Long Before Peaceful Movement Was To Start, Leaders Were Detained

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

SAAZ - Per

T HE wonton mass arrests of leaders and workers of the Communist Party and other Leftist parties, as well as of the trade unions and kisan organisations in West Bengal under the Preventive Detention Act and the West Bengal Security Act will shock the conscience of every rightthinking man.

In a Statewide police swoop to suppress the peaceful popular movement for a change of the Government's disas-trous food policy, already more than 200 people have been taken into custody and many more warrants are pending.

Among the arrested under the Preventive Detention Act are nearly twenty members of the State Legislature be-longing to all Opposition parties and groups, except, of course, the PSP whose leader Dr. P. C. Ghose has stabbed the movement in the back by signing a joint statement with Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West-Bengal, on the eve of the mass arrests.

Having artificially created the food crisis in West Ben-gal by their open support to and, indeed, collusion with the anti-social hoarders and profiteers, Dr. B. C. Roy and his Government have now started on thus wreaking vengeance on all those who have been fighting for a cha nge in his discredited food policy.

It will be remembered that when the hoarders and profiteers were cornering stocks and creating artificial. scarcity not one of them was apprehended under the Preventive Detention Act. On the contrary, they were reward-ed by the State Government through suspension of all price control regulations and the levy order on the rice price mills.

Not only have the people of West Bengal been denied food but they are now even denied the right to struggle for it peacefully.

The Secretariat of the National Council strongly con-demns these repressive measures of the West Bengal State Government and appeals to all sections of the people throughout the country to voice their protests and demand the immediate release of all arrested persons.

The Secretariat expresses its solidarity with the food movement launched under the united leadership of the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee and is confident that the people of West Bengal will continue their legitimate struggle unitedly and with courage.

(August 19)



Congress Democracy Action West Bengal m

* From Our Correspondent

4060 - Y.

Dr. B. C. Roy's police made a frenzied swoop at midnight on August 17. The rising crescendo of popular protest at its course of starvation-inducing food policies made it desperate. Not for it the Kerala Government's path of negotiations. Impossible for it the magnificent mass resistance that the Kerala Communists were able to organise against the onslaught of the Opposition in their State. Not a single public meeting have these mighty "democrats" been able to hold. The path they chose was the arrest of leaders, stealthily at night.

U P. to the night of August 18, over 100 leaders and workers of Left parties, trade unions, Kisan Sabha and other mass organisations have been rounded up. These m-clude 17 MLAS. A big posse of police raided the office of the West Bengal Council of the

Communist Party at 2 a.m. on August 17. The offices of the Calcutta, Howrah and Hoogh-ly District Councils were also raided. Since then the net has spread out to Midnapore, Burdwan, 24 Parganas, Sili-guri and Nadia. While 90 per cent of those



THE REAL UPSURGE

Above is a picture of the huge crowd that gathered in Kozhikode to receive Comrade C. Achutha Menon (centre). Such mammoth demonstrations are being held all over Kerala to receive the dismissed Ministers. (See Page 13)

arrested are Communists the other Left parties who are members of the Price-Increa-se and Famine-Resistance Committee (PIFRC) have also Committee (PIFRC) have also felt the weight of this savage thrust. The State Committee office of the RSP was also subjected to police invasion. Apart from the arrests, the tapping of telephones has in-creased to an abominable ex-

tent. The authorities have had the shamelessness several times to cut the connections of the telephones at the CPI and Swadhinata offices.

and Swadhinata offices. The incomplete list of those arrested include Com-rades Ranen Sen, Niranian Sen, Ganesh Ghosh, Bhowani Sen, Indrajit Gupta, Samar Mukherjee, Harekrishna Ko-nar, Biren Roy, Gopal Achar-ya, to name just a few from the CPL Sri Jatin Chakra-varty of the RSP, Sri Tara Dutta of the Marxist Forward Bloc, Sri Subodh Bannerjee of the Socialist Unity-Centre and Sri Bimalananda Muk-herji of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, are among some of the other Left partles' leaders who have been jailed. been jailed.

Fascist. Technique

Typical of the fascist technique used was the manner in which Comrade Gopal Acharya was brought in by the police. On the evening of August 18, as he was walking down Lower Circular Road, five goonda-type persons sud-denly accosted him. They put a cloth over his mouth to gag him, hustled him into a taxi (W.B.T. 1446) and drove taxi (W.B.T. 1446) and drove away furiously. The passers-by were taken by surprise and could do nothing. Later it was discovered that these five thugs were policemen who had arrested Commence Acherra without

Comrade Acharya without a warrant under the Pre-ventive Detention Act. Such are the ways of the "coer-cive apparatus of the State" under Congress dispensation

The people of West Bengal ave uttered their mighty rotest. In Calcutta and its have protest.

1 Y ... 1) ...



THE Lok Sabha held an interesting debate last week on the Banking Companies (Amend-ment) Bill, which sought to enhance the powers of Reserve Bank in regard to the supervision and regulation of banking companies.

Judging from the abuses in which the executives of certain banks have often dulged the timeliness of he measure could not but be recognised on all ha And vet, its inadequacy in the long run to deny all possibilities of such abuses was also clear to the House by the time the de-

For, the basis of such ossibilities consisting primarily in the economic power at the disposal of the banking companies, it could not be demolished without putting effective curbs on the operations of the latter. To this, how-ever, the Government would not agree lest too much clipping of the wings might antagonise the very

election chests of the party at its helm of affairs. In justifying its opposition to Comrade V. P. Nayar's and Prabhat Kar's plea for a ceiling on divi-dends and prohibition of the issue of bonus shares, Minister Gopala Reddy, who piloted the Bill, pro-

interests which feed the

pounded what has been termed a rather "incongrous thesis.' He said, for example, that "higher dividends attract higher income-tax." Obviously, if this be the desideratum of Sri Reddy's Ministry, the best way to enhance Government revenues would be to allow an unbridled freeplay to private sector, re-gardless of its incongruity with the Socialist pattern. In the context of this reaction of Sri Reddy to a rather mild demand for controlling the bank's earnings, his indecent haste in binding the future Governments to his reactionary views in respect of their nationalisation is not surprising. "The Govern-

100000 A PORTRAIT OF OUR SOCIALIST PATTERN

ments were not thinking in terms of nationalisation of banks," he said, "either the third, fourth or fifth plan". No doubt, by such statements Sri Reddy can easily win the palm fo irrelevant loquacity, but that we suppose is not such a safe attribute to culti-vate even for a Congress Minister.

That the plea for na-tionalisation of banking companies is neither spu-rious nor doctrinnaire is borne out by the figures published by the Reserve Bank itself. In its latest report on Trends and Pro-gress of Banking in the country it said that only Rs. 803.6 crores out of total deposits of Rs. 1,561.8 crores in the scheduled banks had been advanced as credit during 1958. The reasons for it were diverse including the decline in the rate of investment in the private sector.

Naturally if the private industries—adequately fed as they were—had no use for these funds, they could profitably diverted to be

the public sector, which had been facing a near-crisis. And if the banks did not do it voluntarily—and why should they for, are they not as much interest-ed in restricting the grow-th of the public sector as the private industries?-they should have been statutorily made to do it.

The Government, how-

"Coexistence" Between Lamb And Lion

T HE Government's un-willingness to antago-nise the vested interests too much was also demonstrated last week in the reported veto of the Finance Ministry on the Ministry of Mines and Oil's proposal to enlarge the scope of the proposed auton us Oil and Natural Gas Commis-

In this case, however, there was not even the saving grace of appeasing the local private capital because the interests to be affected were all foreign.

First the facts. India at present spends about a quarter of her foreign ex-change earnings on im-ports of oil and oil pro-ducts, and if the demand continues at the present rate, in four years it might rate, in four years it might rise to three-fifths. (Eco-nomic Weekly, August 15) Naturally, with such a heavy drain on foreign ex-change it was but proper

that that the Government should have launched an under its own oil venture unde auspices. This was first done through an Oil and Natural Gas Directorate. which was later renamed the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

Being a department of the Ministry, however, it suffered from all the handicaps from which such lenartments usually suffer. And yet, the success it achieved in its very first years—thanks to the uns-tinted cooperation and assistance of Rumania and the Soviet Union-made it imperative that the scope of its activities was widen ed. Hence, the Bill to coned. Hence, the Bill to con-vert, it into a statutory commission — responsible to Parliament, and not hidebound by Ministerial red-tapism in its daily operations.

What should its enlarged scope encompass, however? That was the big question which the Government faced, and, as was appre-hended, its answer was to include in it only the minimum operations without intruding too much on the domains of the foreign oil companies. No doubt, the on to enter the distribution field also, through the newly set up distribu tion company, will create a nucleus of a State under-taking, parallel to the

ever, did not do it, nor if. Sri Reddy is to be believed has it any intent to act differently in the near future. In the meantime, the public sector continu suffer for lack of f What juxtaposition of policies can better portray a pattern of Socialism which augments the power of capitalists at the expense State enterprises.

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British and American mo-

nopolies, but what will be its intrinsic worth in comparison with the vast resources which the latter have at their disposal? It is against this "co-

existence" of a lamb and a umber of lions that Communist M.P. T.C.N. Menon warned the Government in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha last week Judging from the trend of speeches from the Treasury benches, however, the warning seems to have because powerful interests entrenched even in the highest echelons, and specially in the Finance Min istry, grudge developing a sector, which under State patronage, might prove too unch of a match even for the strongest of the foreign combines.

In advancing this prognosis we are not merely talking brave. There are instances in recent history to support our content A determined stand on the part of the Government could get for Iraq a subs-tantially larger. revenue from the British-owned petroleum company, while even after more than a year's negotiations agreement has been reach ed regarding new prices to be paid to the companies in our country.

Another example. like Iraq's, is that of Venezuela, a new and relatively atic Government where a ne democratic has sent the giant U.S. monopolies into jitters. In our country, however, despite a relatively en-lightened stand of the Ministry of Mines and Oil. a properly worked out in-tegrated oil polky-capable of decisively undermining the stranglehold of foreign companies—is yet to be evolved, and the reason for it does not consist so much in the so-called omnipotence of the private mono polists, as in the reticence of the Government itself to make up its own mind in this behalf. And that for obvious reasons-fear of the Anglo-U.S. monopo-lists, pressure of big Indian monopolists who are working for partnership with

August 18. 1959.

Political developments in West Bengal in the past few days have once again demonstrated the utterly anti-people and authoritarian character of the Congress Government; they have also served to tear the mask off the Leftist preions of the PSP leadership.

measures proposed to be adop-ted by it. There is no such pre-

In view of the PSP leaders' utterly disruptive role in West Bengal's democratic move-

ment in the past one year,

this unexpected development has naturally set political cir-cles speculating about the

next moves of the Govern-ment and the PSP leadership.

The questions that are being widely asked now, are: Is the

PSP preparing for a complete political line-up with the Con-

Dr. Ghose's evasive replies to

certain pointed questions at his Press Conference later in the

same day, lend some weight to

Cabinet Minister when told about the joint statement, prom-

these

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of eyes!

lations. Further. a

TOUCHING

CONCERN

ress? Will Dr. Ghose join the

THE leaders of the Price- licy of the Government and the Increase and Famine-Resis-tance Committee (PIFRC), from which the PSP secedcedent in our country ed in September last year, announced at a Press Con-ference on August 10 that a mighty food movement" would he launched throughout West Bengal from August 20, with the object of forcing the Government either to accept the just demands of the people regarding food or to resign from

Three days later, all the Leftist representatives on the State Food Advisory Committee re-signed en bloc. Needless to mention that the PSP still clings to its seats in the Committee.

On August 14, Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, and Dr. P. C. Ghose, Chairman of the State Branch of the PSP, issued a joint statement giving an imession that the Government nceded certain vital de mands of the people.

Having bagged the leader of the "Leftist" party, Dr. Roy came out with another statement on the very next day, threatening to launch brutal re-pression against the peaceful ovement for food.

The PIFRC, however, clear he told the Government that millions of hungry people could not be bullied and brow-beaten by threats into accepting the present famine conditions, which had been brought about by the Gov-ernment by its brazen-faced policy of protecting and ap-peasing the hoarders and pro-

Concessions-A Big Hoax

The "concessions' annound in the joint statement of the Chief Minister and Dr. P. C. Chief Minister and Dr. P. C. Ghose, apparently look quite substantial; but a closer exami-nation of the proposals reveals that, excepting the assurance of rent remission; there is absolu-tably nothing near in them nothing new in them.

In a statement issued on Aug-ust 15, the PIFRC rightly pointed out that the only conce that emerged from the joint statement "is that in the nonirrigated areas, the rent for this will not be collected year will not be concrete..... The rest of the statement deals with statistical jugglery, promises and pious wishes an desire that the Government of India should help."

Moreover, it would be a grievous mistake to forget the fact that the West Bengal Government has an unenvia-ble record of making liberal promises in the face of an impending mass movement, and also of breaking them in an equally, if not more, liberal

The joint statement has caused a good deal of comments here. Dr. Ghose's amazing be-haviour is regarded by democratic opinion in this State as an act of shameless betrayal.

It is indeed very unusual for a Chief Minister to issue a joint statement with the leader of one of the Opposition parties when the issues involved are the po-

AUGUST.23, 1959



COMPREHENSIVE EXPORT PROGRAMME of Products of Czechoslovak Engineering Industry

been behind with its gifts. These are said to be "mostly in kind" and mostly from the USA—as for the rest we are not to be told, it appears.

Against Famine Conditions W. BENGAL POISED FOR MASS ACTION **PSP** Leader's Betrayal -Govt. Holds Out Threats

ptly enquired of Pressmen whether it also contained any de-cision regarding Dr. Ghose join-ing the Ministry.

When the Correspondents put him a counter-question whether a decision to that effect had already been taken, the Minister tried to parry it: "No, no. I don't say that. But the statement might have also contained a desion like that.

Dr. Ghose told the Press Conafter the joint statement had been released, that lack of en-thusiasm and inactivity on the part of the people were responsible for the present food situa-

Asked if he ruled out the possibility of his joining the West Bengal Government in case an offer was made, he said that he did not rule out anything. Continuing, he added that he was ready for minor adjustments of differ-ences within his party. But if the difference was of a major nature, he might quit, just as he had left the Congress in the past.

It is now reliably learnt that section of the PSP rank-andfile members view Dr. Ghose's action with disfavour.

In a long statement issued on August 15, Dr. B. C. Rov held pressive measures to suppress the peaceful mass movement due to start on August 20,

+ From INAN BIKASH MOITRA

Deliberately using the arrogant and provocative guage, he said: "I wonder whether there is any responsible group of persons living in any State in the world today who could with impunity indulge in such expressions and call upon the people to resort to such a course of action.

Dr. Roy would 'have done ppell to remember the recent performances of his own party men in Kerala and those at the Centre. Has he forgotten.

* SEE PAGE 15



T HE Dalai Lama has been comforted again for de-serting his people. The Magw Award for Com nity Leadership (slc!) has been heaped upon him. It is in recognition of "his lead ship of the Tibetan struggle fence of religion." The same "religion", no doubt, that prospered on serfdom such "spiritual" puni-

nents as the gouging out But a more revealing reason given was that the Dalai Lama had shown "keen curi-osity" about the outside world! What the keenness was we may imagine from the brother in America, the invitations to American tour-ists and the very frequent trips by Americans to the Mussorie Potala.

Actually, it would be ad-visable for the Government of India to prick up its ears and lift the blinkers from its eyes about the generous "cu-riosity" displayed by these visitors. Otherwise, more embarrassment and devious ex-

planations may be thrust upon them. Of course, we may be completely off the track and all these goings-on may be with the full knowledge of the G.O.I. One wonders! But to get back to the comforts for the Dalai Lama and his entourage. It has been officially admitted that Rs.

ten lakhs have been provid-ed by the Central Government for the Tibetan fugees", apart from the known quantities being disbursed by the State Governon top of this the Central

Refugees made up of the American lobby of Bombay's billionaires and headed by Acharya Kripalani, has not

But it seems the Dalai Lama refuses to be comfor-ted. It is reported that Sri Jayaprakash Narain told a closed-door meeting of Sarvodaya , workers at Patna some time in the middle of this month, that the Dalai Lama was thinking of going to South Vietnam and setting

up an exile Tibetan Govern-ment there. Appreciating the stand of the GOI on Tibet, JP went on to recount that competent uthorities in New Delhi had advised him to desist. He did not disclose, of course, who these authorities were nor what their essays in persua-sion amounted to. Would "competent authorities" like to enlighten public opinion

SAINT-LIKE MANNAM

ALKING about JP, one remembers his grand orations about Lok Niti as being superior to Raj Niti and the corruption of Indian parties. He had forgotten all about it in his passion i God-King and his lo on for the

the "mass revolt' 'in Kerala. It is whispered that several Sarvodaya workers at this Patna conclave were rather taken aback when from taken aback when from perorating about the Dalai Lama, JP suddenly shifted to ecstactic references about the "saint-like" character of Sri Mannam. Glowing tributes were paid to this violent Nair crusader who had openly de-clared his dislike for fastidiousness about violence and ends and means - all very

dear to the heart of JP. This was too much even for his admirers who hesitantly asked him to explain how all this was cons stent non-political cha-

NEW AGE

racter of the Sarvodaya movement. JP was not dis-turbed and without batting an eye-lid went on to explain that while Sarvodaya was a non-political movement, Sar vodaya workers could not remain silent spectators when historic events were

sweeping round them! This is almost as good as the Congress High Command directive that while the Con-gress did not approve of school-closure in Kerala, individual Congressmen could go ahead and close schools. JP is a close competitor when it comes to equivocation and logical riddles.

WHERE JAWANS ARE "AYAHS"

I T was quite a sight to see how touchy the Congress benches became when Comrade Basavapuniah introduced his resolution in the Raiva Sabha on the need for a Parliamentary Commission on the service conditions et al of the Armed forces.

But what particularly incensed them were the refer-ences to the humiliations that are often enough heaped upon the other ranks. The Communists standing up for the material interests of the jawan, they might under-stand, but this defence of the dignity of our common sol-dier left them speechless. How dare the Reds!

But worse was in store when Sri Jaswant Singh rub-bed home this point. "These army officers have got order-The bigger the officer. the larger is the number of orderlies. I can prove that. My relations and friends are

"I can tell you that I some- August 18, 1959.

times go to my friends in the evenings to have drinks with them. I have seen them (the orderlies) doing the work of ayahs for little children. They do the work of a cowboy, a table-boy, a khansama, cook, a cleaner of motora cook, a cleaner of moor-cars and what not. When they are not orderlies, they go back and join the other regular ranks."

This scene can be multiplied a thousand-fold. And those who prattle about the "supreme value of the indiare angry vidual personality and annoved not when the rank-and-file have their human worth violated, but ody wants so when somebody wants some-thing to be done about this.

AN ELEPHANT'S MISFORTUNE

S RI Gopala Reddy was moved to rare flights of eloquence when he assured the bank barons that even during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans their loot was safe. Such confidence that the Congress would rule the roost for another 20 years is even rarer than the Reddy-eloquence

A few days later, however, I found the daily papers had the following headline "'Go-pala Reddy' for the Zoo". I thought this a trifle unkind the museum of antiquities would have been fairereven if he had overstepped

the mark. But Sri Reddy need not worry. He can cling to his gaddi. Only an elephant has the misfortune to be christened exactly as he is

-GUEST DIARIST

Independence Day Speeches

 $\mathbf{T}_{\text{Rashtrapati}}^{\text{HE}}$ speeches of the the Prime Minister on Independence Day and the events of the week disclose which way the ruling class is going and which way the people

In Hyderabad, the Rashtrapati exhorted the people "to cooperate with and assist the Government to attain the goals set in the Plan programmes." It has become the official mantram repeated year in and year out, on the auspicious occasion, and like all good words that hide ugly reality, they mock.

The Rashtrapati stated the obvious, "without people's support progress would be im-It is the obvious cible duty and the responsibility of Government to pursue policies and adopt methods that would win people's suprt. The developments of the last twelve years, all over our vast country, have shown, over and over again, that the ways of the Congress rulers are such that more and more people are breaking away from the Congress and fighting the policies of the Congress Governments. This is essence of the Indian situation.

Under the ramparts of the Red Fort, the Prime Minister "a much thinner addressed than in previous audience years and even in the reserved pavilions many chairs were (Statesman, August empty." 16)

The Times of India correctly headlined the Prime Minister's speech as "Call to people to work hard".

The grim reality in our country is that the people work hard cannot who make the two ends meet, despite twelve years of independence. Another worse reality is that millions who eek work get no work, unemployment is incrasing spite the two Plans. Pandit Nehru was silent about the real sinners. He had not word against the big sharks who are making life for the working people unbearable and shamelessly exploiting the resources of the country. His Government serves their interests the most while he pontifically sermonises the people. That is why Pandit Nehru has given a heavy heart to his loyal and thinking followers. He can stir them no more the old way. This was writ the faces that large over heard him speak.

THE U. P. CRISIS

The Indian Press and thinking Congressmen are unanimously of the view that the big revolt of 98 Congress MLAs in U. P. is the biggest blow to the organisational prestige of the Congress and clear indication of the exent of the rot that has spread inside the ruling party.

Sri Sampurnanand's authoritarian "show-cause" notice to the dissident leaders was UPPCC where they hoped to muster a majority vote against the Ministry, within the ther violating any party discipline. The situation thus stood deadlocked.

PAGE FOUR

1

Both sides began mustering their forces. The day looked for was August 21, the date and chance for Sri Charan Singh to make his statement in the Vidhan Sabha, explaining his resignation from the Ministry. A head-on clash between the two fairly balanced Congress factions ran plenty of risks for the Congress.

All Congress eyes turned to New Delhi and the Congress High Command took the matter in hand. It is faced with its knottiest organisational problem and an excruciating dilemma. If it stands by party discipline and the Chief Minister, the Congress itself stands to lose and this prospect the power-loving Congress leaders could not obviously risk.

If it listens to the demands of the dissidents, it would inevitably have to face a chain reaction inside the PCCs and Congress State Legislative Parties in Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal where the dissidents are only lying in wait.

"Reconciliation" between the warring factions is, therefore, the course of action being pursued by the High Com-"Change of heart" is mand. its grandiloquent appeal. The men that matter are thinking not in terms of ethics but power-politics. The dissidents are arguing: Can we afford to get out of the Congress and face the fate of the KMPP? The Ministerialists are arguing: Must we stand by our prestige and risk the Minis-

Sri Sampurnanand came to New Delhi looking humbler. The High Command advised him to keep aside his danda of discipline and offer a composite Cabinet to his rivals. The horse-trading with the dissidents has yet to begin and there are plenty of hurdles in the way.

On August 19, the Hindustan Times headlined "Hopes to end U. P. Crisis brighter", The Times of India, "Chances of Accord in U. P. Improve", "Chance and the Statesman, for Rebels to Join Government.'

Cajolery, threats and all are being used to seal up the gravest-ever fissure in the Congress organisation in U.P. Every effort is being made to overcome the present crisis through any patch-work solution. It may make a composite Ministry in U. P. possible for a while, but it cannot solve the organisational crisis whose roots are deep.

Service of the people has become an old story inside the Congress, struggle for power is the dominant feature of organisational life present-day - Congress. Temporary truce is followed by a long war and so on. Enough has been revealed

the present crisis of the ruling party that U. P. will political stability no know the Congress regime. under

The organisational crisis may be primarily the concern of Congressmen themselves. the serious charges made demand of a meeting of the by the dissidents concern the public as a whole. They can-not be allowed to be sat upon. They must be investigated and the Sampurnanand Minconstitution and without fur-On the 23rd instant, our "The desirability or other-Party is organising campaign wise of reopening the question themselves and go on growing,



meetings throughout the State with the slogan "Resign"

PEOPLE IN ACTION

I the wordy banalities of the Rashtrapati and the Prime Minister reveal the bankruptcy and worse of the ruling set, developments of the week in the camp of the people, the story of their struggles and tribulations, fill one with hope and confidence.

On Independence Day, all the planes of the Indian Airlines Corporation stood paralysed, not one took to the air from major Indian airports. It was all in defence of the self-respect of a pilot against the misbehaviour of the IAC bosses. The strike was called off within 24 hours on the assurances of the Trans-Minister. port

On August 17, nearly 90 6 per cent of the employees of the Madhya Pradesh Government abstained from work for the day by applying for casual leave en masse to express their support to their demands for a better life, and over which the State Government is endlessly drifting.

The Delhi teachers are 8 starting hunger-strike in

batches, from August 20, for their elementary rights. The Government has been playing tricks with them for years.

Calcutta and mofussil districts are astir over food. B. C. Roy thought a 6 mass round-up of Leftist leaders will enable him to escape a mass movement on scheduled from August food, Despite the large-scale 20. arrests, the suffering but militant people of Bengal are out to make B. C. Roy retreat and get cheap food for themselves.

 The tea plantation workers of Bengal were also due to begin their strike on August 20 but the Governa Rs. six lakh wage-rise and ment has already sanctioned other demands are being considered.

A mass campaign is on 0 in Bihar for cheaper food and against new and unjust tax burdens and it will go over to satyagraha from September 14 if the State Government refuses to budge.

The Punjab Kisan Sabha patiently gave time to the Kairon Government up to the end of the month to implement its pledge to reduce the petterment levy and release the satyagrahi prisoners. If Punjab's Chief Minister does not listen to reason and fails to keep his word of honour, he will face another peaceful morcha of the kisans of his His present threats State. against the Communists won't help him win over the peasantry whom he has betrayed and tried to suppress.

As the patience of the leaders of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti got ex- Plan." hausted and they began preparing for November, the Congress rulers worse. have begun to have second First, India's Finance Min-thoughts. Times of India of ister while in the USA will August 19 reports under "Re- not discuss loans which we thinking in Government on can repay and remain inde-Bilingual Bombay":

NEW AGE



of bilingual Bombay is understood to be under examination at the highest level. A firm decision is expected before the end of the year

"There is little doubt that the demand for a separate Maharashtra State is deeply rooted in popular sentiment. Nor can the demand of a section of the people in Gujarat for a separate State be ltogether ignored."

The various strata of Indian working humanity are learning, from their own living experience, that under the present Congress regime, they have to manfully fight, in the best traditions of our national movetheir ment, to preserve their self-respect, defend democratic rights and win a better life for themselves 1h and their children. fighting vanguard of the Indian people is growing in strength and maturity. It will shape the course events, more and more.

DOLLAR INVASION

Finance Minister Morarji Desai invited all his "friendly" and "democratic" aiders staged the big show of Bank-Fund Conference last year and all that he has got for the Third Plan is sympathy in public and negotiations in secret, nothing in hand yet.

Much later Steel Minister Swaran Singh went to the with a Rs. 250-crore USSR credit demand for our Third Plan. The Government of the USSR has readily agreed to a Rs. 180-crore credit, as the first instalment. It is all for heavy industry plants in the public sector. Its interest and repayment terms are the most favourable to India. Even the Hindustan Times has editorially applauded the Soviet help.

After this one expected from the Government of India a fight for fair and just terms from the capitalist countries what is

Let us examine actually being done.

India's Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, B. K. Nehru, has gone to Moscow to fix up terms and details of the Rs. 180-crore credit and find out what more is possible.

He reports back to the Finance Minister who leaves India for the USA and other capitalist countries on Sep tember 8.

The Special Representative of the Indian Express (August 7) a firm supporter of Morarji, discloses that during his one week stay in the U.S. he will, besides attending the meetings of the IMF and World Bank also have "a free and frank exchange of views with representatives of Amerisan business and industry regarding American private investment in projects likely to be included in the Third

Note the big shift for the

pendent but American invest-"The desirability or other- ments which will perpetuate

through profits earned by the labour of our workingmen.

Secondly, they are private American investment in India's private sector. What happens to the public sector "commanding being the height" of our national economy

If his Finance Minister is going to fix this up in the US, why should the Prime Winister indulge in shadowboxing with the Swatantra Party leaders? They should be invited inside his Cabinet and their very presence will inspire more confidence and step up the flow of dollars.

FALSE ANALYSIS

Official circles and the Right-wing Press are popularising a false analysis and throwing about statistical figures to make public opinion swallow American private investments in our private

The Indian Express (August 18) quotes an official source, "our repayment capacity is fully booked". Since foreign loans have to be repaid, the conclusion is left to be drawn that foreign investment is the only way left. Loans that can be repaid are called a "burden", while foreign investments that perpetuate themselves by exloiting and dominating our economy are called "aid".

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times (August 14) under "U.S. to be Approached for \$ 2,000 million Aid." by Morarji while abroad, states that for the Rs. 10,000crore Third Plan Rs. 2,500crores are to be secured as "non-repayable loans." The "main emphasis" of Mr. Morarji Desai will be to secure what he can as "non-convert-ible rupee loans." In other words, whatever dollars the public sector gets we repay in rupees and the Americans invest these rupees in our private sector in partnership with Indian capitalists and they also use part, of these rupees for their subversive activities and for corrupting our national life, e.g. finance "struggles" as in Kerala!

It remains American policy not to aid the public sector except for the social over heads. Thus the bulk of \$2,000 millions the Finance Minister will seek in the USA will be American private investment in India's private sector.

This is certainly not the Big Third Plan the Indian people look for. This way it will be big for the big inof American and vasion other foreign capital into our national economy. This is not the way to build and strengthen but mortgage and enslave India's national economy.

Foreign aid and its terms are a matter of supreme importance to our economy and national sovereignty. The subject needs very wide public discussion and a full debate in our Parliament. The Govmust be com state its stand and report on its activities in this direction. Lack of vigilance now will be criminal neglect of the interests of the nation.

-P. C. JOSHI (August 19)

The Kerala Congress and PSP leaders are in Delhi to consult and get the decisions of their res pective High Commands about election strategy. These leaders have been repeatedly asserting that the "democratic alliance" forged in the struggle against the Communist Ministry will continue and that the elections will be a straight fight between this democratic" front and the Communist Party.

ever

any

UT the mere repeating of questions like candidates for this declaration has itself the coming elections, alliance only gone to confirm the reports of dissensions which have raised their head in the "camp of liberation" and that these assertions are just a futile attempt to cover them up.

Pattom Contradicts Shankar

Even as these leaders reached Deihi, the differences

came out in the open. K.P.C.C. chief R. Shankar, on arrival in Delhi, told Correspondents that "a comprehensive formula regarding the allocation of seats betthe three Opposition ween parties had already been out. The formula worked broadly lays down that each party will put up candidates in those constituencies where it secured the largest number of votes in the 1957 elections in relation to the other two parties in the proposed allice. This would avoid three-

cornered contests with the Communists. "On the basis of this formula it is calculated that the Congress might contest 97

seats the PSP 19 and the Muslim League ten." (Times of India, August 16) A prompt denial of this came from PSP leader Pattom Thanu Pillai in the Times of India the next day. Sri Thanu Pillai exressed surprise at the KPCC chief's statement and said, "No formula has been evolved. It is surprising that not only has Mr. Shankar talked about the so-called formula but has indicated that, according to it, the Congress might contes seats, the PSP 19 and the

Muslim League ten." Now Sri Thanu Piliai has begun to think and speak as the Chief Minister of Kerala State. He has given the impression to his friends that the Congress has already accepted him as the leader of the coalition. This is quite sible since Sri Thanu Pillai thinks that as long as he is alive only he can be the Chief Minister and the price the Congress will have to pay for alliance with the PSP any will be the Chief Ministership

First Efforts

of the State.

Fail But on everything else, there seems to be disagreement. A meeting was held in the first week of August in Trivandrum attended by Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, Sri R. Shankar for the Congress and Sri Thanu Pillai and Sri Kumbalath Sanku Pillai for the PSP.

League ing at the insistence of tions and the future, that it would be dangerous The meeting considered before the five years are out.

AUGUST 23, 1959

When the struggle has been ders of the struggle were and they will respect those who Those who deserve respect. gods Congress leaders who said ter give up such ambitions. that it would be dangerous The editorial then adds to call the League before a that what has been achieved decision had been taken is only that the Communist about the alliance with it. Party has to face an election

The rivalries inside the Congress have not yet fully come out but rumblings of the coming quarrel are already being heard. Ex-Chief Minister Panampilly Govinda Menon's group is feeling that it might get cheated out of the spo An indication of this group's

feelings is the editorial of the Deenabandhu of August 5, entitled "The Struggle has only begun". won, said the editorial, some people over-anxious to be-

come candidates and leaders, are organising "zindabads," etc. for themselves. But the people know who the real learepresentatives behave like imitation at out of the meet- and aspire to guide the

KERALA FRONT AGAINST

with the League, etc.

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan made the first proposal and that was that ex-Chief Ministers and ex-Ministers should not be put up as candidates. The proposal was rejected

hefore it was made. Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, himself an ex-Chief Minister, question said the whole should be approached from a different angle. First, the meeting should decide who would become Chief Minister and who the Ministers and they should be given safe seats. His argument was that only then the people would have faith in the alliance.

Sri Shankar said that could not commit himself to such proposal without consulting his colleagues in the Congress. He promised to present the Congress view

the next day but could not, maybe due to differences in his party about the personnel

COMMUNISM

This is a big thing but the struggle only begins. The editorial then ends with the warning: One has to be more careful of the enemies in one's own camp. If they are not isolated it will be difficult to win the struggle that has be-

This is only the first shot and the salvoes will soon be heard.

Inside the PSP, however, they are already being heard. The joint meeting of the PSP State Committee and the PSP Legislature Party in Tiruvella on August 10 ended in a note which is causing quite a lot of concern in the liberation camp.

Pattom Versus Rest

The main item on the agenda of the meeting was the coming elections and sharply the meeting was Sri Pattom divided with on one side Thanu Pillia

two-and-a-half years when you were not Chief Minis-

And this member continued: A political party is formed with the aim of defending the best interests of the country. The party's workers are those who believe in this aim. It is better for those who consider that the party's aim does not conform to the inerests of the country to get out

And then straight to Sri Thanu Pillai, amidst applause: "If you cannot work according to the programme and decisions of the party, you should resign and go out.

Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, hefore leaving in a rage, said "I will consider that also." In this same rage he came back to Trivandrum and has been saying that when be forms the Ministry, he will take from the PSP only Sri P. K. Kunhu and Sri Eappen into the Cabinet.

dangerous not only to unity has been appointed organiser

Congress Muslim leader, Sri Moidu Maulvi said: We are asked why we join with the League which Congressmen have called a dead horse. My answer is that sometimes, just to live, one will have to eat dead horses

That is how the Kerala Congress leaders are looking at the issue, but this reference to the League certainly was not to the liking of that Leaguers. Before the meeting dispersed, a Leaguer got up, asked for time and said that what some leaders were saying was disquieting and appealed that such talk should be abandoned.

Swatantraites On The Scene

Yet another factor which is trying to push its way into the Kerala situation is the Swatantra Party. Sri V. P. Menon, Lord Mountbatten's blue-eyed boy and later Sar-This development was so dar Patel's confidante, who



Leave Party To Form Cabinet

of the Cabinet. So the meeting had to disperse without

Inner-Party

reaching any understanding.

Rivalries

It is not only a question of the three parties and Sri Mannath Padmanabhan not being able to evolve a comeach · understanding, party is facing its own propresent on the other. the support of even his Tri-Viswambharan, Ponnara G. Sreedhar, etc.

The difference cropped up on the PSP's post-election policy. Even if there is a united fight and victory, the majority opinion was that the PSP should not go into the Ministry but should only support the Congress as the Congress had given support to T-C the PSP Ministry in State. This course, the majority thought, was the only one to strengthen the PSP in Kerala State.

The proposal infuriated Pattom as nothing else could have done. He got up and shouted: "This State needs an efficient and honest Government. I cannot abdicate my responsibility to the State in the name of the party. Do you want us to help these robber Congressmen to get back into the seats of office? They have agreed to make me the Chief Minister. (Interruption: How can you join with robbers to form a Government?) There is no other person except me who can form the Government."

There were many in the vho could not bear eting of them got up and asked: Do you think this State will sink into the Arabian Sea if you are not there? That did not happen in the last

NEW AGE

It entire liberation front that seems Pattom did not get Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and Congress leaders like Sri vandrum followers like P. P. T. Chacko rushed to see Sri Thanu Pillai on his return from Tiruvella to Trivandrum.

Alliance With League

Meanwhile, the hide-andseek about the alliance with the League continues. Sri R. Shønkar and other Congress leaders continue to declare that there will be an alliance with the League, though they qualify it by saying that the final decision will be taken only by the .Central Parliamentary Board.

The League is insisting on recognition as a political party and the Gengress will find it difficult to avoid fac-ing this issue. The Kerala Congress leadership is ready to bury any principles so as to continue the alliance with the League and are exerting all their pressure to get the green signal from the High Command. Their poser of the question is quite simple: Without the League, it will be impossible to defeat the Communists. This, they think, of all the anti-Communist will weigh far more with the political parties in the coming with this kind of talk. One High Command than any principles.

of the Liberation Front, a High Commands in Deihi.

and the majority of those in the PSP but unity of the of the party for Kerala is expected in Trivandrum any day. His visit is for organising the party here and exploring its election prospects.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

It is doubtful whether Swatantra Party as the such will be acceptable. Sri V. P. Menon's effort will be either to see that Swatantrite Independents are accepted by the "liberation" alliance or to get some pro-Swatantrite ements in the Congress and PSP put up as candidates.

He himself is certain that as an independent candidate, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan with whom he forged his links during the "liberation" struggle, will get him the backing of the lliance. How the Congress will agree to this support to a Swatantra leader by an alliance to which it is a party has yet to be seen But when Mannam talks of "people's candidates" rather than party candidates, it is people like Sri V. P. Menon that he has in mind.

In view of all these pro blems, there is a section of opinion which is demanding that Sri Mannath Padmanabhan should be appointed the final arbiter of the destinies elections

That is where things stand Recently, at a meeting in as Congress and PSP leaders Ponnani under the auspices have begun lobbying their

AYUB KHAN GAVE NO NOTICE, NEHRU GAVE SIX HOURS TO E. M. S. GOVT.

SAVE DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION

V. R. KRISHNA IYER'S STIRRING APPEAL AT DELHI MEETING

On the eve of 12th anniversary of Independence in the ed the confidence of the legislaevening of August 14, a stirring appeal was made by the ex-Law Minister of the Kerala Government, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, to safeguard parliamentary democracy and the Constitution of India.

I he argued that the dis missal of the Ministry in Kerala was against the spirit of democracy and the Constitution. Sri Iyer was speaking at a meeting orga-

N a two-hour-long speech, nised by the Dewan Chand Information Centre in the Sapru House in New Delhi.

"There was no ground to dismiss the Ministry which enjoy-

News from brother parties

LEBANESE COMMUNIST LEADER

TORTURED IN U.A.R. JAIL

ture," he said. A few days before the 12th anniversary of Independence a Ministry was dismissed by a Proclamation of the Preside

In Kerala, the Chief Minister was given six hours notice before his dismissalthe only difference with Pakistan was that no such notice was given when Ayub Khan

His arrest has stirred up

declared to the representa-

banese Government will

Syrian province of the

tion on the reasons of the

arrest of Comrade Farajal-

The reports that reach us

from our comrades in Syria

and in Lebanon assure that

Comrade Farajallah Helou

inhuman torture and that

his life is in danger. What

adds to the anxiety is that

the Syrian authorities have

tried to deny everything.

Lebanese Government that

they knew nothing about

the fate of Comrade Fara-

But in face of the popu-

lar wave of resentment in

Lehanon, a Lebanese spo-

the Lehanese Government

will renew its attempts and

that it will send to Damas-

cus an official duly charged

to enquire specially into

the fate of the great popu-

lar Lebanese leader, Fara-

In the name of the Cen-

tral Committee of the Sy-

hand towards us, the hand

of help and of colidarity to

save the life and the liber-

ty of our Comrade Farajal-

lah Helou who is one of

the most renowned milit-

kesman has declared that

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ants in a

tormentors.

They announced to th

s subjected to savage and

lah Helou.

UAR for a precise explana-

abolished democracy, Sri Iyer remarked during his speech.

He wanted his audience to cast off their prejudices. "You are 1,000 miles away from my small State. Your judgement must be based on proof. But there are certain people who talked about existence of 'lawlessness', 'an extra-constitutional State within a State' etc.", Sri Iyer said. These people reminded him of what Dr. Radhakrishnan had once said: There is no evidence against it but there is a theory against it. Three days after the swearing in of the Ministry Sri Shriman Narayan the then General Secretary of the Congress raised

the bogey of break-down of law and order in Kerala. How can law and order break down. within 72-hours?" he asked. Sri Krishna Iyer described in

chronological order the various agitations launched by the Congress to overthrow the Kerala Government. He gave the details of this "Operation Overthrow" and "Project Cen-tral Intervention". "In the very first session of the Kerala Assembly, on April 30, a resolution on the break-down of law and order and appealing for Central intervention was moved." he said to the amusement of the audience.

"In the beginning they expected the Communist Party to lose its majority through desertions. but when the party in power in Kerala, did not behave in the way," he said amidst er, "they planned direct laughter,

Dress Rehearsals

Sri Iyer continued, "Four months after the swearing in of the Ministry, the Congress and PSP organised daily incursions on Government land in Kattampilly. It was proof that they were not prepared to wait for five years. Then came the student agitation. Political parties openly encouraged the stu-

The Law Minister of the lismissed Kerala Ministru then referred to the various statements of Congress leaders, of the launching of the liberation struggle "to paralyse the Government" and using all methods," etc. "Sri Mannath Padmanabhan preached the physical overthrow of the Ministers but Prime Minister Nehru had no words against such statements and actions," Sri Iyer said. He remarked that these were meant as 'dress-rehearsals'.

Sri Iver then dealt with Sri Nehru's statement agreeing to 'token picketing by five per-sons.' He said this was helping the creation of lawlessness. He bitterly complained about the tactics of Congress in using disclosed that the Catholic Church organised thousands of Christophers and they were The trained by ex-armymen. Congress leaders formed ex-Policement's Association in Tri-

vandrum and threatened police

officers of the State with dire consequences if they carried out the orders of the Government "While this was being done in the State by the Congress lead-ers, men like Sarvasri Dhebar Asoka Mehta and K. B. Menor went round talking about 'cell courts' and worsening of law and order in Kerala," Sri

Krishna Iyer remarked. Sri Iyer gave a detailed description of the situation during the agitation-the alliance of the Congress and the commuforces, the role of the the Mus-Catholic Church, lim League and Sri Mannath Padmanabhan. He was sorry to note that the Congress had stooped to such low levels. "Sri Nehru says that those who are against land reforms can leave the Congress - and Sri Ranga left, but the Congress leaders in Kerala," Sri Krishna Iver remarked. "worked under the leadership of Sri Mannam who opposes the Agrarian Relations Bill.'

He observed with bitterness that the Congress had given recognition to the Muslim League India. In this connection he referred to a resolution that was introduced in the Constituent Assembly by Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar asking for a ban on communal bodies taking part in political activities. "What has happened to all that," he asked.

Mercenary Upsurge

He was surprised that the Prime Minister called it a 'mass upsurge'. "Fifty lakhs of rupees were spent in 50 days in a movement. Is it mass upsurge or mercenary upsurge,' he asked.

Turning to the constitutional spects of the problem he said that if the Kerala Government was violating the Constitution, directives could have been issued to it under the relevant articles of the Constitution. But that was not done.

Under Article 355 of the Constitution, the President could intervene in a State if the security of the State was threatened from within or without, he said. But, then, it was the duty of the Central Government to help a State Government under these circumstances. That, too, was not done.

Sri Iver said that the proclamation dismissing the Ministry was issued under Article 356 of the Constitution." It is being said that the Governor advised the President to do so. But the Constitution also provides that the Governor should act only on the advice of the Ministry concerned," he pointed out.

But the Kerala Governo did not consult the Ministers while submitting his report. This in his opinion was unconstitutional. "The Prime Minister has repeatedly established this position of the Central Cabinet vis a vis the President. But the same position has not been accepted by the Governor of Kerala," he observed.

Concluding his speech, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer said, "I am reminded of what the President said two years ago: "Kerala is an example par-excellence of e." But foday in Kerala coexistence lies buried. Let us on the eve of Inde-pendence Day pledge to save democracy and the Constitution."

-O.P. Mehrotra

MASS UPSURGE IN BIHAR

Businessmen and members of the professions petty shopkeepers and the town-poor, labourers and peasants, in short, all sections of people in Bihar stand poised for action against high prices and the new taxation measures which the Bihar Government is introducing with the intention of laying the major share of the burden on the poorer strata.

limit

The mass protest move- In Monghyr, a pad yatra ment against these measures was organised during the which had been growing all week and the demonstration over Bihar for the last few months registered a new step held on August 7. In Giridih, forward with the Protest Week from July 20 to 27, observed at the call of the Communist Farty. The protest actions during the week reached their watermark on July 27 when more than six thousand persons squatted and observ- ed the town to inaugurate the ed at 80 different centres dawn to dusk hunger-strikes before the offices of the Block, Anchal, Sub-Divisional and District authorities.

Widespread

Movement

This was a link in the long chain of protest actions which began with the 40.000-strong demonstration drawn from all over the State before the Legislative Assembly and complete hartal in the town of Patna on March 18 this year. This was followed by a Statewide hartal on April 15. On June 26 a big demonstration was held before the Patna Municipal Corporation offices when it met to decide upon the imposition of the professional tax.

At Bhagalpur, where denstrators from all over the District had gathered in the town, about one thousand persons participated in the hunger-strike on July 27. The majority of these had come, from the villages trekking some tens of miles in many cases. There was also a good representation of the townpeople, including businessmen, lawyers, doctors and others. The Indian Nation reported that "About 5,000 persons participated in the demonstration and marched towards the Court where about one thousand offered hunger-strike before chamber of the District Ma-

gistrate."

In Muzaffarpur, the protest hunger-strike was ob-served throughout the District on July 21. On July 26, the Anti-High Prices and Enhanced Taxes Conference was held under the presidentship of Sri D. N. Kapoor. a prominent lawyer of the town. The Indian Nation reported that "about ten thousand citizens were present." The Conference was addressed by Sri Jankinandan Singh, MLC, and Communist leaders Comrades Chandrashekhar Singh and Ramdeo Sharma, and others. A District Committee was elected at the Conference headed by Sri Parmanand Kejriwal, a prominent businessman of Muzaffarpur and President of the North Bihar Chambers of Com-

merce At Arrah and also at Bhagalpur the processionists were welcomed by the local people and flowers were showered on them. A feature of these demonstrations, in the Chhotanagpur areas, was that Adivasi peasants and labourers and especially women partisipated in large numbers.

AUGUST 23, 1959

REPORTS of the most barbarous tortures being inflicted on the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Lebanon, Comrade Farajallah Helou, now in prison somewhere in the Syrian region of the United Arab Republic, Helou. are causing deep anxiety and indignation to decent people all over the

world. An eye-witness account recently reaching Beirut from Damascus narrated the latest of the tortures to which Comrade Helou has been subjected: air was blown into his system and a policeman jumped with full force on stomach, causing a terrible haemorrhage!

Nothing has been heard since and the Lebanese progressive circles wait in eep anguish for the news of Comrade Helou's safety. In this connection a dele gation of prominent Lebanese citizens' has waited upon the President of the Republic, General Fuad Shehah

Consisting of the eminent physician, Dr. Geor-ges Hanna, leading Muslim divine, Sheikh Abdallah and an eminent jurist, Nakhle Moutran, the delegation was assured by the President that every effort would be made to secure information from the UAR anthorities

Patriarch Mgr. Meouchi. the greatest religious authority of the Maronite Christians of Lebanon. has assured people's delegations that he would do his best to secure Comrade Helou's release.

or hand him over to Lebanese' authorities or if they

While the World Com- as much in Lebanon as in Syria and in all the counmunist Movement contitries of the Arab East. nues to protest against the UAR authorities' highhanded and barbarous actan immense wave of anion, Comrade Khaled Bagxiety in the people and in dash in another letter to the patriotic and demobrother Communist Parties cratic circles, to such an appeals for intensified actextent that the Minister of ion in behalf of Comrade the Interior of Lebanon has

Comrade Bagdash in his

tives of the local and foreign Press that the Leletter says: The Communist moveask the authorities of the ment in Syria, Lebanon and in all the Arab world has received a grievous blow in the arrest of Comrade Farajallah Helou, Secretary of the Lebanese Communi Party, kidnapped by the political policemen of the UAR on June 25 while he was in the street in Damascus.

Comrade Farajallah Helou is a member of the Communist Party for the last 28 years. He has been member of the Party's Central Committee for 22 years and has played in his capacity of member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon a decisive role in the development of the Communist movement in the two countries and in its organisation, its strengthening and its political direction. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1936, then in 1939. He was always, be it in prison, be it in the imperialist courts, a model of a tenacious and courageous fighter.

Comrade Farajallah Herian Communist Party, I lou is a sincere Marxistask you, dear Comrades, to stretch your fraternal Leninist, a gifted writer, and an indefatigable leader of modesty. He is the Communist personality who enjoys the greatest popularity The Council of Ministers and the deepest love in of Lebanon has approached Lebanon, because of his he authorities of the UAR qualities of a brave fighter again asking them either against imperialism and munist movement. to release Farajallah Helou for national independence. In all the democratic circles of various tendencies have any charges against people have a great love him, to bring him to trial. and a deep respect for him



the Arab Com-

and the hunger-strike was while the hunger-strike was observed on July 27, the Mica Merchants' Association decided to observe a one-day protest hartal against the multipoint Sales-Tax on August 8, when the Chief Minister visit-All-India Mica Convention.

The widespread character of the demonstration can be it was held at 80 centres in 14 districts whereas in all the 17 districts of Bihar there are only 80 towns with ment manifests the genesections of people against the prevailing high prices and the new taxes.

Formerly the single-point Sales-Tax had exempted those whose annual business was less than Rs. 15,000. The new multi-point Sales-Tax has lowered the exemption to Rs. 5,000 with

half per cent Sales-Tax at every stage of transaction. Dealers having a turnover of Rs. 15,000 or more will have Statewide Movement Against High Price And New Taxes

three per cent. This measure which has come into force from July 1, puts the retail dealers at a special disadvantage as it will encourage wholesalers to develop their own retail business. The Education Cess which came into force on April 1, this year is levied at the rate of one anna imagined from the fact that a rupee on holding tax in the urban areas and the land revenue paid by the peasants.

The tax on professions is being imposed by the munia population of ten thou- cipal corporations at a slab sand or above. The move- rate on all those having an annual income of Rs. 1,500 or ral discontent among all more. It has to be remembered that in Bihar the municipal taxes are, perhaps, the highest in the country, with 33 per cent in Patna, and 32 per cent in other towns. This tax will effect the majority of the urban people in Bihar.

Communists In The Lead

Despite the exhortations of the State Government, only to pay a single-point tax of 38 out of 78 municipalities

(including notified areas) in demonstration on March 18 to 1957. All the other municipalities, including the Patna Municipal Corporation, had repeatedly refused to levy this tax. Even those municipalities which had imposed it universal opposition. In 1958, the Bihar Government made it obligatory on the municipalities to levy this tax unless they wanted to forego all financial assistance from it. In their last annual conference even members of the legal profession had opposed this tax. They have also held it to be unconstitutional in so far as a levying authority can not be forced to levy a tax by another authority.

While the discontent against these new taxation measures was' widespread and common to all sections of people, it was the Communist Party which gave it form and organised a broad united mass-movement.

It was the Communist Party which organised the

& FROM ALI ASHBAP

Bihar had levied this tax up Following it the April 15 Statewide hartal, organised again at the call and under the leadership of the Party, had a great impact. The hartal was observed in 110 places in the State. The significance were unable to realise it due of this can be understood by the fact that there are only 78 municipal towns, including notified areas in Bihar, and only 80 towns with a population of 10,000 and above.

> This paved the way for the establishment of the joint Anti-Tax Enhancement and Anti-High Prices Committee at the State level. Soon after, joint conferences were held both at the State level and in the Districts.

Leaders of many parties joined the Committees. Sri Mahamaya Prasad, the leader of the PSP group in the Legislative Assembly, was elected the Chairman and Sri Jankinandan Singh, MLC. Secretary of the Bihar Jan Congress, was elected a Co-

* ON PAGE 18

SETTLEMENT ! NEGOTIATE A

Communist Party's Statement -

The Statement of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India on the agitation against unjust taxes reads in part:

THE mass movement against newly imposed unjust taxes, high prices and government corruption has become very widespread in the Bihar State and everyday it is gaining

Not only have the masses moved in a big way all over Bihar, but it can be said that almost all the Opposition forces in the State are moving on these issues. The Bihar State Anti-Tax Increase and High Prices Committee formed in a State Conference on June 7 is composed of the Communist Party, the Jan Congress, five or six PSP MLAs headed by Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, Sarvasri Girija Nandan Singh MLC (Jharkhand Party) Budhan Rai Verma MLC (Janata Party), a number of traders prominent individuals, the Kisan Sabha, Bihar Committee of the ATTUC, etc. Similar Anti-Tax and

High Prices Committees have been formed in almost all the districts Though the PSP has not

joined the Anti-Tax Comofficially State level, it has already announced its decision to organise Statewide direct action against the new taxes and it had given a

call for a Statewide protest hartal on July 1. The Jan Sangh too has been organising hartals in a number of towns, against

the taxes. The traders' organisations have come out openly against the new taxes and representatives of several traders' organisations, as for example the North Bihar Chamber of Commerce, Mithila Chambers of Commerce, have joined the

Anti-Tax Committee. The demands placed by the Anti-Tax Committe are extremely simple and reasonable. And they are by generally supported others as we have noted above. The demands are:

That Government should postpone these unjust taxes and sit with the representatives of the Anti-Tax Committees to settle the problem. It should convene an Parties Conference to discuss alternative sources of revenue.

The Government should increase the ber of fair price shops and ensure the supply of rice and wheat at Rs. 16 per maund and Rs. 14 respectively. It should set up All-Parties Food Commit-

tees at all levels. It should set up a high powered commission to enquire into the corruption and to form All-Parties Committees at various levels to ensure its eradication.

The Government of Bihar, however, does not believe in paying any attention to popular de-mands raised by Opposition parties and organisations. It lacks the common courtesy even to acknowledge the receipt of letters sent by the Communis Party to enquire about the reply of the Government to the memorandum submitted by us on March 18. During the last two mon ths it has not been possible for the Government to meet the representatives of the Anti-Tax Committee for discussing thes matters. It appears that the Bihar Government will lose its prestige if it discusses these with the Opposition parties.

The Anti-Tax Increase and High Prices Conference at Patna took the decision to organise Statewide peaceful satyagraha if the Government refuses to settle these issues by negotiation.

While it is for the Anti-Tax Committee to fix the date for satyagraha, the Communist Party is carrying intense preparations for the same. From among the satyagrahis recruited

six thousand up till now, observed token hungerstrike in 92 centres in the State on July 27. The Communist Party will be prepared to offer many times more this number whenever the Anti-Tax Committee begins its satyagraha.

The Communist Party welcomes the decision of to organise a the **PSP** Statewide satyagraha on similar demands. It is rather unfortunate that it has not joined the Anti-Tax Increase and High Prices Committee officially at the State level. The Communist Party will make efforts to bring about as much unity in action as possible.

A large number of Connen are agitated at the callous attitude of the Government in relation to these urgent and just demands of the people. The Communist Party appeals to them to put pressure on the Government to change its unreasonable stand and also expects that they will voice publicly raise their in support of the demands in case the Government refuses to settle these is-

sues by negotiations. Even at this eleventh hour the Communist Party rests the not to stand on its prestige by refusing to settle by negotiathese issues tions

PAGE SEVEN

1



In a one-hour speech in the Lok Sabha on August 17, leader of the Communist Group S. A. Dange exposed the narrow partisanship of the Congress leadership which could not tolerate the Ministry of a non-Congress party even in one State. Here on this page is a condensed version of the speech.

T HE subject before us horrid thing? Impossible? has already been cha-How can it be? racterised as one which has caused not only a lot of stir in the country but also anxiety in the minds of all political parties, all inter-

ests and all classes. If anybody goes round the country and reads the papers and even meets Congress the may be anti-Communist. d that even in their he will fi minds and especially in the minds of the middle class, there is a feeling of uneas ness, a slight discomfort, at what has happened. People may even say that the Comist Party is bad and Communist rate is a set and yery bad and do not deserve to rule or live in this country

But the bitterest anti-Communist even today feels uncomfortable about what has happened. Why is there a feeling like that? It shows that for a large number of people-almost a majority in the country-what has happened is not according to the tenets of democracy. Never has an intervent used such a stir, such an incomfortable feeling in the minds of the middle classes. minds of the middle classes, intellectuals and even Con-gressmen as this intervention has caused. Why this pecu-lighter

Reason For The Stir

This thing has aroused attention because it was, as is aiready said, a Communist aiready Ministry and an unpreceden-ted situation had been created in a State ruled by the Comsts. And the Government mur of India from the very begin-ning wanted to be very help-ful! It almost went out of its way, even perhaps to the point of embracing the Chief Minister casually, in the pro-per Congress manner! It went out of its way, to help the out of its way to help the Government lest it might be understood that because it was a Communist Govern-ment it was not being helped! Therefore they say that this intervention is not at all in furtherance of the interests Events Were of the Congress Party or against the interests of the Communist Party, but is resorted to in order to cure a situation which was beyond cure except by this method of dismissing a Ministry. Is that true? My position

Is that true? My position is that, from the beginning there was almost a feeling, at least in certain leading Con-gress ranks, that from A to Z what was happening was wrong and, therefore, it must be suppres

I will detail one or two points to illustrate my case. First, when the election results came, then, of course, there was surprise. Commu elected? By a majority in a State and going to form What a Government

Why this surprise? Because it was taken as an axiomatic truth that Communism has no roots in the country, Marx is naturally out-of-date, Socialism of the Marxian type can never win a victory! And then the thing hap-

nened. The Communists did get the votes and got the majority of seats in the Le-gislature. That surprised, shocked and frightened eertain elements, especially the Congress Party and the Congress Governments in the States and at the Centre for this is an unheard of thing! One Minister even went to

the election, "even if they

win, one does not know whe-ther they should be allowed to form a Government." (In-terruption) He was then pull-ed up. Then, ultimately good

sense prevailed; they were al-lowed to form the Govern-ment—even with a majority

Immediately the Congress

General Secretary jumped into Kerala—Sriman Narayan.

He jumps into Kerala and immediately announces that

law and order is in danger,

life is insecure—within three days. Within three days of the

Communist Ministry coming into office and within three

hours of this gentleman go-ing there, he found that law and order was collapsing, life

was insecure and something must be done. And there be-

The Deputy Minister of Food & Agriculture (Sri A.M.

Thomas): He went there only

after three months. (Inter-

This chain is followed up

very quietly and in a very planned way—in various ways. So, my first point is

that there was a shock, a sense of fright. All their ac-

cepted principles about Com-munism were finished be-cause we had come to power

Sri Ashok Mehta (Muzaf-

I will come to that later. You cannot get rid of us by election. That is why you

to that later.

gan the chain.

ruptions)]

Planned

elections

whether

rid of you by election

you by election.]

of two.

because we were liked by the Kerala people. They said it was a minority vote. May I if this whole Treasury Bench has a majority vote in the country?

From 1947 there were sever Ministries. They tell us that we are the cause of instability. No; we were the cause of the largest amount of stability and continuity of proper rule.

No Lust For Power

There were three or four general elections and two in-terventions. Were we the cause of it? No. The cause of it, the background of it, the foundations of the instability in Kerala were laid by the Congress Ministries; and they are the cause of what hapnened later on even in our regime.

That was the position when we fought the last elections. Did we want a Con nmunici Party rule? People charge us One Minister even went to by saying, Communists are the length of saying before out for power only for their

Overthrow Organised For

Narrow Partisan Ends

for our party. They say, we have lust

They say, we have last for power. Even after this, when we were in a majority, did we or did we not make an offer to the Left parties

to come and join the Gov-

ernment? This was an un-

precedented example set by the Communist Party.

Cold War

Begins

that we came to power not that took place later on have

They expressed a surprise that the Communists did not do things which they were expected to do. That is another difficulty that the Congress has run into. The Communists did not demand nationalisation of this and that and all that tremendous programme identified with Communism, and did not have violence, dictatorship, suppression and so on.

They found that we were trying to put into practice the programme of the Congress. of them asked: Are you some of them asked: Are you not falling from your pedestal of Communism? I say: What is Communism in this country? Land reform is the basi tenet of Communism: the earning of a living wage is a basic tenet. In fact, the position is that, if the Congress were really to put their own programme into action, they yould not be what they are today and the country would be quite different.

The problem is not one of nes or objectives. Soprogram cialism is the objective. The programme is there; the Nag-The

ter society. Once that feelter society. Cher there is the end of the Congress Ministry everywhere. This was the second fright in their Implementation of the ex-.

isting laws and the existing programmes and also making laws_this double-edged weapon was used by the Ministry in order to guard the interests of the toiling people and that was the complaint against us.

Police Policy

A third thing frightened them. The sense of State po-wer is the police. What does the police do in a State? It the police do in a state? It enforces the class relation that exists. Naturally it pro-ceeds against the worker, peasant and middle-class people and works in favour of the exploiting classes. In this, the police is a vital element. For instance, there is a law that a tenant is not to be evicted. The tenant says that he is not going. Then the landlord rings up a daroga and the policeman comes and evicts the tenant. He says: I am not to be evicted as I have a right, but he is told: You go to the court later on and see your right there. The police are on the side of the rich, moneyed elements.

In Kerala, the first step taken by the Ministry was to make a policy statement. We defend that statement and we shall make it again —that the police shall not interfere in strikes in favour of the employers, that the police shall not interfere in peasant disputes in favour of the landlords and the police shall observe the law of the landlords and the police shall observe the law in such a way that it is not a party against the workers and the toiling masses and in favour of the exploiting

It was correctly declared and I would in fact welcome if some of the other Ministers and Ministries also declaré it. They do not. At the slight sign of a strike, they adopt other measures. When some demands were presented be-fore the Prime Minister and when he was negotiating

point where they would keep the same laws and programmes but change the Ministers and Ministries so that they may have a betthat? No. we are not going to retreat from that position Then, when they found that the workers and the peasants were going to make their demands, they said that all these demands were made in order to buttress the Com munist Party.

Sir, if the plantation workers get their wages, if the coir workers got their wages, if the minimum wages clauses are enforced—we enforced minimum wages clauses for 18 industries, if we reorganise 18 industries, if we reorganise the coir industry because there was unemployment there, if we tried all these measures, what are we to do if it is attributed to the Com-munist Ministry and by logic of extension, unfortunately, it is compliant to the ATTILC is applied to the AITUC.

While, taking these measures which are called partisan measures, we wer actually defending the eco nomy. We were defendin were the economy of the country also. We were defending the also. We were defending the poor class, the exploited class. And naturally the re-volt was a revolt of the bankers, the planters, the landlords and all those gen-tlemen. They started and organised this conspiracy. We introduced the Education Bill. We introduced the Agrarian Relations Bill. We also had on the anvil the Industrial Relations Bill. I admit there was a furore and agitation against the Education Bill. It may be that people had objection to the

Agrarian Relations Bill which we passed. But if they had a discontent, how did they express it?

Centre's Role

What was done by the Cen tral Government, the Congress Party and other people in organising the disconten and leading to a certain con clusion? That is the point. I am quite sure that the Home Minister would not admit it in the case of the somit it in the case of the State of Bombay or in the case of the State of Bengal and allow people to express the discontent in the same

the sanction or not, suddenly it was found that Mr. Dhebar passed the resolution but he pot the uncorrected copy and the corrected copy was left in his pocket. Therefore the uncorrected invasion place on Trivandrum. [Sri C. K. Nair (Outer Delhi): has no right, is it not a sense of insecurity? What will he

do?1 Sense of security having vanished, the best measure to way. Ser What they organised in vanis Kerala was a call for a strai-ght rebellion against the was established Government. It ing

own Party. Does our beha-viour show that? Why to you forget the facts of history? When the elections were to be fought, we proposed to the PSP, the RSP and others to have electoral alliances, platform alliances, seat alliances. This shows that we were ot trying to get power only

Zamindars exist by whatever other name you may call them. Therefore, the question is not about the programme

would implement their programme, it was just another fright for the Congress Party. They were frightened at this: Communists implementing the Congress Programme! If the laws are implemented in the proper way the peasant will be benefited. The laws in colony. That is how they rule

We did not do so because we wanted power for our party alone, but we wanted a Government, a real democra-tic Government. If that were not so, we need not have offered any terms.

So, in the method of coming So, in the method of coming to power, in the formation of the Ministry, in the method of running the administra-tion, all along we did not show any desire to have Com-munist rule as such. We showed a desire to have a Ministry which would be composed of all the Leftist par-ties, a democratic Ministry of the Leftist political parties. This was our position. We were not really out for what they call the total dictatorfarpur): The theory is to get ship of the Communist Party. rid of you by election—to see However when they were w by election—to see However, when they were we can get rid of disappointed with the election results the first shocks were somehow or the other digested and then started a cold war; this Ministry must not be allowed to govern in wanted intervention. not be allowed to go Now, of course, people say peace. Some of the things

pur programme has been in-cluded just now. The difficulty is that it is not being put

into effect. When evictions are taking place, the Ministers do not act with such force in a nonpartisan manner to see that they are not evicted. The programme prohibiting eviction is good; it is there.

Take zamindary abolition.

the objective. or the objective. Certainly everything was right with the programme and when we said that we

CENTRE HAS INTERVENED, PEOPLE YET TO INTERVENE

U. P., Bengal and Kerala are all the same but the effects differ People in Kerala gain while they do not gain in those States because the Min-istries are different. This answer would naturally be fixed in the minds of the people. The Congress has become

the Ministry of the bourgeois-landlords while the other Ministry is not. Hence, with the same law, there is a fundamental change. People would gravitate more and more towards a view-

in the Congress Party but we did not want to do that... If the police are not let loose against the workers, how can there be insecurity? For whom is there insecurity? For the exploiters who want to suppress the workers? No. We are not going to give them security. The Congress Minis-tries want to give security to the exploiters.

It was not a question as though the police were neu-, Trivandrum to occupy the trailsed, not as if all crimes Secretariat and to paralyse were not to be stopped, cor- the administration. What is it,

blessed, of course, in a symbolism be-bolic way by the Prime Minis-ter. But the symbolism be-came a bigger reality. Then it became violent picketing, then it became burning of these it became burning of these it became burning of these it became burning of buses, then it became invasion and planting of a flag on the Collectorate in Trivandrum and then finally it was a threat of complete march to

was a little picketing meant to be symbolic which was blessed, of course, in a sym-to schools and teach them to schools and teach them but to send them out on the

nethod of restoring security in the country. Now, let us argue this ques-tion. We committed ourselves and put these laws into effect. You disagreed with them. There was a difference of opinion. How could that difference of opinion be resol-ved? Our Ministry said: Are there charges? All right,

They say that it was not

rashtra Samiti got six lakhs votes more than the Congress in Maharashtra. The Samyuk-ta Maharashtra Samiti gave a wonderful picture of "peo-'s upsurge", "mass upsur-' or whatever upsurge vou ge" or whatever upsurge you may call it. But there, at that time, we were told-it is good that theories are being re-vised—it was the Prime Minvised—it was the Prime Min-ister himself who said that direct action and satyagraha are not allowed in Swaraj. Before independence, against the British, it was holy and

direct action and satyagraha That whole theory was thrown to the wind when it was the question of the Communist Ministry. Then direct action was sanction-

right, and after independence,

is wrong.

ed, satyagraha was sanc-tioned, invasion of Trivandrum was sanctioned, cap-turing of the Secretariat was sanctioned, a whole rebellion was sanctioned. [An Hon. Member: No.]

Is that a right allowed to Let us sit round the the Samyukta Maharashtra have a conference. Samiti? The Samyukta Maha-

Negotiations Opposed

These friends of ours, who never refused a round table conference with the British, refused to have a conference with the Kerala Government —their own kith and kin. On bended knees, they would go to the British Governor for a conference, but with us poor people no conference. We have become so untouchable that they will not even sit round the table with us.

We preach negotiations with the world outside but when it comes to negotiations with the world inside, people turn deaf ears.

turn deaf ears. Here, we are told by the Labour Minister every day, "Negotiate a dispute, do not go on strike; negotiate a dif-ference of opinion, do not go on strike; negotiate a differ-ence, go to arbitration, but do not strike." not strike.'

DANGE LAYS BARE KERALA CONSPIRACY there are charges. Let us en-quire. Are there motives im-plied? Let us enquire. Are there demands to be argued? Let us sit round the table and tead of becoming a link in order to bring about a com-promise, find a solution by suggesting amendments to the laws, certain measures e taken, enquiry com littee to be set up-all that he re-jected—he said, "Either you resign or submit to re-election." Re-election? Why?

Somebody asked me: "Is not mid-term election a de-mocratic solution? Why did we not accept it?" If there is to be a national convention or if there is a provis the Constitution for a righ of recall, we would be the first to admit the right of re-call, and abide by it.

But why should it be ap plied first only to the Kerals Ministry? Why was not tha thing applied when the food scandal in Bengal was found out, when one Minister resigned, stood for election and defeated the Congress candi-date? Why was not that Food. Minister made to resign? I do not even ask for the resignation of the whole Ministry but only that one Food Minister

burst our established n If once they start getting elected, that malaise or disease will spread."

Then, after getting elected, they conduct themselves ac-cording to the Constitution. cording to the Constitution. That is another surprise. Then the Government is good. Then the Government is good. It gives good measures. That is another surprise. They take up policies which should be incorporated by the Congress Ministry with the programme which is theirs; with the law which is theirs; with the law which is theirs; with the source of the constitution which is theirs. If these things survive it is. If these things survive, it is a threat to Congress rule in other provinces. So, throw'

Organised **Overthrow**

The overthrow was orga-nised and blessed. Let anybody own it or disown it. That is not the point. As a whole it was supported: as a whole it was not disowned: as a whole it was not insounded against; as a whole, the best Ministers and the best leaders in the Congress never went there and said "Stop it". I may here tell a story

which may not be very ap-propriate but you know there was a story in the Mahabha-rata that Dharmaraja's rath or chariot used to go along with others but it was always about one foot above the earth because he never told an untruth. But once he vacillated in the war. He was asked whether Aswathama was dead or not. He knew he was not dead. He vacillated and said "Naro va kunjaro va". The rath then touched the earth and the man became as mortal, as good or as bad as the others were.

This is the fall of the Prime Minister in Kerala. He vaci-llated and said: "I do not know. There are two blocs. You may be right; you may not be right." His rath has fallen and he has become as mortal as the others were or are And that is not a gain to the country. His reputation is lost and it is a loss to democracy, because, now there is no one whom the people can trust; the others, some of ne of them we know very well; we know their democracy; we know their methods and we

know everything. There was one figure sym-bolising the Indian nation, as we think, nationally and internationally, and that one figure, in this hour of trial, where there was a question of not being partisan, siding with the people, siding with the Ministry which is even Communist, that man fell a victim to that over-riding thought. Marx is still haunt-ing though he is out-of-date. He arose out of the grave and came up in Kerala.

And so, instead of the Constitution, there is the gun. What is going to happen to the Constitution? He fell a victim and there is a loss to democracy. Therefore, it is a loss to the country, also because the Constitution, mocracy, the conception of non-partisanship, the con-ception of wielding the police not for exploiting—all that has been defeated. That is not, however, a final defeat, because this time the Central

Congress Was Frightened Of Threat To Its Rule

sanctioned. But there is one thing. When the question of responsibility comes, some-body says that he is not a member of the Congress Par-Hamentary Board and he does not know what they did. When the question came ther Mr. Shankar was given

When the employer

give security to the people was burn buses, security havvanished, the best secu-



Suddenly, they dropped the whole idea of negotiathe whole inea of negotia-tion when it was a question of Kerala Ministry because they wanted to dismiss it anyhow. Provide grounds to dismiss it because if you sit round and negotiate, there is a way out. If there is a way out and a settlement the damn thing continues the Ministry lives. But the aim is to get the Ministry

out. We invited the Hon. Prime Minister himself to come. We were not afraid of his coming. What was his conclusion? His conclusion was that there was a certain amount of hys-teria there. What was his next conclusion? It was, surrender to hysteria: dismiss the Ministry. Is that politics? Is that democracy? Is that respect for an elected legislature?

What was his duty as the leader of the people, as the leader of the country, as the Prime Minister and as a Con-gress leader? He simply gives n opinion that the whole thing has hardened into two blocs with no link between them. Well, we invited you to become that link He refused become that link. He refused to become the link. And what happened was that he kept the two blocs separate, as they were, suppressed one and raised the other.

Do you mean to tell me that if the Hon. Prime Min-ister had told his people to go to a conference, they ould have rejected it, that is, these Congress people, Christian missionaries and all of them? The way he thunders at us, if he had done one-tenth of that thundering against them, they would have come round. But he did not. Why, be-cause he was hemmed in by

whose scandal was proved and in the election the seat was won by the man who made the allegation. And yet, no action is taken!

ls This **Democracy**?

I do not want to quote other instances in several other Congress Provinces. If a simple statement of somebody belonging to the Opposition says that insecurity is there, and there is a Govern-ment or Ministry of a differ-ent party, overthrow it or order mid-term elections.

What is the allegation of the 96 or 98 dissidents in U.P.? They say that there is insecurity in their province and the Government is being run not only not for the Congress Party as a whole but for one group inside the Congress Party. It really requires an im-

measurable amount of arrogance to say those things about us with all that fire under their feet in U.P., Bengal and elsewhere. Their idea was not democracy, rule of law, dignity and all that. It was complete hatred for the Communist Ministry and a desire to get rid of it omenow. If that is democracy, in that case, I do not know what is dictatorship.

I would like to sum up the position. Here, it is not a question of democracy being violated by us; it is not a question of laws being violated by us; it is not a question of this prisoner and that pri-soner being released or not. The conspiracy developed from certain positions: "The because this time the Central Communists shall never be Government has intervened, Communists shall never be Government has maximum to elected." But now they have but the people are going to been elected. "They have intervene in the last. NEITHER SUBVERSION NOR PARTY POLITICS

Our Armed Forces Must Get A Fair Deal

On August 14, an important and significant resolution was moved in the Rajya Sabha by Comrade M. Basavapuniah. The resolution read:

ment should appoint a committee consisting of 23 Members of Parliament, 15 from the Lok Sabha and eight from the Rajya Sabha, to enquire into the living and working conditions of officers and other ranks in the Armed Forces and the educational and other facilities at present available to their children living in military camp areas and to make recommendations for the improvement of such conditions and faci-

Sober And Restrained

Commending this resolu-tion for the approval of the House, Comrade Basavapuniah made a telling speech which won approbation for its restraint and sobriety. He made it clear at the outset that he was concerned only that Parliament be more closely associated with the armed services through this committee of enquiry

He further stated: "Sir, I would again repeat that my whole object is how to create a truly national, patriotic and efficient defence force and when I say that, not be taken to it should nean that it is not a national, patriotic and efficient force. What I want to emphasise again is, it is not np to the mark etailing some of the de-

fects, the mover referred to

66T HIS House is of opi-nion that Govern- The plea from the armed forces is that they should be given the same treatment as the civilians. The same applies to the pension rules, where discrepancy between the top officers and lower ranks is as marked a feature as in the case of pay scales. Nobody grudges the officers their pay or pension rules, the mover stated, but consideration should also be paid to the jawans.

The third point brought up was the question of the re-serves and colour services. After seven years of colour service a man is thrown into the reserves on meagre pensions of Rs. ten or 12 a month. This was no way of building up proper reserves, the need for which nobody disputed.

Service Conditions

Then Comrade Basavapuniah moved over to the question of service conditions, of proper respect and dignity the ordinary soldier. for

"Not all officers but majority of them are still clinging to the bureaucra-tic ideas in treating the rank and file.... They may be able to put up with starvation diet and other things, but it is too much to expect them to put up with such insults at the hands of some of the officers. There are good officers, as I said, but some of the officers treat them as domestic servants "

The other charges about conditions in the Armed Serwices necessitating a Parliamentary probe concerned the continued sending of officers for training at Sandhurst and the need to ensure that all nationalities in India the were adequately represented in the services

Witch-Hunt **In Forces**

The last point was taken up by what the mover termed some sort of witch-hunt going on in some branches of the armed forces, especially in the Navy and Air-Force.

"Some go to the length of saying that if someone wants to get discharged from the service, it is enough if he takes a copy of New Age, the Communist Party weekly, or some literature connected with the RSP or Marxist Forward Bloc." This kind of partisan politics in the armed forces was not good for them or for the country.

After a provocative speech, from the Nawab of Chhatari, who smelled "subversion" in the very fact that the Opposition had moved a resolution on the armed forces, there was a thoughtful speech from Sri D. P. Singh who paid par-ticular attention to the problem ensuring appropriate living conditions.

Sri N. M. Lingam stated that it should occasion no surprise that in the Armed Forces there should be a demand for better service conditions and emoluments. In support of his statement he cited his personal talks with officers and members of the other ranks.

public appeal, in his Presi-

dential address to the State

Conference against Enhanced

Taxes and High Prices to the

PSP to join this united com-

mittee.

its Executive has

its

COMMUNIST RESOLUTION \$....... Dr. Z. A. Ahmad made a conviction." assionate speech in support of the resolution: "What does this resolution say? This resolution does not say, do this or that. It just asks you to appoint a committee of the highest organ of the State, that is Parliament, to investigate into the service conditions of the armed forces that are now prevailing. What is

Annual second se

RAJYA SABHA DEBATE ON

wrong there?" He emphasised the point that India's soldiers, sailors and Air-Force personnel who hazarded their all, should feel that "there are arrangements whereby they can get their grievances at least listened to, if not fully redressed.

Questions of pay and retirement needed to be gone into, and it was absolutely wrong to draw a red herring across the trial by talking about 'subversion". Dr. Ahmad declared: "No single party can look after the army. It is the entire nation, it is the entire people, it is the entire Parliament that has to safeguard the interests of the army. So such a bogey should not be created.

Finally, he pleaded for the removal of artificial restrictions on what political litewas allowed to the rature "You cannot have an army. unthinking army... This army thinks, and, I tell you, whatever you may do, the army personnel read Therefore, such artificial restrictions should go. You are allowed to read this and not that-it is a sort of Papal Bull that is issued to them....Free circulation of literature should be allowed....Political education should be given to them because our army is a democratic army....We want a thinking patriotic, democrawant a

tic army which moves with conviction and fights with

Sri Jaswant Singh lashed out at the partisan attitude of some Congressmen who opposed this good resolution simply because it was moved by a Communist. Sri P. N. Sapru also made a strong case for Parliament taking a deep interest in all matters concerning the Armed Forces, which transcended party differences.

Parliament's Right

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta. began by stating: "In conditions of democracy, Parliament should be interested in knowing how the men and officers in the armed forces

live their lives, how they are being reared and fashioned as defenders of our country." the offi-He congratulated cers and men for the improvement in the Armed Forces that had taken place since independence. He declared, "if the Indian Army is good, because the it is not only ranks are good but it is also because there are officers who

are good...." On the question of salaries, he made it clear that he was redressing the grievances for of all, the men and the officers, but yawning disparities should go-for instance, a sepoy has a basic salary of Rs. 25 and a General reonly ceives 120 times that amount. ilarly, while no one would grudge the officers getting 50 per cent of their basic pay as sion, why should the ranks palmed off with a pension of only 35 per cent of their basic pay?

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta made many a telling point on this score with regard to accommodation, journey and education allowances. pleaded for the removal of the disabilities suffered by those who came under the category of Emergency Commissioned Officers, who should be made regular Commissioned Officers. He strongly re-commended opening of more avenues of promotion for the other ranks.

On the problem of superession, he stated that while he did not accept the accusations being made against the Defence Minister. the grievances of those superseded should be very patiently attended to, "and at the same time, this should be impressed on the people concerned that we are doing it in the paramount interests of the entire armed forces."

He ended with a fervent call: "We possess very good human material and given care attention and sympathy. generosity of heart and vision, we can make a very good defence force "

After the speech of the Defence Minister, Comrade Basavapuniah thanked the many Members who had very sympathetically responded to the resolution and strongly rebutted the allegations made by some about "subversion' and "party politics".

Before pressing his resolu-

AUGUST 23, 1959

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA ranks among the industrially developed countries. In recent years, hand in hand with economic development, the foreign trade of Czechoslovakia has also expanded, its turnover showing a constant rising tendency. In recent years the index of its development showed the following level (year 1948 = 100):

1949 1951 1953 1955 1956 Total 116.1 135.0 161.1 172.9 231 turnover Socialist 140.5 210.6 289.7 321.5 349 countries Capitalist 97.2 76.6 76.6 106.6 140. countries

Also changes in the structure of the exchange of goods nessed, viz. from the western have taken place, chiefly to countries to countries of the the benefit of engineering products and finished products.

Structural Changes

The present situation is the result of the planned structural changes carried out in the national economy of Czechoslovakia in the last ten years, which have transferred the focal point from the light and processing industries to heavy industry, above all the engineering industry.

Apart from structural great territorial changes,

with respect to the goods concerned.

Socialist camp.

EXPANSION OF CULTURAL LIFE

IN Czechoslovakia systematic care is devoted to the promotion of cul-ture and the education of the population. All the great treasures of the past and all the gateways to knowledge and beauty are open to everyone who is interested in them. A full one-third of the State budget, i.e. almost 32 milliard crowns, was devoted in 1957 to cultural, health and social facilities, which was 8.8 per cent more than in the preceding year.

EDUCATION Let us take merely edu-

cation and culture and calculate the State expenditure for these sectors per head of the population In 1950, Czechoslovakia. the figure per capita was 229 Cz. crowns and in 1957, already 476 Cz. crowns. figure more than This doubled in the course of of this that education in Czechoslovakia is on such a high level.

more.

AUGUST 23, 1959

FROM PAGE 7~ UNITED ACTION IN BIHAR

Secretary together with Comrade Ramavtar Shastri, the Communist leader. The joint conference was attended by some prominent members of varties as well. The other latest reports reaching from Ranchi indicate that Sri S. K. Bage, leader of the Jhar. khand Party and leader of Opposition in the Bihar As-sembly, has consented to become the Chairman of the Ranchi District Committee. Even Congressmen joined the meetings and demonstrations organised by this Committee.

On July, 25, the "Indian Nation" reported that the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee "called for explanation from 11 Congressmen of the Patna Town DCC for their participation in a demonstration against the levy of professional tax by the Corporation in Patna." It is a measure of the extreme unpopularity of this tax that these Congressmen are dividual capacity in the bet- Manamaya Prasau and the biy and initiality of organish mous demands of the people. Show a calmly, the ing conventions of consumers mous demands of the people. I discussed calmly.

As representative of the united committees in their individual capacities and despeople it was incumbent pite Sri Mahamaya Prasad's upon them to give expression to popular resentment sweeping among the masses against the tax."

In deciding its attitude to this movement the PSP is faced with a dilemma of its making-between its own anti-Communism and the necessity of keeping on the right side of popular discon-

A spokesman of the PSP who told the Indian Nation Staff Correspondent (July 25) that "the line of action to be adopted is to intensify agitation against taxation measures of the State Government", at the same time hurried to assure that "the PSP will have no alignment with any other political party in this programme." He further explained that "so far the Party had maintained its separate identity on the agitational front against these taxation measures."

issued instructions to members to keep aloof from the Joint Committee and the movement led by it. The Executive of the PSP, however, has failed to keep its ranks and even a part of its leadership itself aloof from the united movement. When the demonstration against the professional tax was organised before the Corporation offices on June 26, the Patna Town PSP had to hurriedly decide not to be left alone and sent a small jatha with the PSP flag to join the

demonstration which had decided not to carry any party flags. Later the PSP gave a call curb the rise in prices as well tion to vote which the obe-for a Statewide hartal on as to fight corruption, the dient majority voted down-July 1. It is also planning a Committee will be forced to he sharply pointed out how reported to nave replied The spokesman was cor-that "they will continue to rectly reflecting the official demonstration before the consider more effective forms he had not made use of a oppose the levy in their in-dividual capacity in the bef-Mahamaya Prasad and the bly and thinking of organis-for the saiso planning a committee will be forced to he sharply pointed out how consider more effective forms he had not made use of a of peaceful direct action to lot of materials at his disposal force it to concede the unani-since he wanted matters to be

NEW AGB

and dealers against the multipoint Sales-Tax.

The Communist Party has welcomed these actions and will support them and whatever other steps the PSP takes, so far as they help to mobilise and unify any section of people against high prices and enhanced taxes.

In the meantime, the State Executive Committee and Council of the Communist Party are meeting on August 11 to 14. The State Committee Against Enhanced Taxes is meeting on August 16. It had earlier submitted a memorandum to the Government, pointing out alterna and more profitable tive sources of revenue and sought an interview with the Chief Minister. It is understood that unless the Government agrees to reconsider the new taxation measures and takes effective steps to

DYNAMIC GROWTH IN TEN YEARS

		••
6	1957	1958
6	250.9	257
7	391.0	399
.3	142.5	145

changes have also been wit-

Not long ago, the British Minister of Trade, Mr. John Vaughan-Morgan, stated that after the lifting of the embargo last year no hasty pur-chase of goods thus freed occurred, as the East European countries had in the meantime become self-sufficient

The result of the development during the last few years is the continuous growth of the exchange of goods with Socialist countries as well as with countries undergoing a process economic development.

~~~~~**\***\*\*

In Czechoslovakia there are 42 universities and colleges, 790 vocational and technical schools, and 12,445 elementary educational schools. Whereas, for example, there were in Czechoslovakia in the 1936 to 1937 school year some 75,000 pupils, in the 1956 to 1957 school year their number had increased by almost 90 per cent, i.e. to approximately 140,000 pu-

In view of the great expansion of the national economy there is an evergrowing demand for spe ialists. Before the Second World War there were not quite 11,000 pupils attending the technical schools whereas in the 1956 to 1957 school year there were al-ready 66,000, i.e. six times

Before the war, the Cze choslovak Republic had 13. universities and colleges and 25 faculties with 23,000 42 universities and colleges Their share in the total volume of exchange of ods as compared with the total volume of the exchange of goods with the non-Socialistic countries rose from 24 per cent in the year 1948 to 37 per cent in the year 1958.

For the purpose of illustration we show below the volume of exchange of goods with some economically under-developed countries the year 1958 (in millions of Czechoslovak crowns): UAR-605. Pakistan-41, Argentine-154, India—147, Sudan—36, Brazil-219, Malaya-86, Afghanistan-35, Mexico-22.

Compared with the above data, trade with industrially developed countries showed the following level in the year 1957 (in millions of Czecho-

slovak crowns, frontier of the supplying country):

|           |      | Import | Expert |
|-----------|------|--------|--------|
| France    |      | 92     | 107    |
| German Fe | dera | L .    |        |
| Republic  |      | 431    | 395    |
| Austria   |      | 180.   | 148    |
| USA       | · ·  | 10     | 44     |
| Australia | •• • | 176    | 35     |
| 1.11.14   |      |        |        |

#### With Socialist Countries

For purposes of comparithe turnover of trade son, with some of the Socialist countries is given below. The total turnover (in millions of Czechoslovak crowns) reached 14,587, of which the share of the USSR amounted to 6,833, that of the German Democratic Republic to 2,301 and that of the People's Republic of China to 1,447.

The chief products concerned in the exchange of goods with the developed countries of Western Europe and America are traditional products, such as Czechoslo-vak glass, Jablones costume, jewellery, pencils, ceramics, foodstuffs specialities, malt, hops, etc., on the one hand as well as new products of Czechoslovak engineering industry on the other such as mach e-tools, passenger cars which are greatly sought after also in the USA, motorcycles, textiles, footwear as well as many other products.

The constantly increasing interest shown in Czechoslovak products testifies to the possibilities of mutual trade between industrially developed countries and countries with different political systems.



49,000 students. The increase here is thus 110 per The growth, howcent. ever, in the number of students attending technical colleges is as much as 300 per cent. This number does not include special methods of study such as university extension study which is carried on by thousands of persons along with their normal employment. More than a half of the students receive a monthly scholarship and live cheaply in dormitories and eat in students' canteens.

#### THEATRE

Let us note still another indicator — the theatre. Czechoslovakia is perhaps country with the greatest number of professional theatres in relation to the size of its population. Today she possesses students. Today there are 61 professional theatres and in these theatres are with 106 faculties and 63 dramatic ensembles of which four are run by young people, ten give operas, 11 operettas, seven young ballets and ten are puppet companies. In addition. there are over 6,000 amateur ensembles, well equipped and expertly directed which compete among each other for the honour of having given the best performances and which an-nually hold an All-State Theatrical Festival.

The growth of cultural level can best be seen in the increase in the number of theatres and cinemas. Last year Czechoslovak ac-tors gave 26,231 performances. The total number of theatre-goers during the year was almost the same as the number of inhabitants of the whole Republic. Such brisk theatrical activity can be found in few countries in the world.

The number of cinemas in comparison with the prewar period has increas-ed twofold, an increase of

1.653 cinemas (in comparison with 1948 the number has increased by 844). Performances in the cinemas during the past year were seen by approximate-ly 200,000,000 persons.

#### BOOKS

In Czechoslovakia. for example, on the average every 1,000 of the population sees each year 80 film performances, two theatre plays, and 41 cultural events, such as lectures performances of popular ensembles. etc. The number of books published per head of the population is 3.2. the number of periodicals 80.6. The number of books published increased to such an extent that 45,000,000 copies were printed in 1957.

These few data from the sector of culture are a. sien of cultural life in Czechoslovakia.

PAGE ELEVEN

NEW AGE

# **RUMANIA: 15 YEARS OF** STEADY PROGRESS

Fifteen years have passed since the liberation of Ruma-nia from the fascist yoke and on this August 23, the Ruma-nian people can look back with pride on the road they have nian people can look back with price on the road they have traversed. Some of the achievements scored by the Ruma-nian people during this period were underlined by Mr. Nicolae Cioroiu, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-tentiary of the Rumanian People's Republic to India at a Press Conference on August 18, 1959.

PHE inteen years which is a second since August 23, 1944, have been years of pro-found economic and political changes. The social, economic and cultural organisation of the country has taken new forms, for the benefit of the people's

#### All This Is Past History

As is known, Rumania's economy in the past bore the seal: "backward agrarian character". In 1938, the share of the national deriving from agriculrevenue ture represented 54.9 per cent while that from industry only 33.7 per cent. Of the total working population of the country, 78 per cent were employed in agriculture and only seven per cent in industry. Rumania played the role of a selling market and of a source of raw materials, it was a country of profitable investments for foreign capital. In 1931, the foreign capital h approximately 80 per cent of the total capital of limited companies, a percentage much higher than othe

"A rich country with a poor people", was a saying tha veyed the right image of the then Rumania. Indeed, one of the richest countries in Europe, sing big resources of crude oil, natural gas, salt, coal, fer-rous and non-ferrous ore, exten-sive forests and farmlands, etc., ania could not make people benefit from this wealth.

The conditions created in this respect after the country's liberation marked a new a titude towards the develop ment of industry. After the nationalisation of the principal means of production, pro aned up to completely pects opened up to completely change the old state of industry. That is how it was possi-ble for Rumania, an underdeveloped country in the past, to become an industrial- agrarian country in full develop-

As compared to 1938, in 1958, Rumania produced 5.6 times more pig-iron, 3.3 times more steel, 2.6 times more coal, 5.2 more cement, two times more cottor woollen and silk fabrics, 2.5 times more edible oil, 2.1 times more sugar. In the s 1948-1958, the output of chemical industry grew by eight times over that of 1938.

#### Per Capita Production

In order to give a clearer idea, it is necessary to quote how the per capita production The years of com increased. parison are again 1938 and 1948 and here is what the statistics show: for pig iron the increase of the per-capita production was rom 8.5 Kg. to 40.80 Kg.; for teel from 12.2 Kg. to 51.7 Kg.; energy from 72.4 Kwh

PAGE TWELVE



As is known Rumania ranks among the countries possessing big reserves of oil. The Rumanian oil industry is one of the cldest branches of the country's industry: two years ago Ruma-nia celebrated one century of her oil industry activity. Until not long ago oil extraction in Rumania was made by rudime tray means which accounted for the slow development of the oil industry of old Rumania. One has to add to it the fact that, at the time. Rumania was almost entirely dependent on foreign trusts, foreign capital in the oil industry being 91.9 per cent

Under these circumstances the task of creating a really advanced oil industry in Rumania was as great as difficult.

#### **Expansion** Of Oil Industry

In the last ten years ever bigger investments have been made in the oil industry. made in the oil industry. Thus, during the First Five-Year Plan, the oil industry was allotted 28.4 per cent of the total investments for in-dustry, and in the last year the figure has been 22 per cent. cent.

As in other technical fields, the most modern technological processes are used in the oil industry in Rumania. For instance, the up-to-date methods of prospecting—seismic, electrometric and gravimetric—have been ex-tended largely.

Rumania has used the radioactive method beginning with 1955, being thus one of the first countries using this modern me-thod of prospecting. The Ruma-nian-made 41d drilling installanian-ma tions are of the newest in the world, Rumania produces not oil equipment to meet the requ-irements at home and she is also able to export such equipment ntries to a number of foreign cou Drilling installations delivered by Rumania operate now in Jwalamukhi, and soon the work will start in Cambay with the newly arrived installations newly arrived installations. Also known to India is the agreement between the two countries for the construction of the Assam Refinery.

The Rumanian People's Republic is second in Europe (af-ter the USSR) and third in the world (after the USSR and the USA) in the natural gas production. The 1958 production was 16 times bigger than in 1938. The methane gas has been utilized on a still larger scale a a raw material in the che industry, for the manufacturing of chemical fertilizers, synthetic fibres, synthetic rubber and pla stics. etc.





The State also places at the

disposal of the working people, free of charge or at a low cost, important means for their social

gets, on the average, over 3,000

gets, on the average, over observations lei annually from the State ex-penditure for social and cultural purposes. Although the worker does not get the sum in cash, it positively benefits the everyday

**Relations** With

The deep political, economic and social transformations which took place in the coun-

trys' life created the premises of

an external policy in full con-formity with the national inte-rests and with the interests of

The relations between Ruma-

nia and the USSR, People's

China and the other Socialis

countries have developed and strengthened still more. They are based on the principle of

full equality in rights, respect of territorial integrity and of State

internal affairs. An integral part

of this policy is the mutual help.

In her relations with non-

Socialist countries, Rumania is, guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence, by the de-

sire for developing economic, political and cultural relations with these countries.

The Rumanian People's Re-public pays special attention to the development and strength-

independence and sovereign non-interference in each othe

world peace and cooperation.

positively benefits life of his family.

India

cultural requirements, for and cultural requirements, for rest leaves, health purposes, education, allowances for child-ren, etc. Each worker family

has been improved substantially after the war. The development of industry has open-ed up new prospects for agri-culture, too. Socialist transtial wage-tax reduction, or full tax exemption for some categories. Also the pensions formation of agriculture is well advanced. Until now, about 2,500,000 peasant fami-lies have joined Socialist units system has been largely ex-tended and a 41 to 62 per cent increase in all kinds of penagriculture. It should also sions has been effected. The be worth while mentioning that both the process of me-chanisation of farm operations real incomes of the people have also grown by a big re-duction in the sale prices of over 2,600 assortments of inand that of application of chemical treatment in agriculture are taking place now in Rumania at a much more dustrial products and stuffs. The net rise in the instuys. The net rise in the in-comes of the working people resulting from these new mea-sures, will be of 4,700 million let annually. anid rate than in many west ntries.

The vast programme of ecoction of the coun try is on behalf of the people The Rumanian Workers' Party's



GHEORGHIU DEJ First Secretary, Rumanian Workers' Party

and Government's keenest con cern is to assure to the people ever better living standards, to create best conditions for the full exercise of their fundamental rights and liberties. As com-pared to 1950, the real wages of the working people went up by 60 per cent in 1958. The incomes of the working peasantry, espe-cially of those who took the road of Socialist agriculture, have also increased to an important extent

#### **Better Living** Conditions

The development of the na-tional economy made it possi-ble for the Party and Government to adopt new measures for better living conditions. ening of her relations of cooperation with the countries of with the countries of Asia and Africa. She concluded and Pay a number of Trade ments Agreements with a number of these countries.

A transportable oil instal-lation which can be set up anywhere in a matter of minutes—one of Ruma-

There have been developing relations of friendship and co-operation between India and

The economic relations between our countries developed mainly in the field of oil industry: Rumania, brings her contri-bution to the development of an oil industry in India. Indian Amb assador to Rumania Mr. B. K. Acharya, on the occasion of presentation of Credentials in Rumania said ment concluded the agreement concluded bet-ween India and the R.P.R. for the construction of an oil refi-nery in India, is a landmark in nery in India, is a landmark in the history of exploitation of mineral resources in India and is of considerable importance for the fulfilment of the plans of development of the country.

As is known, bigger pros pects of development of the economic relations between our countries have been opened up by the recent con-clusion of the long-term Trade and Payments Agreement, according to which the trade exchanges in 1959 will be five nes as great as in 1958.

an an ta sa ta

Editor :. P. C. Joshi

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AUGUST 23, 1959

New Delhi

#### NOTE-BOOK Others have estimated it much higher. Nobody has disputed PATTOM'S HEADACHE

KERALA

Congressmen have all

Action Council and the Congress had nothing to do with it. What these

That day has arrived. The Central Committee

Council has now express

its gratitude to all organi-

sations and individuals who had helped it, and the

first name mentioned is that of Sri Malayil John, a

member of the Kerala Pra-

desh Congress Committee

misunderstanding as to whether Mr. John and his

kind gave their guidance in

their individual capacity, here is a statement of the

President of the Kerala

has given his thanks--"To the Kerala Pradesh

Congress Committee which

gave support, direction and other facilities to the strug-

gle conducted by the stu-dents...to Sri Malayii John, a member of the KPCC Executive, who was

the director who ensured victory of the struggle making great financial, physical and mental sacri-

fices, to the Youth Con-gress President O.V. Lukose who stood in the forefront

at all stages,....to Vimo-chanasreematy Annie Jo-

seph (another Congress leader) who advised and organised girl students for

The Youth Congress

the youth wing of the Congress and the Students' Congress its student wing. So the KPCC "gave sup-

port, direction and other facilities" and two wings

of the Congress organised the struggle. Will Congress leaders still say they don't

know anything about it?

REMEMBER

OUR RECORD

the struggle ...

Student's Congress

Now just to avoid any

of the Students'

Executive

Students

Action

leaders forgot

that Transport buses were picketed, their glass panes S RI Pattom Thanu Pillai were broken, tyres slashed, petrol tanks filled with D has always believed that the Chief Ministership sand, etc. There were some disputes only about who was indulging in all this. the State to which he belongs-first Travano Travancore-Cochin then and now Kerala-is somealong denied their respon-sibility—to escape the wrath of public opinion. It thing specifically created for him and that everyone who occupies that seat, bewas being said that the students' struggle was orcause the people put them there, is a misfit. ganised by the Action Council

Pattom has again chosen himself as the Chief Munister-designate and he says the Congress has agreed to do with accept him as the leader of congress the coalition. So far, so pay would

was that a Thanks-Giving Day would come some time. But there is a big difficulty in the situation. Our Constitution lays down that the Chief Minister has to be a member of the Legislature. He need not ne-cessarily be an elected representative of the people, the Governor can always ninate him to the Upper House

But for Pattom's misfortune, Kerala has no Upper House. The Governor can nominate two members to the Assembly, but oven if Pattom is willing, it will be a difficult job to convince the people that he is a rightful representative of the Anglo-Indian commu-

That is the difficulty Everyone else was convin-ced long ago and Pattom is etting convinced now that if he again contests his old seat, Trivandrum II, he will never become Chief Minis-

So he looked around for a safer constituency. The commodity is rather rare, commonity is rather rare, but he is prepared to take a chance with the adjacent constituency, Trivandrum I. What gave him hope was that there was quite some Catholic fishermen's vote in the constituency. They had been hired to provide nua peen nired to provide the man-power for the "liberation" struggle, why can't they be hired again to provide the votes?

The moment Pattom reached this conclusion, another difficulty cropped up. The seat belongs to an-other PSPer. If it had been a Congress seat, Pattoni could have bullied the leaders Congress leaders into handing it over, but his own partyman is not

This is not Pattom's problem alone. Every constituency is becoming an inner-party and inter-party problem. More material about this later.

# IS OUT

S RI Mannath Padmanabhan estimated at Rs. 30 lakhs the losses to the State Transport Depart-ment as a result of the aration" struggle.

missal of the Con Ministry familiar THE TRUTH

months of ( rule had such practices been allowed in Kerala. August 19, 1959

# TRIUMPHAL MARCH **OF VICTORS**

### People's Receptions To Dismissed Ministers

I wish Prime Minister Nehru could take two days I wish Frime Minister Nenru could take two days off from the high-level parleys in Delhi and take his mind off the problem of how to make the black deed of a Congress-League alliance look white. Twenty-four hours in Kerala just now would show him what a real people's upsurge looks like and with whom the people of Kerala are

people of Kerala are. E XCLUDING the Commu-

L nist Ministry, there have been six Ministries here. Whenever a Ministry fell, its members had either gone home and sulked or shed tears over the dissensions inside their party which had led to their downfall.

Those who expected the Communist Ministers to follow the same routine were in for a big shock when the day after the Central intervention, ex-Ministers of the Kerala Government led a mighty demonstration and addressed a mammoth rally in Trivan-drum City (New Age, August

Since then it has been one round of receptions to the

former Ministers and they have been rightly called a have been rightly called a triumphal march of victors --there is nothing of defeat either about the people who are according the recep-tions or the leaders who are receiving them.

Space does not permit re-porting in detail every recep-tion that has taken placeand they are taking place in every district. All that is being done here is to put down some of the highlights of a few of the important recep-tions to Comrade Namboodi-

ripad. In Ernakulam, 800 young girls and women with the traditional brass talams led the mammoth (trays)

rade E. M. S. Namboodiripad to the Rajendra Maidan where the meeting was being held. Tens of thousands of peo-

procession which took Com-

ple defying the rain lined both sides of the route. And they were not just the usual town-dwellers who come out to see every demonstra-tion. All communities and religions, all sections, men and women were reresen-ted in, large numbers in this huge crowd which had gathered to greet Namboo-diripad and the scene was that of a reception from their hearts to a leader dear to them.

Again, on the dais, it was a colourful demonstration of their love for Comrade Nam-boodiripad. The garlanding on behalf of various organi-sations and individuals took garlanding nearly twenty minutes and as he took them off and kept them by his side this mount of flowers grew and grew, and by the time this part of the function was over it was as high as Comrade Namboodripad himself. Against this the few brooms and chappals

among them two thousand women, participated in the Vaikom, demonstration in held to receive Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad. Over a hundred organisations and individuals garlanded him at the mammoth rally held later.

In Kottayam, earlier in the same day, the demonstration in whose ranks marched hundreds of women, was the indication of a new awakening

among the people here. On the way from Kotta-yam to Vaikom, though no recention had been planned in Kaduthuruthi the peo-ple of the area came and waited on the road from early in the evening. When Comrade Namboodiripad reached there they shouted slogans renting the night sky and Comrade Namboodiripad had to speak for a few minutes to them before he could proceed.

In Quilon, the meeting organised to plan the reception to Comrade Namboodiripad was attended by over 2,000 by over people and a committee of 101 was set up to look after the arrangements. Similar meetings are being held and committees set up in the other places which are to be visited by the former Chief Minister.



suburbs, the entire industrial belt, Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Midnapore and the 24-Parganas through spontane-ous meetings and demonstrations the deep anger of the masses has manifested itself. Workers in Kamarhati, Behala, Kharagpur, Kidderpore, etc., have demonstrated in their thousands. A public meeting of condemnation was held at Hazra Park in Calcutta.

Hundreds of students gathered from all over the city at Bangabasi College and marched in a protest demonsof the tration to the homes chief Minister and the Police Minister. Reports of protest meetings and marches are pouring in at the time of vriting.

Following the August 17 demonstration before the Irrigation Minister's home, Irrigation Minister's nome, strictly according to the schedule of the PIFRC, a procession of 2,000 men and women peacefully demons-trated before the Beidence of the Beiden trated before the residence of the Police Minister, Sri Kalipada Mukherjee, on August 18. A huge crowd of the residents of the locality lustily cheered the demonstrators.

Naturally enough, as is the wont of Congress Min-isters, Sri Mukherjee had skulked away when the pro-cession arrived. But what is worse is that, confronted with this grim manifestation of the masses deter-mined not to starve, he was enjoying a banquet spiced with songs and dances at the Star Theatre.

Equally nauseating has been Equally nauseating has been the spectacle of the crocodile tears shed by Dr. Prafulia Ghosh, the PSP leader who had earlier joined Dr. Roy in a joint statement. He has expressed "sorrow" at the ar-rests made under the D tive Detention Act even after 12 years of Indepen felt that this action was not

NEW AGE

few brooms and chappals few brooms and chappals few brooms and chappals few brooms and chappals of covernment would be kind some liberators' houses looked enough to release those ar-rested. After the stab in the Over ten thousand \* FROM FRONT PAGE necessary and hoped that the movement, this was really adding insult to injury.

adding insult to injury. In striking contrast was the dignified strength of the statement of the PIFRC, which warned the Govern-ment that its attempts to terrorise the people were doomed to failure. The people would struggle on till their demand for cheap food was won.

The West Bengal Secre-tariat of the CPI confidently and with full pride in their people declared that this barbarous and unpreceden-ted repression would not browbeat the masses. It urged all Party members and sympathisers, all parti-cipants in this great strug-gle not to fall a prey to provocation but to unitedly and in a disciplined manner implement the program of a peaceful movement.

The Congress Government has shown its fangs. It has once again demonstrated-after Kerala-that democracy is a mere phrase with these present-day man phrase daring, to whom power and profit are the sole gods. But the people demanding their food shall not be thrust aside and they shall yet save democracy.

> A SLOGAN IS BORN 'OOCHITAYS ROOSKUMOO IUZIKOO EE SLOOZHITAY INDIYOO' THAT MEANS 'LEARN RUSSIAN AND SERVE INDIA' THE WORKING CLASS CITY OF KANPUR — THE CITY OF LAKSHMI BAI - NANA - TANTIA -AZIMULLAH - BHAGAT SINGH - CHANDRA SEKHAR AZAD - SALIGRAM - GANESH SHANKAR - RUDRA BHARADWAJ - MATA SARATKUMARI SINHA GIVES BIRTH TO A SLOGAN ad inserted by BARANNIKOV ROOSI SHIKSHAN MANDIR—KANPUR DIRECTOR-RAJ KUMAR SINHA

> > PAGE THIRTEEN

(August 19)

T O those who ask what the Communist Gov-ernment did in 28 months: Within 24 hours of the dis-missal of the Communist groan and cries could be heard from police lock-ups where brutual manhandling of people had again begun. At no time during the 28

of Communist inhuman

OBSERVER

# Laos: Act Now To Prevent Another Korea

 $\mathbf{L}_{ ext{lines}}^{ ext{AOS}}$  has caught the head-lines of the leading Indian - newspapers almost continually for the last threefour months. Our concern for the maintenance of peace in South-east Asia apart, India, as the Chairman of the Interational Commission under the 1954 Geneva Agreements is, in that sense, also a dramatis personae in the developments on the Indo-Chinese scene.

Five years ago, the Geneva Agreements for Indo-China had provided for the peaceful solu-Agreen tion of the problems of this region. including Laos. But the reactionary clique in Laos directed and abetted by the U.S. aggressive circles, by violating the Geneva Agreer nents first and by denouncing them altogether later, has now brought Loos face to face with the serious threat of a civil war, with es for all its grave consequent peace in Southeast Asia.

A new proof of the deliberate attempt by the U.S. ag-gressive circles and their Laotian stooges to undermine further the Geneva Agreements, nd the civil war in Laos and threaten peace in Indo-China, has been provided by the Joint Communique of July 23, issued in Vientiane, announcing that the Laotian Government had decided to rain "powerful troops" using U.S. arms and military supplies and asking for military experts to tender

#### U.S. Imperialism **Responsible**

Who is to blame for creating this tension in Laos? And what should India's responsibility be, in restoring peace in Laos? The estions require urgent and

The facts are on record. No sooner were the Geneva Agreements concluded then U.S. imperialism embarked upon a frantic course to sabotage the agreements in Laos. In September 1954, the U.S.

imperialists, through their Lao-tian stooges, had the then Laotian Defence Minister, Voravong, assassinated because he had strongly favoured nego-tlations with the Pathet Lao fighting units, and scrupu observance of the Geneva

Later, the U.S. resorted to all means to obstruct and disr the negotiations between the uvanna Phouma Government of Laos and the Pathet Lao fighting units. The break-down of the talks, seven times, stand o their "credit."

However, after surmounting numerous hurdles, in November 1957, the Phouma Governmen and the Pathet Lao fighting units nually Vientiane agreements in accord once with the Geneva - Agree units finally concluded the ments in accordment with the participation of the representatives of the Pa-thet Lao fighting units was

formed in Laos. During the May 1958. elections, the candidates of the Patriotic Party-which united the former participants Pathet Lao movement and

PAGE FOURTEEN

mocratic parties and organisa tions which formed an alliance with it—had won the support of f the electorate broad sections Yet, the pro-U.S. Laotian ruling clique did everything to keep the representatives of the Patriotic Party out of the Govern-ment, in clear violation of the agree

A Manchester Guardian (August 11) editorial recalls this incident, thus: "The Neo Lao Haksat.... together with the Left-wing ally.... won thirteen out of twenty-one seats contested (one was for byelection). This was taken both in Laos and Washington as a bad sign for the general have elections that were been held this year and an indication that unless something was done Laos might go the way of Czechoslovakia." "some thing" was done,

#### I.S. Military Rase

Overt U.S. interference forced the Phouma Cabinet to resign, and in August last year, the Sananikone Governpresent ment was installed, to transform Laos into a U.S. military base and a hot-bed of cold war in South-east Asia.

The Sananikone Government on the one hand, subjected members of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and other Laotian patriots barty and other hand, allowed large shipments of U.S. military sup-plies and military personnel to

plies and minutes, so be poured into Laos. In direct violation of the Ge-neva and Vientiane Agreements, Comprisone Government rethe Sananikone Government re-moved all former Pathet Lao men from the posts granted to them earlier in the Royal adINTERNATIONAL EVENTS

ministration of provinces, and instead of incorporating former Pathet Lao fighters into the re-gular army, it kept them in conditions that were humiliating to the honour and dignity of the officers and men of these battalions

To the popular discontent that grew against such violations of the Vientiane agreements, Sananikone's reply was ruthl His Governmen repression. has thrown into prison the leaders of the Patriotic Party, including its leader Prince So phanouvong. These Laotian patriots are now facing severe danger.

On the other hand, from persistent violations of the G Agreements, Sananikone's Gov nment passed on to an oper on to the effect that the déclara Laotian Government would no longer be "bound" by these agreements (February 1959). Furthermore, by the recent, July 23, joint communique, it has "legalised" the conversion of Laos into a U.S. military base in Southeast Asia.

The spokesmen of the Chinese People's Republic and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have sounded the warning and and have asked for the reconvening of the Internationa Commission in Laos to ensure International the implementation of the Ge neva Agreements as the only way to restore peace in this region of the world.

The Soviet Government, through the statement of its Foreign Minister, has expres-sed "its grave concern over the developments in Laos," and its conviction that: "Only joint constructive actions of the parties concerned, aimed at ensuring normal conditions r the resumption of the for the resumption of the work of the International Commission in Laos, can lead to full and proper implemen-tation of the Geneva Agree-

ments in Laos." In such a situation, it is incumbent upon our Government to speak out categorically and

firmly, for the of the Geneva Agreem for the reconvening of the In-

#### Cause For Concern

India, as Chairman of the International Commission, has layed a creditable role. to a large extent. Recently, India's Prime Minister has pronounced himself, time and again, in favour of the reconvening of the International Commission: However, some of the Prime

Minister's declarations also give ause for concern.

Pro-U.S. experts had attributed the "trouble" in the "nor-ther provinces of Laos" due to resence of large Communist forces, coming from North Vietnam. But the charge was so wild that even a number of Right-wing British papers had to contradict it.

Hindu's Correspondent from London had reported on August 14 that a despatch in The Times ted that a senior French officer in close touch with the Royal Laotian army discounted reports of large Communist for ces in Northern Laos; that "the special correspondent of the Daily Telegraph reports that Western military attaches who have toured the areas of tension in North Laos have not been able to substantiate the existence of a single North Vietnamtrained Communist battalion et alone the six which, the Laos Government claim, have invaded their territory"; and that "the Daily Express Special Correspondent.... suggests that the sometimes contradictory statements about the military situ-Government's alarmist and ation are simply so much propaganda designed to bring about Western or United Nations in-

And yet, all that the Prime Minister said in reply to Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's question concerning the violation of the

tian Government and by South Vietnam, was that "his own information was that the trouble was in the northern provinces of Laos."

Much worse was the Prime Minister's declaration in the Lok Sabha the following day. Asked inhethe the restrictions imposed by the Geneva Agreements on arms imports into Indo-China States had been violated and whether the present disturbances in Laos were attributable to that. Pandit Nehru, is reported to have replied. "That is a matof interpretation and on...." How could the July 23 communique, sanc-tioning the flow of U.S. arms and military personnel into Laos, be simply "a matter of -one interpretation' red.

e February declaration of the Laotian Government, de-nouncing the Geneva Agree-ments; the Wellington SEATO meeting in April, where, among other things, the decision was taken to create a "fire brigade, a mobile force to be used for direct intervention in Southeast Asian countries, and instruc-tions were issued to the Seato personnel (Reuter's report of April 9) to prepare plans for delivering the "fire brigade" to Laos "in case of emergency"; Laos "in the July 23 announcement ing "legal" sanction to U.S. arms flow in Laos—are all these just matters of "opinion"?

The Hindu's London Correspondent has futher reported: 'The idea of bringing the United nto the picture and Nations into the picture and sending U.N. Observers to Laos is....being actively canvassed. It has also been put out during the last few days, from London and Paris, as well as Vientiane that Mr. Nehru has been persuaded by Mr. Macmillan to agree o this course rather than insist on recalling the International Commission

Understandably enough, pressure is being mounted by imerialism to persuade the Indian vernment to give up its declared positio

#### What India

Must Do

What the UN flag did for the U.S. in Korea is known to all. That ordeal should never be allowed to be visited on any other country. The Central Committee of

the Neo Lao Haksat, in a let-ter to the International Commission in Laos. (August 9) has declared

"The present political question in Laos is only the internal affair between the Royal Gov-ernment and the Pathet Lao. nd must be solved according to the Geneva Agreement and the Vientiane agreement under the supervision of the International Commission and the close atn and the close attention of the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-

military base in Laos, for the servance Vientia scrupulous observ the Geneva and agreements and for the reconvening of the International n in Lans

# Nehru Lays Down Another Dictum 🛖 -Not Applicable To Congress

question.

ports that

THE adjournment motion Lok Sabha last week on the treatment of Indian demonstrators before the Indian High Commission in Ceylon by the Ceylonese police revealed another aspect of the Prime Minister's "touchiness." Earlier it had been said think that the Finance that the High Commission did not call the police. But Prime Minister Bandaranaike burst the hubble when he said that the police were really called. Touched, Sri Nehru vent his spleen on the demonstrators. Why did they behave like this? They had no business to criticise the Indian Government in foreign countries. But Sri Nehru conveniently

forgot that his Cabinet Minister S. K. Patil went to Singapore nd showered abuses on the Ke. rala Government. After all, such prerogatives are only to be exercised by Congress Ministers! Another adjournment motion was the cause of an uproar in the Lok Sabha on August 17.

The speaker refused perm Communist member Md. spent. Elias to read or move his adournment motion and when Elias began explaining that the situation in West Bengal was deteriorating and referred to the nd-up of Leftist leaders, the Speaker named the member. Elias remarked that the speaker could do anything and began making a charge of partisanship when the Speaker called the Marshal of the House. With folded hands he appealed to Elias to go out of the House which he did.

Morariibhai's Solicitude For Oil Barons

The discussion on the Bill to constitute the Oil and Natural Gas Commission into an autonomous body was an interesting item. The Bill was generally welcomed by all the parties in the House. The Minister pilot-ing the Bill gave vent to his irritation at the Finance Ministry's over-zealousness in hamstringing the Commission.

"Recently there was a breakdown in our Cambay drilling

operations. Previously also once or twice there were cert break-downs in our work. We had to approach the Govern-ment for financial sanction of ment for pucrhases in a big way. Obviously, it takes time for examinations, scrutiny by my colle-ague the Finance Minister, and it is not always easy to vince the Finance Minister that I am right... In order to get the sanction for a small sum of Rs. 50,000 which could save, perhaps, Rs. 50,000 by way of a day, we have to wait for ten to twenty days. It is inevi-table, because the rules bind

What contrast with the Mundhra deal. Rules were mained, decisions were arrived at-all casually and with record speed.

Comrade T. C. N. Menon during his speech on the Bill, revealed that the Finance Minister during his last visit to the USA had an unusually long tete-a-tete with one of the oil kings of the USA. "From news-AUGUST 23, 1959

sion leaves these out from its jurisdiction. Then, he pointed to the neces-sity of the Commission having power to determine the pricing policy and the authority to deermine the pattern of tion. (It may be noted that now the existing refineries in our country are producing sur-plus gasolene, whereas kero-sene production is very much helow our requirements).

Lastly, Comrade Menon pointed out that the commission

A National

**Policy** 

have the right to import oil from foreign countries. Continuing he said that "the Commission should والمشربة وأجريهم

Nine-Point Programme For Laos Peace nine-point pro-

A gramme of action is contained in an appeal to the Laotian people issued by the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and published in the August 2 issue of the Lao Haksat, organ of the Party.

The appeal declared: We will unanimously An immediate end to

An immediate release of Immediate release of 2. Immediate release of Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party;

An immediate end to scrimination and re-isals against the Pathet discrimination Lao cadres and former resistance members; an im-mediate end to all terrorist raids and unrests of the people; immediate lease of the former res mediate rements: ance cadres and other members still detained; guarantee of democratic liberties to the people; respect for the rights to

activities of the Neo

Lao Haksat Party, of the Peace and Neutrality Com-mittee and all other progressive political parties, respect for the National Assembly's power and the constitution in force; The setting up of a

4. Coalition Government with the participation of representatives of the Pathet Lao, of progressive political parties and of the various nationalities in the country;

5. Respect for the ad-• ministrative regula-tions of the two provinces Sam Neua and Phong of Sam Neua and Phong Saly according to the agreements signed by both sides; withdrawal of the agents of the pro-U.S lique already appointed who to these provinces, are repressing the peopl and reappointment of the Pathet Lao officials to these posts in accordance with the signed agree-

Carrying out of the 6. policy of peace and neutrality, opposition to U.S. interference, and imdiate ending of the in-duction of U.S. weatroduction



dependence in accordan the people of various sec tions and nationalities abo

**Opposition to U.S.** imperialist economic control; and end to the trade monopoly of the pro-U.S. clique, building of a pational. ecoprosperous national economy, acceptance of eco-nomic aid from any country willing to supply aid without any strings at-tached;

lopment of the genuine national culture, respect for Buddhists and defence of the people's sound cus-toms and habits.

"It is not the affair of UNO. Seato countries have not the right to interfere in Laptian affairs '

India must, therefore, catego-rically and firmly speak out against the build-up of the

-RAZA ALI

### AUGUST 23, 1959

August 18, 1959

Opposition to degene-

NEW AGE

tervention.

Geneva agreement by the Lao-

paper reports, I find that the Finance Minister spent about a full day having discussions with the boss of the Californian Texas. The Californian Texas, in the name of Caltex here, is also involved in the pricing

"We cannot for a moment Minist of India spending a full day in the United States of America was talking

with an oil boss shop. He must have talked of oil alone and nothing else. I also understand from newspaper reearly this very big boss of Californian. Texas from America visited this country.....He visited India at the invitation of the Finance Minister....."

With all this solicitude and hospitality to foreign oil mono olists, the result is, according to the figures quoted by Sri Raghbir Sahai of the Congress, that the allotment that was made in the budget in 1956-57 was Rs. 1,55 crores, while the actual expenditure was only Rs. 76 lakhs: in 1957-58 Rs. 4.58 crores were sanctioned out of which only Rs. 1.72 crores were sanctioned out of

"We further find that the total expenditure incurred by this commission up to the end of 1958-59 was to the tune of Rs. 5.62 crores, although the total expenditure on capital account approved by the Planning Com-1959-60 is to the tune of Rs. 23 crores."

Comrade T. C. N. Menon who spoke on behalf of the Communist Group, while wel-coming the Bill, concentrated on the draw-backs of the Government's policy on Oil as embodied in the Bill. "For the last three years, whenever the question of petroleum came up before this House, Government has taken the consistent stand of refusing to disclose positively what the policy of the Government would be with regard to the relationship with regard to the relationship between the public sector and the private sector in the in-dustry and it has avoided purposely on every occasion disclosing its own commit-ments with the private sec-tor"

Giving his own idea of what "As far as the oil policy is con-cerned, the question is not one of exploration alone, because while exploration is going on on one side, the question of im ports, the question of distribu-tion and that of the functioning of the foreign oil monopolies a very relevant and important questions in India. The Com-

exclusive

get the entire grip upon the oil business in India and then onlywill we be able to establish a oil and petroleum policy.

#### Bureaucratic Bungling In **Public Sector**

A particularly interesting example of bureaucratic mis management of State undertak ing was provided during the debate on the Annual Report of the National Coal Development Corporation (NCDC). Comrade T. B. Vittal Rao who participated in the debate, being him-self the President of the National Federation of Mine Workers, spoke with a thorough knowledge of the details which is seldom seen in the House.

Comrade Vittal Rao at the outset pointed out that "it is very unfortunate that for mining which is a highly techfor nical subject, during th for which the report relates, there has not been a single technical man on the Board of directors."

On the plan targets of the public sector in coal, he pointe out that the NCDC was a fai lure as far as the public sector concerned. In the Second Plan, the public sector was to raise 15 million tons where as it has raised only 3.5 million tons to date.

The reasons: "The very or ganisation of the NCDC re-flects little of planning and little of organisation. I recognise the fact that explorat opening of new mines and raising of coal from new mines is time-consuming. But we have got old mines also in the NCDC. We could have stepped up the production by accelerating the pace of work in those old collieries while preliminary work with regard collieries is going to the new on.

Taking up instances of bure-aucratic bungling, Comrade Vit-tal Rao said: "Take the case of the Korba coalfields. We are to raise two to three million tons a year by the end of the Second Plan. Now the target has been slashed.... And now we ar awaiting the project of the So viet experts with regard to the Korba coalfields.

"What has happened to rampur-Jhilmili? We were ex-pecting to raise nearly two to three million tons from this. Why has it been given up? It is because the railways are not expected to lay the new rail link by the end of 1960-61.

"At Bhurkunda and Saunda colleries, they say that coal has been exposed and at any time we can raise as much coal as we want, but today we are raising it because one of 0117 sidings has not come up.

"I find that even such simple measures like having a third shift at Bokaro has not been having a third taken. Why? When I was there in the month of September last year, I was told that the inspector has not permitted the use of an aerial ropeway to transport the coal to the washery plants.

"They are not getting permission simply because the netting under the aerial ropeway was not done. That is a very simple thing. Whenever an aerial rope-way passes through places of habitation or roads it is common that a wire netting has to be provided. But that has not been done. This clearly proves that NCDC authorities are not serious in the task they are en-

#### Working Conditions

Referring to the working conditions in the public sector coal mines, it was pointed that no rules (regarding service conditions) have been framed yet. The NCDC has been in existence for more than two years but yet the conditions ervice of its 22,000 workers have not been finali The quarters in which the miners have to live are unfit for human habitation. The staff of the Coal Board shifted from Calcutta to Ranchi are without housing and are undergoing considerable difficulties.

With regard to promotions, ere are no proper rules regulating promotions. A supervisor, a graduate from the Jadhavpur University was sent to Japan for training in the washing of coal and suddenly a raw graduate from the University has been brought and made the assistant engineer, whereas the former man-more qualified and expethe former rienced-continues to be a supervisor. 🗖

Regarding the supply of water to the workers at Bokaro and while Kargali coalmines, which has tion," been hanging fire for a very long time, a Bombay engineer

was brought to give a plan and he submitted a plan. More than two years have elapsed since then, but the water supply programme has not yet been taker up. Comrade Vittal Rao reminded the Government, "Water is very essential for human beings and for these workers as well."

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week in parliament

And corruption? In the Giridih collieries, an expert com-mittee suggested certain simple measures for increasing production. like having a large e tuĥ to carry the coal to the surface.

"When I met the superintendent of the coal mines last year I asked him what happened to that recommendation? He said 'we have ordered from a private firm,' but the quota of iron and steel that was given to the Corporation was asked to be delivered to the private firm. The Controller of Iron & Steel refused to do so. I asked whether it was not possible for them to nanufacture these larger tub at the colliery workshops there? He said it could be manufactured. Then who placed the orders with the private firm? 'Perhaps it was done by some-body sitting in the NCDC.' So to propitiate private industrialists, you hold up production in the coalmines."

Lastly, Comrade Vittal Rao manded that "with a view to conserve coal and with a view to to properly utilise the coal reserved in our country, the coal mines as a whole should be nationalised. Therefore, it was very essential for the Government to show very good results while working this Corpora-

-K. P. S. MENON

### **B. C. ROY'S THREATS CAN'T** STOP MOVEMENT

From Page 3 monomonomonomonomono

on the so-called "mass upsurge" in Kerala?

"After such defiance is pro-claimed," Dr. Roy roared, "no Government worth the name can sit idle.... it cannot allow a of this type to demoveme generate into a mass movement for breaking the law."

He concluded by warning that "those who break the law must take the consequences for their action.

The PIFRC held an emergency meeting on August 15, to language to those who organise consider the joint statement is- peaceful mass movements for sued by Dr. Roy and Dr. Ghose and the Chief Minister's statement.

After the meeting, a statement issued on behalf of the Com-mittee said that it "cannot desist from the movement starting on August 20. until the Government of West Bengal and Gov-ernment of India take steps to meet the just demands.

It was of the opinion that the joint statement, on the one hand, was an attempt to confuse the people and the purpose of the Chief Mini-ster's statement, on the other, was to terrorise them. But "all the food this cannot solve crisis brought about by the Government,"

Curiously enough, the Com- August 20.

that his leader, Pandit Nehru, mittee pointed out, there was had given his blessings to not a word in the joint statesuch a movement by his stand ment about the hoarders and blackmarketeers who had create ted an artificial scracity and for whose benefit the Price Control Order had been suspended.

> . The Committee further found that in regard to its 20 demands there was nothing new or hope-ful either in the joint statement or in the Chief Minister's statement.

"The only new feature in the Chief Minister's statement," it observed, "is a threat in the most shameful and authoritarian peaceful mass movements for fulfilment of their demands."

The Committee appealed to the people to "prepare to under-go sufferings and sacrifices in the just struggle against the bankrupt polices of the Government, which has brought star-, vation and disaster upon our men, women and children.

"No people with any sense of self-respect and dignity can accept in silence the imposition of famine conditions year after year by the Govern-ment," the statement emphasised

The threat of drastic action by the Government is not going to stop the movement. It will begin throughout the

PAGE FIFTEEN

REGD. NO. D.597



Comrade A. K. Gopalan, during the Kerala debate in the Lok Sabha on August 19, refuted Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas' canard that the formation of cooperative A. M. Inomus canara that the formation of cooperative sociities led to a loss of revenue and demanded that Sri Thomas place his figures on the table of the House. He also refuted Thomas' canard about textbooks.

C owncape Gopaian relicul-ed the Governor's report as a string of allegations. Saying "I sympathise with the Gover-nor," he contrasted the Governor, ne contrasted the Govern nor's charge of democracy being violated by the Ministry with his praise of the Ministry's poll-

the plane of the ministry's poli-cies in the Governor's speech. Comrade Gopalan refuted the charge that the police policy only protected workers and harmed others. "Our police policy was not one of protecting one section of peo-ple. It meant protection of the interests of all sections of the people including even those who were so long de-nied that protection in prac-tice" harmed others. tice.

Comrade Gopalan said the Comrade Gopaian said the Kerala Ministry's policy was not to crush democracy but to crush bureaucracy which has only helped the capitalists and only neipen the capitalists and landlords. "I do not know of any other State Government in India where power is sought to be given to the panchayats" as was sought to be done by the Kerala Government's promised of administrative remeasure of administrative re-forms. He asked, "Is it crushing democracy?"

#### Where Was The **Isolation**?

Comrade Gopalan challenged the slander that the Communist Government was isolated from masses and mentioned the Anti-Eviction Act-

nti-Eviction Act— "Yes, we were isolated from the masses of landlords. By forming cooperatives, certain-ly we were isolated from the middlemen. By our Education policy, certainly we were iso-lated from the managers. By the Debt Relief Act certainly we were isolated from the moneylenders. But what about the kisans who beneisolated from the fited from the anti-eviction measures, coir workers and tody workers who benefited from the cooperatives, tea-chers who benefited from the Education Act, the poor peo-ple who benefited from the ple who benefited from the Debt Relief Act — were we isolated from all these? No, they came nearer to us."

Comrade Gopalan referred to e shramdan work by which 321 minor irrigation projects were completed and added he did not know if such a record was there in the case of any other State. By any measure of the Kerala Ministry, nobody can say democracy was crushed

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OMRADE Gopalan ridicul-ed the Governor's report as ring of allegations. Saying "mathise with the Gover-" he contrasted the Gover-s charge of democracy being s charge of democracy being the democracy being s charge of democr as a result of the cooperatives.

"I do not say we are not responsible for sins of omission or commission but there is no question of crushing democracy question of crushing democracy or our getting isolated from the massee

masses. Pointedly Gopalan asked: "Was the Congress isolated from the masses by the Nagpur from the masses by the Magdin Resolution? No, it is isolated from Masani, Rangaji and Ra-jaji. Rajaji has got a crowd of one lakh in Ahmedabad and so it is isolated are you going to resign because he has got some masses with him?"

Gopalan warned "When-ever social legislations are undertaken whether by the Congress Government or the Government, communist Government, there is bound to be resist-ance from those whose vested interests are touched." Communist

Gopalan refuted Pandit Pant's that the Communist slander

CENTRE

a clever Home Minister here. It was done by stages, by having rehearsals beforehand."

rehearsals beforehand." Tracing stage by stage the abetment of struggle Comrade Gopalan contrasted that while Nehru talked about communal danger and warned against picketing and direct action, the Congress in Kerala was indulging in all this and no finger was raised by the Congress leaders,

including Nehru, against it. "The Chief Minister of Ke-rala wanted the Prime Minister to intervene and firmly con-demn direct action by the Con-gress but unfortunately he only saw mass upsurge when he came to Trivandrum. We know saw how Rs. 2.50 was given to each man and Rs. 1.50 to each woman demonstrator and we also know that Mannam has admit-ted having spent Rs. 50 lakhs." "Master Tara Singh was ar-

waster lara Singn was ar-rested and there was one mass upsurge in Delhi. We saw ano-

THE CONSTITUTION

HAS. VIOLATED

planters at Munnar and now the same Home Minister says that the Kerala Government did not ask for help. He argu-ed that under Article 355, it is the bounden duty of the Union Government to come to the aid of a State Government in case of internal disturbance.

-A. K. Gopalan Effectively

Answers Congress Charges

He accused the Home Minister of not telling the truth that the Kerala Government did not and Aerana Government and hot ask for help. "The Kerala Chief Minister had asked for help of the Home Minister and Prime Minister to decry and condemn the violent direct action. Is this not asking for help? This Frankenstein was after all their child."

child." And Eswara Iyer called the summary of the Governor's re-port as "a rat out of a hat," and added, "A report admittedly prepared after proclamation and without date." It was interesting to find PSP

It was interesting to find PSP

terity will hold the Central Ministry responsible for this.

"What has been done is that they have violated the letter and spirit and body of the Constitution. Kerala was made the testing ground" -for bursting this atom bomb of violation of democratic rights. "Radiation is already spreading and it will destroy persons who have used this atom bomb. Democracy has its Own values and will wipe out from the face of India those who violate it," concluded Easwara Iyer.

Sri R. K. Khadilkar, Inde-SI R. R. Knaunkar, Inde-pendent member, though sup-porting the Home Minister's re-solution in his own way, was sharply critical of the Congress leadership and the Central Government.

He reminded the House of He reminded the House of what Dr. Ambedkar had said about Article 365 when it was being debated by the Consti-tuent Assembly. "Dr. Ambed-kar persudaded the Constituent Accepting the constituent Assembly to accept it with this viewpoint, that it would be almost a dead latter: it would be most a dead latter; it would be taken advantage of in the last resort; normally it would not be invoked." And then Sri Khadilkar asked, did the Party in power at the Centrae and in 13 other States act up to the spirit of the Constitution?

In Spain, he said, "events happened in such a way that the constituition was pervert-ed and allowed to be perverted and anowed to be pervert-ed.... Pandit Nehru used to go from place to place giving the implications of this Spanish the implications of this Spanish civil war to the people and teaching them a lesson; 'If you want to live for democracy you will have to be very vigi-lant.'... While we are trying to-day to justify a certain action taken by the Central Govern-ment are we going to justif ment, are we going to justi-fy all the facts, the anteced-ents of that act? In my opinion it is vitiated....

"In the eyes of the people, in the spirit of the Constituition a Government that has no other course in a particular case that they had to intervenestands morally condemned."

Sri Khadilkar warned the Congress that "it was playing with fire... You are revising for the sake of getting into power, the Muslim League. Somebody said that the League. gue in Kerala was a demo-cratic party. I was surprised. One great achievement during the last ten years under Panditji's leadership is that we are developing a type of secular democracy... Are we going to sacrifice that big achievement during his lifetime for the sake of getting into office in Kerala and giving a call all over India to Muslims to organise because they will get recognition from the ruling party of this coun-try which rules at the Centre and 13 other States."

leaders themselves asked for intervention. "We can be proud that despite what has happened in Kerala in the form of violence and

in the form of violence and vandalism, the Kerala Govern-ment did not use the Preven-tive Detention Act in spite of the beating of Ministers, spee-ches inciting hooliganism, trea-sonably inciting Government sonably inciting Government officers to disobey the Govern-ment. Compare this with West ment. Compare this with West Bengal today where hundreds of persons are under arrest and nobody knows what the charges are against them."

Gopalan also contrasted the Punjab Chief Minister's refusal to meet Kisan Sabha represenlevy tatives over betterment levy with the Kerala Chief Minister's ready offer to negotiate, despite a violent agitation and also the Kerala Government's offer to Nehru to act as arbitrator.

#### Truth About Mass Upsurge

Gopalan also contrasted the free access given to Sucheta Kripalani and Sadiq Ali and others to come to Kerala and see things for themselves with the externment order erved upon him by the Punjab Government during the anti-betterment levy struggle. "And yet you will say there was no democracy in Kerala there is democracy in Punjab. Gopalan showed "that it was

a pre-planned conspiracy done very cleverly since we have got

ther mass upsurge in 1946 by the Muslim League. Prime Minister Nehru went to Spain in 1938 and saw the Catholic Church's mass upsurge. Did the Church's mass upsurge. Did the Jawaharlal Nehru of 1936 call it a mass upsurge? This is the difference between Jawaharlal Nehru of 1936 with Jawaharlal Nehru of 1959."

Gopalan showed how stage by stage the Congress leaders allowed things to deteriorate until the threat of seige of Trivandrum was instigated when Sucheta Kripalani went to Kerala. The Prime Minister instead of stopping all this, allowed and abetted this. Gopalan ended by saying the people of Kerala will certainly remember all this.

Sri Easwara Iyer, speaking in the debate, accused that the Congress Party in Kerala was Congress Party in Kerala was "actually instigating and abet-ting violence and vandalism in the name of direct action." He branded Mannam as a "stooge in the hand of the Congress Party and also of the Catholic and the name of the Congress Party and also of the Catholic Church." And after doing all this, the Congress leaders are putting on a face of innocence. He said, "It is like a devil telling the Judge, release the thug and hang the complainant."

#### **A Worthless** Report

Eswara Iyer reminded that the Home Minister had offer-ed the Kerala Chief Minister last year Central help to pro-tect the interests of British

member Dr. K. B. Menon coming to the rescue of the embarrassed treasury ber questioning whether benches by questioning whether it was right for a member to question the bona fides of a Minister. Eswara Iyer called it "legally and technically, and factually

-S. EASWARA IYER

worthless.

Eswara Iyer said, "I accuse the Central Government of actthe Central Government of act-ing unconstitutionally in viola-tion of the provisions of the Constituton." He said the Par-liament was "kept in dark" about the other information received by the President beside the Governor's report and asked une Governor's report and asked if these were supplied by the Kerala Congress President Sri Shankar, the General Secretary and President of the Congress Party and added, "It is embar-rassing for me to common rassing for me to comment on their politics."

About release of prisoners swara Iyer recalled that the Government in 1954 Andhra all made wholesale release of prisoners including murderers, and those convicted for dacoity and those convicted for dacony and rape cases, and even un-der-trials and this was criti-sed by the Madras High Court but the Home Minister was not horrified by the Andhra Government's action but "Ker-ala had a different Ministry."

He charged the Central Government as having made "grave inroads into provincial autonomy and States, helping autonomy and States, helping to encourage separatist ten-dencies and also subversive-tendencies." He warned that this way the unity of India would be destroyed and pos-