their

houses, offices, etc. A particularly favourite tar-get of these goondas are the person and bustees of the agriultural labourers. On July 9 at Thiruvella, a diabolical at-tack was made on a group of Harijan families injuring many people including women and children.

On July 8, at night an effort was made to set fire to the Pra-\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*



JULY 19. 1959



U NFORTUNATELY, not even all the names of the differ-ent trades unions can be given since the catalogue would be too long, to say nothing of their Workers' Union; the Calcutta Corporation Workers' Union; the West Bengal Motor Trans-port Workers' Union and the Workers' Union and the port Workers' Union and the port Workers' Union and the West Bengal Press Worker's and Employees' Union, etc. Typical of the initiative disess statements, telegrams and emorandums. We shall have press to be selective, however invidithis might be.

### Class

In the forefront must be placed the resolution of the work-ing committee of the Andhra dech Trades Union Congress (APTUC), passed at its recent session at Nagarjunsagar. Not only has it decided to hold a soonly has it decided to hold a so-lidarity week from July 14 but it has proclaimed its culmina-tion in a symbolic strike on July 21. It should not be for-gotten that the APTUC is far and away the most represen tive State-wide organisation of the workers. The Unions sym-pathetic to the APTUC are also likely to join the campaign and

this union on July 8 unanimous ly passed a resolution condemn-ing the unjustified and uncon-From West Bengal our corndent has already reported that 16 powerful organisa-tions of the working-class have raised their voice loud and clear stitutional agitation of the Op-This resolution states that "the Council is of the opinion states that -Hands Off Kerala! Among these unions special mention must be made of the Darjeeling Chia Kaman Mazdur Union, that the Kerala Government has undertaken legislation and other measures which are strongly which unites most of the plantation workers in the area; the Jaya Engineering Workers' Union; the Burn Workers' Uni-on; the West Bengal Biri Mazdur the vested interests like the Ca-trenchantly concludes "to say tholic church and the Nair land-that a re-election in Kerala lords who have sponsored this would set matters right was to

# **Opposition Gangsterism Continues**

swamy who had been sleeping in the verandah of a nearby shop woke up in the nick of time and raised a hue and ery. The miscreants ran off. If their plan had materialised, Cannanore would have been in ruins today as the bookshop is situated in a crowded business locality of the town.

Instances of attacks on and destruction of public property have been on the increase. In a statement issued on July 12, at Delhi, the Information Officer of the Kerala Government states: "During the last three weeks, a large number of transport boats were forci-bly detained from service and tied on the way; a few were heavily stoned and damaged Several boat employess

were assaulted, four of them brutally". Of the recent incidents of schools being set fire to, one happened at Pazhangalam West Departmental Lower Primary School near Quilon. Girls' schools seem to be marked out as targets in many cases. A Girls' High School at Manacaud was heavily stoned when the

nearby house with the approach of the raiders.

A school at Kundra was raid-ed for the second time recently by a group led by the local Congressmen. They were armed with knives and daggers. Apart from destroying the school furniture, they roughly handled the girls and assaulted both students and teachers. Kids were thrown out through the windows.

A Government press note re leased on July 12 gave the following details about the attack on Harijans in Kallada recently: "At about 4.15 pm some three hundred persons support ing the present agitation against the Government proceeded to Singarapalli interior villag in Kundra police station limits of Quilon District. It may be recalled that since the clash in East Kallada area on July 6, communal tension between anti-Government agitators and other sections had been growing.

"In the afternoon of July 11, the bells of Koduvilla Catholic church (in East Kalla-da area), it is reported, began tolling, on hearing of which the people of the neighbour hood collected. It is this crowd which proceeded to Singarapalli, the place inhabited predominantly by Harijans.

"They fired country crackers

played by the workers of West Bengal was the imaginative tac-

Bata Works Apart from taking

a very active part in the meet-

ised by the 24-Parganas District

Council of the Communist Party of India, they were anxious to

participate in the Calcutta Mai-

dan rally of June 12. As many as 12 hundred Bata workers submitted individual applica-

questing to allow them leave

since they wished to protest against the threat of Central in-

tervention in Kerala. The textile workers of Amrit-

sar have for some years now been organised under the ban-

ner of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta

Union. The General Council of

re

tions to the management

tics of those employed in

ings and demonstration

sustained serious injuries in the removed to attack have been the Hospital".

#### **People Rally** Behind Govt.

As this sort of vandalism and hooliganism goes on in the name of "mass upsurge", the masses are in actual fact rallying ever more in support of the Communist Party and its Government. At Pattanamthitta<sup>\*</sup> on July 7 under the auspices of the Communist Party, a huge rally and demonstration was held. In pouring rain, thousands of peo-ple sat for hours to hear, the ech of the local Communist speech of the local Communist MLA Comrade Veliyam Bhargavan

On July 12 at Ernakulam, is demonstration of an enormous demonstration of over 25,000 people in pouring rain marched through the streets of the town proclaim. ing the support of people for the Kerala Government. Significantly, the meeting and demonstration was creanised by a joint front of Communist Party, the SNDP (the organisation of the Ezhava community) branches, Pulayar Mahajanasabha, trade unions, agricultural labour unions and Kisan Sabha branches. Comrade A. K. Gopalan, MP and Comrade T. Nagi Reddy, MP addressed the vast gathering of people estimated at over a lakh.

On the same day, at Quilon another huge demonstration and another hock place in support of the Government. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, MP and Comrade K. Damodaran.

A feature of the popular support for Kerela Government has been the active participation of ordinary people in helping the s in repairing damages authorit to public property or protecting it from the depredations of the Liberation-war mongers. In every place, when a school has been set fire to, people from around the areas rushed to the ce to save the school from destruction.

For example when the Pa-zhangalam West Lower Primary school near Quilon was set fire to by the criminals, the people of the locality rushed to the school and at great risk to themsolves succeeded in removing the benches, desks and records before being damaged by fire. The ordinary people around as well as the passengers of buses and boats have come forward at great risk to their lives to save public property. This itself is the sure indication of the con-cern of the people for their Government and their active interest in saving the property of the State.

—K.P.S.M.

#### FOR MINISTRY FROM ALL OVER SUPPORT

One of the most significant features—and immensely heartening too—of the splendid "All for Kerala" campaign in the past week has been the mighty response of the organ-ised working class of our country. This itself should give the Congress big-wigs cause for pause-India's workers, least of all, are to be trifled with.

agitation to undermine this beneficient legislation".

"This It strongly concludes: Council calls upon the Central Congress leadership to call off the unconstitutional agitation at once. This Council also de-mands from the Central Gov-ernment that there should be no intervention by the Government of India".

The Jaipur Building Workers' Union has also added its strength to the protests which must be burning the ears of the Congress Parliamentary Board members. Its Executive Com mittee passed a fiery resolution recently in which it issued a stern warning to these Con-gress leaders not to order order Central Government intervenn. It concluded by stating: "If democracy is murdered in Kerala, there are enough men of courage to take revenge".

Apart from the workers, a particularly active public opinion have been the lawyers. On another page we carry a report of the memorable meeting organised for Comrade EMS by the Democratic Lawyers organisation of Delhi. In the same tradition has been the appeal to the Rashtrapati issued by Sri Arun Prakash Chatterjee on behalf of the West Bengal Democratic Lawyers' Association. The appeal urges the Rashtrapati to act as the custodian of the Contsitution and to prevent its violation.

Thirty-two advocates of the Patna High Court have addressed a statement to the Rashtrapati asking him to call a halt to the "suicidal policy" of the Conbeneficial to the workers and the "suicidal policy" of the Con-peasants of the State and it is gress leadership. The statement

deceive one's ownself and to give a democratic garb to the whole thing...so long as a government has a majority in-side the legislature under the Constitution no one should be allowed to profess by it and at the same time tear it"

Fifty-one lawyers of Allahabad in a joint statement on July 10 urged that the agitation launched by the Opposition in Kerala should be called off. Describing the agitation as unconstitutional, the signatories to the statement, who included the Secretary of the Allahabad District Bar Association, said that basic principles of democracy should not be destroyed.

The statement concludes on the following sage note: "The destruction of democracy in any one part of the country would have its undesirable repercus-... It is still sion elsewhere also. not late for the Congress and other Opposition parties to accept the offer of the Kerala Chief Minister to sit round a table and discuss the outstanding issues".

An overwhelming majority of the Bar Association of Lansdown. Garhwal, passed a strong resolution at its meeting on July 13 under the chairmanship of Sri P. D. Parbola, President of the Association.

Condemning the Opposition in Kerala the resolution states: "The demand for re-election... will prove a dangerous prece-dent to the future of Indian democracy and no government, State or Central, will be in a position to complete the full term of its office peacefully" full The resolution has been forwarded to the Rashtrapati, the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of Kerala.

### CHINAKURI DISASTER-**PROSECUTION** ORDERED

The Government of India are reported to have informed the Indian Mines Workers' Federation that prosecution has already been launched against the Owner, Agent and Manager of the Chinakuri Colliery belonging to the Bengal Coal Co. Ltd.

the tragic disaster here on February 19, 1958 took a toll of over 300 lives. In fact, the exact number of the dead could never be calculated in the absence of any attendance register or proper lamp registers.

The Court of Enquiry had come to the amazing conclusion that there was nothing wrong with the Management. The Chief Inspector of Mines had publicly declared that these were the best managed mines' in the country. The Indian Mine Workers' Federation and the AITUC chal-lenged the findings of the Court of Enquiry and demandecution of the management as well as the Govern-ment officials concerned. The matter was raised in the Parliament.

The prosecution, coming in the wake of this agitation is an implied admission that the stand of the Indian Mines Workers' Federation and the AFTUC was well justified.

Comrade Renu Chakravarty MP. Vice-President rade Kalyan Roy, General Secretary of the Federation, have in a statement hailed this prosecu-tion and demanded a fresh enquiry to reveal the "terrible history" of "gross neg-ligence" lying at the root of the disaster.

The prosecution that might launched for such 'mino offences as the failure to keen attendance registers, etc... may not reveal the full story of negligence and mis-management. Hence, it is accessary that the Government of India's Ministry of Labour official is entrusted with the conducting of prosecution. The Chief Inspector of Mines, who has earlier praised the management as the best in the country, cannot be expected to do justice to the prosecution.

#### **PROMOTION IN RESERVE BANK**

SERIOUS unrest exists among the Reserve Bank employees, particularly in Bombay, on the sudden proof a class III employee



T would be recalled that in the Agricultural Credit De-

partment to the post of a Rural Credit Officer—a class I post.

The Reserve Bank is a nationalised institution and a custodian of our banking sys-tem and our economy. It has to set an example for, and not emulate the practice in pri-vate institutions. It is an ex-panding institution and the employees naturally expect brighter prospects for them-selves with creation -of new posts and opening of new departments and offices.

The All-India Reserve Bank Employees' Association has, therefore, been consistently demanding that un to th Supervisory posts the promo-tion should be strictly on the basis of seniority and 10 per cent of the higher posts should be earmarked for accelerated promotion on the basis of competitive tests.

But the Reserve Bank has all along been refusing to adopt a consistent, principled and generally agreed to promotion policy. There is a tendency to consider it a spe-cial prerogative of the administrative authorities. There policy. have been innumerable instances when promotions in Re serve Bank have created serious heart burning and agitation among the staff.

But this 'promotion' in Bom-

bay appears to climax continued unprincipled approach to the problem.

The selection of this class III employee for promotion to a class I officer's post is in violation even of Staff Regu-lation No. 10. This regulation lays down that unless the post is of a specialised nabure, selection to higher posts shall be made from the em-ployees who have served as either Superintendents or as Staff Assistants. But this employee has been given a sudden jump from a clerk to an officer. Even as a clerk she had been in service only for two years.

The authorities appear to argue that:

-She has outstanding abi-

lity. -She was outstanding in the interview.

-That similar practice existed in private banks.

LABOUR NOTES BY RAI BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.

SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

#### Far from satisfying anybody these arguments are, on the contrary grossly provocative.

The Bank introduced an Assistants' Examination in the Department of Research and Statistics. How is it that the nost of a Rural Credit Officer could be filled in by just an interview? Further:

-She did not apply for the post.

-The provisions of Staff Regulations have not been adhered to.

-No competitive test has been undertaken. Hence, the unrest and the public demonstration and pro-test on May 27. The Reserve

Bank authorities have only themselves to blame for ing created such a situation. Even now it is not too late for the Bank authorities to retrace their steps and arrive at a negotiated settlement with the Association both on the issue involved and for evolving a proper promotion

#### SWATANTRA IN ACTION

S IX hundred and fifty workmen of the National Electric Industries Ltd., Bombay are on streets because of the vindictive behaviour of Sri Morarji Vaidya—a leader newly-formed Swa- back on its word and 14 workof, the tantra Party.

This concern manufactures electric motors and trans-formers of 1,000 to 3,000 KVA capacity. The State Governments and the Bombay Cor-poration are the main pur-chasers of its products. The market is thus guaranteed and profits accrue to the company mainly by public sector consumption.

It was in April that the Company suddenly retrenched work since June 20 and an 10 workmen and altered the indefinite lock-out has been wage-structure unilaterally. Having failed in all their efforts to persuade the emunilaterally. ployer to arrive at a nego- for its good offices in bringing tiated settlement with the about a settlement in the union the workers stuck work matter.

continued up to June 10. At this stage Comrade S. S. Mirajkar, President of the AI-TUC, intervened. He and Comrade Vithal Choudhry of the General Engineering Workers' Union met Sri Vaidya. On an express under-standing that none would be victimised, the workers were advised to resume work. But the management went

on April 24, 1959. The strike

men were charge-sheeted and their services were terminated because they had "lost the confidence" of the employers Sri Vaidva who first ex-

pressed ignorance of and surprise at the manage-ment's action later switched on to a blatant defence of victimisation and even shame-facedly denied having given any assurance against victimisation. The workers have struck

declared since June 26. The union leaders have approached the Bombay Government

# **HANDS OFF KERALA!**

ganisations, social and cultu-

It is already in the process

Rallies and demonstrations

yers' Association, Chairman,

16 teachers of a Secondary School, Sri Amar Basu, MLA,

Bloc. all the Insurance

titutions.

\* FROM PAGE 3

nists in the Government in Kerala.

Kerala. The struggle to defend the Kerala Government, he em-phasised, was a decisive struggle for national advance at a crucial turning point in the history of our country. The formation of the Communist-led Government in all walks of life, appealing to him to give no quarter to this Kerala marked an important stage in India's march to-wards full democracy; it had conspiracy and thus safeshown the path that would . be traversed by the entire country, Comrade Dange conguard constitutional pro-priety and parliamentary insluded

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta. who presided over the rally, also spoke. A resolution was adopted at the meeting criticising the Congress leadership and expressing solidarity with the Kerala Government. The West Bengal State Exe-cutive Committee of the Communist Party, which met on July 6, discussed the latest and demonstrations all over the State was also drawn up. of implementation. Between July 10 and 12, mass demons-trations took place in diffeents in Kerala in developments in Kerala in the context of the threat of rent parts of the State. Scores of meetings were also held in mofussil towns, industrial centres and villages. Resolu-Central intervention and expressed its severest con-demnation of the "utterly demnation of the "utterly mofussil towns, industrial tendentious and cynically hy-pocritical resolution of the Congress

Parliam entary ing were sent to the Presi-Board' The Committee reviewed, in this connection, the are now taking place almost mass campaign to defend daily. The mass campaign is the Kerala Government. It steadily assuming the form of in this connection. the extended its warmest greeta State-wide battle.

The State Kisan Sabha, West Bengal Democratic Lawings to the people of Cal-cutta and West Bengal for their magnificent response during the first phase of the mass campaign which had begun with the obser-vance of the "Kerala Week" from June 6 The Committee further felt the urgent necessity of rous-

ing public opinion in this NEW AGE

State on a much bigger scale nlovees' of Burdwan. Taliala to defeat the conspiracy for Central intervention. It, therefore, decided to launch Committee of the Bustee Fe-deration and 16 trade unions some of which are powerful organisations, have alread sent wires to the President immediately a Statewide "Hands-off Kerala" campaign According to the programme finalised by the Committee, People from all walks of life are readily putting their signatures on post cards add-ressed to the President. the President of the Indian Union would be deluged with thousands of post cards, bear-Among those who have ing signatures of people from

signed are Sri D. N. Mukher-, former Mayor of Calcutta, e leader and 15 Councillors of the Opposition in the Corporation, seven Municipal Commissioners, Sri Uttam Kumar and Sri Kali Banerjee, noted Bengali film stars; 12 advocates, 17 pleaders of the Sealdah Police Court, The Committee was further confident that mass signa-tures would be collected and artists, literateurs, engineers, industrialists, professors, tea-chers, medical practitioners trade union and student learesolutions and telegrams would be sent from mass orral institutions. An intensive programme of mass meetings ders and over 600 employees of the Indian Statistical Ins-

> Within two days, 19.641 signatures have been col-lected on 2,717 post cards. The first batch of 1,185 cards, bearing 8,537 signatures were posted at the G.P.O. on July 11, in the presence of a huge crowd. Signatures are also being collected on a statement.

which views with grave concern the threat to parliamentary democracy arising out of the agitation in Kerala.

Among the mominent signatories to this statement are Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of the widely circulat-Vice-Chairman and 17 Com-missioners of the Burdwan Municipality, workers and employees of this civic body, ed Bengali daily, Yugantar, Dr. Triguna Sen, Rector of Jadavpur University and former Congress Mayor of Cal-cutta, Sri Pabitra Ganguly, noted Bengali writer, and Dr. Dhiren Sen, well-known leader of the Marxist Forward public figure.

JULY 19. 1859

# INDOCHINA-FIVE YEARS AFTER **GENEVA AGREEMENTS**

tion.

Stalled

H ALF a decade has passed since the Geneva Agree-ments were signed and the guns were silenced in Indochina. The ending of the colo-nial war unleashed by the French imperialists in Indochina was both a significant victory for the national liberation struggles of the resurgent Asia and for the forces of peace throughout the world.

However, these five years have shown that while the French colonialists have had to eave Indoching the US imp rialists have stepped into shoes bringing along with them US weapons and military sonnel, building military h nersponsoring puppet regimes, in hort, transforming this Asian region into a hotbed of tension and a focus of an armed conflict. One of their main aims has been to prevent the full imple-mentation of the Geneva Agreements-the guarantee of peace in Indochina.

No Elections

> Geneva Agreements comprise three main categories of provisions: 1) on the cessaof hostilities and the restoration of peace; 2) on preventing the resumption of hostilities, and 3) on a political set-tlement. While these were solemnly guaranteed by the Soviet the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom and France, the USA had felt unhappy and had issued a separate declaration, quite ominous in it-self even then. For supervising and control-

ling the execution of the Agreements, appropriate organisa-tions were formed—the International Commissions for Supervision and Controls for Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. composed of India, Poland and Ca-nada, with India as the Chairman of each of them. The International Commisf each of them. sions, under the Chairmanship the United States and their sa-

THE passing away of Natyacharya Sisir Kumar Bhaduri on June 30 will be mourned not only by all lovers of dramatic art but, indeed, by all who cherish the renaissance of our na-tional culture, in which he

played so notable a part. Born 70 years ago, Sisir Kumar finally took to the professional stage in 1921, at a time when the mass tional awakening had Tareached new heights. reached new heights. Ta-gore, Sarat Chandra and Nasrul Islam ° were then powerfully influencing the minds and hearts of the Bengali people.

At this moment Sisir Kumar appeared on the stage not only as a great actor but also as the creator of a new dramatic movement, suited to the spirit of the new epoch. His novel tech-nique, the new content of the plays and his superb helped livery not only

ried through for over 30 years. He fought hard for the repeal of the notorious Dramatic Performance Act of 1876, the abolition of the entertainment tax and for a proper national stage in the different towns of the

have "lapsed".

Dumped

Arms

country. The Congress rulers paid scant attention to his wishes. And his gesture of rejecting the 'Padmashree' award was only the climax of long resentment. Ignor-ed by the Government he -and is-enshrined in was the hearts of his people.

The Communist Party India offers its deep ho India offers its deep hom-age to the memory of this great artiste and patriot and conveys its condolences to the bereaved family.

#### JULY 19, 1959



of our country, ass responsibilities as soon as the last shots died out on the battlefields of Indochina. Their efforts towards the fair imple mentation of the military clau ses of the agreements, have won for them world-wide recogni-

#### **Geneva Agreements**

But, the implementation of the political clauses was the chance which the US ruling circles seized. And the world the International Commis sions in this field is also by no means beyond reproach. To give the two most glaring

instances: First, the final declaration o the Geneva Conference, in its Article seven, had clearly provided for general elections for the reunification of Vietnam by "July 1956, under the con-trol of an International Com-mission...." and for "consultations on this subject... bel ween the competent representa-tive authorities of the two zones from July 20, 1955 onwards"

Nothing of the kind has been done so far. Repeated ptopo-sals of the North Vietnam gov-ernment, add.essed to the South Vietnam authorities for con-vening the consultative conference, as provided for in above-mentioned clause of the Geneva Agreements, have been turned down by the latter. e th

And after the passing o date-July 1956-ottempts have been made to deny its validity. Some have tried to dub it an "extinct clause", and to argue that the Agreements as a whole

The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel, which the Geneva Agreements expressly qualified as "provisional", is being sought to be converted . by



to raise the cultural standards of the audience, but wrought a veritable revo-lution in the professional theatre a work he car-



tellites—the South Vietnam authorities—into "a political or cterritorial boundary" from where they can pounce upon North Vietnam. Secondly, the Geneva Agree-

ments, in article 17-a, "clearly stipulated the prohibition "to introduce into Vietnam any reinforcement in the form of all types of arms, munitions and other war material, etc. ... "The only exception to this prin-ciple, formulated in paragraph (b) of the said article was: "It is understood, however, that war material, arms and ammunitions which have been des troyed, damaged, worn out or used up after the cessation of hostilities may be replaced on the basis of piece-for-piece of the same type and with similar characteristics".

The meaning of the above paragraph (b) is unambigu-ous. And yet, it has been used as a pretext to replace the war material belonging to the French Union forces, which they took away while with-drawing from Indochina.

More than that, the new interpretation of this article in the Geneva Agreement, became the "legal" pretext for the re-arming of South Vietnam with US weapons, which the International Commission accepted in its decision of May 4, 1958.

South Vietnam is today a huge US military base. Out of the one thousand million dol-lars given to South Vietnam between 1954-58, 65 per cent were for military purpose

Hence, on the fifth anniversary of the Geneva Agreements has registered very signi-

#### LONG LIVE THE IRAQI REVOLUTION ?

T HE people of Iraq last week have been celebrating the first anniversary of their glorious July 14. It was only a year ago that hangman Nuri Said's Iraq which imperialism considered its strongest bastion in West Asia fell like a house of cards before the pent-up anger and the well-prepared hammer-blow of the united people and army of Iraq led by a true son of the people, Abdel Karim Kassim. Imperialism again tried its old game of Suez-of landing troops and posing military threats. But alas! time had changed still more. Before the mighty rallying of world popular forces and the warnings from the single greatest friend of the newly-independent peoples-the Soviet Union and the Socialist Camp-imperialism had to beat another ignominious retreat.

It has since resorted to the more subtle game of trying to set popular forces against one another-with the outworn weapon of anti-Communism as the main weapon and the heroic Communist Party of Iraq as the main target.

In this too they have won no success worth the name. The Iraqi people have marched during this one year from one victory to another and the first anniversary of the Revolution finds them more united and poised to win new victories! (The nicture above shows mass rejoicing in Baghdad at Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact on March 27)

ficant advances in all fields of puppet regimes for creating national development, South Vietnam is being groomed for fresh adventures in South-East Asia, by the US imperialists. A reign of terror has loose there. been let

News of armed clashes provoked by the Royal, Laotian armies are appearing in Indian and world Press. The Laotian Government's rejection of the Geneva Agreements and its refusal-sustained by Britain allow the reconvening of the International Commission, are ably to the repeated offers for clear enough indications of the on Indochina, we see today that fact that along with South while North Vietnam, abiding Vietnam, the US intends to by and correctly executing drag Laos also into the Seato military bloc and to use their

tension

Peace forces in India, Asiaand the world—must mobilise to ensure that the US respects the Geneva Agreements, that the International Com sion convenes and supervises the fair implementation of the political clauses of the Agreement as well.

In this connection it is imperative that pressure is mounted on the South Vietnam regime to compel'it to respond favournegotiations for peaceful reuni-fication made by the North Vietnam government.

> -RAZA ALI PAGE FIFTEEN



#### FROM GERALD PEREIRA

For the first time in the history of the city, over 5,000 Keralites many with their 'mundus' on, marched through the streets of Bombay on July 12, drenched fully in rains and dancing with joy, to express their full and unconditional support to the EMS Government in New Kerala.

ment in New Kerala. **T**HE class-conscious citi-zens of Bombay North watched and cheered the im-pressive and orderly proces-sion walking in twos, carry-ing a huge Red banner in front, which had inscribed on it: "Rally behind Kerala Government". The proces-sion after zig-zagging through Parel, Dadar and Matunga areas converged at Indian Gymkhana 'Grounds (Ma-tunga) where a rally of over 40,000 Malayalees was held. Practically, every fourth Ma-layalee in the city, out of the one-and-a-half lakhs citizens from the fourteenth State, turned out at the rally. The Bombay Malayalees who held a convention in the

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The Bombay Malayalees who held a convention in the morning of the same day at Vanmali Hall, representing all the sections of Keralites from the different wards of the city, for Defence of Demo-cracy, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning "the direct action and the inces-sant campaign of hartal and strife accompanying it which have gravely endangered the normal <u>life</u> of the various communities inhabiting Ke-rala and their peace-loving pursuits, threatened the raia and their peace-loving pursuits, threatened the smooth and systematic exe-cution of the great plans of national reconstruction, un-dermined the fundamental principles of Constitutional-ism " ism.

resolution continues. The "....This Convention pro-tests against the opportunis-tic and partisan approach to the problem in Kerala taken the problem in Kerala taken by the premier political orga-nisation in India, which has formed the Government at the Centre and in 13 other States. It strongly feels that the resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board has encouraged the forces of anar-chy and chaos at present in Kerala and will lead to the same state of affairs in other

parts of India in future". The Convention which was attended by 823 delegates was inaugurated by Comrade was inaugurated by Comrade A. S. R. Chari who, congra-tulating the organisers for bringing up such a Conven-tion within three days, said that it reflects the mass up-surge of the Keralites and gives a heavy blow to the re-action. He called upon the Keralites to extend their sup-port to the Kerala Govern-ment in order to uphold the ment in order to uphold the democracy in the country and to prevent Ayub Khans rising

in our midst. Comrade Vasudevan Nair, Comrade Vasudevan Nair, MP, who greeted the Conven-tion on behalf of the people of Kerala, explained in de-tail the latest developments in Kerala and showed how the toiling masses are fully behind the Namheodicing behind the Government. Namboodiripad

"Even the foreign press correspondents who had come to see the fall of Government", he said, "went away fully convinced

that the Communist Ministry will not fall because of the huge mass upsurge there in support of the Ke-

rala Government". The Bombay Keraleeya Sa-miti for Defence of Demo-cracy has elected a 101-member Committee to carry on the work in the city. Srimati Sarah Latifi has been elected as the President and Comrade A. P Secretary. P. Narayanan as the

#### Rival Show Flops

The 5,000 storng procession which started from the Kam-gar Miadan at 4 p.m. had to face a challenge (it could scarcely be called that) from a rival procession starting from the same place and at the same time, jointly organised by Sri M. Madhavan's (PSP) Kerala Aid Commit-tee, the Bombay Branch of PSP, the Kerala Socialist Leatee, the Bombay Branch or PSP, the Kerala Socialist Lea-gue and otheg Congress groups, etc. The unfortunate 400 had to walk fast (not. march!) in twos keeping a gap of 2 yards, in between to make the procession appear longer. They went to Napoo Gardens, and Sarvashrees Madhu Dandavate, Peter Al-vares and M. Madhavan has to be satisfied in addressing "a heavily advertised meet-ing", of 700 people. In sharp and significant contrast a huge mass of humanity packed the In-dian Gymkhana Grounds, flooded the gulleys and climbed up the terraces. A novel feature was that for

cumped up the terraces. A novel feature was that for the first half hour there was slogan-shouting, and the maidan echoed with a 'strange language' which few (other than Malayalees) understood. understood.

Srimati Sarah Latifi who presided over the rally put forward for approval the re-solution passed in the morn-ing at the Convention. With ing at the Convention. With cheers the resolution was adopted to be despatched to the President, the Prime Minister of India, the Governor and Chief Minister of Kerala and to all the political parties in Kerala.

Reverend Father J. S. Wil-Reverend Father J. S. Wil-liams, the Arch-Priest of the Indian National Church in an impressive bi-lingual speech (Hindi and English) declared that Christ had call-ed for "peace on Earth and godwill among men", and questioned emphatically, "how is that the churches directed from Rome, London and Washington have launched Rome, Lon Washington have launched direct action and are fighting against the progressive mea-sures of the Kerele Communication sures of the Kerala Govern-ment?"

He opposed the idea of leaving the education of our young children "in the hands of foreign missionaries or their local agents" for in such conditions "our children suffer

from an inferiority complex". He called upon the Govern-ment of Kerala not to resign "as it is elected by the people to serve them".

serve them". Sri P. R. Lele, the famous columnist of Blitz dubbed the whole agitation in Kerala as a comic opera, except for the fact, he said, that some people are getting hurt and go-ing to jails. Ridiculing the idea of central intervention, he stated that "our President is not there just to throw out the Kerala Ministry". Amidst thunderous applause, he decthunderous applause, he dec-lared, "Let our Prime Minis-ter come out boldly against the obscurantist and re-actionary forces in Congress, and tell Sri Namboodiripad that whatever powers are at my disposal are at your dismy disposal are at your disposal, in putting down the agitation".

agitation". Comrade A. P. Narayanan, the Secretary of the newly formed Bombay Keraleeya Samiti for Defence of Democracy exposed the bogus character of the Kerala Aid Com-mittee of Sri M. Madhavan (PSP) and the Kerala Council of Sri G. P. Nair (Con-gress). The latter has close links with the Phillips tea in-terests in Kerala he said. On behalf of the city Keralites, he promised full support to the Kerala Government. Comrade A. S. R. Charl addressing the mammoth rally wished "that there was television from here to Simia so that Sri Nehru sees the mass upsurge of Keralites in cil of Sri G. P. Nair (Con-

mass upsurge of Keralites in Bombay

He said that the EMS Ministry had not been established just by an accident. The Communist-led Ministry came there, he emphasised "be-cause of the various struggles and sacrifices of the people.

The people of Kerala had given a full trial to Sri Pa-nampilly Govinda Menon and nampilly Govinda Menon and Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai but they failed in solving the problems of the people and, therefore, the people and, therefore, the people voted the Communists to power".

Amidst stormy applause, Comrade Chari stated that "the security of Kerala is safe in the hands of Sri EMS Nam-boodiripad, the democratic masses of Kerala and the thousands of people who will fight for Kerala".

Talking about central inter-vention, he said that "so far the Constitution was concerned there could be no cen-tral intervention against the Kerala Government and if at all there is one, it will be on the side of the Kerala Government

Comrade Vasudevan Nair in his long, one-and-a-half hour speech in Malayalam, full of humour and pathos carried humour and pathos carried the entire audience and ac-tually made them participate rather than respond.

rather than respond. "The so-called liberation movement" he stated, "conti-nues mainly because of the volunteers supplied by the Catholic church to the poli-tical parties. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan had gua-ranteed that no private ma-nagers' schools would be ranteed that no private ma-nagers' schools would be opened and that Government schools would be forced to be closed down, and had re-quested the people not to send their children to schools for a week, promising the immediate fall of the Gov-ernment. ernment.

"But his arithmetic did not work out and to-day out of 7,700 schools in 9 educational districts, only 543 schools are not opened". Referring to the firings,

Comrade Nair said that "they were unfortunate. We do not enjoy police firings and are full of sorrow and agony for those who are killed; but the Government could not help it under the given conditions".

But soon after the firings, te said, "Sri Namboodiripad he said, "Sri Namboodiripad addressed a huge rally at Triaddressed a huge raily at Tri-vandrum on June 16, while Sri Morarji's meeting at Ah-medabad, after the Gujarat firings was completely boy-cotted by the people. That shows that the people understand that the Opposition par-ties are responsible for the firings".

His last words—almóst drowned by the massive cheers and slogan-shouting-were: "There can be no doubt that the Kerala Government will continue in office and in the service of the people".

#### Andhra Congress Leader Speaks Up

SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTH, prominent Congress MP from Andhra and former President of the Hyderabad State Congress, expressed his strong doubts about the justifiability of Central intervention in Kerala.

Speaking in Hyderabad on July 11, the Swami said: "The happenings in Kerala are distressing. The picketings of schools and Government offices and other types of demonstrations, verging on violence, have to be severely condemned".

### PSP IN U.P. ROCKED WITH CRISIS

PRAJA-SOCIALIST member of the Uttar Pra-desh Legislative Assembly, Sri Shambhoo Dayal, has resigned from the Party as ā protest against PSP's leading association with the "reactionary and anti-democratic agitation anti-democratic agitation against the progressive legislative measures of the Kerala Government and for the overthrow of the elected .

for the overthrow or the democratically elected Communist Ministry". Sri Dayal has also pro-tested against his Party's alliance with the Congress and communalist organi-sations in Kerala. Another Depia-Socialist MIA Sri Praja-Socialist MLA, Sri Bansidhar Shukla, also an-nounced at a public meeting in Sitapur his inten-tion to resign from the Party as a protest against its anti-Communism and its attitude towards the Kerala Government.

Kerala Government. Much more significant seems to be the letter ad-dressed to the former PSP General Secretary, Sri Tri-loki Singh, by a leading member of the Meerut Dis-trict unit of the Praja-Socialist Party, Sri Peetam-bar Shastri, on behalf of himself and three other

local party leaders, Princi-pal Mool Chand, Sri Jham-man Singh Shastri and Sri Guru Dayal. **Meerut Leaders'** 

### Protest

Criticising his Party's "joining hands with the Congress in the direct ac-tion in Kerala", he says that this action is highly undemocratic and uncons-titutional and will shake the faith of the people in democracy. While point-ing out that the .Indian Constitution under which Kerala's popular Ministry Constitution under which Kerala's popular Ministry has been formed and is functioning does not con-tain any provision for re-call or referendum, he says that if those defeated at the polls took recourse to disact action to sust the at the poils took recourse to direct action to oust the elected majority from po-wer "simply to wipe off their own frustration", de-mocracy will not be able to function. He feels that in joining hands with the Contract accounts the Com-Congress against the Com-munist Ministry, the Kerala PSP leaders were guided by their "personal grudge". Sri Shastri warns that on

the issue of Kerala, "there is possibility of disruption among the rank and file; the party seems to be dl-vided into two camps. Many important members may quit the Party; many sympathisers may with-draw sympathy". He says that the Meerut PSP's re-ported decision to send 100 volunteers had no basis in reality; no such decision had been taken by the local party and only some "professional jall-goers" were anxious to go to Ke-rala. He has asked. Sri Triloki Singh for his per-sonal opinion in the mat-ter and requested him to "intervene and ask the State (Kerala) Party to keep away from the move-ment, otherwise the Con-eress leaders would call off ment, otherwise the Con-gress leaders would call off their movement and the Party finding no alterna-tive will have to abide by their decision".

That there are reasons for the fears entertained by Sri Shastri about dis-ruption in the PSP over Kerala is shown by reports of resignation from the Party reaching us from Muzaffarnagar and Naini Tal.

Han Shimil