

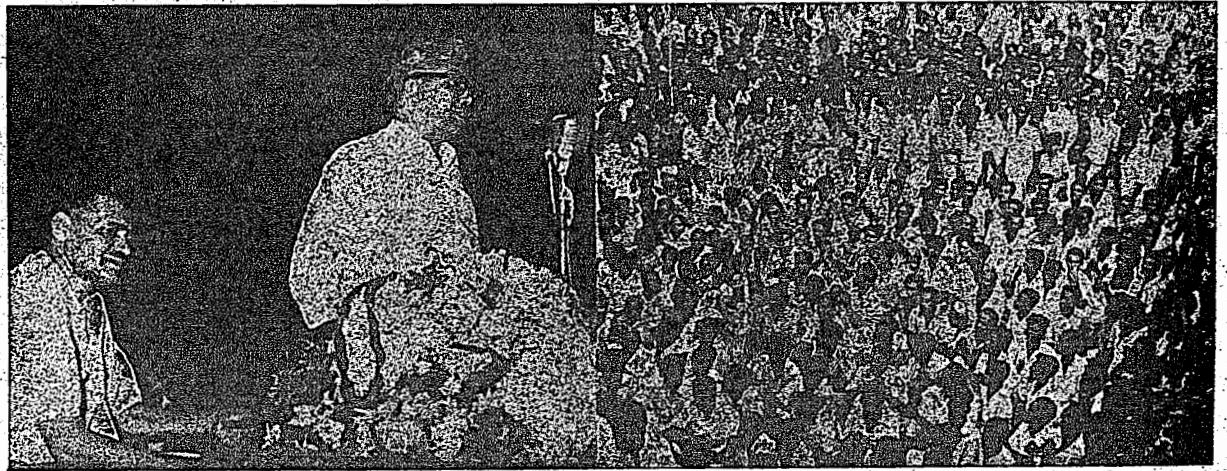
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KERALA CONFIDENT—COMMUNISTS

WILL RULE AGAIN



August 6, Delhi:

At Palam this morning it was a heart-warming experience briefly to encounter Comrades EMS, Achuta Menon and M. N. Govindan Nair who had flown in for the CEC meeting, together with Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

Not a touch of defeat could be seen on any of their faces, only confident determination. Before leaving to stay in his old room in the Party office Comrade EMS stated: "Two points need emphasising. First, a stop to violent attacks by the Vimochana warriors and the return of normal conditions, so that elections may be held as soon as possible. Second, a sustained campaign has to be mounted so that the progressive legislation already passed may be implemented".

Getting news of the demonstration in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and other places Comrade EMS said: "In Kerala also the masses have manifested unmistakably their anger and their will to see us back. Pandit Nehru is right—this IS the biggest upsurge in 40 years! Only it is the biggest upsurge that the Congress has ever confronted and it has sent its leaders cowering".

As for the discussions at the Kerala State Committee meeting the Party leaders said that the unanimous conclusions were available in the Resolution adopted.

RESOLUTION

THE following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party, which met in Trivandrum on August 3 and 4:

The Central Government has intervened in Kerala to dismiss the elected State Legislature and Ministry and imposed President's rule in the State.

The Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party records its strong protest at this unconstitutional, undemocratic and discriminatory action.

The action on the part of the Central Government is not only an assault against the Communist-led State Ministry; it is not only a crime against the people of Kerala by creating governmental instability again in the State—it is also an attack on the rights of autonomy conferred on the States by our Constitution and also on the rights of the people to elect any party which they want to come to power and of such parties to form their own Governments and of such Governments to carry out popular socio-economic reforms, subject to our Constitution and in accordance with the general national policies.

It is now more clear than ever before that this action

is the culmination of a great conspiracy to overthrow a Ministry that still continues to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the elected Legislature for the only reason that it is a non-Congress Government under the leadership of the Communist Party and because it took sincere and firm measures to implement democratic reforms in the interest of the common people. In this conspiracy the Committee wishes to emphatically state with full responsibility, that the all-India Congress leadership, including Central Ministers had an active role from the very beginning.

This is proved by the history of the "direct action"

during the last two months conducted by the Kerala Congress in alliance with communal reaction and the Catholic Church with the approval and blessings of the all-India Congress' leaders, including Central Ministers.

Who does not know that this "direct action" led by the Kerala Pradesh Congress taking the form of an open revolt—by attacks on police stations and police patrol vans by gathering people by ringing Church bells, by attack on students and teachers who attended the schools opened after the mid-summer holidays, by burning down of school buildings, by obstruction and destruction of State Transport buses and boats, by creating inconvenience to passengers, by putting up roadblocks, organising forced mass rushing into offices of the District Collectors and other public offices with the aim of paralysing them, by dishonouring the National Flag, by launching organised attacks on Communists and others who were opposed to the "struggle"—this direct action was planned at Ooty in consultation with the Congress High Command?

Who does not know that the leaders of the struggle were demanding and expressing their confidence in Central intervention from the very beginning?

The Congress leaders had hoped that it would be possible to paralyse the administration in the State by a short and swift struggle. They had hoped that they could engineer widespread revolt and clashes and make it appear that the situation had gone beyond the control of the State Government. They had hoped that they would be able to fan popular anger in the name of repression by the police. They expected that they could win Indian public support by raising the bogey of "Communist totalitarianism" and by raising the pseudo-democratic slogan of "mid-term election".

When none of these hopes materialised the Vimochana Samara Samiti sponsored by

the Nair communalists, Catholic Church and big landlords met and worked out a programme to bring tens of thousands of volunteers from all parts of the State to Trivandrum City and lay siege to the Secretariat buildings and the residences of Ministers till the Government resigned or was dismissed.

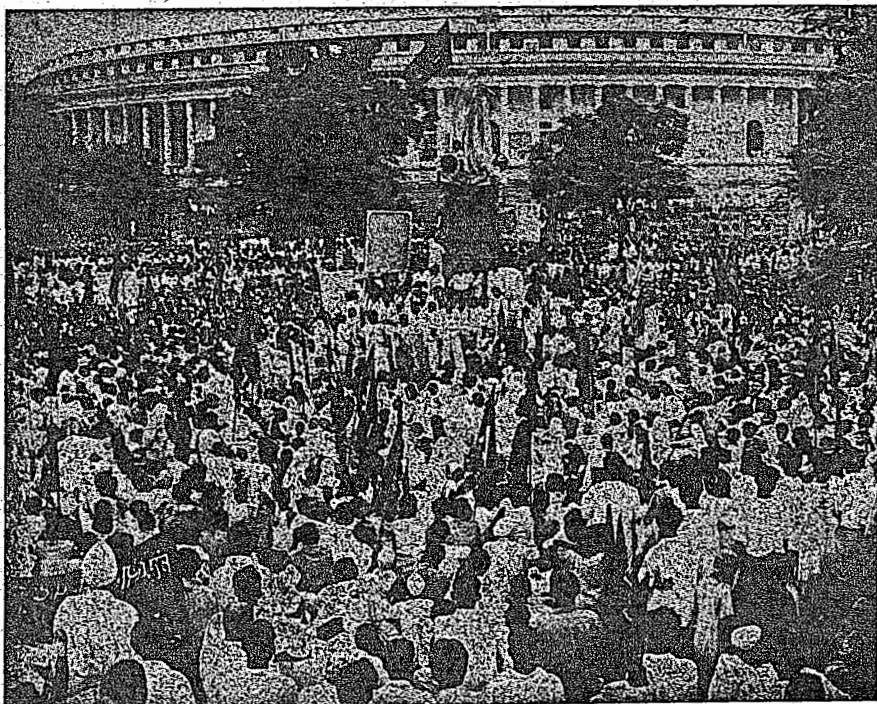
The Joint Action Council of the political parties led by the Kerala Congress called upon their followers to join in this programme following which Congress President Smt. Indira Gandhi met the Union President and urged upon him to intervene in Kerala.

It was then that the Central Cabinet met and decided upon the dismissal of the State Ministry and establishment of Presidential rule.

From this sequence of events, it is not difficult to understand that this action was well pre-planned; it is clear now that the reactionary communal leaders—Catholic Church dignitaries and big landlords—as well as the leaders of the opposition parties including the Congress, were ready not only to paralyse administration, to unleash violence, to destroy public property and to create anarchy; but also to create a most terrible and brutal bloodbath in the City of Trivandrum, so that the ground is clear for Central intervention.

If the Congress High Command and leaders of the Central Government had any loyalty for and sincerity towards our Constitution, towards democracy and a constitutionally established Government, they ought to have openly condemned this bloody programme of violence, declared in unmistakable terms that no Government worth the name could submit to such tactics of blackmail and that the Central Government would give all necessary help to the State Government to meet such an undemocratic and anti-people revolt and asked their followers in Ke-

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Unprecedented protest procession before Parliament on August 3.
ABOVE: EMS addresses massive rally at Trivandrum on August 1.

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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EVENTFUL WEEK IN CAPITAL

From Our Special Correspondent

It was a day like any other day. And yet throughout that afternoon on the last day of July, there was a touch of regret—of something precious about to be lost. This could be felt whomsoever I talked to. In fact, it came to me as a surprise, because most of those whom I met that day had very little to do with the Communists, and quite a few are not interested in giving them testimonials.

FOR nearly a week previous to this Presidential Proclamation on Friday evening at 8, the air was thick in New Delhi about Central intervention, in fact since Smt. Indira Gandhi clamoured for it the Saturday previous.

Indira's Planned Performance

It is interesting to note that the women's meeting where she raised her bellicose demand—all well prepared in advance—had hardly an attendance of two hundred—no better than what Sri Asoka Mehta could command a fortnight later, on August 2, to celebrate Central intervention.

Smt. Indira's speech no doubt came as a surprise to many in the Capital, and it is widely rumoured that the President himself did not approve of her demand for the amendment of the Constitution if that was necessary, to intervene in Kerala.

Many inside the Congress thought it to be an astounding demand to be raised by the President of a party which since it is entrusted with the running of the Central Government is supposed to uphold—and not to whittle down—the Constitution.

How well-planned this conspiracy was could be gathered from the air dash of Smt. Sucheta Kripalani to Trivandrum, where, immediately on her arrival, the "liberationists" announced their plan of besieging Trivandrum on August 9. The rabid interventionists had started their game—with Smt. Indira in New Delhi and Smt. Sucheta in Trivandrum while Sri Dhebar remained crouching in the background.

Meanwhile, Pandit Nehru tried to put on an air of innocence when meeting the pressmen on his return from Kashmir on Tuesday (July 28), he expressed surprise that the pressmen should think that he only discussed Kerala every time he met his colleagues. The same afternoon, when he met the Communist leaders, Comrade Gopalan and Ajoy Ghosh, did he leave any room for doubt that he had already made up his mind for Central intervention?

Meeting Without Report

On Wednesday morning, the Cabinet met for just over two hours and discussed Kerala. The

press next morning splashed the report that the Kerala Government's report had come, and some even went to the extent of saying that it had actually been discussed in the Cabinet on Wednesday morning. But a careful study of the reports the day after—and just a little careful listening-in in New Delhi with one's ears to the ground—made it clear that when the Cabinet was to discuss the all-important question of intervening in Kerala, it did not have even the Governor's Report before it.

Perhaps, some of the Cabinet Ministers in their unseemly haste to turn out the Communist Ministry would rather have done without even the Governor's Report, for, does not Article 356 say that the President could intervene on the Governor's Report, "or otherwise"? However, somehow or other, the haste was curbed—presumably because of the concern over the consequences, since the Governors now-a-days do not always keep their mouths shut, as Kaka Gadgil has shown—and the Cabinet was adjourned till the next morning.

But the die was already cast. The Prime Minister had spoken for more than an hour, obviously with his usual rambling philosophising and though never for a moment showing a streak of anger at the blatantly gonda actions planned with the open incitement by his own daughter and other eminent men and women of his own party.

And once the Prime Minister had spoken, there was no doubt about the decision, since neither Sri Morarji nor Pantji could be more pleased with Pandit Jawaharlal's ready consent to the ousting of the Communist Ministry. This, in fact, has all through been the tragedy of the Kerala episode: Pandit Nehru himself has taken an active part which hardly bolsters his claim of being impartial.

Regarding the Cabinet meeting the next morning—the longest in recent memory, being from 11 to past 2 p.m.—subsequent reports have thrown a lot of light. The Governor's report was secured by special effort, and though it was a long report, it was read out in the Cabinet. They were in such a hurry that

they did not have even time to get it typed and circulated and studied carefully beforehand.

Governor Debunks Hopes

It was patently a formal affair, because the decision was already settled. But it is important to note the impact of the Governor's report. Obviously, the Governor had his own views about many of the doings of the Ministry—and have not other Governors, like Smt. Padmaja Naidu, held such views about the Ministers they have to deal with—but it is clear that the Governor, in the main, debunked the High Command's hope of making the Kerala Congress charge-sheet as the main plank of their poor apology for intervention.

He paid high tribute to the integrity of the EMS Ministry—and which among the Congress Ministers can hope to get that today?—and could agree to the idea of the Central intervention only on the plea of the present situation threatening to take a violent turn. Thus, the very agitation which the Congress had been readily sponsoring in Kerala—and not their long list of allegations about the lapses of Comrade EMS's Ministry—could be made the basis of the extraordinary intervention.

One could sympathise with Pantji's reluctance in the Lok Sabha, less than a week later, to reveal the contents of the Governor's report even to Parliament. For, whatever else there may be in it, does not he know that it just confirms what the Communist Party has been saying all along to the Congress leaders: You are engineering violence against our Ministry, and using the same violence as a pretext for putting down our Ministry?

Naturally, many of the senior Ministers—seasoned hands in gauging public uproar—thought that discretion would be the better part of valour, and advocated the line of least resistance, namely, intervene on the ground of the worsening situation instead of because of the so-called violation of the Constitution by the Communist Ministry. And since they met in their own conclave they could afford to tell each other about the strength of character and probability of Comrades EMS and his colleagues.

This inside story was known all over New Delhi within a few hours, for faced with the persistence of public pestering why it was necessary to go in for Central intervention, they had to talk.

Of course all the trappings of parliamentary niceties were kept up—Comrade EMS was written to before the Proclamation was released. After having decided to unseat the Communist Ministry—by the pincer intervention of Congress whipping up violence, and the Central Congress Ministry clamping down Presidential Rule the hypocrisy of their constitutional pretensions could hardly be conceded.

But a guilty conscience did work. Otherwise, how do you account for the optical objection to photographing the actual signing of the Proclamation by newsmen? A far-from-upright decision, they know, could

hardly be expected to be applauded by the millions, despite all the propaganda blast accompanying it.

It was a queer experience indeed, for a Communist journalist. At the very hour when the axe of intervention fell on Kerala, what a revealing cross-section of the people came to us on their own and overwhelmed us with their expressions of disapproval, if not anger at this unjust act of the very leadership whom they follow!

I met a VIP the same day—and he is no friend of the Communists and I could see how small he felt talking about Kerala. You claim to be freeing an entire people of the tyranny on top of them, you say that you are responding to a mass upsurge—and yet why do you look so small and ashamed to own it?

Within half an hour, I met somebody who had taken an active part in the 1942 struggle, but now finds no rest in Congress politics. Quite agitated, this friend burst out: "What has happened to Panditji? Backing this Mamath Padmanabhan against EMS? Mundhra, Mathai and now it is Mamam—does not he watch his footsteps?" I remembered how much anger there was against the Communists in the same heart fifteen years ago.

A bunch of Congress MPs, disgusted with the whole show, but now at this black hour, feeling so dejected that even a protest seemed to be futile to them. They had read the Kerala Government's reply to Sri Sankar's charge-sheet, and could only praise its forthright statement.

The journalist crowd is supposed to be cynical, but emotions could be discernible even among them. Hardly a tiny group, one would know, would be happy but dare not show their joy. Rather they faced the strange situation of being lampooned by many of their colleagues, who were no friends of the Communists.

Ajoy Voiced Millions' Anger

And what a contrast all this was to the crowd that came to listen to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh the same evening. Here were the supporters and friends of the Party whose Ministry had been ousted, and yet there was no dispirit but a new urge to take up the challenge.

As Comrade Ajoy, voicing the mighty anger of millions beneath the Red flag, swore that the Congress would have to answer for this crime one day, a comrade told me: "You know today even the Coffee House crowd is roused. All those supporters of the Party who during the last few years had just become arm-chair critics and gone far away are transformed; they want to do something. And you will be surprised to find that they are using strong words against Panditji."

On the way home, some of us had to take a taxi, and as the driver found out that we were newsmen, he started talking about Kerala, cursing the Congress for this unjust act. I asked myself what does this Sikh driver know of Kerala and the intricacies of Article 356? And

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BIGGEST PROTEST IN YEARS

DELHI COMES OUT AGAINST INTERVENTION

Never before during the last decade had the citizens of the Capital of India come out in such large numbers on any political issue as on August 3 to protest against Central intervention in Kerala. No other political party in Delhi can boast of mobilising people on such a scale, as was done on this memorable day by the Delhi Communist Party. Unbiased estimates put the figures at 30,000 though there are many who say that more than 40,000 marched. From the streets, clustering on the rooftops thousands witnessed this disciplined mass of humanity surging forward. The Capital literally shook with slogans in defence of democracy, against Central intervention and supporting the achievements of the EMS Ministry.

NOT only was the size something which stirred the hearts and minds of all. Old women in burgas joined in, and at least one old man literally shook with rage as he spoke to me about "Congress Goondagiri". And then the youth with all the promise of the future on their faces, lit up with determined joy and strength: Naturally the Hindustan Times lost its head and wrote off its distemper with a pack of lies.

One could go on writing about this manifestation of the people's will but first the events that led up to it.

The demonstration before the Parliament was a culminating point in the campaign carried on by the Delhi Committee of the Communist Party of India to protest against Central intervention in Kerala. It started on July 31 itself, at the very hour when the Rashtrapati signed the proclamation dismissing the Communist Ministry in Kerala. To a packed Constitution Club hall gathering Comrade Ajoy Ghosh said:

"An outrage on the Constitution has been committed. The Congress has emerged morally defeated. Democracy faces a grave peril. Methods reminiscent of fascism have been used."

Warning the Congress, he said: "The people of India threw out the British. The same people can also throw out the Congress and instal other parties in its place." Amidst repeated cheering Comrade Ajoy Ghosh conveyed to the people the message he had received from Comrade EMS on telephone: "One chapter in our struggle has ended and another has begun."



Communist leaders at the head of the procession.

Photo: Saluja

Indian Express put it at 20,000—flocked to the Gandhi Ground where Comrade A. K. Gopalan addressed a meeting organised by the Delhi Party. Not a man moved for more than two hours as the meeting continued.

Comrade Gopalan described Central intervention as a serious violation of the Constitution. In his opinion it was "daylight murder of democracy". He explained in detail the measures of the Nambudiripad Ministry. "For the first time in Kerala a Government was formed which was working in accordance with wishes of the people," he said.

"The vested interests—landlords, toddy contractors, school managers, Catholic Church and their spokesmen in the Congress, PSP and other parties could not tolerate the progressive measures of the Communist Ministry, because the very people whom they had exploited till now—the peasants, the poor school teachers would no more listen to them," Comrade Gopalan said.

He challenged every party in Kerala to contest elections and see how many seats it got. There was thunderous applause when AKG declared: "with the help of the vast majority of the people in Kerala Comrade Nambudiripad will once again become the Chief Minister of Kerala."

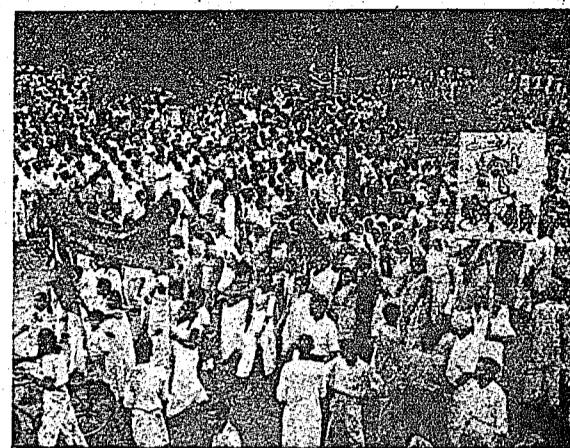
The meeting which was also addressed by Comrade Y. D. Sharma, passed a resolution, which protested the dismissal of the Communist-led Government of Kerala.

Splendid Demonstration

All this intensive mobilisation was reflected in the protest demonstration on August 3 which started from Ramilla Grounds at 3.30 p.m. Workers, peasants, men and women, young and old with Red flags and banners protesting against Central intervention started assembling since the morning. Many had come from nearby villages.

Some had come from neighbouring districts of the U. P., Rajasthan and Punjab. It was a spectacle which gave confidence and at the same time was proof of the concern which the masses felt about the undemocratic step of the Central Government.

The wrath and anger of the people against the enemies of the democracy was in ample evidence particularly when the processionists chanted the slogan: Lehratta hai Lal Nishan, Dhebarbhai Savdhan: (The Red Flag is unfurled, beware Dhebarbhai). Determination to save democracy and the Constitution was writ large on their faces as they shouted: Desh ki jantaka hai balwan, Nahi torne degi Vidhan (The people of the country are strong enough to save the Constitution). Their love and acclamation for the achievements of EMS Ministry was demonstrated by the rhythmic slogans like: Janata ki Sarkar bani thi, Sab se pahle Kerala mein (The first



TOP: Demonstration reaches Parliament.

BELOW: The People's Cash for Communists.

Peoples' Government was formed in Kerala) Samvidhan ki hatya kee hai, Congress ne Kerala mein (the Constitution has been murdered by the Congress in Kerala). And these are only some of the militant slogans. There were others and in several languages, in Punjab, Malayalam, etc.

The procession included all the cross sections of the people although it was dominated by the peasants and workers. There were students, teachers, and lawyers. It was a disciplined march of the people headed by Communist Party leaders Comrades Ghate, P. C. Joshi, A. K. Gopalan, Bhupesh Gupta, M. Farooqi, Y. D. Sharma and Communist members of Parliament.

When it neared Parliament one could see the whole area covered with Red flags. Here started a great spectacle which post-independence days have never seen before. It was Comrade Gopalan challenging Sri Nehru to come and see this real upsurge of people against Central intervention. His indictment against the Central Government was interrupted by cheers and slogans. His appeal for ten naye Paise from each person was followed by showers of currency notes, rings, necklaces, watches and promises to give money for the Kerala Communist Party.

More than eleven hundred rupees were collected on the spot in addition to valuable things emphasised, "If democracy is to be saved from being throttled by Congress leaders, all democrats, to whichever party they belong will have to unite."

pe were announced—coming to nearly seven thousand rupees. And this was not all. A lawyer from Bulandshahr announced his resignation from the Socialist Party, another from the PSP and one Jan Sangh worker from his organisation too.

Movie cameramen took up their positions and flashlights exploded as Comrade Gopalan declared that the struggle to save Indian democracy had begun. "The Congress has thrown down the flag of democracy. It is in the hands of Communists and we will save it," he said.

Then began the memorable speech of Comrade Bhupesh Gupta. He called the Central action in Kerala as "illegal" and "foul". He referred to the Prime Minister's statement to the Congress Parliamentary Party on Sunday wherein Sri Nehru had said that there was no alternative to Central intervention, and that the Communist-led government had also asked for it.

Comrade Bhupesh said with an inimitable play on words: "I will not like to call a man for whom I have great respect a liar, but I will say his statement is far from the truth. I call upon Sri Nehru to come and see the upsurge against what he has done in Kerala." He appealed to the people to defend Indian democracy. In this he appealed for cooperation from Congressmen.

In the end a memorandum submitted to the MPs was read which among other things emphasised, "If democracy is to be saved from being throttled by Congress leaders, all democrats, to whichever party they belong will have to unite."

—O. P. M.



Trichur, July 26: Two views of a Communist Party demonstration.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

The Crime

THE crime has been committed. It is politically the most heinous in the long growing record of the crimes of the Congress High Command. It is a crime against the people of Kerala, whose elected Government has been overthrown. Our Constitution has been treated as a mere scrap of paper; its provisions have been prostituted. The very basis of Parliamentary democracy has been shaken.

The country is shocked and the guilty men have developed cold feet and an uneasy conscience. The Governor's final Report itself is a mystery, the fatal decision was taken even before it came. Again, the Home Minister refused to place even this Report before the Lok Sabha. The plea of a confidential document is a myth. The Kerala Chief Minister's similar confidential telegram to him was placed on the table of the House during the last session.

The way they briefed the press itself shows how much on the defensive they are, politically and morally. The story was put across that the decision was taken with the "utmost reluctance", that the President, Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet were "most unhappy", that in Government circles there is "sorrow, even gloom". (Times of India, August 1)

A striking contrast was the last act of the Nambudiripad Ministry, despatching the Land Act to the Rashtrapati for his sanction, the parting gift of the Ministry to the people, solemn implementation of their election pledge.

Criticism And Lies

THE Congress High Command, unable to defend its action on the plane of principles or on the basis of proven facts against the Communist Ministry resorted to the tactic of admitting it to be "regrettable" but justified it as "inevitable".

It was not easy to swallow this crooked explanation. This was revealed in the party meeting of Congress MPs where even Pandit Nehru faced criticism of a type he had never before faced in his whole life. The Congress MPs meeting had to be held from day to day and it was the lot of Pandit Nehru to utter the half-truths and untruths to still the doubts of his own party MPs.

It began with the story of "Centre gave all help" to the Kerala Government (Hindustan Times July 29). It was easily disposed of by our General Secretary when he stated that if instead of aiding and abetting the reactionary opposition combine, the Congress High Command and the Union Government just publicly denounced their illegal and violent activities, all their provocations plus "siege of the Secretariat" at Trivan-

drum will collapse like a house of cards and peace will be restored.

The second story was that the Communist leaders also wanted Central intervention. This too was punched next by our General Secretary in a public meeting and in his Press Conference.

The third story, a variant of the above, was that the State Government favoured intervention. Comrade EMS publicly protested against this "untruth" and Pandit Nehru had to climb down.

The fourth lie in the series was uttered when Congress MPs expressed indignation over alliance with the League. Pandit Nehru went eloquent against communalism but argued that the situation in Kerala was peculiar when all the parties have been playing with communalism. He went on to state that the Communists united with the League in the last elections and won more seats.

The plain truth is that it is not the Communists but the PSP that allied itself with the League and that the Communists won their majority by fighting both the Congress and the PSP-League combine.

It is a bad day when a ruling party plays with the Constitution of the country and the Prime Minister has to utter lies in the partisan interests of his own recalcitrant party.

The Challenge

OUTRAGED and indignant, Indian democracy has taken up the challenge. A countrywide protest movement that will go down in our national annals has already begun.

EMS and other Ministers took leave of the Governor over a cup of tea but the factory workers all over Kerala spontaneously struck the moment they heard the Presidential Proclamation without any call from their TU Centres. The mammoth rally which greeted EMS after he quit CHIT House resounded with M. N. Govindan Nair's call, "A bigger majority in the next elections." This call is finding a hearty echo in the towns and villages of Kerala.

In the rest of the country, protest demonstrations have been record-breaking. In Delhi, the talk of the town is that it was a sea of Red Flags from Connaught Place to Parliament House and that it was a working day and it happened during working hours. The spontaneity and generosity of the collections made right in front of the nation's Parliament, for the Kerala Election Fund, reminded the Times of India reporter of the popular response to the Congress in the thirties.

A bigger majority behind Comrade EMS, whenever the Kerala elections are held—this is the grim determination of our Party in Kerala. It will go all-out to rally the people of Kerala. It must get the support of democratic circles from all over the country. The next and very big battle of Indian democracy will be fought in Kerala, during the

coming elections and it will set the pace and pattern for 1962 general elections. The victim of New Delhi shall be the victor in Kerala.

The New Party

THE unceremonious liquidation of the Kerala Government and the open debut of the Swatantra Party in a big way have taken place during the same week and this is no accident. Indian reaction is restless, desperate and active.

It is worth recalling that with the honourable exception of Sri C. Rajagopalachari, top leaders of the new party like Sarvasri Masani, Munshi and V. P. Menon took a leading part in organising and financing the anti-Kerala agitation. Central intervention was not enough for them, banning the Communist Party throughout the country and preventing it from contesting the elections is their heart's desire and their recipe for the healthy growth of what they would call "Indian democracy." This was symptomatic. The proceedings of their Bombay Convention have only revealed them in their true colours.

The new Party is more reactionary than the Congress on all issues that face our people.

The new party is a gang-up of the traditional right reactionaries of our country with the rightist leaders of the Congress or on the point of getting out.

Pandit Nehru spoke only part of the truth when he characterised this party as the political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise. It is also an independent, untrammelled political projection of the ideas and aspirations of the rightwing inside the Congress, not only of the Munshis who are out but also of the Moraris who are inside the Congress. It is worth noting that Sri K. M. Munshi openly bragged in the Bombay Convention that the ideas of his new party will find sympathetic response.

The new party seeks to sell itself as the democratic alternative to the Congress. No claim could be more false. Its true role is to exert reactionary pressure on the Congress in line with the right within it and if and when the great day of their dreams comes stage, a union-cum-reunion under an Indian Ayub, maybe military, maybe civilian, maybe a Congress leader or an ex-Congress one!

Masani, disclosed on the very first day that the chief slogan of the new party will be what Rajaji had already once advanced—to fight Communism as Public Enemy No. 1.

The 21-point programme exploits all the sins of omission and commission of the Congress rulers and promises all things to all men—the traditional fascist demagogic trick.

It is very much worth noting that the new party is silent over foreign policy. Their pro-Americanism would damn them at the very start and so they are silent and concentrating upon internal issues alone.

Editorial

COEXISTENCE WILL PREVAIL

THE news of the coming exchange of visits between Premier Khrushchov and President Eisenhower is of momentous import. It represents a singular triumph for the principles of coexistence, the only basis to ensure world peace.

This new agreement for the meeting of the heads of the two most powerful States in the world is no bolt from the blue. It is the result of the powerful pressure of the forces of peace all over the world and of the amazing flexibility and persistence of Soviet diplomacy.

The World Peace Council and the peace forces in every country of the globe had of late launched a mighty movement for a Summit Conference of the Great Powers to help put an end to the scourge of the cold war. This is the first initial triumph of the great world-wide movement which has compelled the diehard imperialists to beat a retreat.

The Soviet initiatives which brought the Foreign Ministers together at Geneva, the repeated emphasis on the need for a meeting of the heads of the Great Powers, the sending of top Soviet leaders to the United States, the courteous welcome to Vice-President Nixon, all combined into such a formidable force that the leading Government personalities of the United States had to make some gesture of response.

It is good that the Government of India has welcomed the news and we trust that it will use all its influence to render more fruitful this move towards international detente.

While greeting this news of the exchange of visits as presenting tremendous new opportunities for relaxing international tension, it is essential that the world peace forces neither relax their efforts nor lower their vigilance. There must be a renewed peace offensive, a fresh surge forward so that from these personal meetings there will be only a short step to the Summit.

(August 5)

The Swatantra Party is a new determined bid by the extreme right to shape Indian politics in a reactionary direction. The new party is a menace to all that is good and noble in the national tradition. But the new party cannot be fought without at the same time mustering all possible force to defeat the reactionary internal policies of the Congress itself.

Indo-Pak Talks

FOR some months past reactionary political circles have set in motion a whisper campaign that USA has now changed its policy vis-a-vis India and that it will help us in the Third Plan, if we will be only a little reasonable and in patching up with Pakistan if we will be just patient.

Facts of life have not changed to justify any such optimism.

The ominous phrases about Kashmir and Canal Waters that were withdrawn from the official hand-out in last year's Pakistan Independence Day have been duly passed by dictator Ayub's censors this year.

Last week "unprovoked police firing" took place and serious "aggressive preparations" were reported on the Assam border. The cease-fire was solemnly accepted and violated within 24 hours this week.

Last week's Trade Conference was supposed to restore our traditional trade which has become a trickle. The aim of "increased trade" has been accepted, but no guarantees forged about implementation. Pak representatives refused to remove the curbs on border trade. The Pak representative suggested that a way

out of our trade difficulties was to reduce the dependence on sterling and deal in rupees. Nothing could be better. But knowledgeable circles know that these rupees will not be our own nor Pakistan's but U.S. held rupees, out of PL 480 aid and the like, in our countries. From dependence on the pound to US-held rupees is to go from the frying pan to the fire.

The Finance Ministers' Conference to settle our mutual debt problem also opened with a "promising start". For years India has been demanding Rs. 300 crores, its due share of pre-partition debt claim. The Pak Finance Minister has refused to accept or qualify our claim. He has only promised to study it. The pre-Ayub Pak claim has been Rs. 100 crores from us, Ayub's Finance Minister Shoaib increased these Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 180 crores and during this Conference to Rs. 200 crores.

Nothing except the pension claim of a section of DPs was settled but "an early and satisfactory settlement" was visualised by the end of the year. The next meetings were ominously announced by the press to be at the time of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in London and the World Bank Conference over Canal Waters in New York.

We do want our officials and Ministers to meet and talk and keep on talking till a just settlement has been reached. But we want them to meet and settle on their own and not seek alien auspices in London or New York. Let not the ardent desire of Indo-Pak settlement be prostituted by the reactionaries within the Indian Government. All vigilance and no illusions!

—P. C. JOSHI

(August 5)

AUGUST 9, 1959

WEST BENGAL ACCUSES!



THE history of eleven years of Congress rule in West Bengal is a sordid record of failures and misrule, says the West Bengal Committee of the CPI in its Memorandum presented to the President on July 29. A few extracts from the Memorandum follow.

These failures says the Memorandum, are neither bonafide nor fortuitous, they are the direct outcome of the policies and practices followed by the State Government over these years.

The policies of the Government have been deliberately framed to safeguard and subserve the interests of Indian and foreign monopoly capitalists and other moneybags and to achieve party and personal gains.

Riddled through and through with corruption, abjectly subservient to the moneybags and wholly guided by considerations of party and personal advantages, this Government has come to be regarded by the vast majority of the people of this State as the very embodiment of degeneration and misrule.

The charges contained in the Memorandum would show that the Government of this State is run in calculated defiance of the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India and by grossly abusing the powers and authority that emanate from it. It will be further seen from what follows in these pages that far from conducting the administration in conformity with the purposes of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers of West Bengal headed by Dr. B. C. Roy has foisted upon this State a blatant misrule marked by cynical disregard of fundamental rights and vital interests of the citizens, by insatiable lust for power and for party and personal gains, by deceit and dishonesty, by graft and enormous corruption...

People Will Decide

WE, Sir are conscious that, in the final analysis, it is for the people to get rid of this abounding misrule in accordance with the normal process laid down in the Constitution. To the fulfilment of this task the brave and patriotic people of West Bengal, as the results of the two general elections would show, are no doubt advancing in great and worthy strides. But the Constitution informs us that your exalted office carries with it a solemn obligation to ensure that the Government

of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

These charges were variously brought by us and others on the floor of the State Legislature and outside. But the State Government has paid no heed to them. On the contrary, the Congress Government in West Bengal has spurned the popular grievances by further abuse of authority and by intensifying their misrule. The State Government continues to persist in impermissible behaviour. As was to be expected, the popular discontent has gone on increasing all the time. We hope that the calm and discipline among the people and the absence of any lawlessness, disorder or unconstitutional activity will not be interpreted by anyone as a sign of contentment or acceptance of the Congress misrule in the State...

We hope that as the President of our Republic, you will be good enough to take due cognizance of the charges set forth in this Memorandum as well as the festering misrule and wilful degradation of the Constitution these charges underline.

It will be then for you, Sir, to bring your wise and impartial judgment to bear upon these charges and submissions against the Government of West Bengal and take such steps as are warranted in the situation, consistent with the Constitution of our country and the dignity of your office...

We would like to draw your attention to a few specific instances of the Government's re-

prehensive attitude towards public funds.

The State Government has spent Rs. 5 crores till now for setting up Government colonies for the refugees. But, almost the entire sum has to be written off as wastage because not more than a handful of refugees have been actually resettled in these colonies.

Till December 31, 1958, the Government advanced loans amounting to Rs. 1,33,00,000 to a number of industrialists for establishing industries to provide jobs to the refugees. It was announced with a lot of fanfare, that 9,000 refugees would get employment in these enterprises.

But what have been the actual achievements?

So far only 1,745 persons have been provided with jobs. And what is more amazing is that most of the loanees have not deemed it necessary to submit any accounts about the loans. No wonder, therefore, that an Enquiry Committee appointed by the Centre, made adverse comments regarding the State Government's practices.

The State Government has been generous enough to place nearly Rs. 13 lakhs at the disposal of a particular firm, the Flash Light Company for establishing a factory at Kalyani to "manufacture" radio sets for rural areas. The Chief Minister's close connections with the owners of this firm are quite well-known here.

The radio sets supplied by the Company completely broke down just in two days' time.

This fact cannot be brushed aside as a figment of the Opposition's imagination. Even the local Congress daily had complaints to make about this misuse of public funds...

Another Audit Report mentions an amazing case. Seventeen Studebaker buses of the State Transport Directorate, which were valued at not less than Rs. 1,75,000 and which were in perfect running order, were sold to a particular person for a mere sum of Rs. 5,000. This gentleman set up what is known as the Transport Development Corporation. He has been operating these 17 buses on certain routes outside Calcutta—and piling up quite handsome profits.

The Audit Report fought shy of his name, perhaps because he is a protégé of the Chief Minister; but everyone here knows that the gentleman is Sri Pratap Mitra.

Yet another refers to the decision of the State Government to lease out three Beels (fisheries) in Kancharpara (24 Parganas) for the purpose of pisciculture. Tenders were called for; two tenders were submitted, one offering Rs. 38,000 and the other Rs. 16,000 for the beels. Amazingly enough, the Government accepted the lower tender in total disregard of its standing rule and the principle of economic gain to the Exchequer. This strange action is explained by the fact that the lower tender came from no other than the above mentioned Sri Pratap Mitra.

The Government purchased at highly inflated prices the land, buildings, factories and other properties of big zemindars and businessmen who are patrons and financiers of the Congress Party. During the past seven or eight years the State Exchequer has been plundered in this way to the tune of at least Rs. 3,00,00,000.

The main responsibility for this shameful policy must be fixed squarely on the Chief Minister and the Food Minister. It is these two Ministers who have systematically directed the local Government officials to fix purchase price two to three times higher than the actual of the properties taken over by the Government.

A dilapidated building owned by the family of Sri S. M. Bose, Advocate General of West Bengal, has been purchased by the Government at a price which is higher than the actual value by Rs. 3,00,000.

The old palace of the Zemindars of Lalgola (Murshidabad District) which is in imminent danger of being swallowed by the turbulent Padma River, has been bought for Rs. 8,50,000 although its actual price is no more than Rs. 3,00,000. Government engineers are of the opinion that an additional sum of Rs. 5,00,000 will have to be spent in order to save what can be saved of the building.

Rs. 1,75,000 more than the actual price has been paid for the house of Sri Tarak Nath Mukherjee at Uttarpara. Sri Mukherjee was a prominent Congress leader of Hooghly District.

Similarly, the house of Sri Pashupati Nath Basu, a close friend of the Chief Minister, has been bought for Rs.

1,50,000 more than the actual price. The house is situated in the Baghbazar area of Calcutta.

The dilapidated Gopa Palace of the Raja of Narajole (Midnapore District) valued at Rs. 70,000 at the most has been taken over at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.

A building owned by the Maharaja of Visianagram in the Belaghatia area of Calcutta has been purchased for Rs. 6,00,000, its actual price being Rs. 3,00,000.

Similarly, the price paid for the Calcutta building and land of the Maharaja of Burdwan is higher than their real valuation by several lakhs of rupees.

A junk of a factory located in Belghoria (24 Parganas District) and owned by the A. K. Sarkar Industries, has been purchased for a sum of Rs. 8,00,000, which is higher than the actual price by Rs. 3,00,000. The factory had remained closed for several years before this shady deal took place. And, according to the opinion of Government experts, an additional sum of Rs. 15,00,000 has to be spent before the factory can be put into operation.

The Government has purchased 40 bighas of land in the Belaghatia area of Calcutta from Kumar Jagadish Sinha, a close relation of a particular Cabinet Minister of this State, at a price of Rs. 10,00,000. Earlier, this very gentleman had disposed of 80 bighas of this land for only Rs. 7,00,000. But because of the Government's offer, the transaction was cancelled. Thus, the Congress Government made a gift of 40 bighas and Rs. 3,00,000 to a wealthy and influential landlord.

During the past four years the Government has paid at least Rs. 75,00,000 more than the actual price for plots of land bought from the moneybags like the Bangur Brothers, Poddar & Sons, etc. for the purpose of refugee rehabilitation.

Empire Of Permits And Contracts

THE Congress Government in this State has built around itself a "little empire" of permits and contracts, the sole beneficiaries of which have been a handful of monied people who are close friends of the Ministers and also relations of the Ministers. There are, of course, one or two committees for advising the Government regarding the distribution of official permits and contracts, but these committees are wholly packed with the representatives of the Congress.

In 1958, a number of "Special Permits" were issued at the instance of the State Food Minister, permitting export of rice from the districts which had been placed under a cordon. It has been pointed out later that this enabled a few rice mill owners and traders who are patronised by the Government to rake in a profit of Rs. 10,00,000.

Among the fortunate few who were shown this favour were: (a) Sri Kanoria: He is a leading businessman, having a heavy bank balance. He donated a handsome amount for Rs.

* SEE OVERLEAF

GLIMPSES OF CONGRESS MISRULE IN WEST BENGAL

★ From Overleaf

"Kisan Conference" organised by the Congress at Kakdwip (24 Parganas) in 1956. He also regularly contributes to the Congress funds. Is there any wonder that the Food Minister should give a "specific permit" for two lakh maunds of rice out of gratitude for this service to the Congress Party?

(b) Mahadeo Ramkumar & Co.: This firm is actually owned by Sri Sarogi, but under a different name. A close friend of the Food Minister, Sri Sarogi is a hot favourite in Congress circles here. He donated Rs. 1,50,000 for the Congress Conference held at Kalyani in 1954. The "Congress Bhavan", Headquarters of the Pradesh Congress Committee situated in the aristocratic Chowringhee area was built with his money.

(c) Fulsra Rice Mills: A "Special Permit" for 5,500 mds. of rice was issued to this mill on the recommendation of Sri Gopika Bilas Sen, a former Congress Minister of State, defeated in the last general elections.

(d) R.P.G.P. Rice Mills, Sainthia (Birbhum Dist.): It obtained a permit for 7,800 mds. of rice. The recommendation was made by Sri Nishapati Manjhi, Parliamentary Secretary to the State Government.

(e) Syamchak Mills & Kanchak Mills (Midnapore): It is owned by Sri Lodha, a big businessman and an active supporter of the Congress. He has rendered valuable services to the Congress in the elections.

(f) Sri Khatua (Midnapore): He is a near relative of Deputy Minister, Sri Chitta Roy. He obtained a "Special Permit" due to Sri Roy's efforts.

During the past eight or nine years, the Government gave contracts valued at over Rs. 2,00,00,000 to the Martin Burn & Co. owned by the monopolist Sir Biren Mukherjee.

No tenders were called for, although the standing rule framed by the Government lays down that, normally contracts of the value of Rs. 1,00,000 and above should not be given without calling for

tenders. The recent Report of the Public Accounts Committee points out that till 1952-53, contracts amounting to Rs. 87,00,000 had been given to the above firm.

Sir Biren too, generously responded to these gestures by contributing Rs. 2,50,000 to the Congress election fund on the eve of the last general elections. A cheque for the amount was publicly handed over to the Chief Minister....

Corrupt Officers Promoted

It has been a deliberate policy of the Government not only to shield utterly corrupt officers but also to promote them to higher positions.

The few examples cited below would amply bear out the truth of our contention.

In 1958 a vicious centre engaged in traffic in women, smuggling of goods to East Pakistan and many other anti-social activities was uncovered in Botanical Garden at Sibpur (Howrah District). Its poisonous tentacles were spread over a wide area

and officers of the rank of ICS, IAS, IPS were found to have been involved in these activities. The scandal shook West Bengal. But the Chief Minister suppressed the preliminary report of the investigating officer and upto now the report has not been placed before the Assembly.

Cynically enough, the Chief Minister promoted two officers who were involved in this affair—a Deputy Commissioner of Police to the post of Deputy Inspector General of Police and a Joint Secretary of the Home Department to the position of a Divisional Commissioner.

Sri Chitta Das, a high official of the State's Refugee Rehabilitation Department was recently arrested on a charge of committing rape on a refugee girl. A few years ago, he was hauled up before the Court on the same charge but subsequently acquitted.

This gentleman is the husband of a Congress MLC and a special favourite of the Chief Minister.

What else is needed, under the dispensation of this Government, for the quick promotion of an officer?

He was first appointed as a

For Aarabagh-Khanakul area (i.e., Sri P. C. Sen's constituency)	226 tubewells
For Serampore	15
For Chandernagore	7
For other areas	48
	296

special officer in the Refugee Rehabilitation Department. His appointment was not approved by the Public Service Commission (PSC), but the Chief Minister brushed aside the Commission's objections and promoted him to the post of the Director of Permanent Liability Camps in 1951. This appointment too failed to get the approval of the PSC.

While Sri Das occupied this high position, serious charges were brought against him. Of the amount earmarked for the supply of free books to refugee school children, a sum of Rs. 3,00,000 could not be accounted for. The responsibility for this was fixed on Sri Das in the internal Audit Report. Preparations for launching prosecution then started. But one fine morning it was discovered that all the relevant papers of the case were "missing" from the Writers Building, Secretariat of the State Government.

Subsequently the gentleman was sent to Howrah as the District Development Officer. The PSC again declined to approve this appointment. Yet the Chief Minister gave him another lease of life in 1957 by making him the Zonal Officer of the Refugee Rehabilitation Department. Once again, the PSC did not approve of the appointment. But he still holds the post....

It has been a deliberate policy of this Government to press the Governmental machinery with its vast resources into the services of the Congress and its candidates with a view to win the elections by any means.

In pursuance of this policy, the Secretary of the Home Department Government of West Bengal was appointed the Chief Electoral Officer.

The Food Minister, Sri P. C. Sen personally saw to it that the appointment of officers, fixation of dates for counting of votes and announcement of results, etc., were made in such a way as to ensure the fullest advantage from the elections. This is not, however, the end

of the sordid tale. Shortly after the elections were over, the full force of the Government's revengeful attitude was felt by those who had refused either to work or vote for the Congress. To mention one example, over 4,000 inmates of a Refugee Camp at Village Mathapur in Arambag sub-division (Hooghly District) were thrown out of the camp for the crime of having refused to vote for Sri P. C. Sen.

Sri P. C. Sen misused his position and power in a brazen-faced manner to win his own election from the Arambag-Khanakul constituency.

He took grossly undue advantage of a Government scheme to sink tube-wells in the areas devastated by the floods of 1956. The District Magistrate of Hooghly had prepared a list of tube-wells that were to be sunk in different flood affected areas of the district. But it was rejected at the direct intervention of the Food Minister and another list drawn up by the Arambag Congress Committee was approved by the Government.

According to this list, 296 tube-wells were distributed as follows:

Significantly enough, the tube-wells were sunk in the Arambag-Khanakul area just on the eve of the general elections while other places got long after the elections....

When Sri Salla Mukherjee, then the Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, opened his election campaign on January 26, 1957, he issued a circular on papers bearing official inscriptions. He also called upon the members of the National Cadet Corps to take part in the Congress election campaign. All these efforts, of course, were of no avail and he had to meet defeat at the hands of a Communist candidate.

The Congress leaders of this State threw all considerations of decency, decorum and propriety to the winds when they dragged even the State Governor into the Congress election campaign, though the Indian Constitution enjoins that the Head of the State should stand above all party politics.

The Governor of West Bengal attended the AICC meeting held in Calcutta. She spoke to the people present at the prize-distribution ceremony of a school in Malda and it was used to canvass votes for Smt. Renuka Roy, Congress candidate for the Parliamentary seat from Malda District.

SOME years ago, Calcutta houses of the well-known monopoly capitalist groups, the Jalan and the Bajoria families, were searched and the police it is reported seized smuggled gold and diamonds of the value of Rs. 2,00,00,000 and also certain papers showing clear violations of the Foreign Exchange Regulations.

Prosecution was launched; but then, the "invisible hand" of the Chief Minister himself moved and nothing further was heard of this sensational case. The services that the Chief Minister as a true

friend of the monopolists had rendered to these families were reciprocated in ample measure by fat donations to the Congress Election Fund.

It was widely reported that a top businessman of Asansol, Sri Bhalotia, evaded income-tax to the tune of Rs. 20,00,000. But the gentleman became "famous" overnight by donating a few thousand rupees for the Asansol College. And the Chief Minister himself heaped compliments on him at a public meeting in Asansol. We had brought this charge against the Chief Minister at a session of the Assembly last year but he preferred not to give any reply.

It is widely known that the State Food Minister, Sri P. C. Sen, has close connections with the Sugar Syndicate which is an organisation of the sugar traders. The Chairman of the Syndicate Sri Matadin Khalitan is a friend of the Food Minister.

Sri Sen secured import permits of sugar for these in return for a donation of over Rs. 2,00,000 for the annual session of the Congress held at Kalyani in 1954.

Fountainhead Of Corruption

THE fountainhead of all nepotism and corruption in this State is the Cabinet itself. In a truncated and problem ridden State like West Bengal, a "happy family" of 35 Ministers, Ministers of State, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries is being maintained at the cost of famine-ridden and impoverished tax payers. Eight lakhs of rupees are spent every year on this ministerial caravan.

Enactment of certain measures has meant increase in the salary and allowances of the Chief Minister from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,600 per mensem, and those of other Ministers from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 2,150. The Act further provided for Ministers of State and the Deputy Ministers salary and allowances at Rs. 1,200.

New posts were created solely with the object of resolving internal squabbles in the Congress by providing handsome salaries to the leaders of various factions.

Prior to 1952, the total yearly bill for the salaries and allowances of different categories of Ministers amounted to Rs. 2,58,000. It has now shot up to Rs. 8,00,000. The Coke Oven Plant at Durgapur provides the largest example of how the members of the Cabinet use the powers of

the State to achieve personal aims.

The contract for the Coke Oven Plant which has been set up by the West Bengal Government was given to Karl Steel & Co. of West Germany. Two other tenders had been received, one of them from Karl Otto & Co. a famous West German firm which specialises in the construction of Coke Ovens.

Subsequently, no trace of these two tenders could be found in the office of the Department concerned because the prices quoted by these two firms were much lower than in the one accepted by the Government.

But what was the reason for the "freak" in the Government's behaviour?

The tender submitted by Karl Steel & Co. was accepted under suspicious conditions. Sri Baidyanath Bhattacharya, who has a bank account outside India and who is regarded here as a close friend of the Chief Minister, played a significant role in this transaction. (The total value of the contract given to Karl Steel & Co. amounts to Rs. 7,50,00,000.)

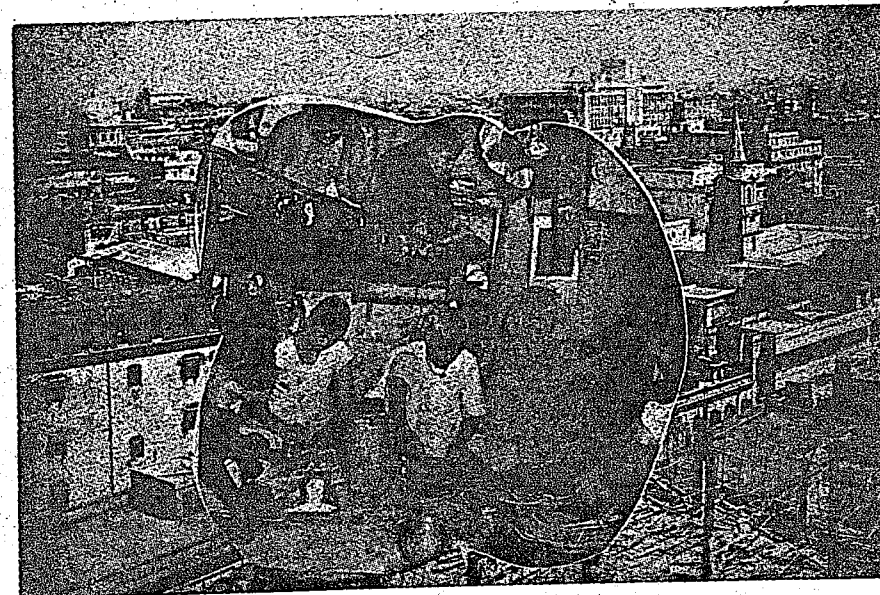
The Coke-Oven Plant was duly set up, but then, it was discovered that several essential parts of the plant were damaged and unworkable. An additional sum of Rs. 13,00,000 was required to repair and replace the damaged parts. The Accountant General, however, refused to sanction this additional expenditure and asked for the original deed of contract for an examination of its terms and conditions.

BUT THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT WAS SAID TO BE "MISSING". LITTLE WONDER THAT IT HAD BEEN SPIRITED AWAY; OTHERWISE, THE FIRM PATRONISED BY THE CABINET WOULD HAVE BEEN FORCED TO UNDERTAKE NECESSARY REPAIRS AND REPLACEMENTS AT ITS OWN COST....

Crime Flourishes

THE following figures taken from the Annual reports of the Police Department give an idea of the growing incidence of crime:

Year	Total No. of crimes	Cases of thefts	No. of murders	Cases of Robberies
1955	35,414	14,172	522	310
1957	42,649	22,660	778	447



CALCUTTA—Side by side with palatial buildings of the rich are the worst slums, where several families have to live and work in one and the same room.

A news item published a few days ago stated that the number of crimes committed in 1958 was greater than in 1957..

People are attacked and murdered in broad daylight even in a busy area like Dalhousie Square in Calcutta.

A reign of terror prevails in the industrial regions. Manhandling of workers by hired goondas of the employers and even murders of trade union workers are not infrequent. Sri Nimai Mitra, Secretary of the Burn Workers' Union was killed by a bomb thrown by some assailants. This incident happened before the last general elections.

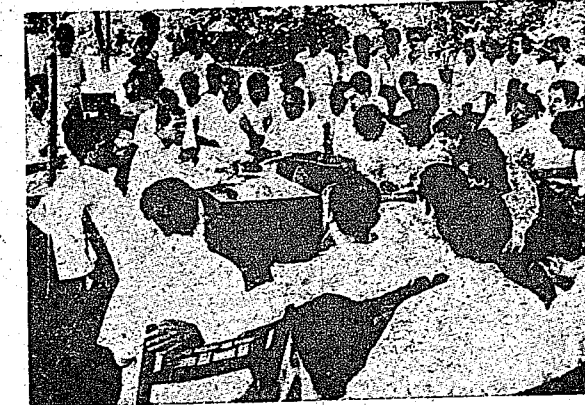
The situation in the rural areas in respect of anti-social activities is equally serious and the people have no faith in the police.

The Police Minister and his department know full well who these anti-social elements are and who are the people who aid and abet them in their nefarious activities. Within a couple of days, these people can be put under arrest and the law and order situation considerably improved....

We had charged the Police Minister in the last session of the State Assembly with maintaining contacts with anti-social elements through high police officials. We had also demanded a public enquiry into this grave matter.

Definite charges of direct links of a Congress MLA and labour leader of Hooghly District with anti-social elements of the same district were made in the last session of the State Assembly. We had pointed out that, aided by this gentleman, anti-social elements frequently take the law into their own hands. Yet the police dared not take any action because this MLA enjoyed the protection of the Food and Police Ministers.

The police are in possession of definite evidence of thefts, dacoities, forgeries, etc., committed by a notorious goonda in the Tribeni area of Hooghly. But, whenever they put him under arrest, this Congress MLA moved the Ministers and secured his release. Allegations regarding his connections with anti-social elements were made



Comrades Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta explaining the Memorandum at a press conference in New Delhi.

even in two influential Congress newspapers of this State.

We had stated at an Assembly session last year, that Sri Salla Kumar Mukherjee, former Speaker of the Assembly, and another Congress leader of Howrah, Sri Bankim Kar, MLA, had close links with notorious goondas of the district, who indulged in all types of anti-social activities, including illegal distillation of liquor.

But there was no convincing refutation of the charges and no enquiry was promised by the Government.

We had also charged the Food Minister on the floor of the Assembly in 1957-58, with having utilised notorious goondas of Calcutta in the Congress election campaign. The Statesman published a photo which showed the Food Minister with "Bishu" goonda who had been earlier exterminated from the city by the police....

Firings Killed 158
There was cold-blooded killing as a result of police firings of 158 innocent men and women—this is enough to show up the real face of this Government. Among those martyrs were four communist workers, who were shot inside the jail.

Firing was resorted to so many times with such ghastly results. Yet, barring one case in 1951, the Government persistently refused to institute any enquiry despite repeated demands from the people. Such scant respect for public opinion is unparalleled in the records of any Government that calls itself "democratic".

The only instance in which the Government was forced to order an enquiry due to terrific mass pressure, was the one relating to the police firing in Cooch Behar. But as expected, the report of the Enquiry Commission, was completely suppressed, because it is understood the Commission had condemned the firing as wanton and unprovoked and had severely criticised the action of the police. Publication of the report was repeatedly demanded in the Assembly and in public meetings, but the Government curtly rejected the demand.

Black Acts
DIFFERENT Black Acts—the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act (now repealed), the West Bengal Security Act and the Preventive Detention Act—have helped the Government in no small measure to intensify its offensive against the people. The draconian powers conferred on the Government by these acts have been indiscriminately used to jail over 1,00,000 people connected with

the democratic movements of different sections of people....

The practice of using Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. to suppress all democratic movements has become a permanent feature of the State Government's policy.

It has been clamped down around Birla's Keshoram Cotton Mills for the last six months.

It is in force in the Asansol-Burnpur industrial region for the past two years. Assembly of five and more in the Dalhousie Square area of Calcutta has been banned permanently.

Sec. 144 is regularly imposed on the whole area around the Assembly House when the Legislature is in session. The object is to prevent any mass deputation coming to the House to present its demands to the ministry. The area of Chittaranjan Locomotive Works was declared a protected place under the P.D. Act and it has remained so ever since. The Chittaranjan township—inhabited by thousands of railway employees, had been turned into a veritable prison house and even legitimate trade union activities are not permitted....

We would like to cite some specimens of the charges on which political opponents of the Government were detained under this law (Preventive Detention Act). These cases leave no room for doubt as to the real motives of the Government. Among those detained in 1950, a charge levelled against Sri Ganesh Ghose, Communist MLA, was: "You were one of the leaders of the Chittagong Armoury Raid" (1930). Similarly, Sri Niranjan Sen, at present a Communist MLA, was charged, sheeted for having been "one of the main organisers of the Mechiabazar Conspiracy Case in 1929"....

Among the charges framed against Sri Jyoti Basu, present leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly, was that he had been "invited to attend the Kisan Conference in Burma."

The P.D. Act was amended in 1952, and the Congress Government claims that charges of the above-mentioned type are no longer framed. But experience shows that the Act is still being misused. Many trade union and peasant leaders, who took part in State-wide mass movements for food and bonus in 1953, were detained under the P.D. Act. Typical is the charge-sheet against the Communist and peasant leader, Sri Biswanath Mukherjee, which reads as follows: "On 19.8.53, you participated in a mass meeting organised by the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party and presided over by Sri Bankim Mukherjee. In the course of your speech, you appealed to the people to build up a powerful

people to build up a powerful

people to build up a powerful

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movement to force the Government to reduce the rice price and to increase the ration quota."

Denial Of Fundamental Rights

THE State Government has persistently denied one of the fundamental rights—the right to form trade unions—to its 1,60,000 employees on the strength of the infamous "Government Servants Service Conduct Rules" which were framed by the British rulers. This Government is only carrying forward the hateful traditions of the British regime; it has used the Rules with a vengeance to subvert the trade union rights of the employees.

Our present rulers are so faithfully following in the footsteps of the Britishers that when copies of the Rules were printed afresh in 1958, such wordings as "His Majesty's Government", "Governor-General in Council", etc., were retained. A perusal of the rules gives the impression that we are still living under the British regime.

The most atrocious provision is the one that lays down that a person shall not be employed under the State and one who is already in Government service shall be liable to dismissal if it is found that his or her father, mother, brother, sister or any other near relation has connections with any political party—

which is, in the Congress regime, any other party other than the Congress.

Till now, this Government has discharged or dismissed over 200 Government employees on the basis of "adverse" police reports against them.

Significantly enough, not one employee has been sacked till this day on the ground that he was or is a member or supporter of the Congress. But, that is quite understandable on the part of the State Government whose attitude has been blatantly partisan.

Prof. Sushovan Sarkar, a famous teacher of history, had a brilliant record of service in the Government Presidency College, Calcutta. But he was not made the Principal of the College because his Marxist views were not to the liking of the Government.

The Chief Secretary to the State Government passed an order transferring Sri S. Sanyal, a First Class Magistrate of Howrah, to a distant district at 24 hours' notice. Sri Sanyal pleaded for time in view of family difficulties. But his prayer was unceremoniously rejected. This independent-minded officer then resigned his job. He now works as a professor in a private college.

His crime was that he had passed severe strictures on the police for resorting to firing on a peaceful procession of peasants near Deulti rail-

way station in 1956. Quite naturally, the Government regarded these strictures as an indictment of itself, and was therefore up in arms against this self-respecting and fearless officer.

The Vice-Chairman of Midnapore District School Board issued a notice on 8.7.57 ordering the transfer of 58 primary teachers to different places. The ground given for such transfer was that it was in "public interest". But it was not difficult to understand what kind of "public interest" was involved. These teachers had refused to campaign for the Congress, and so they had to be taught a lesson...

In 1957, the Government decided to recruit four persons from amongst practising lawyers for appointment as District and Sessions Judges. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court accordingly selected four persons. Among them was Sri S.O. Sen. His name was removed from the list of selected candidates on the ground that his "adverse" report against him was "adverse". But what was this report? The only thing that was said was that Sri Sen had connections with the Communist Party prior to 1947 when he was in Khulna (now in East Pakistan). He did not, however, keep contacts with his political party after he had come over to the Indian Union. But, his connections with the Communist Party in the remote past, was enough to debar him

Adult Franchise Withheld

ON the floor of the State Legislature the Opposition have repeatedly demanded that elections to the Calcutta Corporation and all municipalities should be held on the basis of adult franchise. But the Government has obstinately refused to concede this fundamental right to the people. It is to be noted in this connection that West Bengal is the only State in the country where elections to local self-government institutions are not held on the basis of adult franchise. The reasons of course, are not far to seek.

Adult franchise has been introduced in the Panchayat elections now, going on, because the Congress rulers had thought that adult franchise in the rural areas, where the influence of the Congress is comparatively greater, would not jeopardise their vested interests. But the expectations have not been fulfilled. The election results announced so far show that even in areas regarded as Congress strongholds, leftist parties have captured Panchayat Boards.

But this is not all. Financial assistance is denied to municipalities controlled by leftist parties. These municipalities are even superseded on the flimsiest grounds. The instances of Bally, Nabadwip, Burdwan, and other municipalities may be cited in this connection. Of these, Nabadwip municipality was superseded twice.

The same undemocratic policy was adopted when elections to the Midnapore District Board were postponed for a very long period. Elections to the Calcutta Corporation were also postponed for a year, and then they were held hurriedly with only three weeks notice.

The Ordinance recently promulgated by the Government for amending the Calcutta Municipal Act, seeks to tighten bureaucratic control over the Corporation. The new measure is blatantly anti-democratic that even a section of the Congress Councillors have opposed it.

(a) Sri Kashi Mitra, who retired as the Director of Health Department, was appointed Deputy Director of the newly-created Social Welfare Department and ex-officio Deputy Secretary of the Public Service Commission. The Public Service Commission was not consulted though its approval in the matter of appointment of a retired official to a newly-created post of this type is essential. Subsequently, this gentleman was made the Director, Social Welfare Department. Again the Public Service Commission was not informed.

(b) The post of a Registrar fell vacant in the Commerce and Industries Department. The Government no doubt sought the advice of the Public Service Commission. But, without waiting for the same, it appointed Sri S. Banerjee to the post.

(c) The Government appointed Shri Chowdhury as the Administrative Officer of its Deep Sea Fishing Scheme without consulting the Public Service Commission, which had already advertised for the post and did not consider Shri Chowdhury to be a suitable candidate.

Not content with restricting the scope of the Commission's functions, the Government sees to it that the Commission does not get out of hand. Hence it takes particular care to appoint as the Chairman one whose loyalty and allegiance to the Government are above suspicion. It may be mentioned by way of example that the present incumbent of the post is the retired Secretary of the Finance Department, who is regarded here as a protégé of the Chief Minister. It is needless to say that such appointments cause loss of public confidence in the Commission. Past experience amply bears out the truth of this contention.

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Reports Suppressed

ONE or two Enquiry Commissions or Committees were set up only when the Government found it impossible to ignore deep and widespread popular resentment against its anti-people and highhanded activities. But, the reports of these Committees or Commissions were invariably suppressed if their findings went against the Government. The opposition repeatedly demanded on the floor of the Legislature that these reports should be published. But the Government turned a deaf ear.

(a) The report of the Enquiry Commission on the police firing in Cooch Behar has not yet seen the light of day.

(b) The report of the Commission headed by Justice P. B. Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court to enquire into the increase in tramfares, has not been published.

(c) In more recent period, the preliminary report on the activities of an anti-social group in the Calcutta Botanical Gardens was suppressed.

(d) The Government at first refused to publish the report of the Food Enquiry Committee appointed last year. But when it ultimately leaked out, the Government released it to the Press.

'DISMISSED' MINISTERS GET MASSIVE RECEPTION

★ From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM.

Never before was such a massive reception accorded to "dismissed" Ministers as was seen on August 1 when the people of Trivandrum rallied in their thousands to receive the outgoing Communist ministers and took them in a giant procession to the biggest meeting here in recent times, called by the Trivandrum District Council of the Communist Party to protest against Central intervention. Many Central and State Congress ministers would give anything to get such a warm and hearty reception at least when they are elected to their office.

HUNDREDS of cheers and applause broke from over twenty-five thousand people assembled in the Chandrasekharan Nair Stadium as Comrade V. Sreedharan, Secretary of the Trivandrum District Communist Party welcomed Comrade EMS and his colleagues declared that many Chief Ministers had gone out of office in this State unwept, unhonoured, unsung and unnoticed. He asserted to the accompaniment of renewed cheering from the crowd that the tolling people of Kerala would put the EMS ministry back in power.

Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair, president, and Comrades EMS, C. Achutha Menon, K. R. Gouri, and P. K. Chuthan addressed the vast gathering. Comrade EMS and the other ex-ministers were taken out in a procession from the Cliff House, the official residence of the Chief Minister. The huge procession which wended its way from there to the Stadium was an impressive sight, which the citizens of Trivandrum will be talking about for a long time.

Scores of Red Flags fluttered in the breeze looking like a huge red canopy spread over the heads of the processionists with patches of blue here and there made up by peace flags. It was not a subdued and vanquished crowd going out in mourning. It was a militant force undaunted and determined to see that their leaders were put back in office from where they had been temporarily removed by the stratagems of their enemies. And the slogans that these people raised bore full testimony to this militant and disciplined mood.

Among the slogans, all specially coined for the occasion, the one which immediately caught the attention of the crowds of spectators on the road and won their appreciation declared "Central subversionists, take care, franchise is for us". There were other similar slogans like "We will rise, we will increase and we will rule here again", "Communist Party will fight to defend democracy". Quite a number of slogans were questions addressed to Pandit Nehru. "Nehruji, are you not ashamed to serve priests, communalists and landlords?" they asked. Another slogan asked Sri Nehru: "What kind of justice have you meted out there was the Malabar District Board which the Communists ruled. There we had not even a one-vote majority. There we and the others were equal. Still we ruled the Board for the full term of three years. Here we were able to show that even though our

majority is only a majority of two votes, it is nevertheless a stable and sure majority.

"When it was found that we could not be defeated in the legislature, they decided to defeat us outside. Thus a 'direct action', a 'Vimochana Samara' was launched. Who all participated in that Vimochana Samara? They told us that all political parties except Communist Party were against us in that struggle. There was the Congress, the PSP, the Muslim League, the RSP.... (a voice from the audience: the KSP) yes, the KSP and then a mere SP without any R or K!

"Then we were told that all trade unions except those under Communist leadership were against us; the INTUC, UTUC, EMS and then some who claim that they are independent. But then these unions called for a general strike, the workers showed that they were opposed to all these unions. Still we were told that everyone is against us.

"Then all the newspapers and all the lawyers in the State were said to be against us. Thus, after claiming that all except Communists were opposed to us, somebody here was heard to say that he would tie his horse in my room in the Secretariat. Weeks then passed one after other and still the horse was not to be found anywhere. The great Commander-in-Chief of the Vimochana Samara who had declared that he would uproot all the Communists from Kerala and drown them in the Arabian sea was then reported to have gone to the Rajbhavan on July 15 and to have wept before the Governor. 'You should save us at least now or else we will all perish', he is reported to have cried out.

"As you all know there have been many ministries here even before the Kerala State was formed and there was the Travancore-Cochin State and many ministers had gone out of office before us. But no one had gone out like us. The reason for this was that they had all gone out because of dissensions and treachery in their own camp. My predecessor, Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon himself said this 'proudly' in the Assembly when he last went out. He said that his Government was going out not because of anything done by the Opposition but because of the betrayal of his own partymen. Today, I am proud to declare that we are going out not because of any dissension or disunity in our own camp.

"Neither are we going out because we have suffered any defeat at the hands of our Opposition. They had tried all their tricks for that. But during the 28 months rule of our ministry not even once could the Opposition bring a no-confidence motion against us in the legislature. They had been telling us, 'Oh, you have got only a majority of two votes'. Well, it is true. We had only a majority of two in the legislature. But we told them that we will rule here if only we have got a majority of one single vote.

"You will remember that there was the Malabar District Board which the Communists ruled. There we had not even a one-vote majority. There we and the others were equal. Still we ruled the Board for the full term of three years. Here we were able to show that even though our

Still, everything failed. And then they declared that they were going to march on the Secretariat on August 9. Just as in the case of their picketing and other activities, this march also would have failed. But then came somebody to save them. Who was it? (the audience: the Centre) followed by loud laughter). Yes, they are now under the shade of that old Dada who came from above to save them....

"We worked during these last 28 months for the welfare of the workers, the peasants and other poor and middle classes, to solve their problems and seek redressal of their long-standing grievances. As a result of this we are today going out with the satisfaction that during this short time we have done our utmost for the good of the workers, peasants and toiling masses.

"As for tying the horse, we shall see whose horse will be tied after say five or six months. I do not want to boast about elections and, therefore, I shall not now discuss about the future prospects. "It is now already being said that the Opposition parties are united to win the election. Seats are reported to have been divided among them. According to this division, the Congress is to take 69 seats, the PSP 40, the Muslim League 15 and the RSP three. So altogether 127 seats! But there are only 126 seats! Is it good to be so faltering at the very outset?

"Let us leave the sharing of seats. What about the persons? Where will Sri Mannath Padmanabhan be accommodated? In the Congress 69 or PSP 40? I shall not deal with these things more than this because all that is their 'family affair' and we don't want to intervene in that. Already there is report of a demand that former ministers or chief ministers should not stand for the election. But let us not discuss such things.

"Leaving their family affairs, there are certain affairs of the people here on which we have a right to know

where they stand. We would like to know what they do even if they are able to win the elections and elect a chief minister and continue in power for at least six months without internal squabbles. For example, we have passed the Agrarian Relations Bill in our time. The Opposition had tried their level best to prevent the passing of that Bill. But they could not stop it.

"Curiously enough they started their Vimochana Samara when this Bill was passed. It looked as if they were seeking their Vimochana from the Bill. That Bill has now been sent to the Centre for Presidential assent. And as soon as it was sent up, the horse has come from the Centre!

Real Questions

"Now, I would like to know what our friends of the Vimochana Samara Samiti and Congress are going to do about this Bill. It is being said that (and it has been reiterated in the KPCC memorandum also) the Congress is not opposed to the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill. But Sri Mannath Padmanabhan in an open letter to me had declared that he was opposed to this Bill very clearly. Now does Sri Mannom stand in the same position or has he revised his stand to that which the KPCC memorandum has said? Also these people who with men and money helped this Vimochana Samara, where do they stand in relation to this Bill? Similarly there is the question of the Education Act which Sri Mannom and his associates had resisted.

"These are the real questions. It is not of any importance to find out who will become ministers. In a democracy ministers come and go. But the people of this State have their serious problems of life, of land, of education

* SEE PAGE 12

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EMS Speaks

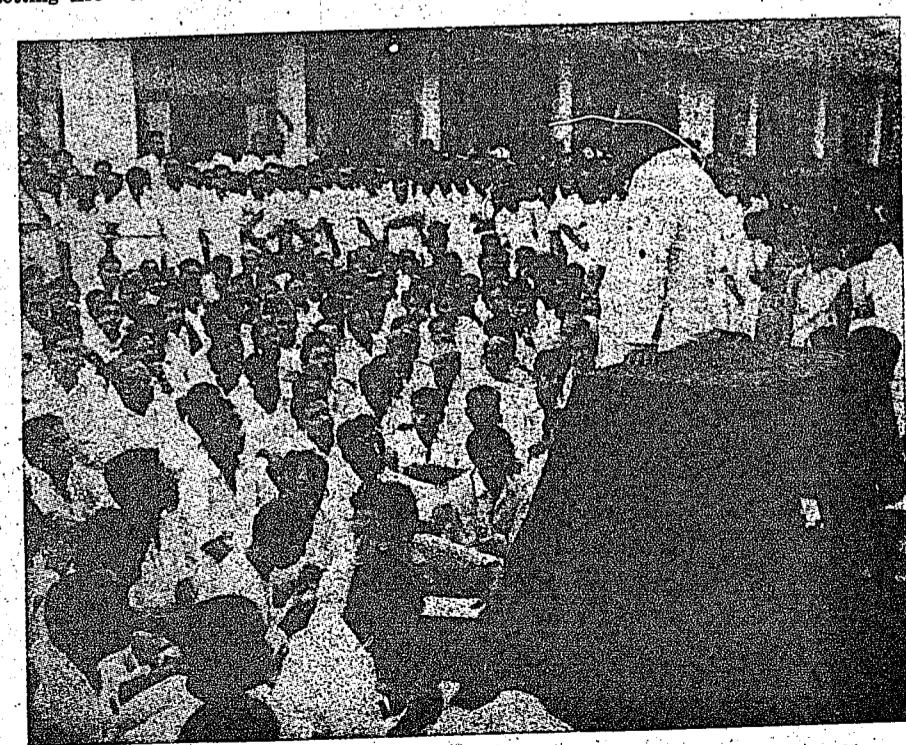
Comrade EMS began his speech by expressing his and his colleagues' gratitude to the people for all the help and co-operation they had given to the Ministry during its twenty-eight months' tenure. He continued:

"There are many things which I want to talk to you regarding the activities of our ministry which was formed 28 months ago with your blessings. But I cannot speak about all that here now since there are others also to speak this evening.

"As you all know there have been many ministries here even before the Kerala State was formed and there was the Travancore-Cochin State and many ministers had gone out of office before us. But no one had gone out like us. The reason for this was that they had all gone out because of dissensions and treachery in their own camp. My predecessor, Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon himself said this 'proudly' in the Assembly when he last went out. He said that his Government was going out not because of anything done by the Opposition but because of the betrayal of his own partymen. Today, I am proud to declare that we are going out not because of any dissension or disunity in our own camp.

They Failed In All They Tried

"In the name of Vimochana Samara they had tried all they could—picketing, violent attacks; stone throwing and setting fire to schools, etc.



Leave-taking at Secretariat: EMS addressing Govt. officers and Staff, July 31.

"CONGRESS HAS PLAYED WITH FIRE"

Press Voices Grave Apprehensions

Except for the lunatic fringe—happily headed by the Hindustan Times—the national press has expressed grave apprehension over the stab at the Constitution which is Central intervention.

THE inevitability of the Centre's action seems to have been accepted by most of the newspapers—after all the last week or so the Central Congress leaders had begun a furious conditioning process.

Nevertheless inevitability has not been equated by them with justifiability. Typical in this connection is the editorial of the Tribune (August 2): "If events are permitted to take their own direction, even if they are not fully abetted, the inevitable is bound to follow, but in these circumstances to regard the final result as pre-determined shows either feebleness of purpose or downright dishonesty."

"The Congress Party has played with fire in Kerala. The full repercussions of this dangerous undertaking may not be visible for some time but the results must assert themselves in due course."

The Hindu (August 2) has also rather primly and circumpectly stated the same thought: "Now, it must be admitted at once that this is the first time that this power of the President (Article 358) is invoked when a Ministry with a working majority in the legislature is in office and has not resigned or been turned out by a vote of the House. The resulting situation is one in which a democratically chosen Ministry is dismissed and replaced by Presidential rule, albeit for a temporary period. Thus it appears, prima facie, a denial of democratic principles."

Undemocratic, Undesirable

Going on to state that the President needs to be "satisfied" that the Government in a particular State cannot be carried on accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it adds:

"Admitting all this, however, there is a great deal to be said for the view held by some eminent constitutional lawyers and publicists that the Centre's intervention in the shape of a dismissal of a Ministry which has not lost the confidence of the State's legislature is not desirable or democratic."

"There is a well-grounded fear that the power of intervention in such circumstances might, in the future, open the way for abuse by a Central authority which is not scrupulous in the exercise of its extraordinary overriding powers over the State." Even sharper has been the condemnation of the way in which the Central Congress leaders acquiesced in and

actually encouraged the illegal agitation in Kerala. In this background, the national press opines Central intervention actually puts the seal of sanction on this type of hooligan action to oust a democratically elected Government.

The Free Press Journal of August 1 editorially states: "The policy decision behind the proclamation lends itself to any number of interpretations. The action apparently constitutes recognition by the President of the people's right to revolt against any Government in any State that erra. Is it also a recognition of the possibility that issues can be settled on the streets?"

Nothing To Do With Charges

"It is significant that the Presidential proclamation is based in its entirety on Article 358 of the Constitution which provides for emergency powers when a State Government cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution? This, in other words, is to say that the New Delhi decision was prompted wholly by the breakdown of law and order in the State; it has nothing to do with the accusations levelled against the Government in the chargesheet."

"This can be taken as meaning that if a 'mass upsurge' comes into existence in a State, the President will be constrained to remove the Government, whatever its bona fides and claims for protection."

"It also means that a State Government can go to any extremes in corruption and misrule and everything will be all right as long as it can keep on its side those people who are in a position to whip up or not to whip up 'mass upsurge'. Either way the prospects are hardly encouraging."

"It will be up to the President and the Cabinet that advises him to handle future situations in such a way that presidential impartiality is never in doubt. How far this will be possible in practice will depend on how far Government thinking at the highest level will be free, as it should be from narrow party pulls."

The Times of India (August 1) also hits out hard and straight—bringing in even more sharply the complicity of the central Congress leadership.

"The agitators in Kerala have at last got what they wanted. They have forced the Central Government to dismiss the Communist Ministry and institute President's rule in the State."

"In fact the Central Government has forced itself, for the leaders who dominate the Government at the Centre also control the Congress and they did nothing to dissuade their party members from taking part in a movement calculated to disrupt law and order, prevent the working of schools and Government offices and paralyse the administration."

"... It is doubtful if the agitation would have reached the pitch it did without the part taken by the Congress. Perhaps the process could have been called to a halt if in the very beginning the Congress had shown a keener awareness of the larger implications of the agitation for the working of parliamentary institutions in the country."

Terming the Centre's action as "a very bad example", the Statesman (August 7) editorial, while considering President's rule a regrettable necessity, has some severe strictures to pass:

"The Government had a majority of two; its life in the legislature could have been made very embarrassing. But we cannot recall an instance in which it was seriously challenged except by rhetoric: some in the opposition must have been too busy to attend when issues which were later to become the basis of a 'mass upsurge' were being debated."

"If democrats find attention to their parliamentary duties uninteresting and prefer the excitement of the streets, it can scarcely be wondered at if Communists are confirmed in the view that this sort of democracy has not much to be said for it."

"And what of the 'subterranean encouragement from the top' as Kerala's Law Minister has quaintly called it? Was that democratic? Was it not rather

evidence that leading figures in the Congress will not tolerate the verdict of the polls if the party is defeated?"

Remarkable Restraint

The editorial has the following remarks to make about the dismissed Ministry "It is not easy to judge from a distance. But, with isolated instances to the contrary, the Kerala Government seems to have behaved with restraint remarkable under the circumstances. It was properly determined to keep the administration going as far as possible; but it certainly did not use all the weapons at its disposal to bring the situation under control."

The Tribune (August 2) takes up the same theme: "The danger is obvious and even the Congress Party cannot be unaware of the serious risk of a repetition of the ugliness of the Kerala campaign in States where the Congress Party and not the Communists is in power ..."

"If a public agitation against an existing Government can become the reason for that Government's dismissal, the contamination may spread to parties other than the Communists which do not like the Congress."

Yardstick For 'Mass Upsurge'

"In any case what is the yardstick of assessing the volume of this thing called 'mass upsurge' as an effective instrument for a change of Government? Is the Centre going to lay down a scale of deaths by police firing or of the size of demonstrations before a campaign to unseat a Government is accepted as a valid reason for intervention? Obviously neither the Government of India nor the

Congress Party would be so stupid as to prescribe such a scale."

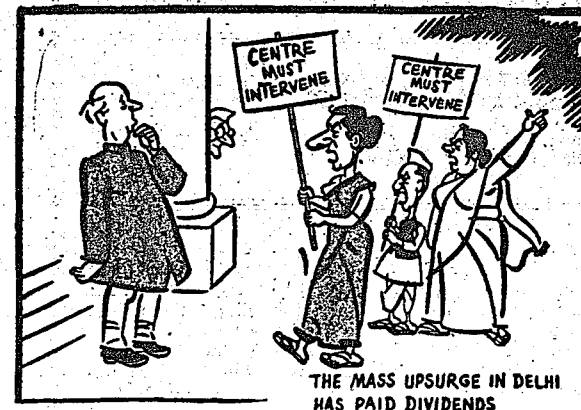
"But there is no less danger in undefined standards. The consequence may be the creation of a feeling that the field of agitation is now clear, not only in respect of opponents of the Congress Party but also with regard to dissidents in the Congress Party itself."

The editorial goes on to a stern indictment of the Central Congress leadership: "We now come to the final embarrassment which is really an indictment of the Congress Parliamentary Board. It has been said in New Delhi that Central intervention had become inevitable at the stage when the President decided to exercise his powers under Article 358 of the Constitution. The argument is not contested, but the country would like to know why such a stage was allowed to develop. Why did not the Congress Parliamentary Board act much earlier to prevent the opposition agitation from assuming the horrible shape it did in the end?"

"There is no doubt that the Congress Party at the Centre has a guilty conscience over the issue and cannot adequately explain its conduct in the matter. This conspicuous departure from virtue is a reminder of the circumstances of India's partition ..."

The Hindu (August 2) also cannot refrain from expressing its worry over the "mass agitation"—induced Central intervention. It would prefer to believe that the policies and deeds of the Communist Government really led to the breakdown of the Constitution.

Nevertheless, it writes, "But it would be a bad day for the orderly development of democratic institutions in this country if credit for such (Central) intervention could be claimed by the opposition



Thackeray.

Courtesy: BHARAT JYOTI

parties (not excluding the local Congress Party) on the strength of their having engaged in patently anti-social and intrinsically objectionable forms of direct action, whatever may have been the provocation."

"Indeed we think that the Central Government (and, if we may add, Congress leadership at the higher levels) should take an early opportunity to make it plain that they are firmly against such demonstrations, and that in the case of Kerala, their decision was taken in spite of, and not as a result of, such undesirable practices as mass picketing of Government offices and public transport and involvement of students and very young people in direct action movements."

No Problems Solved

It is with regard to the future, to the prospects ahead that the national press is at its most sombre. It is a remarkable fact that while most of them accepted Central intervention as an inevitable evil, they are almost unanimously of the opinion that no problems have been solved by it.

The Free Press Journal (August 1) states: "Now that the hot spell has cooled off to a humid expectancy in Kerala, what chances are there for the State to steady itself? This is, perhaps, the darkest aspect of the Kerala problem. The cynicism that has grown all over the country as a result of constant and futile party bickerings has its most confirmed votaries in Kerala, the literate State ..."

Heinous Plot

"The final comment must be that of the Tribune (August 2). Taking up the same point that the anti-Communist united front is hardly likely to be able to survive and continue in the form of a coalition ministry, it states:

"According to this line of reasoning, Kerala may not be able to have an elected Ministry at least for the next two and a half years and Governor's rule may continue. Thus, instead of restoring democracy on the right lines, Central intervention may have set in motion developments which will lead to the denial of a popular Government in Kerala."

The only hope for democracy and representative Government would, thus, be the return to power of the Communists and their allies in Kerala. As this is the most likely prospect, Kerala—and India—can face the future with confidence."

AGITATION FED ON HOPES OF CENTRAL INTERVENTION

—'Hindu' Man Saw For Himself

THE New Delhi political correspondent of The Hindu, Sri K. Rangaswami revisited Kerala sometime between July 20 and 23 and recorded his impressions which were published in the July 30 and 31 issues of the paper.

There are many points on the nature of the agitation, its character, the responsibility of the Congress, the amount of support for it, etc., on which we hold opinions at variance with The Hindu Correspondent. But we think his opinions will be of interest to our readers.

Commenting on the favourite "method" of struggle, he writes: "In the Gandhian days, picketing of Government offices would generally mean that disciplined volunteers would peacefully persuade those attending office to keep away."

"But in Kerala, what is happening in the name of picketing of Government offices is that a group of picketers attempt to march straight into the building. If there is no resistance by the police, the picketers infiltrate inside the premises through all conceivable openings, do some damage to the furniture and papers and hoist some Party flag ... Stampede and confusion naturally follow and the police must clear the premises of all intruders, which include women also."

Going on to deal with the other type of action, Sri Rangaswami writes: "The picketing of schools is taking a form which may well lead to undesirable consequences if it is not immediately reorganised. It is not parents who are being persuaded not to send their children to schools. Volunteers of political parties surrounded by school children post themselves in front of schools and shout slogans. Some of the slogans which the children are taught to repeat are offensive. When children shout against their teachers, one can easily imagine what effect it would have on the discipline and training in the schools."

And about the obstruction of State transport his comment is: "The picketing of transport buses naturally cause a great deal of inconvenience to the people. In many cases, young boys prostrate themselves before the vehicles and as soon as the latter are brought to a standstill, tyres are promptly deflated and damage is inflicted on the vehicle in a variety of ways."

"Here again, there is no attempt on the part of the picketers to persuade the passengers not to travel in the State buses ... one factor which is ignored in this struggle is that the buses are the property of the State Government and not of the Communist Party."

About the further steps that had been planned by the Kerala opposition he writes:

"There is an attempt to organise non-stop picketing by despatching a continuous flow of batches of volunteers. At the same time there is a plan, as has been publicly stated by the leaders of the opposition groups, to capture the offices of the District Collectors and also the Government Secretariat. These steps are bound to lead to violent clashes. A no-tax campaign and a scorched-earth policy are also being worked out."

Sri Rangaswami deals next with the nature of the agitation and why it was able to keep going: "The campaign is no doubt well planned, efficiently organised and adequately financed ... But it is undoubtedly the Christian community which has supplied the bulk of the manpower and material resources for the struggle ..."

"Although there may be difference of opinion as to what has influenced the agitation to be kept up, intensified and enlarged, almost from the commencement of the agitation, the leaders of the Opposition began declaring that it was only a question of days before the Central Government intervened ... Even today the same hope is being held out by top Congress leaders. How and on what basis were Congressmen able to make such categorical declarations is not clear."

Describing the fact that the Communist Party stands, as it were, alone Sri Rangaswami adds, "But it would be erroneous to conclude from this picture that the entire Christian, Muslim and Hindu population are ranged against the Government ... with the exception of the Christians, all the others, Nairs, Muslims and Ezhavas are divided."

The Contrast

In some striking passages, The Hindu correspondent contrasts the difference in social composition of the two contending forces in Kerala: "The bulk of the opposition leaders and their supporters hail from a class which is already established in the public eye ..."

"In the case of the Communist Party, which is now completely isolated, beyond those at the helm of affairs at the Government and Party level, the rank and file, who are simple trade union workers, are less known to the public at large and their views, even when they had the solid backing of hundreds of workers, may not, in the present context of things and values attached to men and affairs, carry any great weight ..."

"In fact, it is the standing complaint of many middle and upper class leaders that they found it difficult to reconcile themselves not so

much to the sudden shooting into prominence of unheard-of persons but to their unpollished and offensive manners."

In connection with the toddy-tappers' cooperatives, about which the Opposition made such a fuss, he writes: "I visited the Andikod Toddy Tappers' Cooperative Society in Trichur and the success which has attended its first year of working is truly phenomenal. Two thousand four hundred tappers in Trichur have been given the monopoly of tapping and selling toddy within the taluk. They have now a paid-up capital of Rs. 1,60,000. They run 57 shops and employ 400 men. They own four jeeps and hire a well-furnished bungalow at a rent of Rs. 250 a month. Their annual turnover is over one crore of rupees!"

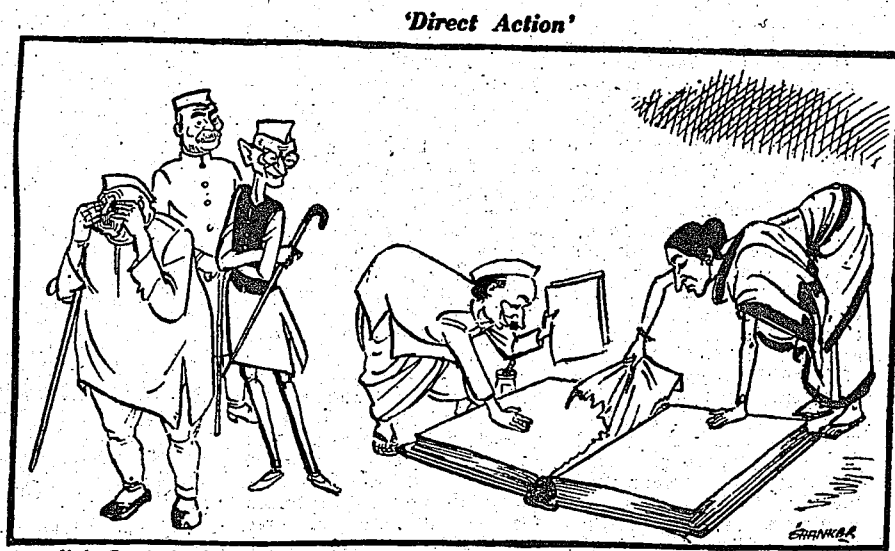
"For the toddy they collect, they now get twice what they used to get with difficulty from the private contractor. The monthly wage of the tapper, which he draws regularly every week, is now doubled. Besides, he gets a month's wage as bonus and another three week's wages in lieu of annual holiday. He will get the maximum dividend of seven and a half per cent. On the psychological front, it has brought about a tremendous change."

"I asked a tapper how he felt now. He said that the immediate gain was in his income. But he was more happy and felt relieved because he had no longer to go and appear before the private contractors for his wages and submit himself to all kinds of humiliation. Previously he was obliged to remove his headgear whenever he saw his headgear whenever he saw his master and even smoke his cigarette ..."

"The Cooperative societies do not make any contributions to political parties. The accounts of the society are subject to audit by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. But the tappers are members of the Toddy Tappers' Union controlled by the Communists and in their personal capacity have contributed liberally to the Communist Party funds ..."

Sri Rangaswami concludes with a round up of views on Central intervention. Sri Sankar and Sri Mannan, of course, feel that peace in Kerala can be ensured only if "the Communist Party of India is liquidated."

"There are, however, leaders like the Sarvodaya leader Sri Kelappan who feel as strongly against the method of direct action employed to remove a Ministry as they do against the Communist Party itself. They think that the dismissal of the Ministry by the Central Government is a step fraught with grave consequences and serious implications."



SHANKAR

Courtesy: SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

RESERVE BANK DISCOVERS A PARADOX

ACCORDING to the Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1958-59, the Indian economy during the year revealed "mixed trends"—"with a blend of elements of stagnation and forces of sustained progress—and of recessionary tendencies with basic inflationary factors".

Food: Rising Production—Rising Prices

How these apparently contradictory trends manifest themselves? On one side is the "magnificent" recovery in the output of foodgrains to the record figure of 73 million tons, and on the other is the surprising increase of about 11.2 per cent in food prices as compared to no change in the previous year. And if food presented this paradox of high production and high prices, the rate of progress in industrial production during 1958 maintained its tendency to slow down, with the average general index during the year at 139.4 (base 1951=100) representing an increase of only 1.5 per cent as compared to 3.5 per cent in 1957 and 8.3 per cent in 1956.

Less Employment, Falling Incomes

As a result of decline in the rate of growth of industrial activity employment opportunities could not keep pace with the increase in the number of job seekers. Also, principally because of a "sharp fall" in agricultural production during 1957-58, the national income during the year at Rs. 10,830 crores showed a decline of 1.5 per cent over the previous year, with the per capita income

showing even a larger fall of 2.8 per cent.

About the only sphere in which the picture took on brighter hues during 1958-59 was that of balance of payments, which improved on account of an austere import policy as well as what a journal has called "the golden fleece of foreign aid". And yet it was adverse to an extent of Rs. 47 crores during the year, as against Rs. 260 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 221 crores in 1956-57. The relief was however, obtainable at a much lower level of the country's overseas trade with both imports and exports showing a fall of Rs. 158 crores and Rs. 19 crores respectively.

In spite of lower imports and exports and decline in the rate of growth of industrial production—manifested in a slowing down of the rate of new investments, especially in the private sector—the economy experienced unmistakable signs of inflationary pressures. This was revealed both in a larger expansion of money supply (Rs. 109 crores) during the year than in 1957-58 (Rs. 76 crores) as well as in a sort of a "minor boom" in the share markets.

Obviously, as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has said, such a phenomenon in the context of a general stagnation can lead only to one conclusion: that "the increasing money supply in the market is encouraging more speculative than productive activities". This also explains the queer coexistence of high food prices and higher production, for, the Reserve Bank's "selective credit control" notwithstanding, there was money aplenty at the disposal of hoarders to keep food out of the reach of the common people.

If this be the reason behind the continued rise in prices—which with index at 120.9 in mid-June 1959 have

remained unaffected by the Government's encouraging statistics—what explains the decline in the rate of growth of industrial production in the midst of a steep rise in external assistance? To what use was this "massive" foreign aid (amounting to Rs. 1,216 crores to date) put if it did not contribute a wee-bit to country's industrialisation? If its purpose was merely to smarten up the balance of payments position how long can it postpone the inevitable emptying of the nation's till of external balances, if the exports position too remains as awkward as it has so far been?

An explanation offered by the Reserve Bank of the shortfall in industrial production, especially in the private sector, is that of shortage of industrial raw materials arising from import restrictions. And yet even it is constrained to admit that in some industries "notably cotton textiles, the decline was also due to the slackness of domestic demand during the greater part of the year, and the difficulties of maintaining exports".

Crux Of The Matter

The development of a domestic market and promotion of exports thus emerge as the crux of the country's economic malaise. If they are tackled adequately paradoxes like the ones mentioned in the Reserve Bank's Report will be rarer. No doubt to control the price spiral effectively issues like strengthening the powers that the Reserve Bank can exercise in this behalf will have to be given priority. But the problem, in the main, will be easy of solution only if the twin issues referred above have been effectively solved. This, however, calls for a radical reversal of the Government's economic policies pursued hitherto.

Internally, to increase the purchasing capacity of the common people to enable them to absorb more of do-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

domestically produced goods, it is necessary to adopt a wage policy which might give to them an adequate return for their labour. Externally, to increase exports it is necessary to route goods to markets which are prepared to pay the most remunerative prices. Additionally, it pays to cultivate trade links with quarters whose social and political policies do not necessitate frequent fluctuations in their demand for our goods. For, if they do, no stability in exports to them will ever be possible.

If these criteria are chosen it will be seen that the countries fulfilling them are also those which have no reservations in supplying us equipment to build our industries—while others whose intake of our goods is rather erratic are not so enthusiastic in this respect. They, no doubt, appear to be making amends for it through "massive" assistance. But that, as the Reserve Bank's study shows, does not even suffice to bridge the gap between imports and exports.

Radical Reversal Called For

Our experience in this respect has found strange confirmation in the leading article of the *Capital* of July 30. Pointing to the enormous loss suffered by the primary producing countries as a result of a 8 per cent decline in their exports to advanced capitalist countries between mid-1957 and mid-1958 it says the "emphasis was (now) placed entirely on public aid and private investment as means of stimulating the backward economies". And yet, "a shift in terms of trade" even of a mild type

experienced last year, (when, simultaneously with fall in export earnings, the underdeveloped economies had "to pay more for industrial goods bought in the West", resulting in a loss of nearly 2000 million dollars), could "virtually wipe out years of effort in international lending and investment".

Yet They Persist!

In spite of this testimony of the *Capital* in respect of the futility of aid from western capitalist countries and private investments by their nationals, the reactionary protagonists of private enterprise in our country continue to clamour for more massive doses of both. After every return of its frequently despatched goodwill delegations to foreign countries, the arch champion of these circles the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry laments the inadequacy of incentives to attract them. To provide these incentives it pleads not only for revision of statutes affecting the private enterprise, but also for diluting the legislation which helps the worker to get a better return for his work.

In viewing thus the issues of the country's economic development, these gentlemen are pitting themselves against the facts of life. For, now it is not only the progressives who question the virtues of too much dependence on foreign capitalist aid and capital, but also the Reserve Bank's own survey whose facts and findings themselves cry out their

—ESSEN

August 4

E. M. S. ADDRESSES TRIVANDRUM RALLY

* FROM PAGE 9

and culture and they will want to know what the would-be ministers would do for them to solve these problems. They cherish this Agrarian Relations Bill and the Education Act and they want to know whether the Congress and PSP, etc., have all the same views about these measures.

"Anyone who enters the election field will have to declare what his party's programme is and what he is going to do for the common people. As regards the Communist Party we have already made clear our programme and we have shown in the last 28 months that we will try to implement that programme.

"It is said that the Communist Party should not be given a single seat here. Well, what can we do if people begin to speak out their greedy thoughts. Let alone the question whether the Communist Party will get a seat or not. It is better if they will try to find out how many seats they are

going to get. If they are grouped together, even then they will fall together. Simply because some people stand together they are not going to win.

"Only those who have a clear programme to better the life of our people will win. And let them say if they have got such a programme. If there had been such a programme would it have happened in this unfortunate State that successive ministries were toppled by their own hands?"

Concluding his speech, Comrade EMS drew the attention of all democrats in all parties to the implications of Central intervention: "If, as it has happened in Kerala, the opposition parties defeated in elections decide to remove a government not through the legislature but by direct action outside, what will happen to our democracy and our country? Is it good for the growth of parliamentary democracy? Democrats in the Congress and PSP and other parties should seriously ponder over it.

"The direct action here had something special about it, different from other direct actions. That is that, the inspiration for this direct action came from above, from the Congress leaders sitting at the Centre. This has been admitted by KPCC leaders themselves. Sri P. T. Chacko, leader of the Congress Legislature party, has made it clear that the direct action of the KPCC was launched on the basis of discussions at Ooty and the statement dictated by Sri Dhebar after the discussions at Ooty. When this became known Sri Dhebar and Srimati Indira Gandhi began to quibble. They said there was some 'misunderstanding' about this. What the 'real misunderstanding' was they have not stated so far.

Special Sort Of Direct Action

"It was also repeatedly declared by the leaders of the KPCC that the aim of their direct action was to 'paralyse

the administration' here. Notwithstanding Pandit Nehru's advice against picketing of schools and transport buses and government offices, they launched violent and forcible picketing. It was as the culmination of this programme that they announced their march to the Secretariat. Now this march to the Secretariat brings to mind the rise of Fascism in the world. Some decades ago Mussolini organised a march on Rome which was the beginning of Fascism and all its horrors. Like that, these people decided to march to the Secretariat. One could understand if it was Sri Manam alone who decided this. But the KPCC President himself was organising this here.

"Who gave encouragement to these activities, these activities which expose the holowness of their claim that they are loyal to the Constitution of the land? It was the Congress High Command. "If the Communist Party were to do even five per cent of what all happened here under the leadership of these Congressmen, you

will not find us any more before you like this. The Preventive Detention Act and other measures are there to suppress and forestall any attempt by opposition parties to remove Congress governments at the Centre and in the States. But what did they do here? They themselves unleashed trouble and then in the name of ending that trouble they intervened and dismissed the Government! I would only ask if this is decency, if this is fair play?

Admit Wrong, Be Fair

"Would the Congress leadership at least now publicly admit the wrong things which they did? If not, the trouble in this State is not going to end even after an election. If we win again in the election, they will again start the process. Or, for argument's sake, let us suppose they win the elections. Then what? Then all this will not be necessary. In two months their own men will pull their government down.

"I only request Congressmen and others to think whether this is just and fair."

AUGUST 9, 1959

Czechoslovakia, A Highly Advanced Industrial Power

During the past decade Czechoslovakia has registered a rapid economic development and now ranks among the industrially most advanced countries of the world. On the basis of the present growth of national economy the Government has defined the prospects of further development up to 1965.

DURING the said period total industrial production will increase by 90-95 per cent compared to 1957, which is roughly the double of 1937 industrial production. In 1965, Czechoslovakia will thus be in the position to produce 38 milliard kwh of electric energy, 9.2-9.7 million tons of steel, 35-36 million tons of hard coal, 77 million tons of brown coal. Production of the chemical industry will increase 2.5 times, volume of construction work by 70-80 per cent, and output of the food industry by 40 per cent. The volume of transports will increase by 80-95 per cent as against 1957, well in proportion with the growth of industrial production and building activity.

The fulfilment of this programme will bring about additional changes in the structure of industry thus making possible a better exploitation of natural resources, strengthening of division of labour and coordination of production among socialist countries. Therefore, great emphasis is being laid on the development of production of fuels and metallurgy.

The planned level will be attained by maximum utilization of output capacities, reconstruction and opening of new mines, increased mechanization and automation of coal output. Reconstruction will also take place in metallurgy where capacities now under construction will be completed, and a new combine built in Slovakia.

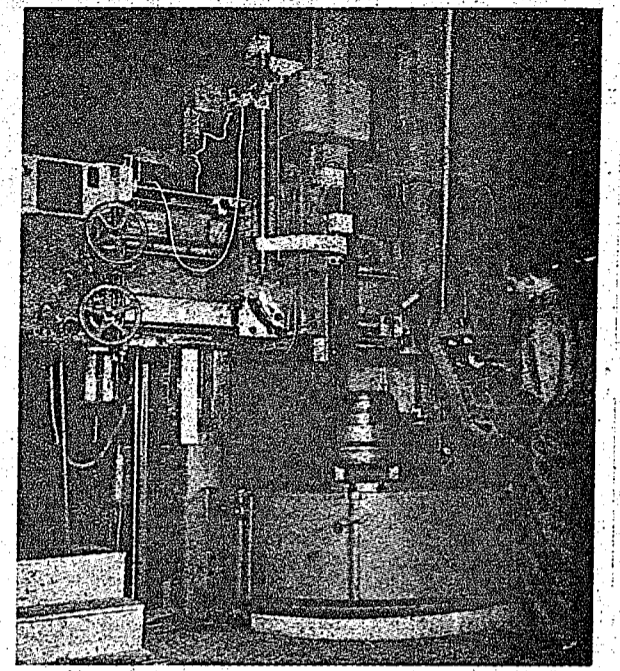
By 1965, the chemical industry will have considerably gained in importance. Czechoslovakia will produce four times more plastic materials and nitrogenous fertilizers, its

growth of steel production Czechoslovakia will by her production of 649-654 kilograms surpass that of England (649 kilograms), and will practically reach the level of the United States (700 kilograms).

In cement production Czechoslovakia's standing in the world will also be strengthened. The expected production of 494 kilograms will exceed the estimated production of 330 kilograms of the United States by approximately one half, and will be almost the double of that of England (260 kilograms).

In addition, agricultural production will increase by 40 per cent, thus making it possible for Czechoslovakia to meet in 1965 the demand for the principal live-stock and vegetable produce out of her own domestic resources. This will be ensured by increased mechanization, by a 2.5-fold increase in the supply of fertilizers and a greater specialization as to cultures by regions based on the reproductive capacity of the soil.

In addition to the basic



Vertical Turning and Boring Mill, Model SK 12.

agricultural produce, the rise in crop production will also ensure sufficient quantity of fodder which will make it possible to increase the number of head of cattle by 700-800 thousand thus increasing livestock production. In 1965,

* SEE OVERLEAF

PREMIER SIROKY'S INTERVIEW TO AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT

CZECHOSLOVAK Premier Vilam Siroky recently gave an interview to correspondent of the All-India Radio, Sri T. Gopalakrishnan. Dealing with the question of mutual relations between India and Czechoslovakia and cooperation between the two countries, he stated:

"The unanimity of opinions on the chief international problems, expressed in the joint communique signed during my visit to the Indian Republic, was confirmed by

the subsequent fruitful exchange of opinions on some serious international questions. The representatives of our countries co-operate effectively and productively in various international organizations. The preservation of peace is served by mutual relations between India and Czechoslovakia in the realm of economic, cultural, scientific and technical co-operation. Cognizance of this binds us to broaden and consolidate our mutual friendship and fruitful co-operation.

"I am of the conviction that all possibilities are far from being exhausted.

"The rapid socialist development of our industry, notably engineering, has enabled us to share in the industrialization of your country, in particular by deliveries of complete investment units and various machines. During recent years, deliveries were made of engineering equipment for several sugar refineries, cement works, steam power stations, ceramics plants, machine tools, Diesel aggregates, and contracts were negotiated for deliveries of many types of other equipment, particularly for a metallurgical plant, whose construction will be carried out at Ranchi in the State of Bihar with the assistance of Czechoslovak experts.

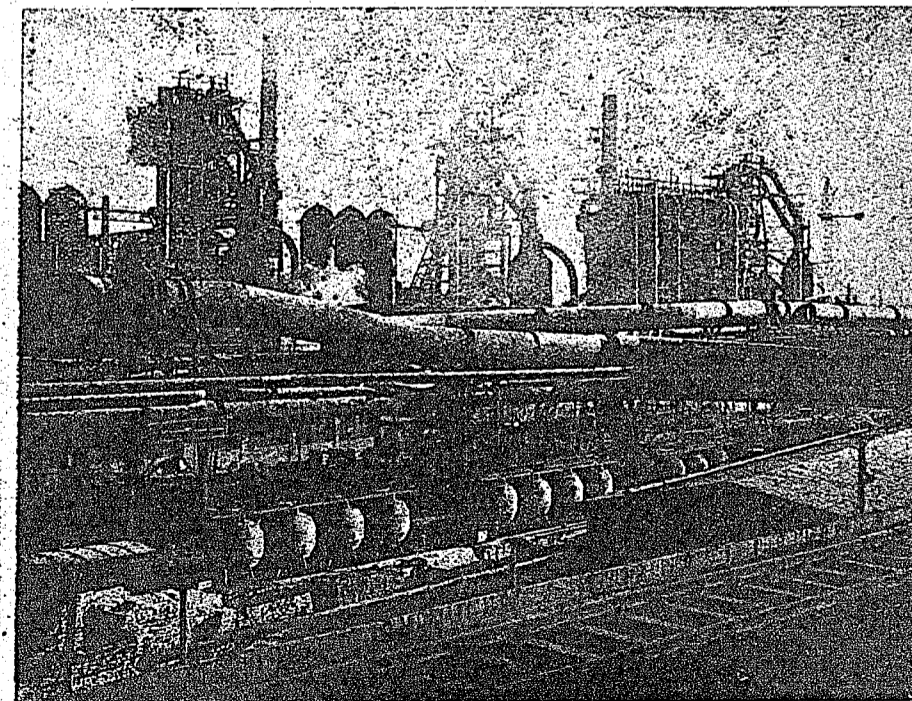
"During the third Czechoslovak five-year plan, which falls almost within the same period as your third five-year plan, Czechoslovak industrial production will develop at a rapid pace. This will enable Czechoslovakia, to an essentially greater extent, to share in deliveries of complete investment units and machines in exchange for Indian products, in accordance with the

needs and possibilities of both countries."

In answer to the question on the German and Berlin problems, in connection with the Geneva conference, Premier Siroky replied: "Irrespective of the results of the Foreign Ministers conference, the complexity and gravity of major international problems urgently demand that their discussion and solution be the subject of a top-level conference. The Czechoslovak people are convinced that convening of this conference, in essence resolved among the Great Powers, would be of great significance for strengthening peace in the world.

"Among the tasks requiring most urgent solution are conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and liquidation of the occupation status in West Berlin.

"The experiences which the Czechoslovak people underwent with the aggressive policy of German militarism and for which they paid dearly have led them to follow warily the continuous rise of its influence in West Germany and to consider as our obligation towards ourselves and other peoples in Europe and all mankind to develop comprehensive endeavours for uniting all peace-loving forces throughout the world against the dangers of a renewed threat to peace and security on the part of German militarism. "The German Federal Republic is the only country in Europe which maintains territorial demands on its neighbours. It continues to orient itself, in its attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, on a policy of swallowing up this country."



The Klement Gottwald New Metallurgical Works which was built recently at Kuncice.

AUGUST 9, 1959.

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

ENGINEERING INDUSTRY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The industrial development of every country is marked by the achievements in the engineering field and from this point of view Czechoslovakia has attained the highest world standards as regards both quantity and quality. There is hardly a place in the world where Czechoslovak machines or complete industrial plants such as sugar mills, distilleries, thermal or hydraulic power plants, and mining machines cannot be found, or bridges, roads etc., have not been constructed.

Even before World War II large casting and forgings used to be the speciality of the Plzen Skoda Works. The structure, the anchoring blocks and various parts of the Suez Canal, some machinery of the Niagara Falls, sugar cane mills in India, sugar factories and distilleries in China, Brazil and Argentina, including the world's largest distillery at San Nicolas, Argentina, of a capacity per day of 2,400 hectolitres of absolutely pure alcohol from maize, which is also of Czechoslovak make, are of this character.

Since World War II the development, the structure and the aspect of the Czechoslovak engineering industry have undergone considerable changes to meet the increased demands called forth by the construction of the Czechoslovak national economy. Numerous districts in Slovakia have been industrialized. Thousands of machines, tractors, mounted implements, etc. have been supplied to the farming industry.

Rise Of New Industries

In addition to this development, the engineering industry gave rise to new industrial branches and products which Czechoslovakia until then was importing. This trend was particularly intense during the past ten years. In 1958, the gross industrial output was five times above its 1948 value while a decisive change-over of the Czechoslovak engineering industry to the output of heavy machines and equipment for key industries could be witnessed. Thus, for instance, the output of steam turbines was increased 5.1-times, of electric

generators 4.2-times, and oil engines 6-times. The manufacture of new machines which have, so far, been imported from abroad, has been introduced.

Specialization has been vigorously pushed ahead so that it has been possible to adopt new methods of production on both single- and multiple production, and to increase productive efficiency of the industry by 225%.

Some products of the Czechoslovak industry are supplied to both the home and foreign markets such as 12,000-ton hydraulic forging presses for the handling of forgings up to a weight of 200 tons, 12-ton single-hoist hoisting machines with an input of 3400 kW, hydrogen-cooled turbo-generators with an output of 62.5 MW, electric locomotives with an output of 2600 kW and a travelling speed of 140 kilometres per hour, giant excavators with an output of 1,000 cu. metres per hour, large backfilling machines, mine combines, boring sets, washeries and coal sorting plants, steam boilers and turbo-generators (130 atm. g. at 500 degrees C) for steam power plants, machine tools for automatic production lines, vertical-boring and turning mills up to a turning diameter of 12,000 mm, lathes, and suction dredgers of an output of 250 cu. metres per hour.

Czechoslovakia has thus become a big industrial power and her products compete successfully on all the most exacting foreign markets. Her output of complete industrial plants has been increased three times in value, being well above 60% of the total Czechoslovak output. The production of machines

constitutes more than 35% of the total Czechoslovak output as compared with 15% during the pre-war years. As against 1937 the exports of machines have been increased seven times so that by the value of her engineering production per head of population, Czechoslovakia occupies today the fourth place in the world, only the U.S.A., the German Federal Republic and Great Britain being ahead of her.

About three quarters of the machine tools produced are exported so that the exports have exceeded almost nine times their pre-war level, amounting to 80% of the British and 35% of the West German exports.

Machines For Sixty Countries

Czechoslovakia supplies machines to more than sixty countries, among them France, the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Canada, India, etc.

In the output of Diesel engines amounting to a value of \$23 million per year, Czechoslovakia ranks fourth behind U.S.A., the German Federal Republic and Great Britain. The exports of pumps have risen in value by more than 13-times, and those of electrical-engineering products 12-times as compared to pre-war figures.

These figures which represent the Czechoslovak engineering industry as one of the most developed in the world, are not final. They will continue to rise till by 1965 the output of the Czechoslovak heavy engineering industry will have increased by 130% as compared to the 1957 level, and the metallurgical basis, above all, in Slovakia, will be further extended.

Special demands are made upon the industry by the continuously developing Czechoslovak national economy. To meet the increased demands for electric power which by 1965 will reach 38 milliard kilowatt-hours per year, machinery and equipment for new electric power plants are

required such as steam turbines and boilers, conveying devices, H.T. power equipment, regulating and control instruments.

The output of coal will be increased with the aid of 80 new giant coal mining machines with an output of 2500 cu. metres of coal per hour, in addition to numerous shovel excavators of a capacity of 3 cu. metres.

Steel works the output of which will reach by 1965 almost ten million tons of steel, will be equipped with three blast-furnaces, five agglomeration plants, coking batteries, rolling mills, a pipe welding plant, foundry trucks, mine locomotives, etc.

Steam traction of Czechoslovak railways will be replaced by electric. Diesel-electric or hydraulic motive power. For this purpose many hundreds of new electric, Diesel-electric and Diesel-hydraulic locomotives with an output of from 400 to 3200 H.P., together with a great number of trucks, will be required. To these activities

chemistry, building trade, commerce and other important industries should be added.

Closely connected with this development is the expansion of foreign trade. By 1965 the share of machinery in the total Czechoslovak exports will amount to from 50 to 60%, while the exports of industrial equipment will be increased three times their present value.

Despite the rapid industrial development the production schedules will be stabilized in accordance with the long-term agreements which Czechoslovakia will conclude with the People's Democracies.

The products of the Czechoslovak engineering industry will be displayed at the International Engineering Fair which will be held in Brno from September 6 to 20, 1959. Foreign visitors to the Fair will be shown various types of machines and equipment which are intended to increase the productive efficiency of the plant and can be supplied at competitive delivery terms by the Czechoslovak industry to all markets in the world. The Brno International Trade Fair will also show the scope of assistance in building up new industries which Czechoslovakia is able to offer to less developed countries.

ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL POWER

* FROM OVERLEAF

Czechoslovakia will produce 175 kilograms of meat (including poultry), 730 litres of milk and 407 eggs per hectare.

In the process of increasing agricultural production an important role will be played by industry which must produce the necessary quantities of agricultural machinery and tools, fertilizers and chemical products. According to the target figures, by 1965 Czechoslovak agriculture will have received, inter alia, 100,000 tractors.

In 1959, the volume of investments in machinery and tools is 17.5 per cent higher than in 1958, and will continue to grow. With the aid of imports this country's engineering industry will complete its first major deliveries of machinery to agriculture during 1959-1960, i.e. 21,500 tractors, 3,000 grain harvesters, 1,500 sugar beet harvesters, 14,500 tractor ploughs, 10,000 self-binding

ers, 6,400 automatic threshers, etc.

The fulfilment of this economic programme in all lines of production will raise the living standard of the population by 45 per cent. The growing demand for foodstuffs will be ensured by increased supplies to the population—meat by 40 per cent, poultry by 190 per cent, milk by 58 per cent, eggs by 43 per cent. The present 46-hour working week will be gradually reduced so as to provide enough time for education and leisure.

During the following ten years the housing problem will also be solved. By 1970 approximately 1,200,000 flats will have been built in Czechoslovakia. Undoubtedly, therefore, in the years to come the position of Czechoslovakia in the world economy will be steadily gaining in importance.

PAMPHLETS ON KERALA

Communist Party Publications from Trivandrum

- 1) INFORMATION DOCUMENTS ON KERALA SITUATION.
- 2) WHO IS OUT OF TUNE? —E.M.S. Namboodiripad's Reply to Congress Parliamentary Board.
- 3) INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND CENTRAL INTERVENTION. —Opinions of Constitutional Experts.

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KAIRON MUST REPLY HIS OWN COLLEAGUES' CHARGE-SHEETS

"The misdeeds of the Kairon Ministry in Punjab are so well known that it needs no charge-sheeting from us. Let it first reply to the charges made against it by Congressmen themselves last year and now by so many others" were Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet's first comments when I met him in Delhi on July 31.

Comrade Surjeet then referred to other important issues to which the Communist Party is paying particular attention in the State now.

"Our case against the Betterment Levy has been proved correct and just by the events of the recent weeks. The Punjab Congress Committee in its meeting of July 23 for the first time decided to set up a Committee to recommend to the State Government a reduction in the quantum of levy.

"The press reports" Comrade Surjeet said, "suggest that the Government is examining the question of substantial reduction of the levy and all proposals including those of the Kisan Sabha are to be considered."

Explaining the attitude of the Party and the Kisan Sabha he said, "From the very beginning the Kisan Sabha has been suggesting negotiations on this question but the Chief Minister has refused to consider our demands.

Repression Continues

"The Chief Minister had promised to take steps after withdrawal of agitation for easing the situation but the Government," he pointed out, "continues to resort to repression.

"Instead of withdrawing cases against four to five hundred persons, it has launched new cases against Communist and Kisan Sabha workers, collection of fines has been done in some cases and attached properties have been auctioned", he told me.

Asked about the present situation among the peasantry, he replied "These measures have increased the dis-

content against the Government and the unity forged during the struggle has remained intact".

In this connection he mentioned, "the tremendous response and reception the people are giving to a jatha of the Punjab Kisan Sabha now touring the villages in the district affected by the betterment levy. This jatha will reach Chandigarh on August 10 and present its case to the Government".

Comrade Surjeet reiterated: "The Communist Party stands for a negotiated settlement. The Government should call the Kisan Sabha representatives and settle the issue".

The next subject we discussed was Kerala. Here he said, "In the month of July 1,500 public meetings were addressed on the question of Kerala by the comrades all over Punjab in different 'tehsils', towns and cities. Demonstrations were held in district 'tehsils' and 'taluka' towns in many districts".

"Though the Congress Party passed a resolution calling for intervention it could not hold a single public meeting on Kerala. Here it was the Jan Sangh which made some attempts but even in their strongholds they could not mobilise the masses".

On public opinion and Press in the State: "Almost all the papers in the Punjab, except the communalist Pratap have denounced the Kerala agitation. The leading members of the Bar—from the district and High Courts—leading professors of the colleges and members of other professions are equally opposed to it".

"The State Executive of the Party has given a call for big demonstrations in Chandigarh and Delhi on August 3, which will now be turned into protest demonstrations. Thousands will come to the State capital to protest against the central intervention". Hundreds are coming on cycles in jathas," he said.

Gurdwara Elections

"The elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandaak Committee (SGPC) are very important, not only for Sikhs but for all Punjabis", Comrade Surjeet said. "Master Tara Singh" he pointed out "has come out with the slogan of Punjabi Suba even in these elections and he is organising big rallies throughout the State".

"The Congress is a divided house on this question, too. Though openly the Congress is not contesting these elections, it is trying its utmost to intervene in the elections in various ways. The Congressmen have not been able to put together a united front. There are three groups



Comrade Surjeet

It advanced the slogan of the separation of politics from religion and using the huge Gurdwara funds (about Rs. 32 lakhs per annum) for spiritual, social and cultural progress. This group is holding a convention on August 9 in Jullundur to prepare for the elections.

Panchayat Elections

The last point which I could discuss with him was about the forthcoming Panchayat elections. He said, "After one-and-a-half years the Government has decided at last to hold these elections this September. All this time they were denying the right to the voters and even now one division has been left out.

"The State Congress in the beginning had declared that it would not participate in these elections as such. Obviously this was due to fears of a rout, but now they have passed a re-

solution saying that they were not participating but helping in the selection of candidates", he continued.

Explaining the Communist Party's policy he said, "The Party has decided to fully intervene in the Panchayat elections by building a broad united front with the object of strengthening village unity".

The object of this, he explained, is to isolate the most corrupt and anti-social elements and unite all others. We are striving to build peasant and labour unity everywhere.

"The Panchayats", he continued "are becoming more and more important because the block councils and district parshads will be formed out of them".

Comrade Surjeet concluded: "The unity forged during the Betterment Levy agitation will manifest itself in the Panchayat elections as well".

— O. P. Mehrotra

TWICE DAILY after meals..

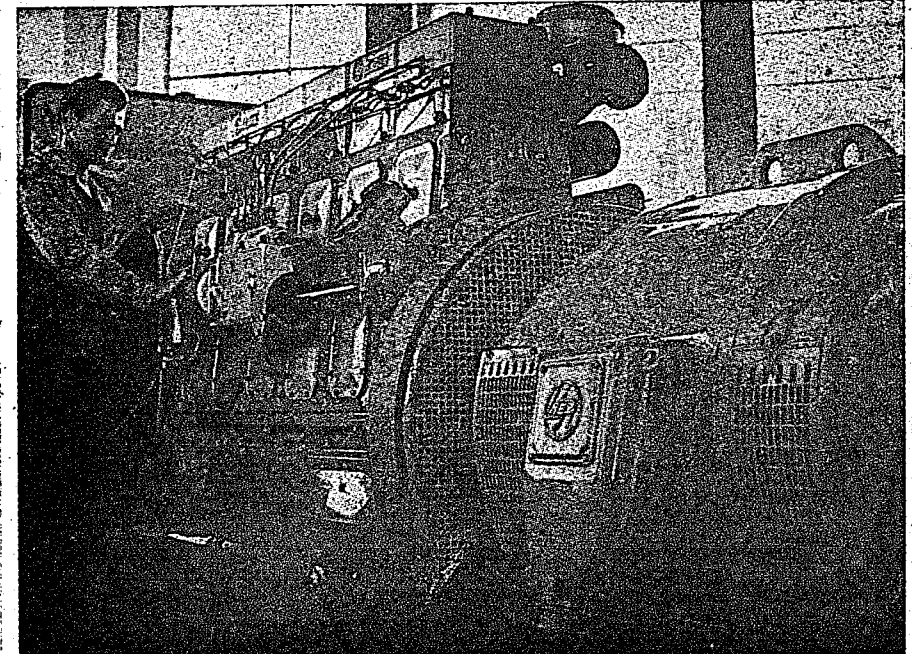
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Czechoslovak Diesel Generating Set.

STORY OF A BLATANT LIE

Letter To The Prime Minister

WE wish to bring to your kind notice a matter which we consider to be of public importance. In your Press Conferences pertaining to the Kerala situation, you had more than once made it clear that you are opposed to violent forms of agitation and especially to picketing of schools and transport vehicles. You had also stated that it was with a view to channelise the agitation into peaceful lines that the Congress Party joined the agitation.

It is not our intention here to give an account of all the various acts of violence and destruction which the so called "liberators" are indulging in. The purpose of this note is to invite your attention to another important matter concerning certain incidents which took place in Chengannoor, in this District.

On July 24 and 25, 1959 reports appeared even in pro-Congress and anti-Communist newspapers of agitators putting up road blocks on the national highway at Chengannoor. It was reported that for a three-mile distance boulders and other road blocks were put up at various places by the agitators and that attempts were made to destroy two bridges.

We give below translations of the relevant reports (extracts) which appeared in three pro-Congress newspapers in their issues dated July 24 and 25, 1959. Relevant press cuttings are also enclosed.

Malayala Manorama (25-7-59)
Traffic was obstructed at some places on the Main road from the Erappuzha bridge to the Chengannoor Post Office by placing road blocks of huge stones. Near the Kallisserry T. B. a huge up-rooted tree lying alongside the road was also seen to have been brought and kept across the road. After 2 P. M. all communications from Chengannoor were stopped. At 6 P. M. a van, load of M.S.P. came on the spot and cleared the road block and restored communications. This place is steaming like a volcano which could burst out any moment.

Kerala Bhooshanam, (24-7-59)
A set of armed communists threatened a batch of students who had come to picket the schools. Communists pelted stones at the students who were unmoved by their threats. The police at the behest of the Dy. S. P. lathi-charged the students who were running away. When the pelting of stones started, five persons including a Communist have been admitted into the hospital. The enraged people put up road blocks of huge stones and boulders and obstructed traffic. At Mulakkazha police opened fire twice into the air to disperse a crowd which had gathered there. On the whole a tense situation prevails at Chengannoor.

Deshabandhu (25-7-59)
Barricades were put up on the road by damaging the Kunnathnam bridge south

AFTER Sri U. N. Dhebar and Sri Sadiq Ali had won enough notoriety over their doings in Kerala, in the final stages of the struggle another General Secretary of the AICC, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani was sent there by the Congress High Command. Besides participating in the planning of the March on Trivandrum, the eminent lady went round the State. Among the various observations she made there was one about a party of policemen she found placing roadblocks on the national highway and getting them photographed with the intention of discrediting the participants of the struggle. She made public statements to that effect and the press all over India gave wide publicity to her statements. There could be no more damning proof of the diabolical character of the Kerala Government.

The Government issued a press note and the Secretary of the Alleppey District Council of the Communist Party wrote to the Prime Minister giving the facts and exposing the blatant lie circulated by Smt. Sucheta. These hardly got any publicity in the national press.

We print these two documents on this page and leave it to the readers to judge the high ethical and moral standards of the emissaries of the Congress High Command.

of Erappuzha bridge, and by opening up trenches on the highway at Kallisserry chira. The M. S. P. is at present keeping guard at this place. Police fired thrice into the air. The situation has become explosive in the area from Kallisserry to Mulakkazha.

We give below also extracts (translation) of a report of these incidents which appeared in the Kerala Bhoomi, Communist Party's evening daily published from Alleppey.

Kerala Bhoomi (25-7-59)
The Vimochana Samara agitators indulged in various acts of violence yesterday at various places in Chengannoor town. Police were forced to fire shots into the air in self defence and to stage a lathi charge following an attack on a police jeep. N. R. Chandrasekharan Nair, a teacher and Abraham, secretary of the Cherianad Branch

of the Communist Party were victims of brutal assaults by the "Vimochapites". 13 persons who received various types of injuries had to be admitted into the hospital. "To-day an elephant belong-



ing to the Timber Depot owned by Thamarappalli Sri T.T. Kuruvilla participated in the Vimochana struggle. The agitators commissioned the elephant to bring down huge logs to put up road blocks

and to damage a bridge. Near the Chengannoor market junction, a set of people threw huge stones at a jeep carrying a police party, and following this the police opened fire into the air and staged a lathi charge.

From a perusal of the reports in three pro-Congress newspapers and one pro-Communist newspaper, you will notice that all these reports agreed on one point—that it was the agitators who had put up barricades and road blocks and damaged a bridge. It is also clear from these reports that the traffic on the main road was obstructed for a long time till the police came and cleared the road of road blocks. Persons who had travelled along the National Highway at Chengannoor on the 23rd, 24th and till the noon of the 25th, were witnesses to

Govt.'s Press Note On The Incident

THE Malayala Manorama of the July 16, has published a report of a Press Conference by Srimati Sucheta Kripalani, Congress General Secretary at Kottayam during which she is reported to have said that she saw policemen putting up road blocks to create evidence to justify the firing at Chengannur on the previous day. Similar reports of the Press Conference have appeared in some other newspapers also.

It is not known how far the report in the paper is a faithful record of what Srimati Kripalani said. However it is seen that while the account of the Press Conference seeks to put the blame upon the police, Srimati Kripalani, in her public speech at Kottayam on July 25, is reported to have said that she had seen at Chengannur the Communists blocking the road and taking photographs.

The least that could be said of these reports, if true, is that they are false. The facts were verified with special care because in this instance the allegations were reported as having been made by a leader of the position of the Congress General Secretary.

It will be recalled that even though a small police party had to fire two

rounds in self-defence to escape from the attack of a hostile mob in the evening of the July 24, near Chengannur, there was no casualty from the firing. As such, even for the sake of argument, there could be no conceivable reason for the police to take much trouble to build up an artificial justification for the firing incident.

It may be stated that even in cases where police firing has resulted in casualties there have not been allegations of this sort brought forward against the police. Further, to say that the police or the Communists were engaged in erecting road blocks in broad daylight for the benefit of enlightening Srimati Sucheta Kripalani (who was expected to reach Kottayam from Trivandrum via Chengannur on July 25) imposes more than ordinary strain on human credulity.

Road blocks had been put up at several places on the public road near Chengannoor on the July 23 and 24. Investigation disclosed that even an elephant was used to push down trees and displace stones and parapets of bridges and culverts. In the evening of the July 24 the police party was able to move the huge boulders only just enough for vehicles to pass thro-

ugh. On the 25th a police party was deputed to clear the obstructions still remaining in parts of the road, and vehicular traffic had to be controlled to prevent accidents.

While this work was in progress near the post office at Chengannur, Srimati Kripalani reached there on her way to Kottayam, at about 1.30 p.m. The police directed her car to proceed cautiously, but she had the car stopped and walked into the nearby Post Office. The Revenue Divisional Officer, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Circle Inspector of Police, who had reached the place earlier, were also there. A photographer with his camera was with the Officers, as there are instructions to have photographs taken of the scenes of offences. The mazzdoors engaged in clearing the road were at work at the time. Srimati Kripalani did not make any enquiries of any of the officers about what was going on, and continued on her journey to Kottayam.

The Government admittedly believe that unbiased public opinion will not be swayed by such false propaganda from whatever source it may emanate.

—July 27.

barricades being put up by the agitators.

In the circumstances, it is amazing that a person of the eminence of Srimati Sucheta Kripalani coming out with a statement at a press conference at Kottayam on the 25th that she witnessed the police putting up road blocks at Chengannur and photographs being taken of this scene for purposes of propaganda against the agitators. She repeated this statement in her talks to the press on the 26th. Srimati Sucheta Kripalani is understood to have travelled along the National Highway at Chengannur on July 25 morning in a car. The Government had by then declared Section 144 in that locality and police had been deputed to clear the road of barricades and to prepare the necessary "Mahassar" and to keep the peace in the area. The road had not then been cleared of all the road blocks and since the police were on that job, Smt. Kripalani's car had naturally to be stopped.

Srimati Kripalani did not care to make any enquiries of a responsible police officer like the Dy. S. P. who according to her, was guiding the police operation of putting up road blocks and getting it photographed. She has a plausible explanation for this, that the police officers disappeared on seeing her. It is needless to say that on an open public road, the police officer could not vanish into thin air in no time, as is sought to be made out. This explanation could therefore only be an afterthought.

It is quite obvious that Srimati Kripalani who had come there with some prejudged ideas, fell a prey to the false counsels of her local Congress colleagues, and that she did not tarry a moment to verify matters by meeting the police officers.

We are amazed how even a person of the eminence of Srimati Kripalani, who has her credit a prominent role in the national independence movement and who occupies the position of a General Secretary of the Indian National Congress could indulge in such cheap propaganda. Decency and decorum due to an eminent leader of the Congress organisation forbids us from characterising her statement as a veritable lie.

One can very well understand a leader of an organisation stoutly defending the actions of the members of that organisation, but such defence has to be honest and truthful. It will be a great pity if eminent leaders of the Congress organisation, which pledges by the name of Gandhiji and which professes to uphold truth and non-violence in all its actions, become parties to a degeneration of decent standards in political behaviour.

As the Prime Minister of India, as the leader of the Congress organisation, and above all as a democrat of the highest order, we appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to give your earnest consideration to these matters, and to use your influence to ensure that the leaders of the Congress organisation, keep up to their professions of "truth and non-violence".

Speaker Disallows Adjournment

ANGRY HOUSE SHOUTS DOWN NEHRU

For the first time in Parliament's history, Prime Minister Nehru was forced to sit down in the face of most vigorous protest. Also, Parliament saw the explosion of popular anger at the flouting of parliamentary democracy in Kerala.

IMMEDIATELY after question hour, Comrade A. K. Gopalan demanded to know why his adjournment motion on attacks on Communist and others in Kerala should not be admitted. The Speaker, rejecting the motion did not give any reason. Comrade V. P. Nayar then raised a constitutional point that since the Kerala Assembly was dissolved and its functions had been taken over by Parliament, what is admissible in the Kerala Assembly should be admissible in Parliament. This too was over-ruled by the Speaker.

Thereupon, Comrade Gopalan angrily charged that discrimination was being practised against Kerala. Comrade Renu Chakravarty raised her voice and said, "It is not Communists alone who are being attacked but the Ezhava Association also have sent telegrams and even women are being raped and even then you do not allow these to be discussed." Comrade Gopalan added, "You have no patience even to hear us". When there was some shouting from the Congress benches, the entire Communist benches in a mighty rage shouted them down and angrily demanded discussion.

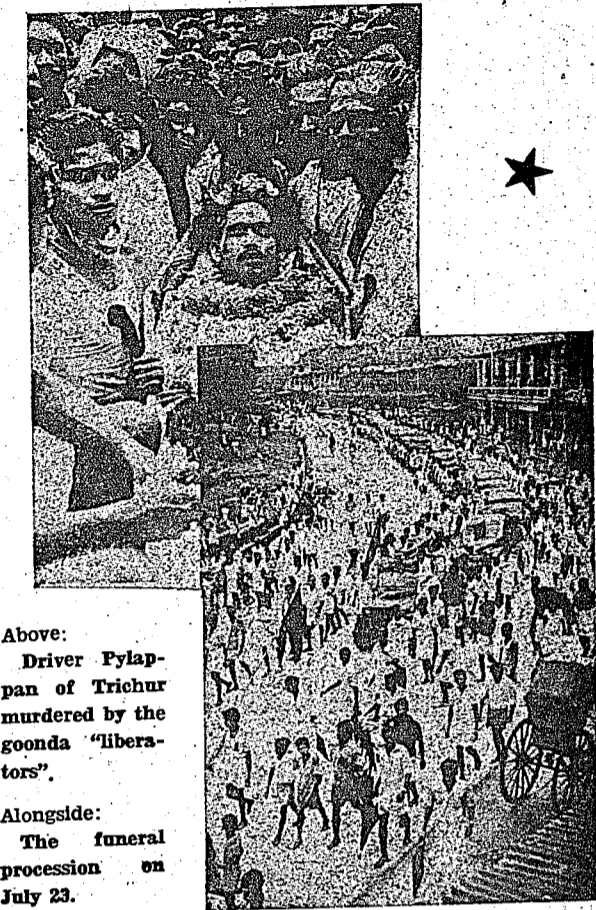
One voice could be heard to say, "You will have to discuss, we shall make you discuss". One could see Comrade Nagi Reddy, P. K. Vasudevan Nair, V. P. Nayar, Mohammed Elias, Parulekar, K. T. K. Tangamani, Sadhan Gupta, Renu Chakravarty and Parvati Krishnan, Prabhat Kar, and Sri S. M. Banerjee, all rising and shouting angrily.

Pandit Nehru three times tried to speak asking whether this was the Communist idea of parliamentary democracy. This provoked the Communist members more and Pandit Nehru was overwhelmed completely by shouts "you have murdered de-

mocracy, how dare you teach us democracy?" and "after your performance in Kerala who are you to teach parliamentary democracy?" and cries of "liars and hypocrites" could be heard. The Prime Minister was found to be in a very uncomfortable position.

Raising his voice, Comrade Gopalan said: "For the last few days I have been patient. In Kerala a policy of annihilation of Communist Party members is now going on. It is a deliberate policy so that elections could not be held in Kerala. It is the duty of Parliament to see that peace is maintained in Kerala where violence has been let loose."

Such an uproar lasting for more than 20 minutes has never been seen in Parliament and many realised the depth of popular feelings over the shockingly undemocratic action in Kerala. It also showed that Prime Minister Nehru's commanding influence has been very much undermined due to his patently partisan and reactionary stand in recent days.



Above: Driver Pylapan of Trichur murdered by the goonda "liberators".

Alongside: The funeral procession on July 23.

Opening Day Encounter

KERALA—its heroism and heinousness—had moved over into the Lok Sabha on the very first day of the monsoon session.

The House and the galleries were full—even some of the prominent Members of the Rajya Sabha could be seen—while the strained atmosphere was indicated by the Prime Minister discontinuing his customary gesture at the beginning of each session of coming over to the Opposition benches and greeting the Members.

A large number of adjournment motions on Kerala were tabled, coming not only from the Communist benches, but also from the Members of the Peasants and Workers Party, the Forward Bloc, the DMK, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Socialist Party. The Independent MP, Sri R. K. Khadilkar also tabled a motion protesting against Central intervention. After excitement at Comrade A. K. Gopalan placing as many as 15 telegrams reporting goonda

attacks on Communist Party members, their offices and residences in different parts of Kerala, the real breeze came over the Government's failure to comply with the Communist demand for the placing of the Governor's Reports before the House.

The unprecedented character of the Central action required that the Parliament should be thoroughly satisfied before the President's Proclamation could be examined was stressed by the Communist leaders while the Union Home Minister could give only the expected plea that the report was confidential. The impression left by the brief bout over the issue was that the Opposition had highlighted the partisan character of the Centre's action in recommending Central intervention.

The Ministerial benches were further embarrassed when the Communist Members referred to the encouragement of the

Kerala Opposition rowdism by Central Ministers: Sri A. M. Thomas, Deputy Food Minister, and Sri Gopala Reddy, Minister of Finance, who had sat on the same platform with Sri Mananath Padmanabhan, were rather uncomfortable. Many of the adjournment motions protested against the Prime Minister's conduct in encouraging the Kerala agitation against the Namboodiripad Ministry.

Comrade Dange's observations were marked by restraint and precision—his jibe at Sri Asoka Mehta's "unavailable report" did not fail to produce laughter even from the Congress benches—and his dignified walk-out at the overthrow of "the first workers and peasants Government in this country" had a ring of historic warning in it. The Prime Minister was a sorry figure and sat a silent spectator throughout, leaving Pandit Pant to hold the baby.

FRENCH COLONIALISTS' HEINOUS CRIME

ON July 30, Aissat Idir, tortured over several months died in a French prison in Algeria. Aissat Idir was the first General Secretary of the UGTA (Algerian Federation of Labour) which is affiliated to the ICFTU. For his trade union activities he was first arrested on May 23, 1956, and interned in a concentration camp.

In May 1957 he was transferred to Algiers to be interrogated and tortured by French paratroopers. He was then sent to the concentration camps at Arcole and Hossuet. On January 13, 1959, Aissat Idir, together with 12 other trade unionists was brought and

visit him in prison, the French authorities persistently refused permission.

Forced to give some explanation, the French authorities pretended that he had attempted to commit suicide and had been taken to hospital. Put in the presence of his lawyers, Aissat Idir categorically denied the French claim that he tried to commit suicide, though this took place in the presence of two security officers. Aissat had his legs completely burnt due to tortures inflicted by blow pipes, by French paratroopers after his acquittal.

All efforts to bring about the release of Aissat Idir failed. Unable to extract information from him in spite of the most savage

informing that dynamite was used in Mavilai (North Malabar) my birth place. Many houses were damaged and many persons were injured. In Alleppey two women were raped, and the number of crimes perpetrated on Communists, are daily on the increase. I do not know whether the Government of India and the Prime Minister in particular who is too fond of dabbling in wordy "democracy" and "protection of life and property", are deliberately denying the right to Communist individuals of their worldly existence.

"It may be recalled that when schools and buses were burnt and violence became the creed of the Vimochana volunteers, he could not find a word to condemn those actions. Even after the proclamation he just did not care to call his followers in Kerala to order. His silence has encouraged Sri Chacko, the Kerala Congress leader, to use this occasion to gear up his intention to annihilate the Communists and their friends, physically as he thinks that the Central rulers being his own bedfellows any crime committed on Communists could be concealed effectively.

"It is also to be understood that this is one of the ways to terrorise the Communists and their supporters during the coming elections.

"I, therefore, request all good countrymen to see through this game of Panditji's silence over these attacks and Sri Chacko's encouragement to goondas and to express themselves openly condemning these crimes concealed under the guise of democracy."

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India protesting against the barbarity has called upon the Indian people to intensify the campaign of solidarity with Algeria.

Vimochanites Mounting Hooliganism

Gopalan's Statement

COMRADE A. K. Gopalan has issued the following statement to the press on August 5:

"With a view to draw the attention of the Parliament on August 3 we tried to move some adjournment motions in the House but unfortunately we were refused permission. I have received a number of telegrams complaining of arson, loot, murder and rape committed in many parts of the Kerala State by the Congress and other opposition volunteers, and the fact remains that Communists and their sympathisers are the victims of these brutal criminal attacks.

"The Prime Minister washed off his hands saying that 'The Governor will take steps'. Since then I wrote to the Governor of Kerala drawing his attention to the seriousness and gravity of the situation.

"I have with me a telegram

tortures, the French at last decided to kill him in his prison.

Smt. Rameshwari Nehru on behalf of the Indian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity has sharply condemned this ghastly crime and called upon individuals and organisations to send protest letters to the French Government and their embassy in New Delhi.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India protesting against the barbarity has called upon the Indian people to intensify the campaign of solidarity with Algeria.

REPEAL SENTENCE AGAINST MANOLIS GLEZOS

THE military tribunal in Athens which had been trying Manolis Glezos and five of his comrades gave its verdict on July 22. No justice was expected from them and the worldwide protests seem to have had very little effect on them. They found Manolis Glezos guilty and sentenced him to five years in prison and four years in deportation. Other comrades of his received fifteen, eleven and five years in prison and four to five years in deportation.

World opinion has been deeply shocked over the trumped up charge, the farcical trial and the savage sentence that has followed. "Cancel the shameful verdict! Freedom for Glezos and his comrades! Put an end to the terror in Greece!" These are the slogans that are now heard rising from everywhere.

Meanwhile, the Greek newspaper *Avghi* has published on July 26 a letter to All People of Goodwill, addressed by Manolis Glezos from the Averof prison. After greeting the "hundreds of millions of great and simple people who defend freedom and peace all over the world," Glezos says that the outcome of the trial—"a gross violation of hu-

man rights"—while of utmost importance for Greece is also instructive. "because in 15 days the people, including the most conservative but honest people, learned the real truth and saw once more that truth is on the side of those who are persecuted."

Letter From Prison

"Dear friends, our trial is over. Yet in the country where democracy was born, democracy is shackled in the fetters of the fascist law 375 and all the enslaving laws of the period of civil war (the regime of administrative exiles, law 509, the "references" on social opinion, etc.). Scores of honest patriots, who have been languishing in prison for five years awaiting trial and who are like ourselves, accused of "espionage", are the victims of the same conspiracy.

"Thousands of others—Resistance fighters, whose names are glorified in your countries in pantheons of national heroism, have been in prison or exile from 12 to 15 years. Millions of people live without getting a glimpse of light,



without work and hope, for they make no thilasy" (statements in which people renounce their left political convictions, maintaining they are the friends of the present rulers.) Glezos ends with a passionate appeal:

Side with Hellas, democrats of the world! Independent of any ideological differences, there is such a thing, as common responsibility for the defence of humanism and the rights of a citizen. Spiritually, Greece has rendered inestimable service to freedom and civilization. Therefore she is worthy of having democracy back on her soil once again.

LEBANESE LEADER KIDNAPPED BY U. A. R. AUTHORITIES



SERIOUS threat hangs over the life of the Secretary of the Communist Party of Lebanon, Comrade Farjallah Helou. Nasser's Gestapo kidnapped him in Damascus on June 2. Ever since he has been subjected to the most horrible torture.

He was first kept in the Maza Prison. But when the campaign against the crime and the demand for his release grew in

volume, the UAR authorities transferred him to some unknown place and persist, despite popular demand and the Lebanese Government's repeated enquiries, in their denial of any knowledge of Helou's whereabouts. In spite of this denial the people of Lebanon know full well that Comrade Helou is being kept in one of Nasser's torture chambers. Protests from all over the Arab world and from Communist Parties of various countries, including Italy, France, Tunisia, and Morocco have been pouring in.

The National Congress of Lebanon has demanded of the UAR authorities that they clarify the mystery without further delay and the Lebanese Government has decided to send an official delegation to Damascus to investigate the matter. Premier Karam of Lebanon has expressed his deep concern over Comrade Farjallah Helou's safety. Helou is a sterling patriot

who has all his life been in the forefront of Arab liberation struggle. The French imperialists jailed him in 1936 and 1939 for this very crime. He has been a member of the Communist party for 28 years. For 22 years he was member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon. When Syria merged with Egypt to form the UAR, the Communists of Lebanon constituted a Party of their own and elected Farjallah Helou its Secretary-General. Gamal Nasser, it seems, cannot confine himself to his own territories but must stretch out his hands all over the neighbouring countries to "destroy" the Communists.

Indian people must demand an end to this policy of provocation and suppression and as the first step the release of Farjallah Helou. For, if anything were to happen to Helou, it would only create tremendous bitterness against Nasser's regime.

AUGUST 3 DEMONSTRATION AT CHANDIGARH

FROM V. D. CHOPRA

Over 10,000 kisans, workers and intellectuals from all parts of Punjab demonstrated at Chandigarh against Central intervention in Kerala. In the early hours of August 3 batches of demonstrators started pouring into Chandigarh. Some came from the far-flung areas of Kangra, from Ferozepur and Bhatinda districts and others from the Amritsar District.

CHANDIGARH had never witnessed such a mighty demonstration before. Among the demonstrators were seen scores of women and hundreds of students, as well as lawyers, doctors, poets, writers and so on. The three-mile-long procession raising peaceful slogans against Central intervention in Kerala was stopped near the Secretariat by tear-gas-armed police vans. The District authorities demanded that the route of the demonstration should be changed and it should not pass by the Secretariat and Vidhan Sabha. The Communist leaders protested against this provocative action of the District authorities.

Gadgil Receives Memo

The demonstration was held up for one hour, but later it was allowed to pass peacefully by the Secretariat. The procession reached the Raj Bhavan at 2 p.m. and presented a protest letter to Governor Gadgil, who came out of the Raj Bhavan to receive it in presence of thousands of demonstrators.

The demonstration was led by Comrades Surjeet, Sohan Singh Joshi and Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri. Most of these demonstrators had come on foot or on cycles. Some of them had to cycle for three hundred miles. Despite the strain of the journey and scorching heat, the demonstrators were in high spirits and lodged their protest in a most disciplined manner. Even top official circles were forced to admit that the demonstration though unprecedented was most peaceful.

cupboard by one member—but he was duly silenced on the ground that the meeting was not going to discuss election prospects.

The next two days, there were more vocal protests at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting. Sri Feroze Gandhi, Smt. Subhadra Joshi, Sri Mahabir Tyagi and Dr. Subbaroyan expressed their obvious concern at this violation of democratic principles. They spoke with conviction, and although others dared not open their mouths, many applauded. More were perturbed over the alliance with the Muslim League, as voiced by Maulana Hifzur Rehman.

How small is the vocal group inside the Congress, despite the extent of objection to Central intervention in Kerala. One veteran Congressman bitterly called all those sitting quietly in the party meetings as "touch-feeters". And yet this is the party which claims to teach democracy to the nation.

Surjeet Meets Press, Addresses Rally

Later on Comrade Surjeet, addressing a press conference, stated that the Communists in Punjab could also create "an upsurge" similar to the one created by the Congress in Kerala by aligning with reaction. He disclosed that during the anti-betterment levy agitation, the Akali leaders had offered to give conditional support to the agitation if the Communists had agreed to support the no-confidence motion against the SGPC President. But the Communists refused to accept this proposal.

He asserted that the Communist Party being true to its ideals can never conceive of making such unholy alliances as the Congress had made in Kerala. Later on he addressed a largely attended public meeting here. Similar demonstrations have been held at other places like Amritsar.

Entire Punjab press, including the English daily *Tribune* and the Urdu daily *Milap* have disapproved Central intervention in Kerala. The pro-Jan Sangh Urdu daily *Pratap* is the only exception. A day before Central intervention in Kerala 12 members of the Punjab High Court Bar in a joint statement disapproved the opposition movement in Kerala and demanded that Central Government not intervene in Kerala, since this would create a bad precedent "which might in the long run harm or even endanger the very existence of democratic and parliamentary institutions in our country."

In this drama of a historic week, values are bound to change and a new awareness is born. After the tempest of the day, when the night descends on the rain-soaked city, I could sense once again the grandeur of Kerala. I remembered how on the day Comrade EMS and his comrades took over the reins of office—April 5, 1957—there was joy and hope in the hearts of millions upon millions of working people all over the country. And today, the powers that overthrow that Government have earned the wrath of those sturdy hearts. And more determined and confident than ever before, they shall march forward triumphant—not merely up to the gates of Parliament, but inside the Parliament itself to proclaim the installation of true democracy, untainted by the dirt and dishonesty of the philistines, who are already facing the curses of their own following.

And it is this fear that shall give them no peace until they are themselves overthrown.

OVER A LAKH IN PROTEST MARCH Biggest Ever In Calcutta

Within an hour of the dismissal of the Communist Ministry in Kerala, different sections of people in Calcutta and in the districts came out in protest against the despotic act. Students throughout West Bengal went on a protest strike the next day.

NOBODY here except the blind supporters of the Congress, the pro-Congress newspapers and a bunch of diehard anti-Communist leaders of the PSP and RSP and their fellow-travellers, support the high-handed action of the Centre.

Among the left Parties, the RCPI and the Democratic Vanguard have issued statements condemning Central intervention. The Socialist Unity Centre held a protest meeting on August 1.

When The News Came

When the news of the President's proclamation reached Calcutta, protest meetings and demonstrations in which men and women, workers and employees, students and middle-class people participated, took place all over the city and its outskirts. At several places, workers struck work for some time.

In the space of a few days before the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry, over 600 meetings—big and small—took place all over the State. Demonstrations were held almost daily. Nearly a lakh of signatures were collected. About 50,000 citizens of Calcutta, including 5,000 Malayalee residents, signed the letter of protest addressed to the President. Over 20,000 post-cards and several hundred resolutions and telegrams from trade unions, kisan sabhas, cultural and social institutions were sent to the President. There was hardly any area in this great city where protest meetings and demonstrations were not held.

Prominent people from all walks of life—lawyers, doctors, journalists, film and stage artists, literateurs, teachers, professors, the Rector of Jadavpur University, businessmen, municipal commissioners and Calcutta Corporation Councillors—signed a statement urging the Centre to desist from intervening in Kerala.

The preparations that had been going on for holding peaceful demonstrations throughout West Bengal today (August 3) were vigorously

stepped up since the Central intervention. For two days before the intervention came, wild rumours were sedulously circulated in different parts of Calcutta by interested circles. It was being whispered that large-scale disorders engineered by the Communist Party would follow the Centre's action in Kerala. A sense of uncertainty was deliberately worked up and the police was reported to be very active.

The so-called Citizens' association, an organisation of erstwhile big landlords, capitalists and other wealthy people also came out with a statement expressing "concern at the possibility of peace being disturbed in the city following developments in Kerala."

The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party promptly issued a statement pointing out that the rumours were absolutely baseless. They were being spread by "interested sources with the mischievous motive of creating the grounds for large-scale repression against the democratic forces to suppress all protest actions" against imminent Central intervention in Kerala, the statement emphasised.

It further appealed to the people not to be carried away and provoked by such rumours and to muster in thousands in rallies and demonstrations to record their protest.

Within less than 12 hours of the intervention, students of schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions throughout West Bengal went on a protest strike in response to the call of the State Students' Federation (BSSF).

West Bengal students thus wrote a new chapter in the long history of their glorious struggles in defence of the democratic cause. The students' organisations in Calcutta, which are controlled by the Congress, PSP, FB and RSP combined in an unholy alliance to break the strike and create disturbances. But their offensive was roundly beaten back by the masses of students. At many places, meetings and demonstrations in protest

against the Centre's action were held after the strike.

Citizens' Meeting Protests

A memorable scene was witnessed at the Calcutta University Institute Hall on August 2, when a citizens' meeting was held to protest against the Central intervention in Kerala.

Long before the meeting started, the big hall and its corridors were packed beyond capacity. The crowd overflowed on to the pavements and streets. Despite incessant rain, the people listened to the speeches which continued for nearly three hours from loudspeakers fitted outside. I was told by competent persons that the meeting was the biggest gathering of its kind in this hall in the past 20 years.

Withering criticisms of the Centre's action were frequently greeted with thunderous applause.

Sri Siddhartha Ray, M.L.A. characterised the intervention as despotic. He repeatedly stressed that the so-called "mass upsurge" in Kerala had developed at the instigation of the Congress High Command.

Sri E. M. S. Namboodripad's main sin was, he said sarcastically, that he was going to fulfil his promises to the electorate. But that was not the code of conduct laid down by the Congress. "If anyone has saved democracy in India," Sri Ray declared in a ringing voice, "it is not Pandit Nehru but Sri Namboodripad and his gallant band of colleagues."

The meeting was convened under the signatures of Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of *Jugantar*, Sri Gopal Neogy, Editor of *Basumati*, Sri Siddhartha Ray, Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya, M.L.C., Comrade Gopal Haldar, M.L.C. and several other prominent public figures.

Sri Neogy presided over the meeting and Srimati Matreyee Devi, Dr. Hiren Chatterjee, M.L.A. and Comrade Gopal Haldar addressed it. Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee could not attend due to indisposition but he sent a letter expressing his strong disapproval of the Central intervention. The meeting adopted a strong resolution against this attack on the Constitution.

A huge meeting of 15,000 people was held at the railway town of Kharagpur (Midnapore district) on August 2 to protest against the Centre's high-handed intervention in Kerala. West Bengal had shown its mood of anger and disapproval.

The Climax

But the climax—and what a climax—was provided by Calcutta on August 3.

Calcutta on that day shook with a mass upsurge when over a lakh of people demonstrated on the streets against Central intervention in Kerala and proclaimed their solidarity with Kerala people and Namboodripad Government. Despite almost incessant rain from the morning, it was the biggest-ever demonstration in Calcutta's history. It stretched out in an unending line for five miles and took two hours to pass.

Literally an avalanche of humanity, boiling over with rage, swept down the

streets. Militant slogans raised from a hundred thousand throats sounded like thunderclaps. A surging sea of Red Flags, testoons, posters and such an enormous mass marching in disciplined formation, the demonstration created a tremendous impression.

Lakhs standing on the streets and balconies caught up the temper of the demonstration and thunderously applauded. The city looked like a roaring ocean lashed to fury by a tornado.

Sri Nehru's "nightmarish city" had risen again to cause him another undreamt-of nightmare. It was an indescribable, unforgettable experience—one that will be retold as a legend to children and grandchildren.

Earlier a two lakh rally held in the Maidan was addressed by Comrades Jyoti Basu and Indrajit Gupta who urged the people to rally in lakhs to bar the way to Congress dictatorship. The vast area around the Maidan was a seething mass of humanity. Long before the meeting, wave after wave of demonstrations jointly organised by the Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas District Councils of the Communist Party converged on the Maidan.

The rally adopted a resolution condemning the Centre's despotic action, expressing solidarity with Kerala people and appealing to the people of West Bengal to fight back the assault on democracy and the undemocratic policies of the State Government.

Reports received till this morning show big meetings and demonstrations in different districts. An unprecedented demonstration went through Asansol, the big industrial centre.

—J. B. Moitra

CONGRESS PARTY DISCUSSION ON KERALA

* FROM PAGE 2

yet, in the Constitution that is enshrined in the hearts of the toiling man, the Congress has committed a grave violation which a thousand speeches by Pandit Nehru cannot explain away.

And this is true not only of the millions outside the Congress, but even the millions that follow it. Even within the close precincts of the fraternity of Congress MPs what do we find? The day after the Presidential Proclamation, there was the meeting of the Congress MPs

supposed to be discussing Kerala. And what a discussion it was! Smt. Indira, of course, trotted out portions from the KPCC charge-sheet, about the administration being taken over by the Communist Party. Then came the great Sri Sankar, mouthing lies that even he dared not put in his charge-sheet.

Here is one: the Communists in Kerala were cutting the veins of Congressmen and with their blood painting the Hammer and

Sickle on the walls! The Kerala Communists, according to him, have grown so lazy—obviously being fattened by Government's cash—that they can hardly walk, they always move in cars. And throughout this rubbish, Pandit Nehru sat through, despite his normal impatience with anybody talking off the point.

Smt. Indira ruled that no discussion would be allowed, and only questions could be put. Even then the skeleton of the Muslim League alliance was sought to be brought out of the



A view of the people's upsurge in Ernakulam for the EMS Ministry.

RESOLUTION

rala to give up any such adventurous action.

Not only did they not do this but they abetted this revolt against an established Government, gave moral and political support in organising it and finally suppressed the popularly elected Government which was the victim of this violent assault.

The Committee cannot but regretfully point out the fact that Prime Minister Nehru who knew fully well the dangers inherent in this conspiracy and who could have prevented it, did not only do his duty but also submitted to the pressure of the Congress leaders who organised it and became a party to strangling democracy and the Constitution.

Proud Of Our 28-Months Record

The Communist Party as well as the members of the Communist-led Kerala Ministry are completely proud of their 28 months of rule. Complete prohibition of eviction from land, the Education Act, Agrarian Relations Bill, Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act, expansion of the movement for cooperation to new fields, steps for democratic decentralisation of administration, fixation and implementation of minimum wages for agricultural labour and other sections of workers, formulation of a new police policy so that the working people are given maximum freedom to struggle for their rights and demands, preparation of a Master Plan for the full and all-round utilisation of the water resources of the State, taking steps to make the administrative machinery efficient and to enlist people's cooperation so that it was possible within the short period of two years to bring up the State to the second rank among States in the matter of plan fulfilment from a very backward position—are some of the more important legislative and executive measures which were initiated by the Communist Ministry.

The Communist Ministry can be justifiably proud that it was able, under the most difficult circumstances to do so much constructive work that has laid the basis for improving the living conditions of the vast majority of the people of the State and cleared the way for the all-round development of Kerala.

The Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party congratulates and salutes the Ministry, as well as the Communist Legislature Party who from the very day they assumed office, functioned in an exemplary way with full mutual understanding, unity and spirit of service to the people. The Committee wishes to pay its special tribute to the independent members of the ministry and legislature Party who stood firm and determined in discharging their duty towards the people throughout this period.

It was the big landlords, estate owners and other vested interests who got enraged that their dominating position would be weakened by the popular measures and democratic socio-economic reforms initiated by the Kerala Government that came to the forefront as leaders and orga-

nisers of the revolt to overthrow the Government.

It was the reactionary communal leaders and the Catholic Church who have been ever ready to act as agents of the vested interests that gave the character of a false "mass upsurge" to the revolt by inciting certain sections of people through rousing communal and religious frenzy.

It was the participation of the Congress leadership who were angry and desperate at having lost their monopoly of State power in Kerala giving the hope of Central intervention to achieve their objective that gave the revolt certain sweep and tempo.

Realising that such an overthrow campaign was a dangerous challenge to the democratic system of Government and to even our Constitution, prominent newspapers, public men, lawyers, constitutionalists and millions of democratic-minded people throughout India raised their powerful voice of protest against the Kerala policy of the Congress.

The Kerala State Committee expresses its sincere thanks to all those who rallied in support of the Kerala Government, units and friends of the Communist Party and hundreds of thousands of working people all over the country rallied against the attempt to butcher democracy in Kerala in a spirit of unprecedented solidarity. It was this powerful popular intervention that stayed the hands of Central intervention for more than a month. The State Committee of the Communist Party expresses its heartfelt gratitude for this demonstration of solidarity by thousands of organisations and lakhs of people who believe in democracy and socialism in this most difficult testing period that faced the Communist Party and the Ministry in Kerala.

Dangerous Legacy

The members and friends of the Party in the State and the vast majority of working people stood firmly behind the Party and the Government and showed exemplary patience, self-restraint and political consciousness even in the midst of extreme provocation and making maximum sacrifice, thus helping the State Government to maintain peace and keep the situation under control. The State Committee sends its warm greetings and congratulations to them. The Committee wishes to draw the attention of the people of Kerala and of the entire democratic minded people throughout India to the dangerous and far-reaching consequences of this agitation and Central intervention following it.

● This has given occasion for reactionary communal and religious forces to enter into the political field, pushing back the political parties to the background and even controlling and leading them.

● This has encouraged totalitarian tendencies within the shell of democracy by destroying its essence consisting of respect for people's verdict and democratic institutions.

● This has given added strength to the minority

vested interests to organise violence and anarchy and to start open revolt against a constitutionally established Government and its progressive legislative measures that make inroads into their vested interests.

● This has struck a heavy blow against the people's belief in democracy and in the possibility of peaceful socio-economic transformations.

The Kerala State Committee is confident that democratic-minded people, not only in Kerala but throughout India, will rally with greater strength to protest against the policies of the Congress leadership which is mainly responsible for this and to defeat those policies.

The Communist Party's Kerala State Committee considers that the urgent task facing the people of Kerala is to defend the rights and achievements gained by the common people irrespective of party affiliations, under the Communist-led Kerala Government and the Communist Party warns that the President's rule, that has taken over the administration temporarily, has no right to amend or suspend the implementation of the Education Act that has become law after having been passed by the legislature and got Presidential assent. The State Committee demands that the Jemikaran Abolition Bill sent long ago and the Agrarian Relations Bill passed by the Assembly and submitted to the President should be given assent to and implemented without any delay.

No Undoing Of Reforms

The State Committee points out that it will not be correct for the President's Rule to take any step intended to weaken the measures initiated by the Kerala Government to expand the principle of cooperation to different fields of economic activity to eliminate middlemen and to enlist people's cooperation in national reconstruction.

The Committee requests that the work of the State Planning Advisory Board and the District Development Councils should not be suspended, but, on the other hand, intensified in the present crucial period of implementing the Second Five Year Plan and preparation for the

Third Plan.

These are the demands of the entire common people and all democrats in the State, whether they were opposed to the Communist Ministry or not, whether they belonged to this or that community or religion. The State Committee hopes that the vast majority of the people in the State will rally behind these demands in defence of the rights and achievements won by the people under Communist-led rule and for the uninterrupted progress of development activities in the State.

The State Committee calls upon all branches and members of the Communist Party in the State to take the initiative to forge and strengthen the most broad-based unity of the people for these demands rising above all sectarian considerations.

The Committee wishes to make a special appeal to those among the common people who were suspicious of the Communist Ministry and who had participated directly or indirectly in the illegal campaign to overthrow the elected Government of the State, having been led to do so by various types of false propaganda. The Communist Party or the Communist-led Government has never been and will never be opposed to the just interests of the people belonging to any community. It has no programme to do harm to the religious sentiments and beliefs of any section of people. During the past 28 months, the Communist-led Ministry has been sincerely working for bettering the conditions of the common people belonging to all communities and religions.

The State Committee appeals to them to calmly think over these facts.

Attacks Must Stop

From the very moment the news of Central Government's decision to intervene and dismiss the Ministry was announced, most cruel and brutal assaults and attacks on the Communist workers, Communist Party offices and on agricultural workers and others have started under the leadership of Congressmen and other "liberation volunteers". The State Committee records its concern and protest at these developments.

In certain places attempts are being made to forcibly eject agricultural workers from their homesteads, violating the provisions of the Anti-Eviction Law, to destroy and burn their huts, to illegally harvest the crops standing in the tenants' lands by the landlords.

The State Committee appeals to the authorities to see that stern and quick measures should be taken to put a stop to such atrocities. The State Committee wishes to remind that such activities are not good for anybody.

The State Committee notes that some leaders of the Opposition are continuing to hurl threats against members of the Government services as they used to do during the struggle period perhaps with the aim of discouraging the officers from taking stern measures against such atrocities. The Committee wishes to warn that these threats are the indication of a very dangerous tendency challenging the democratic principle, that whoever be the party in power, the permanent civil services in charge of administration should not be made subservient to party interests.

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In the final analysis, it is not the Central Government nor the Congress High Command that is going to decide who should rule in Kerala. That right belongs to the people of Kerala. Very soon the people will get an opportunity to give their verdict on the 28 months rule of the Communist-led Ministry and also on the activities of the Congress leaders and others for illegally overthrowing that Ministry and on the Central intervention.

The State Committee has no doubt that the people's verdict will be in favour of the Communist Party.

Finally, the State Committee calls upon all members and friends of the Communist Party in the State to go into action for fulfilling the new tasks facing the Party with full confidence, by mobilising and uniting the entire people without party affiliations who believe in democracy and socialism, to defend and carry forward the gains of the people and along the path of economic progress of the State won under the 28-month rule of the Communist-led Ministry.

BOMBAY RINGS WITH DEMAND FOR SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA

"Mumbai-saha, Samyukta Maharashtra — Zalach Pahije" rang the walls of the Bombay Assembly exactly at 1 p.m. on August 3, and the monsoon session of the House began. The slogans continued, echoed and re-echoed, "Yeshwantrao—chale jai!" and the Speaker was forced to adjourn the proceedings for 15 minutes. Then came silence in the house.

A huge demonstration of over 20,000 people demanding that Sri Chavan resign for his failure to solve the border dispute with Mysore, was stopped by the police a full-fledged away from the Council Hall. The traffic in the Fort area came to a complete standstill and the cheering demonstrators forewarned of

the events yet to take shape in Maharashtra.

The demonstrators, who included elected members of District Boards and Gram Panchayats, came from far-away districts of Maharashtra. The border villagers where a no-tax campaign is in full swing was also represented. The demonstrators squatted in front of the University for two hours and demanded the immediate settlement of the border areas dispute and the break-up of the bilingual. The massive militancy of August 3 was only a portent of the struggle, the final decision regarding which will be taken at the Samiti's council meeting in November.

In the meantime, the Samiti

and the Janata Parishad M.L.A.'s continued their slogans inside the Assembly Hall and the Speaker was forced to adjourn the House for the day. Chief Minister, however, refused to meet the demonstrators and the Samiti and Janta Parishad M.L.A.s marched in procession to meet the squatting demonstrators.

The Central Parliamentary Board of the Samiti met on August 4 and decided to issue a directive to all its members in the legislature and local bodies to boycott all functions in honour of the State Ministers. This is to be the first step in the programme of adopting a State-wide scale, positions of non-cooperation with the Government.