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END OF AGITATION

ONLY COURSE

NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VII, NO. 26

SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 1959.

25 nP.

Pandit Nehru's visit to Kerala, his long discussions with all the parties and personalities involved in the present struggle on either side, has roused great interest among democratic forces throughout India.

The Communist Party and the Ministry led by it welcomed his coming to Kerala. They did everything in their power to ensure that he could obtain as detailed a picture as possible of the situation in the State.

THIS attitude was in marked contrast to the stand adopted by the Opposition leaders, including influential Congressmen, who stridently declared that there was nothing for the Prime Minister to do in Kerala except order Central intervention.

Some Right-wing papers and personalities, some of them situated in strategic positions in the Congress High Command, openly came out with the demand that Pandit Nehru should not visit Kerala, that the time had come to abandon "constitutional punctilio," that come what may Kerala's Ministry had to be dislodged.

They were encouraged in their campaign by the fiercely biased approach taken by Sri Sadiq Ali and Sri Dhebar, who far from trying to ascertain the truth, far from conducting any honest enquiry, just rushed forward to accept the version of the situation given by local Congress leaders. Before pouring forth their "impressions" these two Congress leaders did not even care to meet the Kerala Ministers. What else was this but open incitement to the Opposition to continue along its dangerous course.

In his Press Conference in Delhi earlier this month Pandit Nehru had used un-

equivocal words against unconstitutional and violent agitations. He had expressed strong disapproval of any intrusion of communism into politics and

Editorial

said that the Congress in Kerala would not associate with the communalists there. He had stated that he did not want that any government in any State at any time should be pulled down by unconstitutional methods.

Now the time has come and the opportunity has presented itself to the Prime Minister to implement his welcome declarations. It is both possible and necessary for him to ensure that the Congress leaders in Kerala give up their dangerous policy and return to the path of constitutionalism.

It is only just if all who cherish democracy and stand by the country's Constitution expect him to see that the Congress in Kerala withdraws its "direct action" and disassociates from the crudely communal and blatantly violent agitation of the Catholic Bishops and Nair reactionaries. This is the only course

of action possible if his words are to ring true. This can be the most fruitful result of his visit.

The Communist Party has time and again declared that it would do everything in its power to ensure that normal conditions are restored in the State and whatever disputes there may be are settled amicably and peacefully. The Chief Minister of Kerala, on behalf of his colleagues, has once again reiterated that he is willing to sit round the table with all the leaders of the present agitation and discuss possible adjustments and compromises.

The Kerala Ministry will, however, not and cannot abdicate before threats and actions, no matter how menacing. To do this would amount to betrayal of the trust the people have reposed in them and to commit sacrilege against the Indian Constitution which enjoins that a Ministry must govern between two elections, unless it loses its majority in the legislature. It would amount to sanctioning civil war as the only arbiter of our disputes.

In any event, the much vaunted Opposition struggle has not evoked the expected response, whatever the highest in the land may say about a "popular upsurge." The vast majority of schools have opened and are functioning normally. People in the State are going

about their everyday work. Despite the sustained efforts to whip up passions, the atmosphere which one associates with a popular struggle is completely absent.

Vast meetings, bigger than those addressed by Opposition parties, are taking place all over Kerala, condemning the "liberators" and supporting the Government. Nowhere in India has the ruling Congress Party been able to hold such meetings while a struggle against its government was on. Pandit Nehru should ponder deeply over this fact.

Thus, by every tenet of democracy and the Indian Constitution the Kerala Ministry has the right and duty to continue in office. What is on test, therefore, first and foremost is the Congress, and more especially Pandit Nehru's claim that parliamentary democracy is their faith, the way of life they cherish.

The Congress and its foremost leader must now act to vindicate this claim. They must show by deeds that they wish to protect parliamentary democracy and the Indian Constitution from the savage onslaught now under way in Kerala. Any equivocation, any failure decisively to halt this attack can only mean that the country will be set on the road to anarchy, chaos and openly anti-democratic rule.

This is an outcome which no Indian proud of his country, devoted to its ideals, can view with anything but alarm.

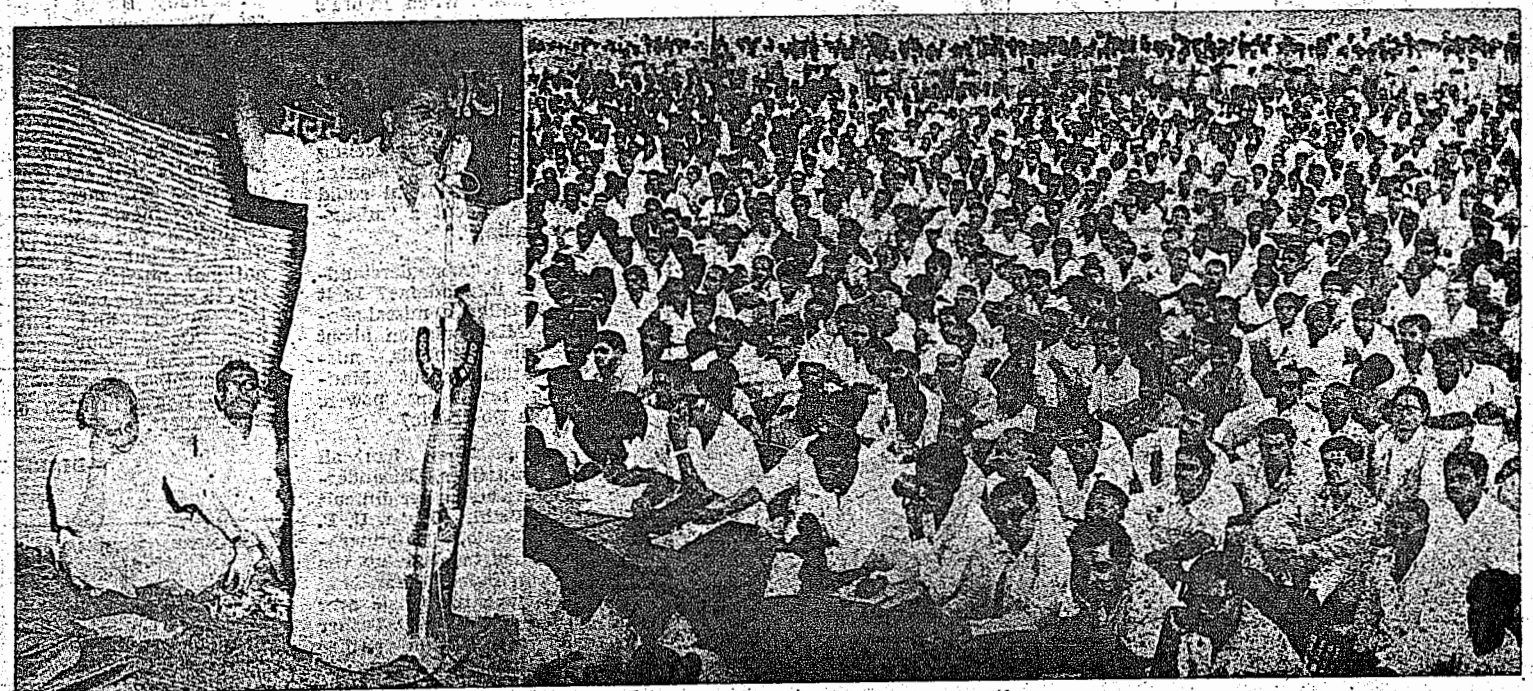
Yet this is logical and inevitable if the suicidal policy of the Congress leaders of Kerala is allowed to run its course. By their utterances and deeds they not merely tarnish the name of their organisation but undermine the very basis of Indian democracy. The sooner this madness ends the better it will be for our country.

Thanks to the firm and just policy of the Kerala Government it has won enormous support not only from the Malayalee people but from all corners of India and from our countrymen of all walks of life. Like a cleansing wind the Kerala Solidarity Campaign has swept through the cities, towns, villages and, indeed, the very heart of our country. It has united people of the most diverse views and party affiliations. It has taken the most varied forms of manifestation. It has brought about the tangible reality of national unity for the defence of democracy.

It has much work still to do. It must prepare to face a host of obstacles. Its two main demands must be to prevent Central intervention and compel calling off of the Congress agitation. There can be no resting till Pandit Nehru and the Congress High Command unequivocally accept these demands.

The people of India must in the coming weeks act as an impregnable living wall between our democratic future and its malevolent foes.

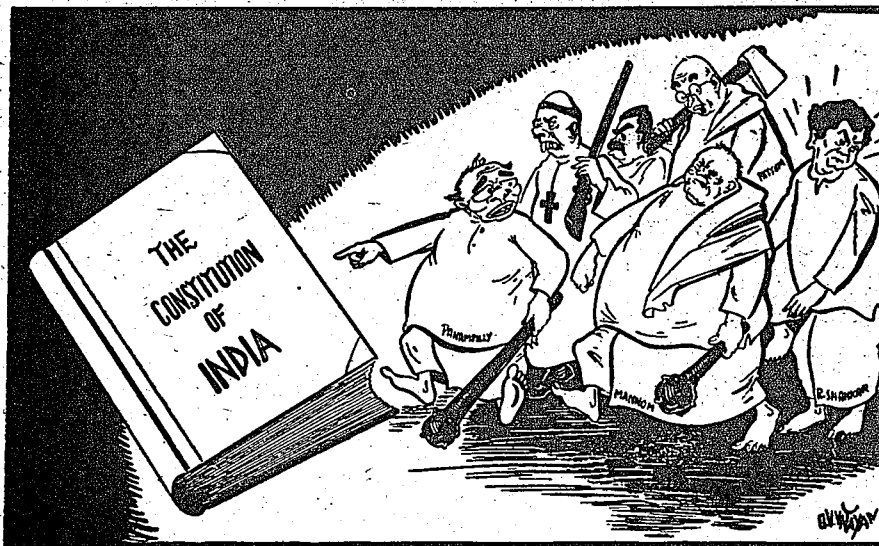
June 24.



A. K. Gopalan addressing the mass rally at Bombay on June 18. S. A. Dange presiding, S. S. Mirajkar sitting next to him. (See Page 11).

A CARTOON COMMENTARY ON KERALA

ANOTHER OBJECTIONABLE TEXT BOOK

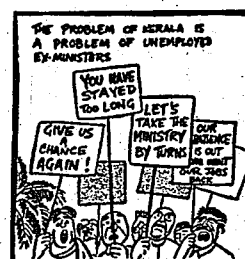


The parties to the Kerala 'direct action' deny the...

—Vijayan in Shankar's Weekly



—Shankar's Weekly

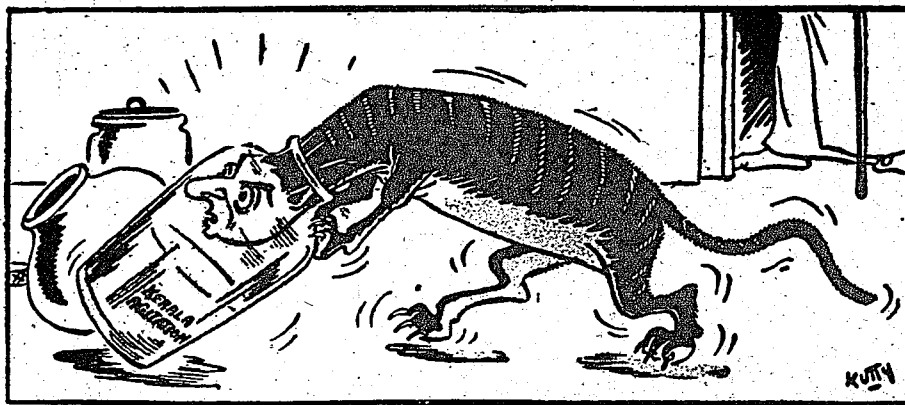


—Madras Mail

FACE SAVING



IN A JAM



—Kutty in Hindusthan Standard

SCRAP-BOOK

FOR the last one week, we have been so keyed up for the great Do-or-Die Liberation struggle in Kerala. Pandit Nehru anticipated it as an "upsurge" presumably relying on the sober estimates of Sankar and Chacko at Ooty. Indra spoke about Communism as the major danger. What more do you want?

And yet even on the Deliverance Day, Kerala's Congress papers did not bother to join the Hartall

WHICH FIRST?

The charge-sheet—the thundering charge-sheet—could not be prepared in time. Only a pre-view of it was released—a summary before the actual text. How brilliant and clear-sighted must be the draftsmen, for they could even summarise what they have not written!

I hear that when Sankar was waxing eloquent before foreign pressmen about Red atrocities, the BBC Correspondent pointed out: After levelling the charges, you are now collecting the proofs for them. Is it not better first to collect evidence and then draw up the charge-sheet instead of drawing up the charge-sheet first and then go round collecting evidences?

Only for a few seconds there was silence and then spoke the great Sankar: The people have got all the evidence with them.

But the people are an ungrateful lot. Where is their promised upsurge? Where are the lakhs of suffering humanity, whose freedom is destroyed by Red Terror of Namboodripad? Where are they? Could Mannam produce a mere mouse? How shocking is the apathy of the accused masses!

"MISUNDERSTANDING"

If Mannam is crest-fallen and Patom is heart-broken, the Madame too has landed herself in no easy jam. When Indira's telegram to Sankar was released together with Chacko's embarrassing disclosure of Dhebarbhai's Ooty dictation okaying "extra-constitutionalism", the gracious lady feeling the heat at Jantar Mantar Road in New Delhi could mumble about a "misunderstanding".

What "misunderstanding" is it, Madame? Is it not really a miscalculation? Miscalculation about all-India editorials, miscalculation about Mannam's mobilising powers for the Do-or-Die?

Indira Behen has all my sympathies. Misunderstanding besets her difficult path—Delhi, Orissa, U. P. and Kerala. Satyanarayanji has to clean up the mess in Delhi. Morarji could face the music over Orissa at the AICC. Father goes to U. P. and Father alone can face Kerala.

Isn't it indeed a misunderstanding to put on the crown of Congress 'Presidentialship' itself? No bed of roses, at least.

A LIBERATOR IN DELHI

IN New Delhi last week, I met a specimen of the Liberationists from Kerala. Or, shall I call him—a Liberator? He stayed in the air-conditioned Hotel Imperial, for, he could not afford to get a sunstroke and be lost to the great cause.

He contacted many a person in the capital—both VIPs and ordinary mortals. They all listened to him but few could be enthused, except obviously by means of cash. Here is one more case of crying injustice being ignored.

And who is he, I enquired. The son of a rich planter, pledged to liberate Kerala of the Reds.

BIRLA-MAKE EDITOR

ONCE upon a time, a hack reporter became a political commentator in a hack Birla paper. Now he has got old and ousted by another drudge, who played the P.R.O. to Birla Mission when it went to America in the company of TTK.

As a reward, the magnanimous Birla made him an editor. And he writes with all the zest of a loyal servant—though he tries to hide his servility behind cryptic initials.

But what happened to his predecessor? Of course, he has been pensioned off, but before he quit, he wangled Rs. 15 thousand from the Birlas for a trip round the world.

Now it appears that he also manages with the Americans for a free air ticket round the world. Is it by PAN-AMERICAN? And also he could get somebody to play the host for him in Britain.

Naturally, Birlaji is upset. Why should he take Rs. 15 thousand when he could manage to get round so many others to pay for him?

What you may not be knowing is that this dutiful Birla Commentator—who was never tired of reminding you about his "Insaaf"—is out on a great national mission. He will try to impress upon Chester Bowles and Sherman Cooper—our great friends in America—the absolute urgency of White House inviting our Rashtrapati.

—DIARIST

WANTED CANVASSERS

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Slanders Against Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives

CONGRESS SPEAKS FOR OUSTED CONTRACTORS

WHEN the ex-Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, Sri Panampally Govinda Menon, spoke in the Delhi session of the AICC it was mostly about the toddy-tappers' cooperatives. When Centre's Deputy Food Minister A. M. Thomas came to Kerala he also talked about these cooperatives. When Congress leaders talk of their charge-sheet, the toddy-tappers' cooperatives always figure as a main item.

All of them say the same thing—that these societies are Communist-controlled, that the Kerala Government diverts huge sums of money to these societies and all this money straightaway finds its way to the coffers of the Communist Party.

This has now become the Big Lie of the Kerala campaign, and it has been branded as such by a memorandum submitted by the Kerala State Chethu Thozhilali (Toddy-Tappers) Federation to Prime Minister Nehru.

From their very inception these societies have been the target of attack by Congressmen. And for very good reasons. There are 17 toddy-tappers' cooperatives in the Districts of Trichur, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey and Quilon with a membership of 10,000 and they run 530 shops.

Unlike other cooperatives, these toddy tappers' cooperatives are the only organisations which run solely on their own resources. The Government does not give them any aid or grant.

Most of these cooperatives, though they are entitled to loans from the District Cooperative Banks or the Central Cooperative Bank, have not found it necessary to take any such loans. Only the Quilon Cooperative Society has received a loan of Rs. 80,000 as against a paid-up capital of Rs. 40,000. The Society can legitimately get a loan ten times its paid-up capital, but it did not require nor did it seek so much aid.

These societies run on the basis of the capital the workers themselves have contributed as shares and deposits. Workers have each contributed from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 as share money and in addition have entrusted deposits with the cooperatives. These workers have had to mortgage their houses, cattle, cows and the scanty ornaments of their wives and children to make this possible.

Not only is the Government thus not transferring any huge amounts to these societies, the reality is that the Government has actually benefited by entrusting these cooperatives with the production and sale of toddy.

The cooperative societies pay all their dues punctually to the Government and deposit their entire daily collections with the cooperative banks or the treasury.

They are paying the Government a rental equal to the average of the last five years plus 50 per cent of the difference between the average and last year's rental. This has enabled the State to have a stable revenue from toddy sales—an amount much higher than what actually used to be collected from the private contractors.

The Government had never

been able to collect from the contractors the full auctioned rental. For instance, during 1956-57, the auctioned rental was Rs. 14,669,654-12-6, while the amount actually realised was only Rs. 10,477,707-15-9.

These figures also expose the hollowness of the campaign that excise collections have dwindled considerably after the cooperatives took over.

About 90 per cent of the members of the cooperative societies are toddy-tappers. Also 90 per cent of the workers in each taluk are members of these cooperatives. They are united organisations consisting of workers belonging to different political views and affiliations. Not one toddy-tapper has ever been refused admission to these societies. Where then is the question of these societies being appendages of political parties or any particular political trend dominating them?

Leave the Congress leaders aside for a moment and ask the toddy-tappers what the cooperatives have meant for them.

Since the formation of the cooperative societies the workers have begun to see a better day, live a better life. Statutory minimum wages have been extended to the toddy-tappers, the workers under the cooperatives get annual bonus of a month's wages, 15 days' leave with wages, seven days' paid festival holidays, allowances for accessories and implements, etc. As a result of all these concessions, the toddy-tappers in the cooperatives have received an annual increase of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 each—wage increase of 30 per cent to 40 per cent.

Even today workers under the contractors do not enjoy such benefits. For bonus they get only a lump sum payment amounting to three to ten days' wages, as casual leave they get five days and three paid festival holidays.

Now there is one section of the vested interests who are dead against these cooperative societies and they are the private contractors. Not only have they lost the fat profits in the areas where the cooperatives are already functioning, they also know that very soon the cooperatives will spread to other areas totally eliminating the private contractors.

The Government itself has announced that in the course of the next three years the entire business will be handed over to the cooperatives. Apart from the 12 cooperative societies which have already been entrusted with the production and sale of toddy, in some other areas the cooperatives, through open bids at auctions have secured the contract for a limited number of shops. The cooperatives are spreading, the private contractors' field of exploitation is narrowing—to disappear very soon.

These contractors are also afraid that as the life of the tappers in the cooperatives improves, the workers under them will also get infected and will demand better wages and conditions.

And it is the wrath of these contractors that the Congress leaders echo when they slander the cooperatives.

But those who know anything about cooperatives have all praise for them. One such comment is that of Sri

T. S. Row of the Reserve Bank who visited some of the societies and paid glowing tributes to their efficient working.

This bitterness of the Congress leaders and contractors has come out in the name of prohibition struggle. All the leaders of the liberation struggle against the Communist-led Government are in this struggle too—powerful sections of the Congress and PSP, Christophers and leaders of Catholic Church.

They are resorting to virtual terror, setting fire to toddy shops owned by the cooperatives, looting them, attacking their staff, destroying spathes of palm trees which have been tapped, assaulting those who visit the shops, etc. Six shops have so far been burnt down, nearly two dozen shops have been looted, 46 persons have

been attacked and a jeep owned by the Parur Taluk Toddy-Tappers' Cooperative set on fire. Hundreds of people have been beaten up including toddy-tappers and employees of cooperatives.

The societies have incurred heavy losses as a result of all this: The Parur Taluk Society to the tune of Rs. one to Rs one-and-a-half lakhs, the Mukundapuram Taluk Society nearly a lakh of rupees, the Quilon Society nearly Rs. 50,000.

That this so-called temperance movement is just a facade, there is no doubt.

Why else are the picketing and struggle restricted only to the areas served by the cooperatives? Why are the 700 shops in the wet areas run by the contractors exempted from the movement and the wanton attacks? Do the Congress leaders believe that drinking is bad only when the

toddy comes from a cooperative society's shop?

The attacks are mainly in the Christian centres of the areas covered by the societies and the volunteers of the temperance movement are invariably drunk.

Why else are the arrack shops which sell liquor with a higher percentage of alcoholic content and which are in the vicinity of the toddy cooperatives exempted from picketing? Because the contractors own them! At least from one place it has been reported that the picketing took a truly comical turn where the volunteers offered people more money to go and drink in the arrack shops and not in the toddy shops.

That is the real face of the temperance movement. Behind the high talk of principle and prohibition, what is going on is a battle against the cooperatives, a battle in defence of the private contractors.

INFLATED ELECTORAL ROLLS STORY

THE charge of inflating electoral rolls which Opposition leaders are so loudly levelling against the Kerala Government is yet another instance of the respect they have for truth and decencies of public life.

They go on repeating that the electoral rolls have been manipulated to perpetuate Communist rule in the State without even once bothering to remember the fact that this allegation had been refuted not only by the Kerala Government but by the findings of the Chief Election Commissioner himself.

This is not a new charge that the Opposition is levelling, it is as old as the Opposition's campaign against the Communist Government itself.

As early as July 1956, Sri P. T. Chacko, Congress Leader of the Opposition, had flung this charge at a Press Conference in Trivandrum. Sri Chacko then said that the electoral rolls had been inflated very considerably during one year of Communist rule, that fictitious and unqualified and underaged persons had been included in the list while thousands of qualified persons had been excluded, that in a particular village 644 voters had been included who were not qualified while 700 qualified voters had been kept out, etc.

As a sort of final and damning evidence, Sri Chacko disclosed that the election official concerned had refused to register his own name in his own village. Poor Chacko! One would think the Communist Government had disfranchised Sri Chacko because the Communists did not like him.

Sri Chacko's bang, however, ended in a whimper when it was disclosed that his name was already registered in the Kottayam constituency and that he had not made any application for a change of registration of his name. So what Sri Chacko says boils down to this that unlike other ordinary mortals he wants to have two votes in two constituencies. In that case, instead of levelling charges against the Kerala Government, he should have asked the Election Commission to amend for his benefit, the law which says

that a person is entitled to be registered only in one constituency.

All this, however, has not prevented Sri Chacko or other Opposition leaders from continuing to bandy this charge about. And so, once again, here are the facts.

Immediately before the by-election in the Devicoolam constituency, the electoral rolls had to be revised—and revised in haste because the time was short.

It was then alleged that the electorate in Devicoolam had registered an abnormal increase. But when those people who made this charge were asked to produce specific instances of unqualified persons being included, there was no response from them. It had already become a habit with them to fling wild charges without bothering to prove them.

Even though they themselves did not make any effort to unearth them, there were plenty of facts—but they were facts which showed that the boot was really on the other foot.

During the preparation of the Devicoolam rolls, there were 10,419 claims and one objection filed before the revising authority. Of this, 9,622 claims were admitted. But what is really interesting is that 5,859 of these claims had been filed by agents representing the Congress and only 3,595 claims by agents representing the Communist Party and 965 applications by independent individuals. If the Congress charge that there had been inflation of electoral rolls is conceded the Congress itself, obviously, was more responsible for it than the Communist Party.

But enquiries showed that there had been no fictitious entries. And the by-election also proved it when only 170 challenges were recorded of which only 31 were bona fide, and there were 424 tendered votes.

When the electoral rolls of 1958 are compared with those of 1956, it is again seen that there is no abnormal increase.

The 1956 rolls contained 7,514,626 votes on the basis of which the 1957 General Elections had been held. The current rolls contain 8,196,474

votes—an increase of 9.07 per cent in two years, a annual increase of less than five per cent.

Apart from the fact that there is nothing abnormal about this, there is the verdict of the Chief Election Commissioner himself, who visited the State in connection with the allegation of inflated electoral rolls. What were his findings?

The Chief Election Commissioner conducted a sample survey and to him it did not appear as if there had been any large-scale or serious irregularities. He was also not satisfied that there had been any fictitious entries or enrolment of persons below 21. It appeared to him that the procedure followed by the registration officers and their assistants and by the revising authorities in dealing with claims was generally speaking correct.

His explanation for the increase was the unusually intensive activities of the political parties to include all persons who were duly entitled to be enrolled and who had perhaps been omitted earlier.

The Chief Electoral Officer also visited the State. He contacted some of the political leaders who had made the allegations. When they were asked to produce specific instances of unqualified persons being included, they could not furnish such cases nor any other to substantiate their allegations. But still the Congress leaders harp on this worn-out theme.

The story will not be complete without a tail-piece. With a view to avoiding allegations of fictitious or unqualified persons being enrolled, the Chief Electoral Officer directed that as far as possible claims and objections should be referred to the authorities in person.

Did the Congress jump at the idea? It should have if it were serious about its allegation. Not only did it not do any such thing, the Trichur District Congress Committee President objected to the proposal saying it would inconvenience the claimants!

Wild charges are flung and when they are asked to substantiate them, the Congress leaders remain silent. When proposals are made to obviate any malpractices, they oppose it.

INDIA'S HOSPITALITY GROSSLY ABUSED

The Dalai Lama decided last week that the time had come for him to speak up and to tell the world the "unvarnished truth" about Tibet. The hospitality and freedom of functioning accorded to him by the Indian Government were in the process grossly abused to malign and slander the People's Republic of China in a big way, unmatched so far by anybody except the Chiang Kai-shek rump and the American imperialists. The occasion of the press conference was utilised freely to advance ideas contrary to the well-known policies of the Government of this country, to preach hatred against a friendly Government.

THE Dalai Lama had these two months rested and pondered over his situation and it was all done obviously after so much deliberation and preparation that there could be no shadow of doubt about its aims.

One principal aim patently was to queer the pitch and foul the friendship between India and China beyond repair. For obviously if the wild and fantastic charges against the Central People's Government of China are given any credence and the historically baseless claims of an independent and sovereign Greater Tibet headed by the "Exile Government" now in Mussoorie are entertained to any extent then there is no alternative but a break between India and China, ending up in a grand world-wide crusade against our great neighbour, which may very well shape out into World War III.

The full dimensions of the sinister plot behind the Dalai Lama's escape to and stay in India, and the extent to which this country is sought to be involved in this plot, begin to reveal themselves only now.

D. R. Mankekar writing in Indian Express considers the repercussions of the statement to be "almost cataclysmic." "The Dalai Lama's claim... cuts at the very root of India's stand," he says, proceeding to ask: "Where does the Government of India stand (now) in regard to its own 1954 agreement with China?"

Facts of History

However much some people may try to wish it away Tibet's history is no Lama's secret. That the Tibetan and Han peoples had started developing close relations as early as the 7th century A.D., that in 1253 Tibet became a regular part of China; that in 1653 the title of the Dalai Lama was created and the functions, powers and organisation of the Kasha were defined by the Chinese Emperor—these are facts of history.

That the British imperialists after they had conquered India and entrenched themselves here started using our soil and resources to step by step penetrate, subjugate and try to detach from China the region of Tibet is history not so remote and forgotten. American imperialists too developed interest in Tibet during World War II and pursued the same aims.

These efforts became frantic when the imperialists realised that their puppet Chiang was doomed and no power on earth could prevent the forces of uncompromising national liberation from coming to full triumph and

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Rashtrapati's Intervention

THE Special Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* (June 18) has leaked out the Rashtrapati's letter to the Prime Minister which, the headline itself states, contains "criticism of the basic Government policies in regard to unemployment, education, food and industrial development."

The Rashtrapati has based himself on what is a very popular issue and which is causing deep national concern—the growing unemployment—both in urban and rural areas. However, the remedies he has suggested are the same which the vested interests, in land and industry, have been pressing, which the extreme Right, whether inside the ruling party or outside, has been championing, and which the Right-wing press has been trying its hardest to popularise.

First, the Rashtrapati has demanded that the "feasibility of postponing large development projects for the time being" be examined and this, in other words, means that the plans for achieving the economic independence of our country through rapid build-up of basic and heavy industries be put in cold storage.

Secondly, the Rashtrapati has suggested that "establishment of higher schools and colleges may be held up" in the name of preference for basic schools.

Thirdly, the Rashtrapati is against State trading in food-grains for it would result in "multiplying and aggravating difficulties."

Fourthly, he does not favour cooperative farming for he fears it will create "a psychological upset," on the

other hand he advocates "encouragement of existing large-scale farms and the opening of new farms," and all this in the name of increasing food production!

The economic crisis facing the country is so acute, the need for its objective analysis and the formulation of better, forward-looking policies for the Third Plan is of such decisive importance that it is sad to see that the Rashtrapati has thrown his entire weight behind the very reactionary policies that the extreme Right has been campaigning for and pressing upon the Government.

The oft-repeated criticism of our Party that the opponents of all that is progressive in the Congress and Government declarations are strongly entrenched in strategic places, stands vindicated once again, and the big question arises; what do the Prime Minister, the Government and the Congress Party propose to do about it.

Canal Waters

AFTER years of delay, World Bank President Black is not letting the grass grow over the Canal waters dispute. When he last visited Karachi and New Delhi, with his tentative scheme, Pakistan welcomed it but India was chary.

He has this week announced that USA, UK, Australia and Canada have agreed "in principle" to the \$1000 million (Rs. 850 crores) World Bank project, proposed to settle the Indo-Pak disputes.

It is a bigger project than suggested by India or even the one demanded by Pakistan. The key to the generosity of the World Bank and its imperialist-monopolist patrons lies in the fact that the gigantic project is meant to be used to get a whip-hand over the economies of India and Pakistan, and remain their arbiter for a long, long time. The Bank's plan involves not just replacement works but "substantial development projects for irrigation, water-storage and power." Under it an Indus Valley Fund would be set up to which all contributions would be made and which "the Bank will administer."

No details have been made public. Unofficial reports disclose that the Indian contribution will prove to be Rs. 80 crores, i.e. Rs. 20 crores more than what India had originally offered to pay as its maximum just share.

Again it is stated that the World Bank scheme will take ten long years to be completed which means that India would not be able to draw full supplies for the Rajasthan Canal by 1962 as intended and planned for.

The project is too big, the burdens on India too heavy and the risk too great, in signing an international water treaty with the World Bank as the permanent arbiter. India cannot afford just to drift into it. Here is an issue that calls for national vigilance and public discussion. When Parliament assembles in August it must demand a clear-cut

statement from the Government on this project.

American Aid

REUTER released on June 20 the May 4 testimony of Under-Secretary Dillon before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the USA will lend India \$200 millions (about Rs. 100 crores) during the last two years of the Second Plan. He also indicated that the sale of surplus US farm products to India would continue at the current average of nearly Rs. 110 crores worth annually. In addition, technical assistance at the rate of about Rs. 5.25 crores a year will also continue.

In a document submitted by Mr. Dillon it was stated that since 1957 the US has given India about \$1,700 million (nearly Rs. 850 crores). This includes sums under Mutual Security Programme, P.L. 480, Export-Import Bank and special legislation.

This US 'aid' of the past is a heavy burden indeed on India's shoulders and the way it has operated has caused wide-spread criticism.

Government circles estimate that for the Rs. 10,000-crore Third Plan roughly one-fifth would be needed as external finance. Besides these Rs. 2,000 crores, foreign loans amounting to nearly Rs. 500 crores will become due for payment.

These are colossal sums especially because they involve financial commitments to foreign countries, having its own serious implications.

Our Party and progressive circles have been persistently demanding a serious discussion and honest parliamentary probe into this whole business of US aid. The Government instead of paying due heed to this just national demand has decided to send next September Sri Morarji Desai to USA to negotiate loans and aid for the Third Plan!

U. S. and Pakistan

SOME very interesting revelations were made in the Foreign Relations Committee of U.S. Congress about U.S. Military Aid to Pakistan and its relationship to India, which is very much worth our patriotic circles to note and digest. U.S. Defence Secretary testified that U.S. military aid to Pakistan was "for defence against Russia and China."

At this Senator Gore commented "well, that may be your purpose but our official who is there with the programme says that the Pakistanis wanted it as armament against India."

McElroy protested, "Well, we don't agree with them." Senator Gore exposed the reality, "But you give it to them, nevertheless, and they are the ones who will use it, and not you... In other words, you give them the aid for one purpose and they accept it for another."

Only Masanis and Morarji can expect India to be so glib as to believe that the US must demand a clear-cut

statement from the Government on this project.

American Aid

REUTER released on June 20 the May 4 testimony of Under-Secretary Dillon before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the USA will lend India \$200 millions (about Rs. 100 crores) during the last two years of the Second Plan. He also indicated that the sale of surplus US farm products to India would continue at the current average of nearly Rs. 110 crores worth annually. In addition, technical assistance at the rate of about Rs. 5.25 crores a year will also continue.

In a document submitted by Mr. Dillon it was stated that since 1957 the US has given India about \$1,700 million (nearly Rs. 850 crores). This includes sums under Mutual Security Programme, P.L. 480, Export-Import Bank and special legislation.

This US 'aid' of the past is a heavy burden indeed on India's shoulders and the way it has operated has caused wide-spread criticism.

Government circles estimate that for the Rs. 10,000-crore Third Plan roughly one-fifth would be needed as external finance. Besides these Rs. 2,000 crores, foreign loans amounting to nearly Rs. 500 crores will become due for payment.

These are colossal sums especially because they involve financial commitments to foreign countries, having its own serious implications.

Our Party and progressive circles have been persistently demanding a serious discussion and honest parliamentary probe into this whole business of US aid. The Government instead of paying due heed to this just national demand has decided to send next September Sri Morarji Desai to USA to negotiate loans and aid for the Third Plan!

U. S. and Pakistan

SOME very interesting revelations were made in the Foreign Relations Committee of U.S. Congress about U.S. Military Aid to Pakistan and its relationship to India, which is very much worth our patriotic circles to note and digest. U.S. Defence Secretary testified that U.S. military aid to Pakistan was "for defence against Russia and China."

At this Senator Gore commented "well, that may be your purpose but our official who is there with the programme says that the Pakistanis wanted it as armament against India."

McElroy protested, "Well, we don't agree with them." Senator Gore exposed the reality, "But you give it to them, nevertheless, and they are the ones who will use it, and not you... In other words, you give them the aid for one purpose and they accept it for another."

Only Masanis and Morarji can expect India to be so glib as to believe that the US must demand a clear-cut

P. C. SEN STICKS TO HIS GUNS

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Congress ministers in other States have much to learn from West Bengal's redoubtable Food Minister, Sri P. C. Sen.

The food position under his dispensation has steadily deteriorated since 1947 and, for some years now, a food crisis has become an annual feature.

IN order to "prove" this new "discovery", he flaunted "statistics", which he has always up his sleeves, and complained that he could not understand why a hue and cry should have been raised that the Government's food policy had failed and that a famine was impending.

Then he switched on to beating his own drum. "Why", he asked, "should people forget that when I took over as the State's Food Minister (in 1947), there was statutory rationing in Calcutta and that the weekly ration per head then was one seer of rice and 12 chhataks of wheat?" (The weekly ration under modified rationing now is supposed to be 1-1/2 seers of rice and 1 seer of wheat).

It is, indeed, a pity that the people of West Bengal have failed to recognise the worth and achievements of the man who presides over the destiny of the State's Food Department!

The rank-and-file members of his own party also seem to have gone astray. Several Congress M.L.A.s recently wrote a joint letter to the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, asking him to convene a meeting of the Congress Assembly Party on June 17 to discuss the rapidly worsening situation in the State.

The request was, of course, curtly turned down. At a general meeting of the Congress-controlled Howrah Municipality on June 19, a resolution was unanimously adopted, drawing the Government's attention to the acute distress of the people in the district due to non-availability of rice in the open market and the supply of the

most astounding claim that "the poorer sections are happy" because they were getting their requirements from the Government shops at fixed prices!

In a famine, he observed in a philosophic way, poor people died. But none had died of hunger so far; neither had there been any complaint from the poorer sections regarding scarcity of food. It was only the richer sections who were grumbling, he asserted.

NOTES From Facing Page

1. Economic aid to India, to get at the Indian economy.
2. Military aid to Pakistan, to threaten Indian security.
3. World Bank Plan for Canal Waters to get Indo-Pak economies into its noose.
4. UN or other suitable agencies for "peaceful settlement" of the Kashmir problem.
5. Realisation of Indo-Pak mutual Defence Pact with the Baghdad Pact on one side and the SEATO on the other.

AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

DURING the congressional testimony on May 13, Acting Secretary of State Dillon revealed another part of the US plan vis-a-vis India and Pakistan. He stated, "settlement of the Kashmir question would be greatly facilitated by the settlement of the Indus Water dispute. Everyone is in accord with that." Answering Senator Sparkman he said that Pakistan had given "some advance assurances to the World Bank" and that "it would be certain to accept the plan."

From what we have written above, the advance of the US tentacles are clearly visible.

— P. C. JOSHI
June 22, 1959.



View of Protest Demonstration of Famine Resistance Committee in Calcutta on June 20. Photo: Shambu Banerjee

worst quality rice through the ration shops. The resolution urged upon the Government to take immediate steps to ease the situation.

The Calcutta Corporation, which is also controlled by the Congress, passed a resolution on June 19, which was sponsored by the ruling party and stated that in the absence of proper application of control measures and imperfect action of the Enforcement Branch Police, hoarders and profiteers had taken fullest advantage of the rapidly deteriorating situation.

It requested the Government to form an independent tribunal to enquire into the causes of the worsening food situation and fix responsibility on the persons concerned.

The State Food Minister, thus stands condemned by his own party men. The Centre too does not seem to attach any importance to his tall claims. Otherwise, the Union Food Secretary would not have come to Calcutta to discuss all aspects of the State's food position with the Cabinet.

The result of the talks, which went on for six days behind closed doors, is not yet known. But, from indications available from different sources, it appears that the main points of the "new" Food Plan of the West Bengal Government will be:

1. Supply by the Centre of additional quantities of food grains over and above 950,000 tons, the State's earlier estimated deficit.
2. Withdrawal of price-control on fine and medium varieties of rice, now selling at Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 a maund (the maximum controlled price fixed by the Government is Rs. 21.60 per maund).
3. Sri P. C. Sen gave a hint about this measure when he told Press reporters on June 19 that "retail price controls on rice have not succeeded anywhere in the world". And when asked why the Government had not withdrawn its order then, he replied: "that is the problem before us".
3. There will be no State wholesale trading in rice.

In course of his talk with pressmen, Sri Sen categorically ruled out this measure as "impracticable in the present circumstances."

This "new" Plan is, thus, an open and unashamed surrender to the hoarders and profiteers. It seeks to leave the entire wholesale trade in their hands and to legalise blackmarket prices.

But the people are in no

mood to accept this. An indication of the depth and extent of their resentment against the Government's food policy was provided by the broad response to the call of the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC) to observe June 15 as Protest Day and to organise protest demonstrations on June 20.

PEOPLE'S RESPONSE

Mass rallies, demonstrations, mass deputations and squatting took place all over the State. A series of street-corner meetings were held in Calcutta on June 21 in preparation for the Statewide general strike and hartal of June 25.

The present food movement has revealed the anti-democratic and disruptive policy that the PSP leaders in this State have been pursuing since they treacherously broke away from the PIFRC in September 1958.

They are now virtually supporting the West Bengal Government's food policy. They maintain that the State's food crisis is due more to departmental bungling than to the Government's policy. The remedy, according to them, therefore, lies in the food administration in West Bengal being taken over by the Centre!

Little wonder that they have opposed the proposed general strike and hartal on the plea that "the question today is how to supply food to the people, and not to demonstrate popular resentment by a conventional method!"

The PSP leaders are no doubt echoing the voice of big business. The presidents of three Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Calcutta issued a joint statement on June 20, asking the citizens not to participate in the general strike because "such action would not only cause inconvenience to the citizens but hamper production, affect supply of goods and thus frustrate the very object of the strike by further worsening the food situation."

Food, however, has become such a burning issue that the PSP leaders have been forced to launch a "mass campaign" to popularise their demand for the Centre's intervention.

At the same time, they are surreptitiously making attempts to drive a wedge in the PIFRC and to provoke disturbances during the general strike.

But the people of West Bengal will not tolerate such

dirty tactics. If the PSP leaders persist in their disruptive policy, they will be only digging the grave of their party in West Bengal.

A charge-sheet is being drawn up against the Congress Government in West Bengal by the State Council of the Communist Party.

Giving this information, Comrade Jyoti Basu, Secretary of the Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, stated on June 16 that the charge-sheet would be shortly placed before the people for their verdict. A copy of it would be sent to Prime Minister Nehru and he would be asked to give his opinion on what the discontented people of West Bengal should do under the circumstances.

This question had been sharply posed before the people of this State, Comrade Basu pointed out, after the Prime Minister had made the observation, in relation to Kerala, that if people's discontent against a State Government continued to mount, they had the right to start a movement to unseat the Government without waiting for the next general elections.

"In order to remove a Government", Comrade Basu commented, "we wait till the general elections. Meanwhile we organise and lead peaceful mass movements on specific issues and demands. At the same time, we support those measures of the Government that are in the interests of the people."

But, in Kerala, he said, the opposition parties, particularly the Congress, had, with the blessings of the Congress High Command, launched a struggle to overthrow an elected and constitutionally formed Government. Indian democracy, parliamentary methods and the ideal of a secular state were now at stake there.

The Kerala Congress had drawn up a so-called charge-sheet against the Kerala Government the details of which were not yet known. But whatever this charge-sheet might be, he emphasised, it will pale into insignificance when the formidable charge-sheet against the Congress Government in West Bengal was placed before the people.

"Then Pandit Nehru will have to give a categorical answer to this crucial question: Is the path that we want to follow the right one for preserving and strengthening India democracy or does he approve of the methods adopted by the opposition in Kerala?" he concluded.

DEVOTED FIGHTER IN CAUSE OF COMMUNISM

TRIBUTES TO COMRADE FEROZE DIN MANSUR

I write these lines in great sorrow and pain. For the death of Comrade Feroze Din Mansur, at Sheikhupura in Punjab (Western Pakistan) on June 12, 1959 means the passing away of an outstanding Communist, anti-imperialist fighter, revolutionary and brilliant Marxist scholar and writer from Pakistan.

I HAVE no doubt in my mind that Comrade Mansur's death has been hastened by the vile and persistent persecution which he had to face at the hands of the reactionary rulers of Pakistan right from the founding of Pakistan in 1947. Out of these almost twelve years Mansur was behind prison-bars for not less than seven, may be even more.

The latest incarceration came at the time of the general round up of all Communists, democrats and progressive minded people when the present military dictatorship installed itself in power—even though at this time Mansur was already bed-ridden, suffering from acute asthma.

Feroze Din Mansur was swept into the national movement in the 'twenties during the non-cooperation and Khilafat movement. After the First World War the Russian Revolution and the upsurge of the Asian people—the Turks, the Iranians and the Chinese—Indian Muslims were greatly agitated over the onslaught of British imperialists against the Muslim lands of West Asia.

Many young men from the Punjab decided to step out of the country and join the Turkish fighters of freedom then fighting the British imperialists (who had armed and egged on the Greeks to invade Turkey) in Asia Minor under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

Mansur joined a batch of young men, crossed the North-West Frontier of India on foot, and found himself in Kabul—then under the anti-British, enlightened ruler King Amanullah. At Kabul, Mansur and his companions came into contact with Bolshevik revolutionaries and there decided to proceed to Tashkent in Central Asia, where a workers' and peasants' Soviet Government had been established.

From Tashkent, Mansur proceeded to Moscow, the heart of the Great Russian Revolution. Here he met Lenin. Shortly afterwards, he came back to Tashkent and became one of the students at the newly established University of the Toppers of the East.

MET LENIN

When Mansur returned to India—again via the NWF illegally—for this frontier was heavily guarded by the British, he was arrested and together with his two or three other companions sent to prison by the imperialists.

On his release after seven years, Mansur joined one of the revolutionary Communist groups—the Nawjawan Bharat Sabha—of which the veteran Punjab Communist leader Sohan Singh Josh was also a member. Later this group, combining with other Marxist groups became the nucleus of the Communist Party and the workers' and peasants' movement in the Punjab.

When the Communist Party of India was allowed to function somewhat openly in 1937, Comrade Mansur functioned as one of the members of the Punjab Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India.

Comrade Mansur made a

special study of the agrarian situation in the Punjab and was considered to be an expert in the Party on all questions relating to the Punjab peasantry. He was henceforth always a leading member of the Punjab Kisan Committee.

Of a scholarly bent of mind he also made a special study of the problem of Muslims in India. He was considered, even by his political opponents to have a deep understanding of Muslim culture and history. Reactionaries feared his pen; for with his deep knowledge of Muslim history, theology and literature, he exposed the false and reactionary interpretation of Islam by the so-called custodians of Islamic 'Shariat' (theological law).

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Even after the founding of Pakistan, he continued to write extensively against reactionary semi-religious movement whereby Muslim masses were made a tool of the imperialists and the Pakistani—exploiting classes. Comrade Mansur's book against the reactionary revivalist ideas of Maulana Maudoodi is a masterpiece of lucid argumentation.

He showed there how throughout history the struggle of the common Muslim people against their upper-class exploiters has proceeded, taking various religious and semi-religious forms, during the

medieval times. Even at present, in Pakistan, Islamic revivalism under various guises is used by the exploiting feudal and bourgeois classes to mislead the people and disrupt the unity of the democratic movement there.

When the Communist Party of Pakistan was formed in March, 1948, Comrade Mansur was again in the forefront. Even though from its very inception the Party had to face conditions of illegality, Comrade Mansur, braving all kinds of hardships and privations devoted all his attention to reorganising the peasant movement and the Communist Party in West Pakistan.

It was through his efforts and single-minded devotion that the Kisan Committee was organised in West Punjab, with its branches in at least eight districts of the province in 1950. He also helped to organise the Progressive Writers' Movement in Western Pakistan.

Comrade Mansur was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan. In March 1951, the Pakistan Government launched a general attack on the Communist Party and all progressive popular organisations. The Rawalpindi Conspiracy case was launched; workers, peasants, students, leaders and progressive writers were arrested all over Pakistan. Comrade Mansur was also detained.

After his release from prison after about one and a half years, he became the Acting

By
SAJJAD ZAHEER

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Pakistan. He did his best to reorganise the Party. But he was not left free for long. He was arrested and imprisoned.

When the writer of these lines met him four years ago at Lahore (July 1955), Comrade Mansur had been released only a few months earlier. Already in his fifties, I could see that his health had suffered greatly due to his repeated incarceration.

But his spirit was unbroken, his faith in Communism and his belief that the people of Pakistan would one day succeed in getting rid of their exploiters and Pakistan would free itself from the octopus grip of hated American imperialism, was firm and unshaken.

While his friends and comrades both in India and Pakistan would mourn his death and we would lower the Red Banner in honour to his memory, we at the same time will feel proud and inspired that the Communist movement in India and Pakistan could produce men of the calibre, the strength and character and single-minded devotion to the great cause of Communism like our dear departed Comrade Feroze Din Mansur.

(June 15, 1959)

A FOUNDER OF OUR PARTY IN PUNJAB

AFTER great sacrifice and suffering in the cause of democracy and socialism continuously for forty years Comrade Feroze Din Mansur, veteran Communist leader of Pakistan died at the age of fifty-seven in harness in the service of the people of Pakistan groaning under the jackboots of Military dictatorship of Ayub Khan.

After his release in 1924, Comrade Mansur became the editor of the Daily Congress which was being published

from Delhi where he worked for three years. His journalistic talents earned a good name for the paper.

He attended the 8th Session of the AITUC held in November 1927 at Kanpur. Comrades Baba Bhag Singh Canadian and Sohan Singh Josh had gone there from Punjab and participated in the session as delegates. They had decided to start Kirti the first Socialist monthly from Punjab in Urdu also.

They approached Comrade Mansur to take up the editorship of the paper to which he readily agreed. He came to Amritsar and brought out the first issue of 'Kirti' in February 1928. Later when this was banned he became the editor of 'Mazdoor Kisan' monthly, for which he worked till 1934. Comrade Josh was the editor of the Punjabi edition and the great martyr Sardar Bhagat Singh was its sub-editor. This paper became the rallying centre for those who were coming over to the socialist ideas.

He was the leading member of the Kirti Kisan Party and attended as delegate the first Conference of the All-India Peasants and Workers Party held in Calcutta under the Chairmanship of Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.

He played an important part in spreading Marxist ideas in Punjab through his writings and was an expert on the peasant movement. He wrote brilliant pamphlets which also built the movement.

He was member of the Pro-

vincial Committee of the Communist Party of India since its formation. He was arrested on June 1940, and detained under the Security Act during the war and was released in May 1942 along with other leaders.

He was very studious and worked for 12 to 16 hours a day continuously. He was fully conversant with Arabic, Persian, Urdu and English, though he used to write in Urdu.

After partition he took up arduous work in the Communist movement in Pakistan, being one of its top leaders. His life was a model of utmost sacrifice. Since he left home in 1934 he spent all his life either in jail or in the Party Headquarters.

I remember clearly the very difficult times through which he passed. It was difficult for the Communist workers even to manage food regularly. Many a time he was not able to get food regularly for two three days. But he fought against all these hardships and continued serving the Communist movement.

The Communist movement has lost a loyal soldier and the people of Pakistan a staunch fighter for democracy and defence of freedom.

By
HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET

State. Public Debt. Revenue. Rs. Rs. (in Crores) (in Crores)

Kerala	51.34	33.62
Madras	126.02	62.40
Mysore	101.59	50.97

This comparison is made only to convince the public that our debt position is in no way worse than that of our neighbouring States.

The scheme of financing various development activities of the Second Five Year Plan envisages the raising of 'open market loans' and 'loans from the Government of India'. The increased tempo of expenditure on various Plan schemes is met by raising such loans and the liability of the State is also increased accordingly. It is expected to go up from Rs. 29.72 crores as on 31-3-1957 to Rs. 53.44 crores (and not Rs. 54.44 crores as stated by Sri Sankar) as on 31-3-1960 and this represents the liability of the State in respect of open market loans and loans from the Government of India.

The moneys so raised and spent on development schemes have also increased our national assets considerably. During the period under review the total assets of the State are expected to increase from Rs. 65.41 crores to Rs. 98.40 crores (estimate). The rate of increase

of the liabilities of the State is matched by corresponding increase in the assets.

Further, let it be clearly understood that loans to co-operative societies are granted in accordance with the various Plan schemes approved by the Government of India and Planning Commission and in sanctioning such loans there is no question of any political discrimination. Interested parties in the State are day in and day out spreading the scandal about lavish loans to Communist-sponsored labour contract and toddy tappers' cooperative societies.

The truth is that Government are not giving any loans directly to these societies. Such societies are depending upon Co-operative Banks for their financial requirements. The provision included in the Revised Estimate for 1958-59 for advances to the State Co-operative Bank for giving loan facilities to labour contract societies was only Rs. 4 lakhs. As regards toddy tappers' cooperative societies, no such advance has been given to the Co-operative Bank for giving loans to them. The loud propaganda carried on by Sri Sankar and his colleagues is only based on fiction and not fact.

Another allegation made by the KPCC President is about the floating debt of the Government. The main reason for the apparently large floating debt of the Government is the purchase of rice for distribution in the State. The strain on the resources of the State consequent on the large outlay on the Plan has also contributed to the increase in floating debt. It is noteworthy here, as has been mentioned previously, that in the past two years the State sold only Rs. 152.51 lakhs worth of securities as against Rs. 470 lakhs budgeted for.

The short-fall in the sale of securities is made good to some extent by having recourse to the floating debt. Running down of cash balance is not inconsistent with the methods of finding resources for the Plan. Since the money is used for development programmes, the dwindling of cash balance need not at all cause any anxiety.

The charge that the present Government have spent about Rs. 20 crores for importing food grains is totally unfounded. Nor is the nature of allegation clear. The State Government have incurred a loss of about Rs. 92 lakhs during 1957-58 and 1958-59 by subsidising the sale of rice through fair price shops. In times of scarcity Government cannot but resort to the purchase and distribution of foodgrains. Part of the rice was supplied by the Government of India at prices fixed by them. The balance was purchased by Government at the lowest possible rates. Let there be no mistake about these facts.

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WILD CHARGES ABOUT STATE'S FINANCES

C. Achutha Menon Replies To KPCC President

Sri R. Sankar, President of the Kerala Congress Committee, on June 13 issued a 'sensational' statement practically alleging that the Ministry had brought the State to a position of bankruptcy. We print below the reply of Finance Minister C. Achutha Menon:

At the outset I wish to state that it is ridiculous that a responsible person like Sri Sankar pretends to have secret information about our State finances, when it is well known that figures about the assets and liabilities of the State are easily obtainable from the annual financial statement and Budget papers, which are supplied to all MLAs and to the Press.

Development Programmes

The first thing that has to be understood by every citizen of the State is that the increase in liabilities of the Government has been brought about by a large outlay on the development programmes of the State, which are all approved by the Central Government. This increase in liability certainly brings in its consequence tangible additional assets to the State.

And let it be clearly known that the increase in loan liabilities is not anything peculiar to Kerala. Every State in India is depending to a large extent on loans from the Government of India and from the open market for purpose of financing the development plans. Here again, while the public debt of Kerala is only about 150 per cent of our annual revenue, that of neighbouring Madras and Mysore States is about 200 per cent. The Budget figures as on 31-3-1959 (as per Budget estimate of 1958-59) are given below:—

Kerala	51.34	33.62
Madras	126.02	62.40
Mysore	101.59	50.97

This comparison is made only to convince the public that our debt position is in no way worse than that of our neighbouring States.

The scheme of financing various development activities of the Second Five Year Plan envisages the raising of 'open market loans' and 'loans from the Government of India'. The increased tempo of expenditure on various Plan schemes is met by raising such loans and the liability of the State is also increased accordingly. It is expected to go up from Rs. 29.72 crores as on 31-3-1957 to Rs. 53.44 crores (and not Rs. 54.44 crores as stated by Sri Sankar) as on 31-3-1960 and this represents the liability of the State in respect of open market loans and loans from the Government of India.

The KPCC President frets and fumes about loans to co-operative societies and he seeks to impress upon the public that crores of rupees have been squandered to favour Communist-controlled societies. For the information of the public, I wish to make it clear that only Rs. 43.78 lakhs is accounted for by way of loans to cooperative societies out of Rs. 7.32 crores disbursed as loans in 1957-58 and 1958-59 (RE).

The increase in the amount of loans sanctioned by Government during 1957-58 and 1958-59 is due to the fact that consequent on the formation of the Kerala Electricity Board the amount required for executing various electricity schemes is advanced by the State Government as loans whereas the expenditure was formerly accounted for under another capital head.

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the 10-rupee note



The Life Insurance Agent was surprised. Here was a young man, who had resolutely refused Life Insurance, asking for a plan which would provide an income for his wife. "What made you change your mind?" he asked.

"Well," the young man replied, "I have just got back from my native place. I took my baby boy there so that my mother could see her grandson. On the last day of our stay she went to her room and returned with a 10-rupee note. It was a present for the baby.

"And that 10-rupee note opened the flood-gates of memory. When my father died many years ago, he left two assets—a small cloth-shop and an insurance policy. My brother and I were too young to manage the shop and my mother couldn't either. So the shop closed down.

"The life insurance policy, however, has provided my mother with a regular income of about Rs 50 every month for the last 14 years and will continue to do so as long as she lives. With this money she has brought us up and helped to put us on our feet.

"Today, she lives with my brother and contributes to the home. This 10-rupee note is a symbol of her independence and self-respect. It represents the devotion of her husband expressed through Life Insurance, and I want to do as much for my wife and my child."

LIFE INSURANCE

—the day you insure you're secure

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For Delightful And Lasting Fragrance

USE

Kerala SANDALWOOD Soap

KERALA SOAP INSTITUTE, CALICUT
(A Kerala Government Concern)

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THE REAL UPSURGE

★ FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

COLUMNS and columns of the daily Press are devoted to the reporting of the "liberation struggle" that is on in Kerala. Picketings, arrests, demonstrations, meetings—everything is reported from every centre, even the demand for the resignation of the Ministry from the smallest panchayat is recorded. No struggle in free India has perhaps received such a wide coverage.

But there is something very big happening here in Kerala which rarely, if at all, finds space in the daily Press and that is the powerful movement which has been growing in support of the Communist Government.

Perhaps it is not news when lakhs and lakhs of people—workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, middle classes, writers, artists, students, teachers—rally to defend the Government.

Space will not permit even a listing of the places where meetings have been held—in the villages and towns, at the taluk and district levels—rallies which in many cases have been the biggest in the localities for many a day.

The reports presented here are not of such rallies. They are typical of the wide opposition to the present "liberation struggle" from neutral and even anti-Communist quarters.

Nairs Against Mannam

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the Commander-in-Chief of the struggle, usually talks on behalf of the entire Nair community. But the saner elements in the community have long been dissociating themselves from the adventure of the "Aacharya of the Community."

Reports have already been published in these columns of local Nair Service Society Unions opposing the launching of the struggle. Now they have begun moving into action.

The Nairs of Meenachil Taluk are organising a mammoth conference on June 28 "to protest against the overthrow agitation of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan in alliance with the Catholic Church." This decision was taken at a meeting of representatives of 42 Karayogams which also set up a committee with 15 members to prepare for the Conference.

One hundred and eighty-six Nair citizens of Thevalakkara have in a joint statement said that they are against the school-closure campaign which Sri Mannath Padmanabhan together with the Catholic Church has launched. The statement has appealed to the leadership of the Nair Service Society to withdraw from the agitation.

It is claimed that all Catholics and even all Christians are against the present Ke-

erala Government and that they are all participants in the "liberation struggle." Even here there is opposition to the agitation—though not so widespread yet.

Teachers of three Catholic Schools in Ulkkal which have been closed held a meeting and protested against the school-closure and declared their readiness to continue their services. Among them were 20 Catholic teachers, two of them nuns. They have informed the Assistant Educational Officer at Srikantapuram that since their schools are closed they are prepared to go anywhere and continue working as teachers.

The Ambalapuzha Taluk Christian Progressive Association has in a statement called for the defence of democracy and peace in Kerala.

The statement refers to the Statewide preparations that are going on for the struggle and says that volunteers are being organised in Catholic Churches, arms training is being given, weapons are being collected and in the name of their Church and faith, the believers are being armed. Christ's temples are being made into arms dens.

Christians Oppose Struggle

All this is being done with finances from the big landlords, capitalists and sale of American milk powder.

What are these preparations for, asks the statement and answers, to overthrow the Communist Government. And for what reason? In answer, the statement gives a record of the beneficial measures of the Communist-led Government and says, it is natural for the landlord-capitalist elements to oppose these measures.

But when Christian priests say that these measures go against God, they only expose themselves as representatives of the landlord-capitalist God. The majority of Christians will not have any faith in this God. Christ, the defender of the downtrodden, cannot but be happy at the activities of the Communist Government.

When the Catholic organ, DEEPIKA of Kottayam says that nuns, priests and bishops will all face sufferings and go to jail when it says that believers in their thousands will shed their blood, it is not difficult to understand the nature of the struggle they have planned.

The statement concludes with a call to Christians to defend democracy and peace in the State jointly with all progressive forces.

An appeal to the State Government to suppress all violent activities and pledging whole-hearted support for all measures the Government takes has been made by 23 leaders of various backward communities in a joint statement.

The statement said that the backward communities could not remain as mere onlookers

when such agitations are launched.

Among the signatories of this statement are a Municipal Councillor of Kozhikode, the President and members of the Director's Board of the Backward Christian Federation, leaders of various organisations of backward communities like the Kuravas, Pulayars, etc., and a member of the Mavelikkara D.C.C.

Prominent personalities belonging to all communities and various political affiliations have begun to jointly condemn the agitation and take steps to preserve peace and democracy.

A statement signed by 58 persons, calling for a Convention of Democrats against the unconstitutional struggle in Mavelikkara, said: We held different political opinions. But we cannot agree with the direct action that has been launched under the leadership of the Opposition parties to change this Government.

When there is the peaceful and democratic method of elections to change a Government, the Congress should not have adopted such violent and contemptible tactics. Prime Minister Nehru and Defence Minister Krishna Menon have openly criticised such methods. But the Samara Samitis are continuing the picketing of Collectorates and other Government offices, attacking police stations and policemen, etc.

If this struggle is allowed to continue it will paralyse the very developmental activities which the Central Government itself has evolved. Those who are concerned about national reconstruction cannot agree with such a struggle. Hence we think it necessary to hold a Convention of Democrats who oppose this struggle.

Among the 58 signatories are leading lawyers of the town, managers of schools, teachers, merchants, Municipal Councillors, the President and office-bearers of local Nair Service Society Unions, the President of the SINDP Union, the organisation of Ezhavas and the Presidents of a number of panchayats.

Another section which has determinedly moved into action is the writers and artists.

Writers Speak Up

A joint statement of a number of leading writers of Kerala had already been issued condemning the school-closure agitation. Since then more such statements have appeared.

Sri S. K. Pottakat, well-known short-story writer and President of the Kerala Kendra Kala Samiti, has called on Kala Samitis to hold meetings and organise cultural programmes to explain to the people the senselessness of the present struggle and its dangerous consequences.

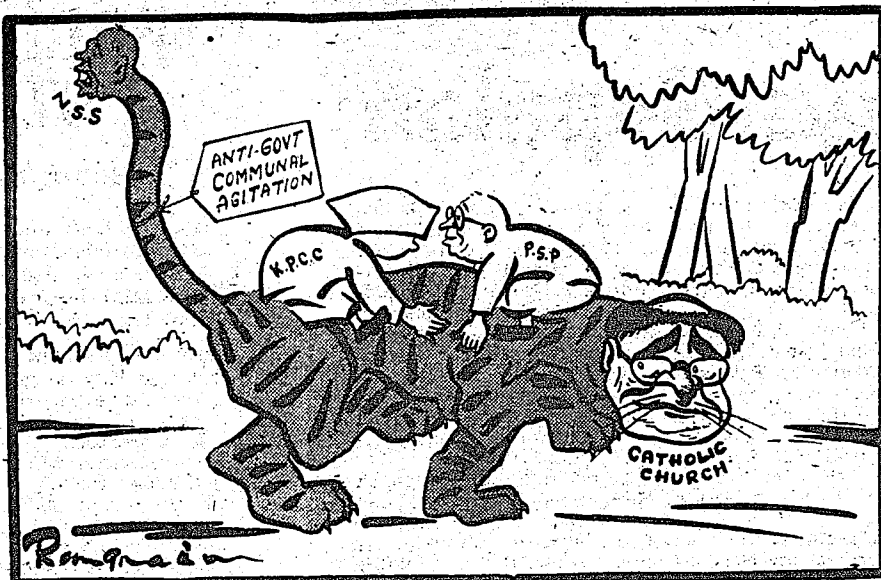
He says, in his statement, that the party that rules Kerala today has come to office winning a majority in an election conducted according to

the provisions of the Constitution. Opposition and communal leaders and some vested interests have joined together to throw out this Government. Speeches are being made, and slogans shouted which bring shame to our culture, to truth and decency. Non-party artists who raise their voice against this, are being attacked. In some places Kala Samitis have also been attacked.

What the Opposition has planned is a struggle to exploit all the worst in man. Even non-party writers and artists cannot remain silent in such a situation. The polluted atmosphere that exists is a danger to our younger generation.

Whatever the mistakes or shortcomings of the Kerala Government, in the matter of encouraging the arts and

★ SEE PAGE 12



Two Kerala wiseacres decide to ride the tiger.

Growing All-India Support

While a hypocritical clamour is raised about an oppositional "popular upsurge" in Kerala, it would do everybody—particularly the Congress High Command—good to see the flood of news that reaches our office of the demonstrations in support of the Kerala Government through the length and breadth of India.

FROM every corner of our country, which needs to be discovered again by some eminent personalities, rises a truly national slogan: "Hands off Kerala!"

Last week we printed reports from different States. And no sooner had we put the paper to bed, then fresh reports sprawled over the desk—impatient to be printed.

In Orissa the monsoons have descended with all their fury and yet the State Council of the C.P.I. was able to organise 20 big public meetings and 50 smaller ones. Over 20,000 leaflets were distributed and Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's pamphlet, published in a large Oriya edition, has sold briskly.

From June 9 a vigorous propaganda drive started in Cuttack for the public meeting on June 12. It was not surprising, therefore, that the citizens of Cuttack thronged there in their thousands on that day.

Sri Ramakrishna Pati presided over the meeting and delivered the key speech. Drawing from the experience of Orissa, he made a powerful case against the Congress greed for monopoly of power. It was this greed that led to the open alliance with the reactionaries both in Kerala and Orissa, he said.

Amidst deafening applause the meeting adopted a resolution greeting the valiant Kerala Ministry and pledging it the full support of the democratic forces in Orissa. A rather striking feature of this meeting was the participation in it of some well-known Bhoodan workers of the area.

Apart from Cuttack, an active campaign is reported from Ganjam District where Comrades Gurucharan Patnaik, Secretary of the Orissa State Council, C.P.I., and Chintamani Panigrahi, M.P., addressed large rallies at Behrampur, Konkara and Aska. Similar news has also come from Puri and Dhenkanal Districts.

Political circles in the State attached quite some importance to the fact that the

plotting to subvert the Indian Constitution and deprive the Malayalee people of their own tried and tested Government. This must be rebuffed and the Gujaratis must come forward as vigorously in defence of the Kerala Ministry as they had for the demand for a State of their own, Sardesai concluded.

The great success of the campaign in Ahmedabad must not be allowed to completely eclipse, however, the mass rallies and demonstrations which the Party organised at Porbander, Jamnagar, Kandla, Rajkot, Pallana, Bhavnagar and Bawda.

Far-Off Manipur Too

From far-off Manipur news comes of the all-Manipur State convention of the Communist Party at Imphal on June 10 which had as one of its main points on the agenda—how to support the Kerala Ministry. A detailed resolution was passed outlining the tasks, after a most thorough discussion.

Fortified by this discussion and resolution the Party members of the capital city of Manipur moved into swift action. Climaxing their work was the mass meeting on June 12. From this meeting a telegram of solidarity and warm greetings was sent to Trivandrum.

Apart from numerous local meetings, full reports of which are not yet available in Imphal, mention has to be made of the June 12 issue of the Party organ Anouba Manipur which covered two aspects—the achievements of the Ministry and the dangerously anti-democratic and anti-national character of the Opposition.

In Karnataka it was quite difficult to know to whom to give the palm for the Kerala Week activities—Bangalore or Mysore?

Being the capital we shall, without making any invidious distinction, start with Bangalore. The most widely used technique to go to the people with the facts on Kerala was the street-corner meeting. Supplementing this were the local meetings at Civil station, Subbongpet and Mallewaram.

On the basis of this spadework came the grand proces-

sion and meeting on June 16. The main speakers at the meeting were Dr. K. T. Behnan, Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya, Secretary of the Karnataka State Council of the C.P.I. and Com. V. K. Govindan. Emphasis in all the speeches was laid on the need to rise up in defence of the Indian Constitution and of the path chosen by the Indian people to reach their goal of socialism. In a literal sense, the speakers urged the defence of the Kerala Ministry was defence of India's future.

Competing neck-to-neck with Bangalore's mobilisation and meeting was the rally organised in Mysore on June 14. It is acknowledged by everybody that this was one of the biggest and most spectacular rallies that Mysore has witnessed.

The meeting was presided over by Professor L. Srikanataiah, member of the University Senate and the chief speaker was Comrade B. V. Kakkilaya. The major part of his speech concentrated on pointing out that at stake in Kerala were two fundamental principles.

First, did the people in any State of India have the right to elect a non-Congress and Communist Ministry which would be allowed to function? Second, if the ballot box was rejected by the Congress as the judge between parties, then was it not a call to violence as the only other way open? The Congress leadership has to answer these questions.

On June 13 and 14 big meetings were held at Cooloor and Bagepalli, addressed by Comrades N. L. Upadhyaya and Y. R. Satyanarayana, and distinguished by a lively cultural show and large-scale peasant participation. On June 14 at Tumkur town also a solidarity meeting was held, at which the main speech was delivered by Dr. K. T. Behnan.

We had already given last week some scattered reports from Madhya Pradesh. The big item this time comes from the capital, Bhopal. This city had only recently undergone the gruesome experience of hateful communal strife. To it, therefore, the dangers of the emergence of communal passions was only too starkly real. Equally for it the Kerala week campaign came as a cleansing wind.

The mobilisation began with a great number of meetings in the different wards of the city, which covered roughly some 7 or 8,000 people. Ready response was made to the call for funds. On June 15 a big procession was taken out in which it was a heartening sight to see Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs justly shouting the same slogans and moving shoulder to shoulder.

The final rally on June 16 was addressed by Comrades Homi Daji, M.L.A., H. K. Gupta, and Khandkar, Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh State Council of the C.P.I.

Stern warnings were delivered at the meeting to the Congress High Command not to foul the political traditions and atmosphere of the country, and specially not to encourage in any way the growth of communalism. A resolution of solidarity with the Kerala Ministry was unanimously passed amid thunderous applause.

Apart from meetings and processions a special feature

BRICKBATS FOR CONGRESS

Last week we published extracts from editorials of leading English dailies. Below we give extracts from editorials of some papers, both English and the regional language.

"ONE cannot envisage that the agitation will be confined to peaceful channels... From the speeches of the Congress leaders (which believes in non-violence as a creed) and their opportunist colleagues, the leaders of other parties, one can clearly see the signs of danger to peace.

"If untoward and violent incidents occur the major responsibility will have to be borne by these leaders of the Opposition. This factor cannot be denied... Responsible Congress leaders have said that the purpose of the 'liberation struggle' to be launched by the Opposition parties is to overthrow the Kerala Government and to bring in President's rule. The nation is anxiously watching where this 'liberation struggle' would lead to and what repercussions it would bring." (Pravartan, leading Kannada daily, Bangalore, June 10).

"SANGUINARY mischief set afoot in the bitterness of frustrations and undemocratic impatience with the law of the land, is taking its own course which is out of control, and is paving the path for imitative practice protected by precedent, and already threatened in other parts of India. It is thus that the Congress-led Opposition parties are zealously performing as the grave-diggers of Indian democracy..."

"When the Congress and other political parties, in unofficial but effective alliance with communal forces, resort to admittedly unconstitutional and pro-actively dangerous courses of action to oust the Ministry, the reasons must inferably be other than those flaunted before the public.

"The KPCC chief, Sri Sankar, has said that the direct action of the opposition parties will take 'all forms.' The statement contains germs of great trouble..." (Assam Tribune, Gauhati, June 13).

"The events in Kerala show that opposition parties have taken recourse not only to unconstitutional but violent means, as well. Demonstrations and attack on police

post by thousands of people armed with lathis, knives and other lethal weapons shows that objectives of the agitators are not limited only to opposition to Education Act and rallying public support. They are bent upon endangering law and order in the State so that it becomes difficult for the Communist Government to stay." (Rastradoot, Jaipur, June 16).

"THE Church bells installed for summoning worshippers to prayer, says a report, tolled incessantly as an emergency had arisen in a predominantly Church-studded colony. The church dignitaries could have waited till the morning to know who slipped from the heaven into the hell; but raised an alarm and a congregation of lawless persons armed not with books and candles but with knives and sticks went not to the churches to pray for the sinner but to the Police naqa to release the captive.

But, why did the Congress Mandal Presidents identify themselves with the incident? So, for the loss of life and property of the toddy-tappers' cooperative society, the Red Government is not responsible. If the dead had been Christians, the church bells would have tolled again not incessantly but intermittently." (Deccan Chronicle, Hyderabad, June 15).

"THE more you think about the agitation in Kerala, the more you find the position of the Congress ununderstandable, as also extremely regrettable. If the Praja Socialist Party, or the Jan Sangh or any other party, indulges in such absurdities, then we may keep quiet as these parties have never shouldered responsibility, and one should not expect responsible talk from them. But if the country's biggest, most organised and most respectable party also takes to that absurd and idiotic path, then what else can we do other than cry in sorrow..."

"Other Satyagrahas were against a particular decision of the Government. This Satyagraha in Kerala is not against a particular decision, but against the Government itself. It is (launched) with the declaration that 'with the power of satyagraha, we shall change the Government.' Despite the clear declaration of Jawaharlalji, that such an attempt is against Constitution and democracy, the announcement to 'finish off' the Government by satyagraha, has been made.

"It appears that the Kerala Congress is in revolt not only against the Kerala Government but also against Jawaharlalji. But this revolt is not just against Jawaharlalji, it is against the country's Constitution, it is against democracy. If by Satyagraha and 'market agitation' the Kerala Government can be changed today, then the Congress Governments in Bengal, Bombay, U.P., Punjab and other provinces can also be changed.

"One shall have to set fire to the country's democracy, one shall have to forget that there is a Constitution in this unfortunate country and that this Constitution has been accepted by the entire country..." (Mtlap, Delhi, June 16).

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No Popular Upsurge—Says Gopalan

NEW DELHI, June 19.

Coming straight to a large and expectant Press Conference from his meeting with Sri Krishna Menon, Comrade A. K. Gopalan was, naturally enough, immediately asked if he had gone to the Defence Minister to ask for military help.

EMPHATICALLY denying this, Comrade Gopalan stated he had gone to acquaint Sri Krishna Menon with the situation in Kerala and to discuss issues arising from it—immediately after the Press conference he was going to meet Pandit Pant for the same purpose. Earlier during the day he had seen the Vice-President.

He went on to say that he wished to thank the press generally for its stand on Kerala, leaving aside one or two dishonourable exceptions. He would like pressmen to visit Kerala and see things for themselves, he said.

Next, he read out extensive extracts from the Catholic and other non-Communist Malayalam papers to decisively prove his point that the violence of the Opposition in Kerala had been premeditated, had been incited and ed forward-to.

"It is sheer hypocrisy to talk now of non-violence, when everything has been done for the past three months to egg on the people to indulge in violence. The Congress may swear that its creed is non-violence. Its actions and deeds in Kerala are just the opposite. It is especially important for people outside Kerala to realise this."

Going on to give the genesis of the agitation, Comrade Gopalan made the important point that starting from different ends all the opposition—Nair Communalists, Catholic bishops, the Congress and

FSP leaders—had united on a single demand, namely, overthrow of the Kerala Ministry through an agitation, which to quote their words, would use "all forms of struggle." It is this that makes compromise impossible.

Asked if the Kerala Government would be willing to listen, at this stage, to advice and suggestions from the Congress or other parties, he replied "Certainly! The Kerala Ministry wants criticism and advice from the Opposition. It is they who refuse to cooperate, who refuse to come to meetings when invited even by the Chief Minister."

"It is the exact opposite of what happens in other States. There the Government with contempt and even when any struggle is launched for a specific demand, it refuses to see the leaders of the struggle. I had experience of this only recently in the Punjab."

A large number of questions were shot at Comrade Gopalan as to why Pandit Nehru had been invited to Kerala now, and what he expected would be the outcome of the visit.

The answers can be summarised under three heads. First, Pandit Nehru was being invited by the Chief Minister so that he could study the situation at first hand and not have to rely on reports. Second, as a Congress leader he could ask the Congress in Kerala to withdraw from a movement that was

communal and unconstitutional. Third, as Prime Minister and national leader he could call the Bishops to order and also get other parties together so as to calm down the situation.

Asked if the Kerala Ministry would accept the advice of Prime Minister Nehru, Comrade Gopalan stated that this was actually a matter to be decided by the Ministry but he was sure that it would be more than responsive to any reasonable advice and would be ready to see if any specific compromises or adjustments could be made.

"Obviously the Prime Minister cannot tender advice against the provisions of the Constitution of India nor can he expect the Ministry to give up its basic principles."

It was when a correspondent tried to suggest that the Opposition agitation had been a "popular upsurge" that Gopalan was justly indignant.

"What is a popular upsurge? Can any communal riot be called a popular upsurge? Ramnad riots leading to violent clashes between Thevars and Nadars were not a popular upsurge. Nor were the Hindu-Muslim riots at the time of partition. The same criterion must be applied to the dastardly game of the Catholic-Nair communal leaders and the frustrated Congress and PSP politicians."

"Besides, the crowds that come to Mannath Padmanabhan's meetings are mostly drawn by the spectacle of

charlots, peacock thrones, sword bearers and the like. People going in large numbers to see a circus don't get transformed into a popular upsurge."

Above all, he said, it had to be noted that just in this period the Communist Party was holding the largest meetings and demonstrations in the history of Kerala. The day after the firing the Communist Party held a meeting in Trivandrum to which 30,000 people came.

"Then again, if you take the record of bye-elections to the Assembly, the panchayat and municipal elections you will see that the Communist Party has been steadily increasing its strength and drawing away from the Opposition parties."

"This is only natural since all the measures and actions of the Kerala Government have been precisely the result of complying with the demands of the masses."

"In face of all this how can anybody talk of a popular upsurge?"

The Press wanted unanimously to know Gopalan's views on a judicial enquiry into the three police firings during the present agitation.

He stated that the obvious aim of those in Kerala who were now so vociferous in wanting such an enquiry, was to demoralise the police and administration. They had never asked for judicial enquiry into so many firings that had taken place in the past.

But much more important

was the fact that both the Government and the people in Kerala were quite clear that the firings were not unprovoked. From the newspapers, public rostrums and at Church meetings they had been hearing calls for violence against the Government. They naturally expected that the police would have to defend itself when this violence actually materialised.

In addition, the people in Kerala more especially, had before them the record of the Communist-led Ministry. It had enunciated a police policy which was unique as well as instituted a special Committee to examine the role of the police in a Welfare State.

In the two earlier instances of firing—at Chandanathope and Munnar—the Government had immediately instituted enquiries, before being asked by anybody. This was because, in those two firings the workers had been struggling for specific demands and there was not the general atmosphere of violence, which the Opposition had now generated.

The Conference ended on a rather hilarious note when Gopalan was asked why those inciting violence had not been arrested.

"Why" should we arrest them? Let them expose themselves. Besides, many newspaper editorials had urged violence. Also Catholic Bishops. Shall we arrest them also? Then there will be a great hue and cry. Liberty in danger will be shouted and Pasternak and Zhivago will all be brought into play. We are not going to be so foolish."

—M. S.

CHIEF MINISTER SPEAKS TO FOREIGN PRESS

★ From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM, June 19.

While speaking to some foreign correspondents here this morning the Kerala Chief Minister, Sri EMS Namboodripad, said that "I expect that Prime Minister will have discussions with various groups and parties here and I hope that he would use his good office to see that present controversies are settled."

THE Chief Minister was asked by the foreign correspondents, what hopes he has for some sort of compromise solution. His reply was, "That depends on the attitude of various parties concerned in the controversy. For our part, we are anxious to have all points of dispute settled through mutual discussion."

"It is, however, necessary that there would be initial willingness to have such discussions. There are certain groups which are bent on resorting to "direct action" unless and until we resign."

Another point of interest in the interview was the much talked about recruitment of special police. EMS Namboodripad disclosed that nobody had been actually recruited so far. Only lists were being prepared. As for allegation that Communists were being recruited for the special police, the Chief Minister pointed out that Section 7 of Rules for recruitment of special police stipulated that "individuals with pronounced

political bias including active political party workers who are not likely to prove helpful as special armed officers, should not be included in the list." The Chief Minister further explained to the foreign journalists that since special police had not yet been recruited, there was no question of their having been put into action.

According to an announcement made by the Kerala Government today, all normal facilities shall be given to all pressmen who have specially come to Kerala now to cover current events. Quite a good lot of representatives of Indian and foreign, mostly Western, press are already here. The Government announcement says "Chief Minister is glad to note that correspondents representing press outside Kerala are now in the State, watching and reporting developments of campaign of "direct action" launched against the Government by opposition parties. He is glad to assure all normal facilities to all such press representatives to cover the current events and happenings in Kerala."

DON'T MAKE A FARCE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY—GOPALAN TELLS PRESS & PUBLIC

★ From Gerald Pereira

BOMBAY, June 18.

Comrade A. K. Gopalan addressing a meeting of over 40,000 people on the Chowpatty sands, the very sands where Maharattas had demonstrated their anger against Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil three years ago, declared amidst thunderous applause, "We will remain in power and rule Kerala for three years more because the people want us, in spite of the 'remove or resign' agitation by the communal forces and the defeated political parties."

HE called upon the citizens of this great City to stand solidly by the Kerala Government because "when tomorrow Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti becomes the ruler, these very reactionary forces will be fighting against you." And the response came soon, when the leaders of the Peasants and Workers Party, Lal Nishan Group, Revolutionary Communist Party and others with one voice promised their whole-hearted support and cooperation in crushing the reactionary and communal agitation.

The meeting was organised by the Bombay Committee of the CPI and was presided over by Comrade S. A. Dange, the leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha. The city has observed a 'Kerala Week' inaugurated by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodripad on June 7 last. Over 15 meetings were held in various parts of the city attended by thousands of people, and the message of the people's rule in Kerala has already reached the remotest nook and gully.

A colourful procession shouting 'Kerala Sarkar Zindabad' earlier marched from Lalbaug Maidan to the Chowpatty.

In the afternoon, Comrade A. K. Gopalan addressed a press conference where he was put to severe cross-examination by the representatives of the fourth estate. Superb intelligence and thunder-like voice were in prompt action, and Comrade A. K. Gopalan answered all the questions, not leaving a single one. When a correspondent suggested, "Why don't you set a good example by resigning, if you are sure to win the re-elections", Com. Gopalan retorted, "We don't want to set a bad example by resigning when we hold a majority in the Assembly and enjoy mass support".

PEOPLE MUST JUDGE

Comrade Gopalan told the reporters, "It is for the political sagacity of the Indian people to draw their inference as to the forces behind this 'remove or resign' movement in Kerala. Democracy is in peril, theocracy is on the march; secularism is being assailed, communalism is making headway in political costumes."

"The constitution is under fire from the leaders of a party which played a great role in making it. Chaos, as a means of frightening the Government is a drastic method adopted by Mannath Padmanabhan, Pattom Thanu Pillai, P. T. Chacko—the Treemortly—notwithstanding the sanctimonious non-violent protestations. It is a paradox of history that the Congress and PSP in Kerala are destroying the Constitution and those who are always accused of not respecting the Constitution, namely the Communist Party, has to champion it."

Gopalan further said, "The ruling party in the Centre encourages the opposition in Kerala to create trouble, and on the pretext of breakdown of law and order, interfere in Kerala and bring about President's rule. This tactic, if it is used, will not only become undemocratic but also will be the mockery of Parliamentary democracy."

Comrade Gopalan also stated to the pressmen, "The Indian Constitution lays down conditions for forming and changing the Governments in the Centre and the States. Elections and vote of non-confidence are the only means allowed by the constitution. Direct action and civil commotion are not mentioned therein. The proclaimed programme of the Opposition to overthrow the Kerala Government is that of Ayub Khan, and not that of parties that believe in democracy."

In the Chowpatty meeting which was largely composed of the middle-class, Comrade AKG lashed out at Pandit Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi for calling the agitation in Kerala a popular upsurge."

The Roman Catholic church came under heavy fire of the Communist leader, for interfering in political agitation and thereby infringing the Constitution. The Church leaders in their congregation, not only rouse the fanatic communal passions but also bring in the fear of God in the minds of the common Catholic faithful.

"Kill an ordinary Communist, and you go to heaven; if you kill a Communist M.L.A., you will get a better place; but if you kill a Communist Minister, you will get still higher place in heaven," this is being preached in Kerala by the priests, said Comrade Gopalan.

However, he stated to the cheering crowd, that "even the Catholic who today is marching in the procession and runs to the Church when the bell tolls because of fear, will be voting for the Communist Party, when he knows that even God will not come to know whom he has voted."

Com. A. K. Gopalan also lashed his whip at the rabid communalist leader Mannath Padmanabhan. "This gentleman," said Com. AKG "who is pompously marching with a sword in a gorgeously decorated chariot, with horses and elephants, and staging Tamashas, and gathering some 20,000 to 30,000 people, is the very man who was supporting the pro-British Maharaja regime and the Imperialism, which the people of Travancore were fighting for freedom." Even the Travancore Maharaja did not go about in such a pompous manner.

"This Mannath only talks of NAIR. If you talk of freedom, he will ask, 'freedom for Nair?'; if you talk of development of Kerala, he will say, 'Nair development?'. But even then, he does not support and stand for

all the Nairs. He supports the Nair-manager, not the Nair-teacher; he supports the Nair-landlord, not the Nair-peasant; he supports the Nair-capitalist, not the Nair-worker; and this Mannath is the leader of the whole 'Liberation movement'."

This whole so-called liberation movement is supported by the exploiting section which has been hit by our legislation. A large number of school-managers, toddy-tapping contractors, road-contractors, landlords, rich peasants, and Nair-Catholic-Muslim fanatic communalists are the people who support this agitation.

Comrade Gopalan made a bitter attack on the Congress party. "From Karachi to Nagpur, the Congress is only passing resolutions, and here is a government in Kerala which has passed land reforms, ceilings on lands, formed cooperatives and adopted other legislations."

"This policy of the Congress," A. K. Gopalan said "is unpatriotic, anti-national, and not of national reconstruction but of national destruction."

Comrade S. A. Dange who presided over the huge meeting after fully justifying the firing in Kerala, categorically stated, "If firing is necessary for safeguarding the rights and interests of the peasants and workers and other working sections of the people, then we shall put the full force of the State against the landlords and capitalists"

DANGE SPEAKS

"In order to please the landlord-capitalists and the communalists, we are not prepared to change the laws passed for the benefit of the peasants, industrial and agricultural workers, teachers and others", said Comrade Dange.

In a speech full of humour and sarcasm, and marked with applause and cheers from the crowd, Dange stated that socialism cannot come without a struggle, and the agitation in Kerala is taking the shape towards military dictatorship.

Chiding Nehru who always boasted that Karl Marx is outmoded, Comrade S. A. Dange emphatically declared that Karl Marx has been proved fully correct in Kerala. The people can come to power through the ballot box, but when they pass laws for the benefit of the people and try to change the society, then the capitalist and landlords will oppose them, and the people will have to resist and fight.

The meeting was also addressed by N. D. Patil, leader of the Peasants and Workers Party, S. K. Limaye, leader of the Lal Nishan Group and Krishna Desai, the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India. They all pledged their support for the Government of Kerala. Com. P. P. Sanzgiri, the Secretary of the Bombay Committee of the CPI also addressed the meeting.

The previous night, Comrade A. K. Gopalan spoke in a meeting at the Napoo Gardens which was mainly composed of Malayalees. It was presided over by Prof. Doraiswamy and was also addressed by Comrade B. T. Ranadive.

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INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

GENEVA ADJOURNMENT

AFTER 41 days of talks, the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva adjourned on June 20, to resume its deliberations on July 13.

The 58-word communique reiterates the need for "further discussion and negotiations", and announces the date of the next meeting.

The imperialist Press is in a great hurry to prove that all that the Geneva Conference has achieved is "an exercise in futurity" (Time, June 22). An attempt is thus being made to undermine the very idea of holding top-level talks for easing the international tension—the idea which has gripped millions in all countries.

However, the fact is that despite all differences and difficulties, despite all the obstructionist tactics adopted by the Western Powers, the Geneva Conference did achieve significantly positive results.

The first such result was that after years of cold war in which the Western Powers had stubbornly refused to recognise the reality of the present European situation, at Geneva they sat with the Soviet Union to consider the most urgent international issues, with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany taking part in the meeting on an equal footing.

The most unrealistic stand of ignoring the existence of two German States, was, in fact abandoned by the Western Powers at Geneva.

Secondly, despite the West's clinging to its "package", on a number of questions the differences in views of the Western powers and the Soviet Union have narrowed down. Reducing the armed forces and prohibiting the deployment of atomic and rocket weapons in West Berlin as well as agreement on the need for setting up an all-German Committee with the German Government for the purpose of promoting rapprochement of the two German States, are two instances of this.

What was then, the main stumbling block at Geneva? According to the Western Press, it was the time-limit set by the Soviet Union for ending the West's occupation rights over

Berlin. Actually the opposite is true.

Time and again the Western Powers have shown themselves to be most allergic to fixing any time-limit to their occupation of the German territory of West Berlin. Time and again, the Soviet Union has stated its willingness to discuss the necessary time-limits provided the basic questions of principle—the ending of the occupation status of West Berlin and the signing of a Peace Treaty with Germany—were agreed upon.

What then, does the West's "sensitivity" to anything but an indefinite stay in West Berlin mean? In fact, the only "practical" proposal which the West at Geneva made in this connection, was its demand to confirm its "right" to perpetual occupation of West Berlin. And if this demand is not accepted, there will be no summit meeting either—such is the line of Western propaganda.

Clearly, if there was an ultimatum given at Geneva, it was from the West, from those who want to continue the present state of East-West tension. Hence, their propaganda today is aimed at undermining people's faith in any kind of East-West negotiations.

However, despite their calculated talk about the "futility" of top level East-West Conferences, world public opinion continues to look forward to the resumption of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference.

DANGER IN INDO-CHINA

OMINOUS clouds are hovering over the Indo-Chinese peninsula. While the menace of civil war through the activities of the U.S.-stooge Phou Sannikone's government is assuming serious proportions, the British Government has rejected India's proposal to reconvene the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos.

The British Government in its reply to Prime Minister Nehru has only reaffirmed its previous stand that the International Commission in Laos should not be reconvened unless it was approved by the Royal Laotian Government.

THE REAL UPSURGE

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

culture and in the matter of helping artists and writers, this Government has taken better measures than any other Government.

The Opposition, says Sri Pottekkat, will not be able to mobilise the artists of Kerala for its cultural programmes against this Government.

A number of leading writers from all over Kerala met in Kottayam on June 13 and discussed what the attitude of writers should be to those who are trying to paralyse education. In very strong language they criticised the school-closure campaign which goes against all human values.

After the discussions, a resolution was adopted categorically declaring that education in the State would not be allowed to be paralysed.

Later a public meeting was held presided over by Sri M. K. Kumaran, M.P. Pon-

kunnam Varkey, K. Damodaran, Vayalar Rama Varma and M. S. Devadas addressed the meeting.

Posters had been put up all over the town personally attacking Sri Ponkunnam Varkey who had taken the initiative to call the conference.

Thirty-four well-known persons in the art and cultural world in Alleppey District have issued a joint appeal asking all artists and cultural workers to meet the serious challenge that has been flung at Kerala culture.

Condemning the rousing of communal passions, closure of schools and the degenerate slogans that are being shouted, the statement says that this attack on culture must be defeated. We have to wipe out this trend so completely that it will not rear its head again, concludes the statement.

The International Commission was formed to supervise the implementation of the Geneva Agreement in Laos. The Laotian Government tore up the Agreement and refused to allow the Commission to get back to work. Now the British Government sanctions this stand of the Laotian Government. In other words, the jury must not even be asked to consider its verdict until the accused himself wishes to be convicted. Is that the British sense of law?

Meanwhile, the Royal Laotian troops armed with U.S. weapons are encroaching on the border areas of North Vietnam. Fighting is also continuing in the South East of Xieng Khoang province between the Royal Laotian troops and the Pathet Lao fighting units. As if according to a plan, units of the Royal Cambodian armed forces belonging to the Sub-division of Takeo province were attacked four times by South Vietnam troops who had penetrated into Cambo-

dian territory from the Chaudoc province of South Vietnam between June 7 and 11. Thus, a dangerous state of tension in the whole of Indo-China is being created.

The Royal Laotian Government, is already bent on expanding the civil war. In that, it is loyally carrying out the dictates of its U.S. masters. No wonder then, that a spokesman of the U.S. Government, while referring to Laos, on June 14, had said that the U.S. was "satisfied" with the current developments in Laos.

More. The United States and other Seato countries are today preparing to drag Laos into Seato. They are watching for a pretext for introducing their armed forces into Laos in order to totally replace the patriotic people, install a full-scale military dictatorship and provoke war against Laos' neighbouring countries.

This is the only meaning of the statement of Seato's Secretary-General, Pote Sarasin, on June 9, that Seato was "extremely concerned" for the "security" of Laos. And this is the only meaning of the massive U.S. "aid" to Laos, which, even according to a U.S. Congressional Sub-Committee's report

(published on June 14) was more than the country's economy could absorb—158 million dollars in defence spending alone given since 1955—resulting in inflation and doubling of the cost of living.

The Government of India has so far shown commendable initiative in the matter by its letters to the Geneva Conference Co-chairmen urging a reconvening of the Commission. This was a welcome response to the letters sent by North Vietnam Premier, Pham Van Dong.

While exerting maximum pressure on its Commonwealth partner to adopt a more reasonable posture, the Indian Government should consult with the Soviet Union (the other Geneva Co-chairman) and Poland (India's colleague on the Commission) to see if some short-cut cannot be found. It has been said by some experts that India as chairman could re-assemble the Commission, despite the objections of Canada (the other member on the Commission) or Britain. This is a way worth exploring, since the Laos situation prohibits delay if peace in the entire region is not seriously to be threatened.

—Raza Ali

INDIA AND THE YOUTH FESTIVAL

WITH the approach of the World Youth Festival, news is appearing in the Press about the Congress boycotting the Festival. The arrival from abroad of the Congress Youth leader and the Indian President of WAY, is followed by the announcement that the Bharat Yuvak Samaj (BYS) has decided to withdraw from the Indian Coordination Committee for the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students. It had joined in May (as a co-convenor of the meeting) after obtaining written permission from Prime Minister Nehru.

What has produced this sudden somersault now? Where is the policy of the Youth Department of the AICC drifting, under the presidency of Smt. Indira Gandhi?

It may be recalled that about two months back, the International Festival Committee had sent a cable, requesting five national organisations—the AICC Youth Department, BYS, NUSI, AIYF and AISE—to take the initiative in preparing for the Festival in India and for sending a representative Indian delegation—that could include organisations other than the above-mentioned ones—to the Vienna Festival.

Even then the Youth Department of the AICC did not officially announce its position, though it was reported to have sent circulars to its branches against participation in the Festival.

Hence, the remaining four organisations, requested by the IFC, came together and contacted various other youth organisations in the country. A meeting was eventually held on May 4, and an Indian Coordination Committee for the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students was formed under the chairmanship of Sri Gopal Sastri, Secretary of the BYS. Eleven youth organisations had participated in this meeting, while two joined the Committee afterwards.

The formation of this Coordination Committee was greeted with enthusiasm by a large number of Youth organisations

throughout the country. At the same time it set some individuals working. Representing in fact fake organisations, they called a meeting on June 19, to form a parallel Festival Committee.

Strangely enough, although the AICC manifested no "interest" in the formation of the Coordination Committee, the sponsors of the June 19 meeting appeared to have had a better luck. The letter sent out by them indicated that they had the blessings of no less a person than the Congress President Smt. Indira Gandhi herself. Her Private Secretary Sri Bhagwat Jha Azad, is reported to have graced the occasion by his presence at the meeting as the Congress President's personal envoy.

These "sponsors" have formed a Committee to investigate into the Festival and to "report" by June 25, after which, they would make up their minds about their participation in the Festival.

There are more than enough indications to show that this is nothing else than a shabby attempt to hoodwink the Indian Youth, a clumsy manoeuvre to prevent its participation in the Festival.

What actually needs investigation are the following facts:

1) Why, did the BYS, which had joined the Coordination Committee, with the written permission from Pandit Nehru, suddenly decide to withdraw?

2) What role, the Indian President of the American-sponsored WAY, had in influencing the decision of the AICC along the lines of the WAY—that is along the lines of the Western aggressive circles?

3) What do the Press reports of talks at the AICC headquarters between Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sri S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, about so-called "interesting protocol problem" mean? Whose is the discovery that "it would not be appreciated" that "it would not be appreciated" by Austria if India sent delegates to the festival when Austrian Youth organisations themselves were boycotting it?

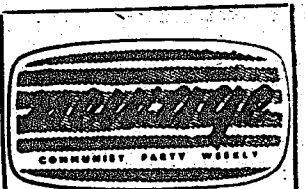
Does not the Congress President and our Foreign Affairs Secretary know that the Aus-

trian Government was not under any kind of "duress" while granting the permission for the Festival, and that Chancellor Raab himself had hailed this decision in the words: "I think that the decision of the Federal Government as well as our foreign policy comply with it and that the overwhelming majority of the population will appreciate it."

The World Youth Festival is the widest and most representative gathering of youth from all parts of the world, of all shades of opinions that exist today. It is the only international event in which large sections of youth from capitalist as well as socialist countries participate.

India's participation in such an event will be wholly in line with its foreign policy of promoting peace and international understanding.

Why, then, this "concern" over "protocol problems"? Why the attempts to discourage and even prevent the participation of the Indian youth in the Festival? Sinister anti-national forces seem to be at work. They must be exposed and rebuffed.



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NEW AGE

PAGE TWELVE

ALL-INDIA SUPPORT

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

campaigning was capped by the mass meeting on June 11, presided over by Comrade V. S. Misra.

In Banaras apart from scores of street corner meetings, a special feature was the most successful drive to sell a specially prepared booklet on Kerala, to say nothing of the more than 10,000 leaflets that were distributed. Two public meetings, which stood out even amidst all this hectic activity, were held on June 7 which was addressed by Rustom Satin and on June 14 at the Town Hall, where Professor Chandrabali Singh presided.

Mention was made last week of the magnificent mass meeting in Kanpur which listened enthralled to the chesty oratory of Dr. Z. A. Ahmad. This time, however, pride of place must be given to the patient and pervasive work done in locality after locality of this industrial city. 15,000 leaflets, long cycle processions and the speedy use of 7 propaganda carts stirred up the workers and middle-class. It had a visible impact on the Congress and PSP rank-and-file, who were both ashamed and resentful of what their leaders were doing in Kerala. One PSP member tendered his resignation at a meeting to express his anger.

Saharanpur District distinguished itself by a series of public meetings. Apart from those at Haridwar and Roorkee on June 11 and 12 respectively, conspicuous by its size was the one held at Gangoh, where the Communist Party won a majority in the last municipal elections. On June 14 at Saharanpur town itself a meeting of 3,000 cheered itself hoarse while passing a resolution of solidarity.

In conclusion, mention must be made of the meeting in Aligarh. Though called by the Communist Party eminent non-Party people and University teachers participated in the meeting.

It was addressed among others by Thakur Todor Singh, an old Congress leader, Dr. A. Aleem, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University and Sri S. M. Tonki, headmaster of the University School. It was presided over by Professor. Mohammad Habib, Head of the Department of Political Science.

As referred to last week Assam is holding, not a week's but a fortnight's campaign for Kerala. In connection with this all-Assam movement a meeting was held on June 15 at Gandhi Maidan, Goalpara. The main speaker was Suren Bhatta, who drew loud applause when he said that the danger from Pakistan was not only that of military attack but also political infection. The Congress in Kerala seemed to be treading the path of Ayub Khan and all the democratic forces in India have to unite and halt this menace. It was a moving spectacle to see peasants marching as many as 25 miles just to be present at the meeting.

Similar meetings were held at Mangaldai Town Hall on June 16 and throughout Nowgong District where Comrades Kesoram Hazarika and Narayan Bora covered practically the entire area during the campaign.

The Darrang District Council of the C.P.I. not only ran a great campaign in Tezpur and other towns, but bravely faced the inclement weather and got splendid results—a huge meeting at Charrah on June 15 where the star-attraction was the speech by Comrade Phani Bora, member of the Central Executive Committee of the C.P.I.

West Bengal faces a grim food crisis and has launched upon a massive campaign against the food policies of the Congress Government. Yet the West Bengal Communists have not let up on the tempo which was unleashed on June 7 at the Calcutta Maidan.

A crowd of 3,000 at Jalpaiguri on June 14 heard with excitement Sri Bankim Mukherjee M.L.A. lash out at the heinous attitudes and activities of the Congress in Kerala. The thunder of the speaker's voice was drowned only by the mass response it evoked. At Siliguri 4,000 persons gathered to express their solidarity with Kerala and heard with rapt attention the speeches of Comrades Biswanath Mukherjee and Harekrishna Konar, member of the Central Executive Committee of the C.P.I. Comrades Bhovani Sen, C.E.C. member, and Mohammad Elias were the main speakers at another meeting at Thakurpur, 24 Fargana District.

Not to exceed space limitations, we will end by saying that Calcutta continues its street-corner and local meetings, while the campaign has fanned out to cover Saharanpur, Hooghly District; Khargapur; Karimpur, Nadia District as well as Bhadrachar and Ghatal.

Just at the very moment of ending a post-card has reached from Habhra in Howrah District, where Kerala Week has engulfed the town beating quite the downpour from the skies—a pointer to the future!

★

The message of Kerala was taken to well over five lakhs of people during the Kerala Week in Andhra.

Meetings were only one form of demonstration of people's support and sympathy to Kerala. There were cycle and torch light processions and mass demonstrations. Protest telegrams were sent to Pandit Nehru signed by municipal councillors, lawyers, doctors and other intellectuals protesting against the unconstitutional agitation by the Congress in Kerala.

Loud-speakers tied to bullock carts wended their way through village after village, as speeches were continuously made. About fifteen hundred rickshaw drivers in Vijayawada expressed their sympathy with a one-day token strike.

Christians living in the Christian bustee of Moparru, Tenali Taluk held prayers condemning the violence of demonstrators.

The working-class town of Kothagudem ran the campaign in a very systematic manner. Demonstrations were held regularly every day in the evening from six to ten p.m. The week culminated in a huge rally on June 14.

SRI DHEBAR SEES NO EVIL

At about 11 a.m. on June 19 Sri Dhebar and Sri Sadiq Ali came to Ernakulam. The District Council of the Communist Party submitted a Memorandum and its leaders personally explained to Sri Sadiq Ali its contents as well as giving him photographs of a number of toddy shops attacked by the Congress-Catholic volunteers.

Sri Sadiq Ali asked whether there was anything objectionable in peaceful picketing. In reply the Communist leaders stated:

- 1) In the present set up when the armed bands of the church were in the struggle anything peaceful was impossible.
- 2) The Congress' Collectorate and Government picketing

also had germs of violence in it.

- 3) That a constitutionally elected Government was sought to be removed by a campaign in which peace was broken freely.

After this the two Congress leaders went to Ankanamali. There they were surrounded by Congressmen and Catholic volunteers who gave them a falsified version of the firing and connected events. Sri Dhebar went up to the Police Station where a policeman with his arm in plaster was standing. His hand was fractured as a result of a blow received from a Catholic Volunteer just before the firing. Although he was standing face to face with Sri Dhebar there was no inclination on the part of the latter to ask him anything.

The jeep belonging to the Toddy Tappers Society burned down by the goondas before the firing was lying there in Police Station compound and visible to all who passed by. Sri Dhebar turned the proverbial blind eye to this and did not deign to enquire. There were a number of others who had gathered to tell these top leaders of the Congress about the violent acts of the armed bands organized by the church. The Congressmen surrounding Sri Dhebar and Sri Sadiq Ali would have none of it.

Yet Sri M. N. Karunakaran Nair, a Sarvodaya Worker, for-

ced himself on Sri Dhebar in spite of attempts on the part of Congressmen to put him off and gave a detailed account of the incidents. Sri Karunakaran Nair and Sri M. A. Bharathan, Vice-Principal of the Sree Sankara College, Kalam, jointly submitted a memorandum to Sri Dhebar.

Sri Parayat Eravi Kuttan Menon, an old Harjan Sevak, who was beaten black and blue by the goondas just before the attempted attack on the police station, went to Sri Dhebar and showed him the injuries he had received as a result of the "non-violent" action of the "volunteers".

The K.P.C.C. President Sri Sankar was annoyed and angrily asked why he had not gone away (Sri Kuttan Menon had earlier on the 14th showed those injuries to Sri Sankar himself). Sri Kuttan Menon sharply replied "You ask me why I have not gone away. But where can I go? This is my birth place and I live here. Why haven't you gone away? What have you got to do with this place? You have already brought misery to us and you have probably come to enjoy the sight of the miserable plight we are in!"

All this went on in within earshot of Sri Dhebar but after having seen no evil, the ex-Congress President evidently decided not to hear any evil either.

The pity is that the two Congress leaders were not averse to speaking evil, however. Having established the fact that they had actually been to Ankanamali, they rushed to state that the "firing was unprovoked", and that the people were "dissatisfied" with the Government!

Short-Sighted Adventure

—RAJAJI

IN an article in the *Sudaraja* Sri C. Rajagopalachari has said: "The Congressmen of Kerala are laying the axe at the root of parliamentary democracy by what they are doing."

Writing under the caption "The Kerala Satyagraha", he said "When there is a remedy open according to law and the grievance can be brought under examination and remedied, it was not contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi that Satyagraha might be resorted to. Much less justifiable indeed would it be to resort to Satyagraha to reverse the decision of the electorate as to which party should have the governance of the State for the time being."

Not only by the test of doctrine but even as a matter of expediency the present policy of Congress in respect of the Government of Kerala is wholly wrong. A million votes may place a party in power in accordance with the Constitution but 20,000 men who dislike the decision can create a situation by the methods now employed, under which no Government can function without the use of ugly force. And the use of such force will bring in its train passions that will destroy order and make government impossible. . . .

At the outset Sri Misra posed the question that if a properly elected Government was sought to be removed by such a movement as was now on in Kerala then it would have grave implications for the future of democracy in the country. His main contention was endorsed by the other two participants.

Rajaji said: "This wrong and shortsighted adventure on the part of Kerala Congressmen will have far-reaching evil consequences for the future of parliamentary government in India. Democracy would rest on a feeble foundation if the provisions of the Constitution are to be bypassed by so-called Satyagraha offered by any group that feels strong enough to put sufficient demonstrators in the field. The Constitution contemplates the possibility of peaceful government even on the basis of a majority of one at an election. It would be completely negated by the doctrine now permitted by the Congress and the Centre to shake the foundations of the State Government in Kerala."

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

JUNE 28, 1959



TIBETAN SERFDOM— TYRANNY THAT WAS

We hear from the Dalai Lama that he was not opposed to reforms in Tibet. In fact we are told that he aid people around him had suggested reforms a number of times but it was the Chinese central authorities who opposed reforms. If we believe this story then it is really an amazing system that the Chinese People's Government was determined to preserve in Tibet!

FOLLOWING the recent abortive rebellion some of the worst features of this system have now come to light, including large numbers of instruments of torture found in the prisons and torture chambers of the now defunct Tibetan local government.

Whips were found in piles. Flogging was the commonest punishment and anything from 50 to 300 lashes could be inflicted on a serf for "offences" ranging from "disrespect" to loss of a sheep. European medieval punishments such as faying, quartering, amputation and hamstringing were widely practised in many brutal forms.

Among many other instruments was a stone hat already worn smooth by

victims. It is for gouging out human eyes. With this 50-lb. weight on the head, the victim's eyes bulge out and can be easily torn out with hooks.

In Tibet where there are two main classes—the serf-owners and the serfs—the defunct local government, with army, court and prison, was the instrument of this medieval dictatorship by the serfowners who make up only 5 per cent of Tibet's population of 1.2 million.

This small minority is supported by the labour of 80 per cent of the population—60 per cent peasants and 20 per cent herdsmen. As has always been the case, the serfowners are both wasteful and extravagant. The lamas, making up 15 per cent, are

also supported by the serfs as the former neither farm nor tend the herds.

Of the some 200 noble families in Tibet, 20 to 30 are the real power of the former local government. Ownership of 1,000 serfs is commonplace. For example Yuto Chahsi-dongchu, Shagob-ba and Palawa Tudin Younding, who had fled Tibet and come to India long ago are among the two dozen biggest aristocratic families which own as many as 10,000 serfs each.

The serfs are not free men, having neither political rights nor individual freedom. They cannot leave the land to which they are attached. Land purchase or the opening up of virgin land, of which Tibet has plenty, is forbidden to the serf, because this would break up the feudal relations. All newborn babies of the serfs are registered by the serfowners, to become future serfs. The serfs may be given away like chattel or mortgaged like property.

Women serfs suffer even more, merely because they are women. They are insulted or raped at will by the serfowners, their bailiffs or officials. The serfs do not own a single inch of land, neither are they wage earners.

The serfowners retain the best land as their own "self-managed" property, usually about 70 per cent of their holdings. The remaining 30 per cent is assigned to the serfs. For the right to cultivate this 30 per cent for their own survival, the serfs have to pay an onerous combination of rent in kind, tributes and corvee services.

In addition, the serfs have to pay a poll tax, irrespective of age or income (or lack of it) and a host of other taxes, which are variable from master to master and from locality to locality. A count made recently in Gyantse and two nearby dzongs showed that miscellaneous taxes alone add up to 70 different kinds, including the 'ear' tax, 'birth' tax, 'marriage' tax and 'death' tax. Serfs' ears were cut off for failure to pay the 'ear' tax!

Statistics show that each year a serf has to give two-thirds—in many cases three-quarters—of his time to unpaid labour on his owner's "self-managed" land. In discharging this obligation, the serf has to bring his own food, draught animals and farm tools. All that the lord puts in is seed.

The serf has also to provide unpaid services to the lord

such as threshing, grinding flour, fetching water and fuel, building and repairing houses and transport.

In all cases, a serf works under the watchful eyes of a whip-wielding bailiff or overseer.

After paying off this obligation, the serfs have very little time left for the small plots or herds allocated to them.

The most hated of obligations is ulag or ula. This consists mainly in providing animals and men for unpaid transport services to the local government, its officials or anybody holding papers with a local government seal on them. They have to provide food and lodging to these people and even young women for their amusement.

The maximum amount of such services by a chakang family in a year is equivalent to the work of 500 persons and 400 animals in a



A serf in irons—Symbol of the old Tibet

day. Many serfs became bankrupt or ruined after an over-long ula trip.

Under this most unreasonable arrangement, serfs are held responsible for loss or damage to goods. Tibetan officials, nobles and high lamas almost always travel as merchants, hence the importance of this free transport system to them. This also explains why the serfowners regarded with great hostility the Central Chinese People's Government and People's Liberation Army's action in waiving all ula obligations and paying for every item of goods they asked the Tibetans to transport for them.

Another kind of land is called makang. The serfs attached to such land are required to send at least one person to serve in the local Tibetan army, plus the soldier's food and upkeep during his term of service.

It is estimated that more than 70 per cent of the product from the toil of the serfs

goes into the pocket of the serfowners through these multifarious forms of exploitation. Generally, it is difficult for the serfs to live on their tiny portion and they are forced to borrow on usurious terms from the serfowners.

By Tibetan law, severe penalties such as eye-gouging are meted out to runaway serfs. But the process of pauperisation has been so terrible that many do run away. This stratum of serfs, the dukchans, have grown to number about 45 per cent of the serf population.

Ordinary serfs, the chapas, once the biggest group, are now down to around 45 per cent. The remaining 10 per cent is made up of further pauperised serfs—household serfs or langshengs whose status approximates that of slaves.

In most cases serfs who run away do so because of debt. All three kinds of serfowners in Tibet annually make a huge profit out of usury, lending out seed, food grain and money, at rates reaching 10 per cent or more a year. About 80 to 90 per cent of the serf population are debt ridden.

In a village 49 out of the 50 dukchun families were found to be debt-ridden. No overlord was willing to lend to the 50th family because the serf was too poor and too old and had no possibility to repay.

A serf belonging to the Gerden Monastery recently revealed that his family had been paying interest on a loan for nine generations, at the unbelievable figure of 13,000 khal of grain (27 lbs. to a khal.) This would take a serf 100 to 200 years to clear!

Whatever the Dalai Lama may say, within the confines of the 17-point agreement many measures have been undertaken by the Central Chinese authorities during the last eight years to mitigate the sufferings of the serfs and the Tibetan people in general. Some good did come of this, but in general the serfowners did all they could to obstruct progress and, in particular anything that might bring about changes in their medieval system.

In the case of loans: to alleviate the terrible plights of the serfs, interest-free seed loans, a far cry from the serfowner's usurious practices, were issued every year at the most needy time, just before spring sowing. But the serfowners and their bailiffs usu-

* SEE FACING PAGE

Textile Lock-Out In Madurai

LEADERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

The hunger-strike by Comrades K. T. K. Thangamani, M.P. and A. Balasubramaniam, President of the Madurai Textile Workers Union, serves dramatically to spot-light a grave situation, which demands national attention.

SINCE May 18, there has been an undeclared lock-out in the Harvey Mills, rendering idle 22,000 workers in Madurai, Vikramasingapuram and Tuticorin. This lock-out has already affected seriously the production of yarn, reducing the total production in Madras State by as much as 20 per cent.

The root cause of the dispute is the unilateral attempt of the management of the British-owned Harvey Mills to nullify an Award, bilateral agreement as well as the decisions of an Experts Committee, and impose its own scheme of work-load.

Govt's Role

Quite callous yet characteristically pro-employer has been the role of the Government of Madras State. It has declined to refer the dispute to adjudication, stating that it was inexpedient to make such a reference. At the same time, however, it has not come forward to authoritatively intervene to effect a settlement, despite the dispute having lasted a month already.

It is an extraordinary situation when the Government does not come forward to uphold the Tripartite Conventions of the Indian Labour Conference on rationalisation and the sanctity of bipartite settlements regarding industrial relations.

What it amounts to is that the Government is going all out to support the management to enforce their unilateral proposals for a new work-load, despite the legitimate objections of the workers. This is to betray a most extra-ordinary attitude not only to the prospect of starvation facing 22,000 families but also to problems of increasing production.

The collector of Madurai and the Commissioner of

Labour, Madras State, had talks with the representatives of both the Union and the Management on June 12.

The representative of the management insisted that the talks should be on the basis of their notice regarding new work-loads. All they were prepared to discuss were the practical difficulties, if any, in the course of its actual implementation.

Representing the workers, Comrade Balasubramaniam refused to accept this ultimatum and expressed willingness to talk over and settle the dispute without imposing any conditions as the basis for negotiations. The Management refused to budge, nor did the Government seem over-anxious that they should. A break-down became inevitable.

After this, the executive committee of the Madurai Textile Workers Union decided that their two leaders—Comrades Thangamani and Balasubramaniam—should commence their hunger-strike.

On June 19, a huge procession of thousands of workers took their two leaders to the union office, where they commenced their strike from 9 a.m. Comrade M. Kalyanasundaram, M.L.A. addressed the gathering and explained the background as well as aims of the decisions.

Thousands of workers as well as members of the general public are daily coming to visit their respected leaders to garland and comfort them.

In a statement issued after its three-day meeting at Madurai the Secretariat of the Tamilnad Provincial Council of the C.P.I. declared

"The hunger strike being undertaken by Comrades K. T. K. Thangamani, M.P., and A. Balasubramaniam, President of the Madurai Textile Workers Union, is eminently justified as the only way to bring to the notice of the public of Tamilnad the callousness of

the Government to the sufferings of thousands of workers and the loss of vital textile production.

"The trade union movement has been forced to have recourse to the two leaders

SCARCITY AMIDST PLENTY

WHEN the Prime Minister announced at his last Press Conference that the country's food production had attained an all-time peak of 73 million tons in the crop year 1958-59 the instinctive reaction of the people was to look for better days ahead. Their illusions, however, were short-lived, for, soon after hunger and starvation, especially in West Bengal, began to stare them in the face.

Why this paradox of scarcity and rising prices in the midst of a plentiful harvest? The question has been posed and answered many a time in the columns of New Age. And yet, the inexorable logic of a wayward food policy which lets hoarders and profiteers run away with the people's food continues to exact its heavy toll. Below we reproduce some figures from The Hindu of June 21 to show the utter lack of any coherent relationship between indigenous production, imports, prices and increase in population.

Year	Production of cereals in million tons	Imports in million tons	Index prices	Population in millions
1952	51.17	3.86	100	367.3
1953	58.26	2.00	108.9	372.2
1954	68.71	0.80	98.2	376.9
1955	66.96	0.70	85.5	383.3
1956	65.79	1.42	99.0	389.2
1957	68.74	3.58	106.8	392.3
1958	62.02	3.17	111.9	397.4

For 1959 also, says The Hindu, with a record production of 73 million tons an import of nearly three million tons is envisaged. The population in 1959 is expected to be of the order of 397.4 million, and even after giving an allowance of about 12 or 13 million tons for seed and wastage, the balance—nearly 60 million tons—should leave surplus after feeding a population of even 400 millions at the rate of 18 ounces per day.

This is what the figures tell us, but the struggle for food which the people have to put up, in West Bengal and elsewhere, has a different story to tell. Surely, if the Prime Minister's figures are to be given due credence, they betray, as The Hindu says, the unwillingness or the inability of his Government "to tackle the situation effectively".

FOOD imports under Public Law 480 will also form a sizeable part of the

stating their very lives as the only peaceful way to impress on the Government the extreme urgency of the situation. We are sure that the entire public of Tamilnad will lend their wholehearted support to the hunger strike undertaken by these two leaders.

"We call upon all members and friends of the Party to mobilise public opinion behind this great and just struggle of the Harvey Mill workers. Let telegrams go

from all over Tamilnad to the Madras Government for early intervention and settlement of this issue."

As a result, telegrams are already pouring in to the Madras Secretariat. Meanwhile Statewide hartals are being organised to compel the Government to declare the lock-out illegal. Tuticorin observed a total hartal on June 18, and similar actions are being planned in all the industrial towns of the State before the end of the month.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

AID FROM EAST

CONTRASTING with this futile aid from United States—which helps neither in raising consumption, nor production—is the assistance offered by the socialist countries. Even in the last week the Czechoslovak Automobile Works SKODA made known its willingness to submit blueprints for manufacture of a "people's car"—ranging in price from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 7,000—within the country. So far we have been used to tie-ups between foreign capitalist combines and indigenous big business, mainly to assemble cars costing anything from Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 20,000 rupees. Now we can hope to get an automobile even for Rs. 5,000, probably from public sector, thanks to the disinterested assistance offered by the Czechoslovak Republic.

Hungary too agreed last week to extend its trade agreement with our country. It also offered to supply whole plant installations in return for our goods, including light engineering items.

The results of the Swaran Singh Delegation, which visited the Soviet Union recently, have also been most positive from the standpoint of getting substantial Soviet assistance in planning and putting up new industries.

GOING WEST AGAIN

Unresponsive to all these, however, Sri Desai has firmly set his course towards the Wall Street. Last year also, when he visited most of the western world, he scrupulously avoided setting foot in any socialist country.

If Sri Desai were an ordinary tourist, out on a mission of physical and moral recuperation, his antipathy towards the socialist world could be dismissed as a personal fancy. In the case of an Union Minister, however—out to get support for country's development—such purliness bespeaks of a deeper malady, which if unchecked can result only in perpetuating the country's dependence on the United States for assistance on terms which are neither fair nor honourable.

—ESSEN

June 28.



For the first time in history Tibet is beginning to enjoy benefits of a modern medical system. Photo on top left of page shows opening in early May of the third primary school in Lhasa with an enrolment of 400 pupils.

Prime Minister In Kerala

● From RAMDASS

TRIVANDRUM, June 24.

As I write this Trivandrum City is witnessing mammoth demonstrations and rallies. People are on the streets with one slogan: Defend the Kerala Government.

Last night I was in Alleppey—record breaking rains, matched by record breaking crowds.

There is no doubt about what the people of Kerala feel: the Communist-led Government must continue in office.

But the Kerala Congress and other opposition parties, the Catholic Church and Nair communalists led by Sri Mannath Padmanabhan stand by their demand: Dismiss the Ministry.

Prime Minister Nehru has been here for two days and met leaders of the Government, of the various parties and sections of the people. The question of questions here is: What is the Prime Minister's evaluation of the situation?

When the Prime Minister came here, the Kerala Congress, as *Indian Express* put it, was really in a quandary.

During the week, the Arch Bishop of Trivandrum said that the Catholic Church is not interested in overthrowing the Communist Government. Its opposition is only against the Education Act.

The Congress said that it was not participating in school picketing, its struggle is to remove the Communist Ministry.

The Congress President reiterated that the Kerala Congress had permission only to observe the Deliverance Day, prepare the charge-sheet and mobilise the people behind it. The Chairman of the Congress Liaison Committee, V. K. Krishna Menon said that he had not at all been consulted about any of the steps that had been taken in Kerala.

Inside the Congress the Malabar section is not ardent about the struggle; the feeling began to grow among the others that the Congress was likely to be forced out of the struggle.

Messrs Dhebar and Sadiq Ali came in this situation to make an on the spot study. Prime Minister Nehru's decision to visit the state without waiting for any report from Sri Dhebar only put the Kerala Congress in a worse spot. A high pressure campaign was begun in Kerala to keep the Congress in the struggle.

Telegrams were sent to the Prime Minister and editorials were written requesting him not to visit the State at this stage. Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai said in a meeting in Trivandrum, why has the Prime Minister come now? All that he has to do is to order the dismissal of the Ministry from Delhi itself.

The Catholic mouthpiece, 'Deepika' of Kottayam, editorially warned Sri Nehru that if he was coming to get the Kerala Congress out of the struggle, he would have the satisfaction of participating in the funeral of the Congress in this State. PSP's Kerala Janata threatened, "If the Congress is made to withdraw, then our struggle will be against both the Central Government and the Communist-led Ministry."

A concerted campaign has been launched, some papers even threatening a day's boycott of the PTI for having circulated a truthful version of the Ankamali incident.

On the day the Prime Min-

ister arrived here the Congress and other opposition parties had planned to impress him with the "universal opposition" to the Communist Government. All their talk of bringing three lakhs of people from Kottayam alone proved to be bogus. But they were able to bring a sizable crowd from outside. The special train had been run from Ernakulam to Trivandrum and I saw one Church compound in the capital gorging out trucks and vans after the Prime Minister had passed through this route.

But the shocking thing is to see that none of the demonstrators shouted: Pandit Nehru Zindabad, none of them held a placard welcoming the Prime Minister.

Their only slogan was, Down with Communist Ministry. Their placards only said, Dismiss the Ministry, Save Democracy from Red Rule, Dismiss the Rice Deal Robbers, Dismiss the Murderers.

Pandit Nehru had talked about mass discontent in Kerala. The organisers of this demonstration wanted to impress the Prime Minister with the expression of this discontent. Sri Dhebar had also come to their aid with his statement that all the parties like the Congress, PSP, and RSP, all non-Communist trade unions, most of the municipal councils and various panchayats demanded the resignation of the Ministry.

Nobody challenges these facts. But Sri Dhebar is not being honest when he stops after saying this. Honestly demanded that he say which of these sections supported the Communist Party during the General Elections or the Communist-led Government after that.

The truth is—none of these elements supported the Communist Party or its Government. Where then is the question of any change in the support to the Communist Government?

Even those who say that some elements had switched over from support to opposition to the Government, should, if they are honest, see the other side of the picture also—that large sections of the people who had not voted for the Communist candidates in the elections had now swung over to the support of the Communist Government as a result of its progressive legislation and activities.

All this is reported to have been explained to the Prime Minister by the Ministry, the Communist Party's Deputation and certain neutral observers of the scene.

What are the issues in Kerala? As the Prime Minister reached here for his three-day visit.

First, the Education Act and linked with it the question of reservation for backward communities. The Catholic Church is only concerned with the Education Act, while the Nair

Service Society wanted the abolition of reservation. Most of the political parties, however, are opposed to the stand of the NSS. The Communist Party and the Government said that they are prepared to make any adjustment possible, even in the framework of the Act—as against the earlier proposal that adjustments can only be made within the framework of the Act. The only point emphasised is that such adjustments should be made, as far as possible, acceptance to teachers and backward communities.

The second issue is the Agrarian Relations Bill. Here again, while the NSS says none except a handful of Communists want the Bill, all the political parties have said they are in favour of it.

The third issue is the charge-sheet which the Congress has been threatening to present against the Communist-led Ministry and which is linked with the demand for the resignation of the Ministry. This, perhaps, is the only slogan which could to some extent cement the cracks which existed in the attitudes of these parties.

The charge-sheet is yet to see the light of day, though the struggle which is supposed to be launched on its basis has been on for a number of days. All that has appeared from the Congress side so far is a thirty-seven point summary of the charges—in the form of mere assertions—issued on the Deliverance Day to be adopted by the meeting on that day.

The Communist Party is convinced that the assertions and allegations are baseless. Still the State Committee of the Party, at its last meeting offered that if the authors of the charge-sheet are not convinced, the Party is prepared to sit round a table to discuss all the issues. If any issues are left, the Party and Government are prepared to leave it to be decided by the Prime Minister.

The fourth and last issue, an issue which has cropped up since the struggle began, is the one for a judicial inquiry into the police firings.

The Communist Party, on principle, has always de-

manded judicial inquiries into police firings. But those who raise the demand today should answer the question how such an inquiry is to be instituted when there is no all-round settlement and the situation has not been normalised.

When the Communist Party and its Ministry thus expressed their readiness to make any adjustments necessary in the Education Act, when it had offered to hold round table talks with opposition parties on their charges, what issue remained for a struggle of the present type?

Why has the present abnormal situation in Kerala arisen?

There can be no doubt that the main reason is that the opposition here is spearheaded by a party which rules at the Centre and 13 other States in India.

In the Congress-ruled States the majority of the electorate, which voted anti-Congress, know very well that whatever they do the Centre and State Governments stand together. But here in Kerala, because a non-Congress party is in office, the impression has been created that the moment anything happens in the State the Congress at the Centre will intervene in favour of the Congress in the State.

This is behind the struggle and the creation of disturbances—what Pandit Nehru thinks is mass discontent, and some other leaders of the Congress High Command think is a mass upsurge.

Here in Kerala the issues have been put to the Prime Minister by the Congress and other opposition leaders in the form of two alternatives: Either dismiss the Ministry or allow the continuance of the struggle to throw out the Ministry. There is no third way out.

Pandit Nehru must remember that the Centre has another added responsibility in this State however. It is the hope of Central intervention that prompted the Congress and other leaders to launch an agitation.

Hence, the Centre has to answer the question: Is Ke-

rala going to be treated in the same way as the thirteen other Congress-ruled States or is Kerala going to be discriminated against? Will the Centre approve of an agitation like the present one in Kerala, while it would have lent all its support to any other State Government to suppress such an agitation?

This is really the crux of the problem, which, it is reported, the Communist Party and Ministry placed before the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister should also realise that despite the assertion that one of the reasons for the Congress joining the struggle was to keep it non-violent, violence had already been generated through the struggle.

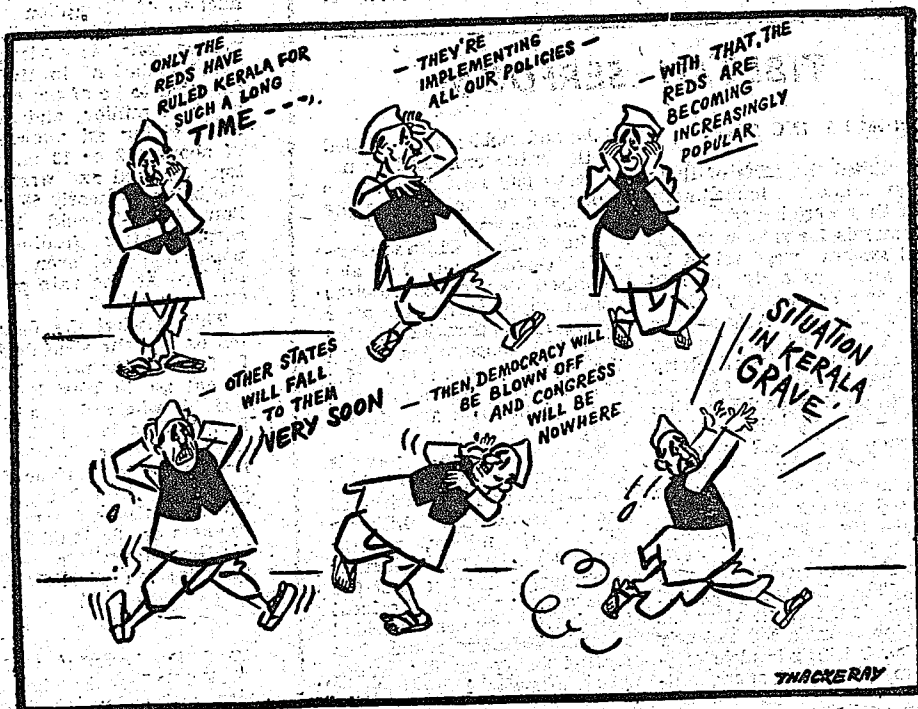
The leaders of the struggle have taken great pains to make out that violence has come from the Communist side. A score of papers have been daily dinning this Big Lie into the ears of the people.

But the truth is just the contrary. The Communist Party has done everything to avoid any clashes. It called off its meeting and demonstrations on June 12 when it found that the Opposition had called for Deliverance Day. On June 16, a big demonstration planned in Trivandrum was cancelled when the struggle leaders decided to take out the funeral procession of those who had died in the police firing.

The Kerala Congress leaders are said to have explained to Pandit Nehru the circumstances in which the Congress had to exceed the High Command directive and participate in the struggle.

Addressing a joint meeting of the KPCC and Assembly Congress Party this morning, the Prime Minister is reported to have told the assembled Congress leaders that he understood the position they were in, that he did not question their bona fides, but he could not agree with their methods.

He could not advise them just now on the next step, that decision could only be taken by the Working Committee, but he would appeal to the Kerala Congress not to add any complication to the situation till then.



Sri Dhebar's Report on Kerala.

—Courtesy Free Press Journal.