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INDIA-CHINA FRIENDSHIP

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NEW AGE

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The fate that the uprising organised by a handful of counter-revolutionaries in Tibet has met constitutes a major defeat for imperialists and their allies. With the stranglehold of reaction over the economic and social life of Tibet broken, the people of Tibet can now go forward. The defeat of the rebellion marks a big step towards the regeneration of Tibet, enjoying democracy and autonomy within the great People's Republic of China.

REACTION has suffered a heavy defeat in Tibet but it would be idle to pretend that serious consequences have not followed from its mad adventure. One of the most serious, perhaps the most serious of these consequences, has been the grave deterioration in Sino-Indian relations. For many years, in fact ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the imperialists had been striving to sow hostility between India and China. They knew that the friendship between these two great countries of Asia constitutes the corner-stone of Asian solidarity and the most effective barrier to their design of making Asians fight Asians. They strove to disrupt this friendship.

Their Jubilation

Today they are jubilant. They feel they have won a major success. Their jubilation is eloquently reflected in the columns of the Press in imperialist countries. It is expressed in the utterances of their leaders. Those very people who ridiculed India's policy of peace and non-alignment, who heaped insults on India's Prime Minister, are today extolling India to the sky, paying fulsome compliment to the "statesmanlike" and "independent" stand taken by India.

The observations made by the rulers of Pakistan acquire ominous significance in this context. Armed and instigated by American imperialists, they have been waging a war of nerves against India. They have conducted a series of raids into Indian territory in which American arms have been used. Even today they are illegally occupying the Indian village of Tukergam. They threaten war on the issue of Kashmir. Only the other day they shot down an unarmed Indian plane.

Now, all of a sudden, these very gentlemen have started talking in a new strain. General Ayub Khan, the military dictator of Pakistan, offers "joint defence" to India. Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Pakistan's Ambassador in the USA, evidently voicing the opinion of his American masters, opines:

"The Indian sub-continent, I venture to think, can be defended, territorially and ideologically, only by the joint efforts of India and Pakistan... Pakistan, on its part, is keenly conscious of the grim facts of life that face the sub-continent. It is not oblivious to the common danger. Pakistan would be willing to participate in a scheme of joint defence if the impediments to such a joint action were first alienated."

Every Indian would welcome the establishment of friendly relations with Pakistan. But what is suggested here is not that. What is suggested is that India should abandon her independent foreign policy, join the nefarious Baghdad Pact, line up with

American satellites against the People's Republic of China and thus defend herself "territorially and ideologically."

It is good that Sri Nehru has indignantly rejected this crude overture. "I am all for settling our troubles with Pakistan and living a normal, friendly and neighbourly life," he said in his speech in the Rajya Sabha on May 4. "But I do not understand when people say 'let us have a common defence policy.' Against whom? Are we going to become members of the Baghdad Pact, SEATO or some other alliance? We do not want to have a common defence policy which will be almost some kind of military alliance. The whole policy we have pursued is opposed to this conception."

All this is welcome. But the very fact that the Tibet crisis and the developments in India connected with it have roused such hopes in imperialist cir-

countries that have never interfered in our internal affairs, that have consistently supported us on the issue of Kashmir and Goa, that have opposed the aggressive military pacts which threaten our own security, as well as colonial domination and racial discrimination.

Nehru's Rajya Sabha Speech

Unfortunately, Sri Nehru who has been the main architect of our foreign policy, does not yet seem to be sufficiently aware of this. He seems to think that India's conduct during the whole Tibetan episode has been unimpeachable and fully in conformity with the principles of Panch Sheel while all the blame lies with the Chinese. In his speech in the Rajya Sabha

countries that have never interfered in our internal affairs, that have consistently supported us on the issue of Kashmir and Goa, that have opposed the aggressive military pacts which threaten our own security, as well as colonial domination and racial discrimination.

Why? Because, at no time in the past did the Indian Government, as distinct from private individuals, political parties and Press, adopt such an attitude towards an internal matter of the Chinese People's Republic, as they have done now. Even the statements which Sri Nehru as head of the Indian Government has made in recent periods, cannot but be considered as being heavily biased in favour of the rebels. Sri Nehru does not even now seem to realise this.

We shall cite only one instance. One would have expected

dom? Is this in conformity with the principles of Panch Sheel?

How would we react if an armed rebellion in one part of our country, undertaken with the avowed objective of secession from the Indian Union, were described as a "national uprising" by the head of a friendly Government? Would we not protest against it? Would we not consider it direct encouragement to the rebels? Would we not call it interference in our internal affairs?

Political Bias

And, as we know, this is not the only comment. There have been several which showed definite political bias and the desire to keep Tibet as a sort of buffer between India and China.

REPAIR THE DAMAGE

cles and in ruling circles allied to them are a danger signal. They should make us pause and think.

Issues At Stake

This is all the more necessary because powerful forces exist in our own country who have never concealed their hostility towards our foreign policy, who have consistently opposed our friendship with the countries of the Socialist world, who have systematically preached that our "natural friends" are the "Western Powers". To this category belong most of the top leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh and some leading members of Sri Nehru's own party. They, too, aided by the monopolist-controlled Press, have let loose a barrage of propaganda against China, and on the plea of "sympathy" with Tibet, are openly supporting the rebels and their cause.

The issues at stake are serious. It is not the future of Tibet that is at stake. The people of Tibet, whether the imperialists and some persons in India like it or not, will, as part of the People's Republic of China, sweep away the accumulated debris of centuries and march towards democracy and Socialism. What are at stake, what are endangered are our own foreign policy, the cause of Asian solidarity, our friendship with

on May 4, he once again repeated this thesis. "Some comment on this speech is necessary.

Sri Nehru was "amazed" by the "unanimity" and "similarity" of the comments in the Chinese Press over Indian reaction to the Tibetan issue. The suggestion seems to be that this must be engineered from above. But is it really so amazing? Is it not a fact that on the issue of Kashmir being an integral part of India, the Indian parties and newspapers have revealed a similar "unanimity and similar-

ty"? Is it not a fact that Tibetan rebels openly declared that they wanted Tibet to secede from China and become independent? Why then should Sri Nehru be so amazed?

After expressing amazement at the way in which the Chinese people and Press have reacted, Sri Nehru said: "Perhaps the way we function in our Parliament here or outside, it is not fully appreciated in China. It may not be quite appreciated that here everybody has a right to say in Parliament and outside and in the Press whatever he feels..."

It goes without saying that we do not want anybody's opinion to be throttled. It is also a fact that many political lead-

ers in India and a number of newspapers have consistently vilified and slandered the Chinese Government. But at no time were the Chinese Press and leaders so sharply critical of India as they are now.

that Sri Nehru would withdraw his characterisation of the rebellion in Tibet being a "national uprising." He has not done that. He has defended it on the plea that "even according to Chinese accounts it was a fairly big affair" and that "it has affected large numbers of Tibetan people."

According to the estimate made by the Chinese Government, only about 20,000 people joined or supported the rebellion. This certainly does not bear out the story that the en-

tire people of Tibet rose in revolt. But apart from that, surely Sri Nehru knows that even the participation of a considerable number of people does not necessarily make a rebellion "a national uprising".

The reactionaries are often able to dupe thousands in the name of religion. A national uprising is the uprising of a people against their national oppressors and with a view to redressing genuine national grievances.

Is it the position of the Government of India that the Chinese are imperialist aggressors, while the Dalai Lama and the Lama hierarchy are the champions of the "Tibetan nation" defending their national free-

Sri Nehru has felt hurt at the charge of expansionism. But so far as we are aware, such a charge has not been made against Sri Nehru or the Indian Government. The charge of expansionism has been levelled against certain reactionary circles in India. It has been stated—and with adequate reason—that certain reactionary elements in India advocate Tibetan "independence" under the garb of autonomy. Can this be denied?

Then, there is the allegation of the Dalai Lama being under duress. Here again, so far as we know, no one has suggested that the Dalai Lama is a prisoner of the Indian Government, held in India against his will. But is it not very probable that the reactionary elements who surround him, who are in league with the imperialists and want the Dalai Lama to be used against China and in order to disrupt Sino-Indian friendship, are exerting pressure on him even now to remain in India so that their nefarious game may continue?

What role the Dalai Lama himself has played in this sordid episode is not clear. He has not repudiated the Tezpur statement issued on his behalf. Sri Nehru has affirmed that it represents the Dalai Lama's views. But then it is also not denied that the letters of the Dalai Lama, about whose genuineness Sri Nehru was once

90,000 TEACHERS IN W. BENGAL CEASE WORK FOR A DAY

★ FROM JUAN BIKASH HOITRA

CALCUTTA, May 4

THE one-day direct action of primary and secondary school teachers throughout West Bengal on April 30 was an unprecedented success.

In response to the call of the Education Movement Co-ordination Committee (EMCC), about 90 per cent of the 70,000 primary and 30,000 secondary school teachers in this State observed cease-work and fast in protest against the Government's refusal to pay any heed to the Committee's repeated appeals to put an end to the prevailing chaos in the educational sphere and to improve the pay scales and service conditions of the teachers.

The EMCC consists of the representatives of four mass organisations of teachers—the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, the West Bengal Municipal Primary Teachers' Association and the West Bengal Refugee Primary Teachers' Association.

Faced with the grim determination of the teachers, the managements of over 50

per cent of the schools in Calcutta declared a holiday on April 30. In the remaining schools, all teachers stayed away from work. It was only in a few Hindi schools that the cease-work was partial.

In the afternoon, teachers of schools in Calcutta and in the adjoining districts assembled in a huge rally at the Maidan. From there a procession of about 10,000 teachers, including 1,000 women teachers, marched towards the State Secretariat to place their demands before the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy.

They were held up on the way by a police cordon. Then they squatted on the road, and a message was sent to Dr. Roy asking him to receive a deputation on behalf of the teachers.

Teachers Resent Dr. Roy's Attitude

Dr. Roy curtly refused to meet the deputations on the plea that he was in the midst of a Cabinet meeting. Earlier, he told newsmen that there was no point in receiving a deputation when the Government had decided to introduce a Primary Education Bill.

The mass of teachers have strongly resented this high-handed attitude of the Chief Minister.

The one-day cease-work and fast constitutes the first step in the struggle launched by the teachers to win their just demands. They

will start continuous cease-work from September next if, meanwhile, the Government refuses to listen to their demands.

The main demands put forward in the memorandum of the EMCC are:

● Replacement of the Urban Primary Education Act of 1919 and the Rural Primary Education Act of 1930 by a comprehensive legislation to set up a State Primary Education Board with one-third of its members as elected representatives of primary school teachers.

● Constitution of a Secondary Education Board with adequate representation of secondary school teachers.

● Compulsory free primary education for all children of the age-group six to eleven years (at present, only 32 per cent boys and 24 per cent girls are receiving primary education).

● Minimum salary of Rs. 100 per month for a teacher.

● Government dearness allowance of Rs. 35 for all teachers, clerks and librarians and Rs. ten for the subordinate staff.

● Grants-in-aid to all recognised secondary schools.

● Provision for free education to teachers' children.

● Provisions for provident fund, gratuity, etc.

● Right of primary teachers to send elected representatives to the State Legislative Council.

★ William Z. Foster Writes On ★ DULLESISM —The World Pest

DULLES and his boss Eisenhower kept the world teetering on the verge of the most terrible war imaginable, but they were defeated by the peace movement of the peoples both in the U.S. and abroad, wrote William Z. Foster, Honorary Chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, in the WORKER of April 26.

Dealing with Dulles' resignation as U.S. Secretary of State, Foster pointed out that when Dulles, along with Eisenhower, took office at the beginning of 1953, he boasted that he was going to outdo in aggressiveness the ultra-militaristic Truman administration. Whereas Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, had a policy of "containing" the Communists, Dulles boasted that he would "liberate" the Socialist countries from their Communist-led Governments.

The general aim of Dulles' policy was to make the United States master of the world. Trying hard to make his super-imperialism succeed, Dulles engineered numerous warlike projects. He tried to transform the Korean war into an atomic war, to mobilise the American Navy to participate full scale in the French imperialist war in Indo-China, to develop the Hungarian

revolt into a dangerous war against the Socialist countries. Another of Dulles' many militaristic adventures was the American invasion in Lebanon. Dulles boasted several times that he had brought the world to the brink of war.

But all these adventures, which formed the very core of Dulles' ultra-militaristic programme, conflicted basically with the peace-loving desires of the bulk of the American and other peoples, and this was a principal reason why they failed.

Foster went on: "Perhaps the most arrogant (and stupid) of all Dulles' policies is the outrageous way in which he has treated People's China. Dulles has dared to bar it from the United Nations, to place it under a capitalist world economic boycott, to unite with its repudiated renegades to occupy Chinese Formosa, to organise a great fleet to block China's ports, etc. But like all of Dulles' militaristic policies, his attacks on China, long since become fruitless and bankrupt, are now backfiring. People's China is surging ahead at an unparalleled speed—last year almost doubling its general industrial and agricultural output."

Foster pointed out that

"the surest signs of the imperialist policies is engulfing practically all countries including those to which the United States has given billions of dollars in subsidies. In Asia, Africa, the Middle East, etc., there is more anti-American sentiment now than ever before in history. And in Latin America, which this country is supposed to hold in its pocket, the feeling is so intense that only a few months ago Vice-President Nixon was stoned on the streets of Caracas."

"Dullesism is a world pest, with its creating of a monster military machine in the various countries... and this is the monstrous system that the new Secretary of State, Christian Herter, pledges himself to 'contain'." Foster said.

Concluding, he said: "In the 1960 national elections in this country (U.S.), if not sooner, the workers must deal a smashing blow to the sabote-rattlers, of whom Dulles has been the chief symbol. In the meantime, every effort must be put forth by the workers to protect themselves from the insatiable demands of the warmakers. This is what the world Socialist forces, led ably by the Soviet Union, are now doing with spectacular success."

KERALA: REACTION PREPARES FOR ANOTHER ROUND

Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement in New Delhi on May 6, 1959:

A NEW and serious situation is fast developing in Kerala. The peaceful transformation of society through democratic methods is being challenged by reaction.

During the last two years, in spite of the efforts of the reactionary forces, the Kerala Government has with popular support, succeeded in getting through the Assembly certain enactments which will have far-reaching effects on the life of the Malayalee people. Within the coming few months, most of these beneficial legislations will reach the stage of actual implementation.

● The Education Bill which has aroused so much controversy in Kerala and outside, after undergoing the scrutiny of the Supreme Court and receiving Presidential assent, has now become law. It is to be implemented during the coming school year.

● The much-awaited Agrarian Relations Bill will be passed in the present session of the legislature and we do not expect any delay in receiving Presidential assent to this measure. This legislation will also be implemented in the immediate future.

● The Panchayat Bill and the District Councils Bill are expected to be passed before September, the date fixed for the panchayat elections. As is known, these Bills seek to considerably extend the powers of the local elected bodies.

Hitherto the attempts of the reactionary forces in the State were to prevent these legislations being passed. Now they are bent upon resisting their implementation.

Reaction in our State had hoped that the Communist Ministry would collapse in Kerala either through dissensions within our own ranks, or causing the isolation of the Government from the people or by Central intervention. These false hopes led them to believe that the progressive measures of the Government will never actually reach the stage of implementation.

Events, however, dealt a cruel blow to their hopes. The Communist Party is much more united than ever before. People's trust in and love for the Ministry have considerably increased. And they have not succeeded in persuading the Centre to suspend the Constitution and take over the administration.

It is obvious that there is a big swing in favour of the Communist Party and its Government among the mass of the people in our State.

Further the dissensions within the Congress, expressed in the elections to the district and provincial committees of the Congress Party, have convinced all that at no time in the immediate future, either the Congress or the so-called united opposition could muster enough strength to overthrow the Ministry.

This has made the reactionary elements desperate. And they are frantically seeking new ways to thwart the implementation of the above popular measures.

They are now trying to rouse communal passions and disrupt

late realisation of the actual implications of the measure. It is common knowledge that this latest move of Nair and Christian communalists in Kerala is aimed at preventing the implementation of agrarian reforms.

From their announced plans, it seems that they will not be satisfied with the closing down of all the aided schools. They have declared their intention to picket all educational institutions in the State. It is also learnt that they will resort to picketing of all Government offices. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan has declared that he would lead a 'march' to Trivandrum to 'capture' the Government secretariat. They are openly advocating violent and undemocratic methods for the overthrow of the Ministry.

In every parish under the leadership of the church, and in every village where the Nair Service Society has influence, preparations are being made to instigate people to resort to violent undemocratic acts. They are also planning to utilise the students as their tools in these undemocratic activities.

As usual, the RSP is playing

the role of handmaid of these reactionary forces by its open incitement to violence. Only the other day, they entered the house of the Industries Minister, at midnight carrying flaming torches and threatened his life. A few days ago, they entered the Assembly chamber and disrupted the proceedings. Recently they stoned the car of the Food Minister and the Speaker and manhandled the Law Minister. The Education Minister's car was also stopped by some PSP elements in Trivandrum.

Thus the same forces who once relied on raising the cry of lawlessness in Kerala are now out to create a situation of lawlessness in the State.

In this context, it is unfortunate that the Congress President, Smt. Indira Gandhi, who visited our State recently, has failed to assess the situation correctly. It is, of course, not expected of Smt. Gandhi to defend the Communist Ministry; but in the interests of her own party, the Congress President, as the leader of the biggest national organisation, should have warned her followers against

surrender before communal forces.

As for us, Communists, we are confident that in the struggle against communal forces, our Party will not only emerge victorious but will grow immensely stronger and more united. It must be remembered that at every stage of our growth, we had to wage bitter struggles against the communal forces.

We Communists do not believe in anarchy, and I am sure that the Government would be taking adequate steps to prevent any outbreak of violence and lawlessness.

I am also sure that, as in the past, we can rely upon the unstinted support of all the democratic and progressive forces throughout India against this fresh assault on democracy. During the days of the anti-Education Bill agitation, as well as at the time when Central intervention was being sought for, and at every time reaction in Kerala attempted to break down Governmental machinery, it was this unity of the democratic forces within and without our State that saved democracy in Kerala. We appeal for this unity to once again assert itself.

ACHARYA'S ANXIETY

A CHARYA Kripalanji's concern for the Indian Communists has always been so touching—he is never tired of worrying about their welfare. Throughout the Tibetan crisis, the Acharya's only anxiety has been about the bona fides of the Indian Communists.

But sometimes in a hurry, the Acharya tumbles into rather awkward positions. Saturday, last week, the Times of India published a letter from Kripalanji under the impressive caption "Voices of Silence" in Washington after the Prime Minister's long statement earlier in the week, why the Communists are silent now.

I must say the editor of the paper has not been fair to the old man. For, only the day before, the very same daily carried the summary of a long article by Comrade Ranadive dealing with the Prime Minister's statement itself.

Only the other day in the Lok Sabha, the Acharya had taken great pains to disprove that he had grown senile. I know how desperately old people refuse to recognise the signs of aging, but if the printed word is not seen by this venerable Lama, of the PSP—I would not call him the Dalai or the Panchen Lama since there are so many claimants to leadership inside the PSP—how can I help him?

WASHINGTON APPLAUSE

MEANWHILE, another member of the PSP Kasag, Asoka Mehta has gone to Washington, where according to a Press report he "unapologetically explained India's Socialism, reminding his listeners that during the depres-

sion the U. S. too had depended on Government initiative. "What is wrong about India, suffering from a permanent depression, following suit?" he asked. He was given a standing ovation."

I am really happy to learn about this "standing ovation" for nothing will gladden the heart of the ever-morse Asoka Mehta more than a standing ovation in Washington while selling his Socialism. With my limited intelligence, what I could understand about this profound thesis is that in India, too, we should open the floodgates to Free Enterprise the moment we are out of the depression. Socialism indeed, and no doubt it can be exhibited only in Washington!

Nevertheless, I do appreciate Asoka Mehta's heroics for I know the comparisons he has to speak under. He has gone there to prove his capacity to fight. Communism from Lhasa to Kerala so that there could be a generous dose of dollar dole for us all.

INGRATITUDE

TALKING of dollar dole, I have come across some very interesting Press clippings of a report submitted to the U. S. Congress by Joseph Campbell, the Comptroller-General about the International Cooperation Administration's activities in Pakistan. This report was released just a month ago in Washington.

Campbell's investigation showed: "Although there were only 281 Americans

working there (in Pakistan), auditors found they were equipped with 229 autos, 529 refrigerators, 655 scooters, and 666 air-conditioners—all paid for by the Government.

"The auditors also discovered an unusually high number of native clerical workers, guards, gardeners and drivers working for the U. S. aid mission—1,321 of them."

The Administration sent more than 4.7 crore dollar worth of surplus American farm products for food victims in Pakistan, but they lamented that this "did not receive the expected favourable publicity for the United States." The reason for this piece of Pakistani ingratitude, was also probed.

NATIVE TOUCH

I HAVE got another interesting clipping, which provides the context. This is from the American Journal, Business Week, dated April 13, where Bhilai is publicised in a write-up with profuse pictures.

"Western observers who have visited Bhilai say that in the plant the Russians go out of their way to help the Indians. They won't hesitate to pitch in manually if necessary and are very patient in explaining things so the Indians can learn their job thoroughly."

"In off-hours, the Russian men will play volleyball with the Indians and will attend movies with them."

"The Russian wives, though, do most of the socialising with the local popu-

lace. A few attend local sewing classes and most do their own grocery shopping in the local stores—something few Western wives do."

The despatch devotes a section on what it calls "fraternisation": "Perhaps most important, the Russians at Bhilai have managed to become an integral part of this new steel town. The 1,300 to 1,400 Russians there (some 300 engineers with families and supporting personnel) live, work and play on friendly terms with Indian community. This has impressed the Indian steel workers and even some of the genuine anti-Communists in the Indian Communist and business community."

TOTALITARIAN WAY

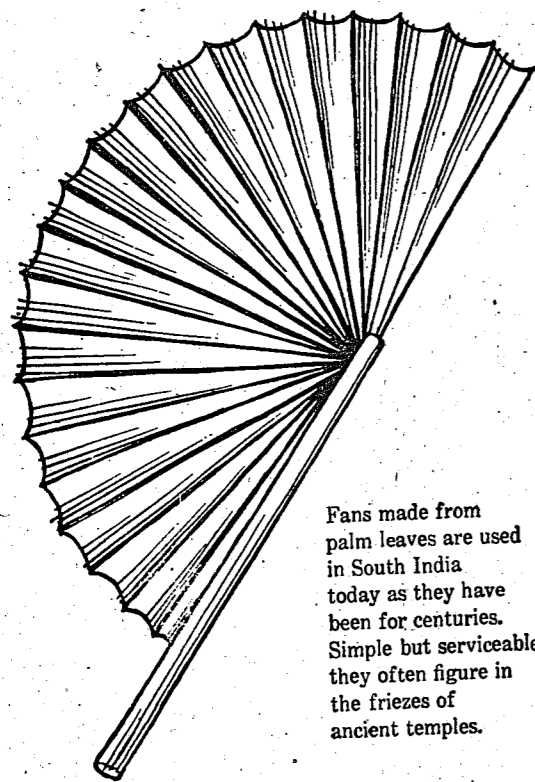
AT Rourkela and Durgapur, where the West Germans and the British, respectively are building steel mills for the Indian Government, there is not the same easy relationship—either at work or after hours. Moreover, when top engineers from India's privately developed Tata steel works at Jamshedpur visit these three steel projects, they get a more friendly reception from the Russians than from the British or the Germans."

All the same, one represents the democratic way of life and the other the totalitarian. Has not Asoka Mehta learnt this from Washington?

DIARIST

May 6

FACTS ABOUT FANS



Fans made from palm leaves are used in South India today as they have been for centuries. Simple but serviceable, they often figure in the friezes of ancient temples.

CHEAPNESS IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR QUALITY

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

WE are addressing this letter to you when you are visiting our State for the first time as the President of the Indian National Congress. While welcoming you to our State, we would like to request you to pay some attention to find out the real situation in the State especially to understand what are the actual policies and practice of the Congress leadership in the State.

As you know there is now a Communist-led Government in our State. It was elected by the people. It has been in power for the last two years. What has been the basic approach and attitude of the Congress in the State inside and outside the Assembly towards the first non-Congress Communist-led Government in any State in India. That approach was explained by the then President of the Pradesh Congress Committee in his Presidential Address to the State Political Conference organised by the Congress in April 1958. He said then:

"The immediate task of the Kerala Congress was to meet the challenge of Communism. If they failed to do so, democracy will perish not only in Kerala, but also in the rest of India. (Hindu, April 26, 1958)

This idea was incorporated in the political resolution adopted by the Conference which declared that "the urgent problem facing the State was to defeat the Communist menace to democracy and progress". This was elaborated by the leader of the Congress Party in the State Assembly Conference in July 1958 that "the aim of the Congress organisation in Kerala was first to isolate and then annihilate the Communist Party." (Indian Express, July 1958)

Menace To Democracy

Of course, it is for the Congress organisation and its leadership to decide what its policies should be, we are not competent or entitled to suggest what it should be. But we would like to know whether the policy of "isolating and annihilating the Communist Party" was the aim of the Congress throughout India, whether the Congress leadership considered that if the people of one or more States in India chose to elect a non-Congress or Communist Government to office under the democratic rights given by our Constitution, it would be a "challenge and menace to democracy"?

For such a policy has its own logic and repercussions in our national political life. In Kerala, the Congress leadership is trying to form a "united front" with all other Opposition parties including the

On this page we print the text of the Open Letter written by the Secretariat of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party of India to the Congress President, Smt. Indira Gandhi, at the time of her visit to Kerala State in the last week of April.

Muslim League to fight the Communists. The newly elected Executive of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee at its first meeting on April 11 decided that "an electoral understanding among political parties barring Communists should be promoted to avoid three-cornered contests in the forthcoming municipal and panchayat elections in the State" and constituted a three-man committee "to conduct exploratory talks in this behalf" (Indian Express, April 12, 1959)

And the leaders of various parties other than the Communists including the Muslim League were reported to have met for this purpose on April 25, just on the eve of your visit, on the invitation of the

Government, freedom may be given to transfer such land within a period of one year after the Bill becomes Law." (Report of the Select Committee, P. XVI)

It is up to you to explain and vindicate the stand of the Congress in Kerala, how what was then "difficult for the Congress" and "a moral and psychological loss" for the PSP has become the need and policy of the Congress today. As the President of the Congress, we feel that you have a duty to enlighten the people of our State on this issue.

According to us, this is the logical result of the blind policy of fighting Communism that has led to such opportunistic and unprincipled alliance with everybody who is opposed to the Communist Party even if they are com-

munalists who "prevent the emergence of secular tendencies and harmonising processes".

This is a demand of the landlords in order to defeat the aim of fixing ceiling on land holdings. We read the following comment in the AICC Economic Review dated April 1, 1959:

"...in fixing the ceiling, account must be taken of the fact that landlords all over the country have by now very largely either sold off or dispersed the surplus land. One way to counteract this would be to invalidate all transfers since a suitable date and proceed to determine the surplus

of the Congress with regard to the demand of the Congress in Kerala that landlords should be given one year's time to dispose of the excess land in their possession, that a higher rate of compensation should be paid to landlords, that kaval nilam should be exempted from ceiling, that Varam-dars (sharecroppers) can be given fifty of tenure only if they were cultivating the land for a continuous period of six years, that ceiling should be fixed by classifying the land on the basis of income, etc.

We would like you to enquire of the Congress leadership in the State what attitude they are taking towards the constructive and developmental activities initiated by the State Government to implement the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the last week of January this year the Kerala Government took the initiative to mobilise the people all over the State to take up as many new minor and medium irrigation works as possible on the basis of shramdan to cover a portion of the cost; conferences of all the MLAs, M.P.s, Panchayat Presidents and representatives of all political parties together with officers were called in each district to decide what works could be taken up and how much shramdan could be organised for each work.

About 400 new irrigation works were taken up, costing Rs. 50 lakhs, which when completed would irrigate about 14,000 acres of paddy land and would increase rice production by nearly 5,000 tons annually. Manual labour to the extent of Rs. ten lakhs was contributed by the people as shramdan.

We are sorry to say that the Congress leadership took an attitude of non-cooperation and even opposition to this programme.

Policy On Food

2 Recently the Kerala Government has drawn up a programme to increase food production by 15 per cent in the State during the coming year by setting up village production councils of peasants entrusted with the task of working out and carrying out a programme to increase production in each village and in each plot of land in the village.

The Chief Minister in a letter personally written to the M.P.s from Kerala, MLAs, members of the State Planning Advisory Committee, and also Presidents of Panchayat Boards, appealed for assistance and cooperation in the matter of setting up of the village production councils, of formulating the programme for additional production, suggesting measures for achieving it and in generally launching a drive to make the campaign a success.

Though this letter was written and the programme announced in the last week of

* SEE FACING PAGE

MAY 10, 1959

Kerala Congress Joins Hand With Communalists

* FROM PAGE 6

March, as far as our knowledge goes, the Congress leadership has not taken any action on it.

Of course, we know it is very difficult and embarrassing to the Congress leaders in the State to welcome this programme and appeal to Congressmen to actively participate in making it a success when they are campaigning for the immediate resignation of the Communist-led Ministry and even going to the length of suggesting that the Governor should dismiss it!

But then we would like to know whether national reconstruction is the concern of the Congress only in those States where the Congress is in power and whether the seven-point programme worked out for Mandal Congress Committees at the Conference of PCC Presidents and Secretaries is not binding on the Congress organisation in Kerala.

Agitation Against Education Act

Finally, we would like to bring to your notice two burning questions which are agitating the people of our State today. They are interlinked. The Congress leadership in the State is till now keeping a significant silence. They are the threat of a section of the private school managers led by the Nair communal and Catholic church leaders, not to reopen the schools under their management from June 1 and the demand by the same people to abolish reservation to backward communities in recruitment to Government services and admission to professional colleges.

Their campaign is against the Kerala Education Act which became law after getting the Presidential assent. The Nair communal and Catholic church leaders are giving open calls to defy the law, because they do not agree with it.

The Education Act provides for the recruitment of teachers in State as well as private-managed schools from a list prepared by the Public Service Commission. Nobody can object to such a provision because that is the most just one since the entire salary of the teachers in privately-managed schools also is paid directly from the consolidated fund of the State in Kerala. That is why they have raised the general question of reservation for backward communities. Their argument is that the principle of reservation for backward communities in practice goes against the interests of the "so-called forward" communities like Nairs and Christians.

Congressmen belonging to these two communities are directly and indirectly supporting the agitation of the Nair communal and Catholic church leaders against the Education Act and the principle of reservation. Equally strong Congress leaders belonging to the backward communities are opposing this agitation.

We hope that you will seriously consider the repercussions such an agitation, challenging a law passed by the legislature, by a section of the people affected by the law, will have throughout India. For, it will mean that any sectional interests can challenge and try to defeat any progressive legislative measure by unlawful, threatening methods.

Will the Congress leadership in the State keep mum over this challenge to constitutional authority by a handful of reactionary elements because they are fighting the Communist-led Government? Will they remain as just disinterested spectators and allow communal hatred to be fanned because that will create difficulties for the State Government? We are constrained to point out that the basic policy of fighting the so-called "Communist menace", of "isolating and annihilating the Communist Party" is by the sheer logic of that policy, leading the Congress leadership here to take up an undemocratic and even anti-national attitude on almost all issues.

Will you please find out whether the Congress leadership in Kerala is doing anything to help the campaign for family planning?

Will you kindly ask the Congress leaders in the State why they opposed and continue to oppose the Bill for Prohibition of Dowry system introduced by the Kerala Government a year-and-a-half ago—a Bill similar to which has been now introduced in Lok Sabha by the Government of India?

Role Of Opposition

Congress is in opposition in Kerala. It must oppose and fight the Communist Party and the State Government led by the Communists. It is the duty and right of the Congress, as the party in opposition here, to criticise the Government, to point out the mistakes and shortcomings of the Government. We perfectly agree with all this.

But, we ask whether the duty of the parties in opposition in India is only to oppose indiscriminately all that the Government does? Is that the tradition of our national movement itself? If we have understood correctly, Mahatma Gandhi built the Congress and led our national movement by insisting on positive constructive work in the service of the people even in the thick of the bitterest fight for freedom against foreign subjugation. That national tradition of constructive work even when in opposition to the Government in power is of far greater significance today when our entire nation is engaged in rebuilding our economy for a better life for our people.

Will such a totally negative policy of opposition help to strengthen the Congress itself and also serve the larger national interests—it is for you to consider and advise your followers in the State accordingly.

BOOK REVIEW

HISTORY OF TAMIL LITERATURE

HISTORY OF TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: (Beginning to 1000 A.D.) by Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. Price Rs. 4/75. Publishers: New Century Book House, 199, Mount Road, Madras 2.

PROF. Vaiyapuri Pillai's *History of Tamil Language and Literature* is a valuable contribution to a scientific understanding of the literary heritage of the Tamil people.

Prof. Pillai was an outstanding scholar. It was he who edited and master-minded the Tamil Lexicon, a massive publication in seven volumes by the Madras University. The various critical essays he wrote in Tamil are a tribute to his erudition, analytical powers and scientific approach. The book under review sums up the results of his life-long research in ancient Tamil literature.

History cannot easily attain a totally objective standpoint, even if any science can; and Professor Pillai's History is necessarily to an extent an expression of his personality. But it must be admitted that he had the courage of conviction to clear up the mist that enveloped our past, and to pursue the path of scientific criticism. The opposition of the orthodox traditionalists, who clung to the myths and fables that had grown around the ancient authors, did not deter the learned author from his self-imposed task.

Chronology is the sheet-anchor of history, but that has been the Achilles' heel of Tamil literary history. No wonder, the book under review is primarily devoted to the determination of the dates of the various Tamil classics. The author's sure mastery of the Indian heritage enables him to assess the north Indian influences on Tamil authors. His careful study of the historical matter in the texts and his philological research in the texts enable him to build up the chronology on a more or less sound basis. The value of his observations on these aspects cannot be overestimated.

Useful Evaluations

Chronology apart the author has made brief but useful evaluations of the literary charm and social significance of the various outpourings of the Tamil Muse. Special mention must be made of his assessment of the Bhakti literature and his estimate of Silappadigaram, the first among the early Tamil epics. His strictly scientific interpretation of the evolution of Sen Tamil (classical Tamil) from the dialects is also noteworthy.

The learned author is on sure grounds when he rejects the myths about the first and second Sangams (academies) of Tamil poets. Traditionalists assert that the earliest Tamil

literature now available popularly known as Sangam literature, belongs to the Third Sangam. It is possible that in this age of Sangam literature, a college of Tamil poets flourished for a time under royal patronage in Madurai. The evidence in support of this hypothesis is slender but cannot be rejected outright.

The learned author correctly advances the three well-known arguments to support his chronology for the Sangam literature: The Tamil of the short Brahmi inscriptions of the third century B.C. was in its formative stages and should have developed through some generations to attain the maturity seen in the Sangam anthologies.

Though Silappadigaram is a later work, it has probably preserved the historically correct synchronism of Gajabahu I of Ceylon with Senguttavan, one of the Chera monarchs celebrated in the Sangam literature.

The striking correspondence between the evidence of the Sangam poems and that of Periplus, Fliny and Ptolemy on the trade and other relations of the Tamil States with the Yavanas (Greeks and Romans) in this period offers a sure guide to the determination of the Sangam age. But the author appears to underestimate slightly the antiquity of the early Tamil poems.

Earliest Poems

It is true that Senguttavan belongs to the second century A.D. and that the trade between Egypt and Tamilnad increased in frequency and volume only after the discovery of the monsoon winds in 45 A.D. But there are other poems in the anthologies which have the stamp of an earlier period. A careful study of the word structure and content of the poems in Nannal and Kurundogai as well as of the later poems of Puram anthology leads us to believe that many of these poems were composed before the emergence of the three great kingdoms. It is quite probable that further researches would confirm Sri K. N. Sivaraja Pillai's (in the Chronology of the Ancient Tamils) conclusion that the earliest poems should have been composed in the first century B.C.

The learned author has ably summed up his arguments to disprove traditional beliefs and to correctly fix the dates of Tolkkappiyam, Kural and the twin epics (Silappadigaram and Manimekalai). But some points still remain to be cleared up. It is likely that the author has advanced the dates of these great works.

Tholkappiyam, a comprehensive work on Tamil grammar, may be the last great work of the Sangam age (50 B.C. to 300 A.D.). Kural may be one of the first works of the next period (300 A.D. to 600 A.D.). This is the period in which the Kalabhras ruled the Tamil land. It was marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism and Jainism. The "twin epics" might have been composed in the latter half of this period.

The reservations we express with due respect to the memory of the learned author, cannot in any way diminish the value of the book under review. One has only to compare it with other works on Tamil literary history to realise the historic significance of Prof. Pillai's profoundly scientific appraisal.

Timely Contribution

Tamil is the oldest of the Dravidian languages. Its ancient literature is a sure guide to gain an insight into the Tamil heritage. More, it enables us to understand the process of the cultural unification of the Indian people. Above all, Indian culture is itself partially understood so long as the Tamil heritage is not studied and assimilated by Indians in other States. So one can assert without any fear of contradiction that this book under review is a timely and useful contribution which would benefit not only students of Indian languages and history but also others. The publishers must be congratulated for having made the learned researches of Prof. Pillai available to non-Tamil readers.

A few spelling mistakes and grammatical errors have crept in and it is earnestly hoped that they will be eliminated in the next edition.

S. Ramakrishnan



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All cheques and drafts to be cleared up. It is likely that the author has advanced the dates of these great works.

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DELHI: BIGGEST EVER CELEBRATION

FROM A. C. NANDA

Delhi celebrated May Day this year with an impressive demonstration and rally—the biggest since the Capital began celebrating May Day in a big way eight years ago. About 10,000 people with flags, banners and posters marched in the demonstration while about 15,000 people sat in the meeting at Gandhi Grounds listening to speeches and the cultural programme.

THE May Day Committee which organised the celebrations had 31 unions in it. The Delhi Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress with 21 affiliated unions, the Delhi Committee of the United Trade Union Congress with 12 unions, independent federations of employees of banks, newspaper establishments, etc., unions of building workers, textile workers and so on came together to form the May Day Committee with eleven members and three Conveners—Ajit Das Gupta (UTUC), A. C. Nanda (AITUC) and H. L. Parwana (Delhi Trade Union Council).

The Committee had prepared for the day in a big way. Innumerable gate and bathak meetings had been held, 3,500 posters and 15,000 leaflets had been issued. Thirty-five thousand paper badges had been printed and sold bringing in a collection in small coins of about Rs. 1,500.

On the Day itself there were flag salutations in about 50 places in the city, mostly working class areas like Sabzmandi, Najafgarh Road, Chandni Chowk, all the trade union offices and in front of textile mills. All these areas had been colourfully decorated with banners and bunting and it was a sight the petroleum installations presented, each with its own flag post and flag. Trade union activists had put up flags on their houses and it was very much of a festive occasion when the prabhat pheris began in the morning in preparation for the flag salutations.

The workers of the New Age Printing Press organised a special May Day programme in the morning and the meeting was addressed by Ajoy Ghosh, B. T. Ranadive, Prabhat Kar, M. P. Farooqi and Gopen Chakravarty.

After the morning programme in their own areas, the workers had come from eight and ten miles away to the Ramliha Grounds to join the main demonstration of the evening which began from there and marched through the narrow lanes of Old Delhi before it emerged into Chandni Chowk. The Deputy Commissioner had earlier banned the demonstration on the ground that there was Section 144 in Chandni Chowk. It was only after the Chief Commissioner intervened that permission was finally given for the demonstration.

Communist Corporator Guru Radha Kishan, Secretary of the Engineering Mazdoor Union, hoisted the Red Flag at the Gandhi Grounds rally which was presided over by Sushil Bhattacharjee.

The rally adopted a May Day Manifesto of the Delhi working people which was moved by H. L. Parwana and seconded by Khirod Bhattacharjee. The Resolution on Recent

Court Decisions, moved by B. D. Joshi and seconded by Devender Aggarwal, expressed concern at the "trend of recent judgements of certain High Courts and of the Supreme Court of India in labour disputes," and said that "the working class will under no circumstances tolerate such encroachments on its hard won rights" and called "upon the Government to carry on a close scrutiny of the existing labour laws and introduce suitable amendments therein as urgently as possible to bring them in conformity with their oft-declared intentions to raise the status of the workers as full and equal partners in running and managing the industry."

The resolution on the Functioning of the Corporation of Delhi expressed "disappointment at the manner in which the Corporation has been functioning for some time past." "It is a pity," said the resolution that "numerically superior political groups in the Corporation are busy with attempts to turn the Corporation into a political forum in complete disregard of the well-being of the citizens and of the innumerable civic prob-

lems of the toiling millions of the city."

It called upon "the citizens of Delhi to exert pressure on their representatives in the Corporation to give up thinking and acting in a partisan spirit and to give priority to the tasks and problems confronting the Union Territory of Delhi." Prem Sagar Gupta, Communist Corporator, moved the resolution which was seconded by Munshi Narain Prasad.

Other resolutions adopted were on the food policy of the Government, on service conditions of domestic workers, and on the National and Grindlays Bank employees' struggle and among the speakers on these resolutions were Ajit Das Gupta, N. N. Mazna, Shakil Ahmad, Somayan Bhattacharjee, D. D. Singh, Jai Bhagwan Sharma, Parshottam Syal and Natha Singh.

The outstanding item of the cultural programme was the Calcutta Little Theatre Group's May Day in Soviet Union in 1905 (a scene from Gorky's Mother). The audience did not follow the language of the play but they were moved visibly and one worker later told me, "It didn't matter that we didn't know Bengali, we understood everything." The Agra IPTA put up a dance drama on the U.S.-Pakistan Pact.

Shahdra, an industrial suburb of Delhi, celebrated May Day with a rally organised jointly by twelve unions which was addressed by Mayor Aruna Asaf Ali.

Andhra Pradesh

FROM V. HANUMANTHA RAO

THREE demonstrations separately organised by the Andhra Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Hyderabad Mazdoor Sangh and the Indian National Trade Union Congress culminating in huge mass rallies marked the May Day Celebrations in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

Though there was no unity to organise the day jointly, there was no rivalry among these trade unions and the occasion was celebrated in a peaceful and impressive manner.

The demonstrations organised by the Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress and HMS ended in 5,000 strong rallies where leaders of the two organisations called upon the workers to fight against the discriminatory policies pursued by the Government resulting in giving all aid to the INTUC to split and destroy the existing organised and recognised unions, especially in road transport, the Singareni Collieries, the electricity department, etc. There was criticism of the undue delay in settling disputes in the courts of law, sharp attacks on Government policies which resulted in unemployment and retrenchment.

Working journalists and press workers in the newspaper offices gathered in the Journalists' Union office

to celebrate May Day as Protest Day against the closure of the EXPRESS Group of newspapers. An appeal for a fighting fund in support of the EXPRESS employees resulted in an on-the-spot collection of Rs. 32. The HMS and APTUC rallies also adopted resolutions protesting against the closure of the EXPRESS Group of newspapers and benami transfers.

News from districts received so far indicate big demonstrations and mass rallies especially in Guntur and Vijaywada.

CALCUTTA GOES FESTIVE

CALCUTTA'S working people lived up to their tradition by observing one of the most colourful May Days in recent years.

Early in the morning, flags were hoisted in different union offices and working class areas. Some of the working class centres in the city wore a festive look. A multitude of Red Flags lined the streets and when evening fell whole areas were illuminated by multi-coloured lamps. Earlier in the morning, the city's trams and buses came out flying Red Flags.

Though May Day was not declared a holiday, over ten thousand workers assembled in the meeting in Subodh Mullick

Kerala Workers: Backbone Of Government

—LABOUR MINISTER'S MESSAGE

MAY DAY was celebrated in Trivandrum by workers belonging to different central trade union organisations separately by taking out big cycle processions in the morning and holding public meetings in the evening.

In a May Day message, the State's Labour Minister, T. V. Thomas, said that "workers of Kerala are celebrating this May Day with substantial gains to their credit, some of which are increased emoluments, compulsory minimum wages and more than a dozen long-term agreements in major industries in the State. The Industrial Relations Bill, now before the Legislature, will when passed ensure better bargaining for the workers and peaceful and democratic settlement of disputes."

"On this May Day, I greet the heroic workers of Kerala who have suffered and struggled hard to build a powerful and united trade union movement in the country, which today is the backbone and guarantee of our Government. I wish all employees in the State more success and more unity to build a brighter and better life."

Rains and cloudy weather spoiled much of the enthusiasm and jubilation but still the celebrations carried with them an air of cheerfulness and holiday mood. All State Government offices remained closed for the day, the Kerala Government having declared it a public holiday. Trade union offices were decorated with flags and festoons.

While processionists of AITUC-affiliated unions shouted slogans such as AITUC Zindabad, May Day Zindabad and Long Live

World Peace, PSP and RSP followers in their procession shouted among others slogans against the Government like Communist Rule Killers' Rule and Down With Communist Rule.

Addressing a public meeting in the evening, AITUC leaders, R. Sugathan and Balachandran Menon, both MLAs, exhorted the workers to defend the Kerala Government which was doing a great deal to better the conditions of workers and peasants. They said that the Kerala Government was "an instrument in the hands of the working class", which if it acted unitedly using this instrument, can achieve more benefits in the coming year. Balachandran Menon also called upon the workers to increase production in the public sector and establish their initiative in national reconstruction.

MASS RALLIES MARK MAY DAY



A view of the mammoth May Day demonstration in Delhi.

BOMBAY: GIRNI KAMGAR UNION HOLDS ONE-LAKH RALLY

FROM GERALD PEREIRA

RED FLAGS fluttered in the industrial north as the city woke up on May 1. Scores of flag salutations took place in the early morning of the day. Workers wore May Day badges in memory of the martyrs of the Haymarket Trial.

A mammoth rally of workers was held under the auspices of the recently-formed Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (BGKU) at Shivaji Park. The rally which was preceded by colourful and impressive processions with music and songs, of the textile workers, is the biggest May Day rally ever held in the city of Bombay.

A hundred thousand workers who gathered at the maidan flung a challenge to the representative character of the INTUC-led Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh which organised a rival rally at Nare Park, attended by hardly two thousand workers.

S. A. Dange, General Secre-

tary of the BGKU in his speech called upon each and every textile worker to join the new united union and get ready to fight back the onslaughts of the mill-owners. Dange charged the mill-owners with increasing the workload and at the same time retrenching the workers. The greedy and corrupt millowners, he said, are closing down the mills without caring about what happens to the workers.

Dange asked why the Government was not taking over the mills closed down by the millowners. The Government complains, he said, that it has no funds, but it spends lakhs of rupees on foreign "refugees", and finds no funds to rescue the Indian workers from unemployment and starvation.

Dange announced that more than a lakh of textile workers had already been enrolled as members of the three-month-old BGKU. He appealed to them to pay their membership

dues on May 10 for another term of three months, to "enable us to get recognition under the Bombay Industrial Relations Act." He called upon the Government to cancel the recognition of the INTUC union and to recognise the BGKU. If the Government fails to see sense, he stated, the united might of the workers will force it to see it.

S. M. Joshi, President of the BGKU, told the cheering crowd that the new union had been formed because that was the demand of the workers. "And we have come to this maidan," he said, "because the other maidans are too small for such a huge rally."

S. M. Joshi called upon the Central Government to appoint a Corporation to run those mills closed down by the millowners. He announced that a conference of all-India textile workers will be held in Bombay on May 23 and 24 to press such a demand.

Rebuking INTUC leader G. D. Ambekar for his announcement that the mill-owners were going to offer less bonus for the year 1957 because of the formation of this Leftist union (BGKU), S. M. Joshi emphatically declared that the very announcement of the bonus would be precisely because of the

formation of such a powerful united union. If the mill-owners, announce less bonus, he said, the workers will know what to do.

Udharao Patil, Vice-President of the BGKU and leader of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, Datta Deshmukh, Vice-President of the BGKU and leader of the Lal Nishan Group, and K. L. Kamble, leader of the Republican Party, also addressed the rally.

The Socialist Party and the PSP-led Hind Mazdoor Sabha simultaneously held their own separate rallies at Kamgar Maidan and Keshav Baug respectively. Both the rallies were poorly attended.

Earlier, the Bombay State Trade Union Congress had approached the Socialist Party, H.M.S. and other unions to join hands in order to organise a United May Day Committee. But the appeal was turned down by them.

The Bombay State Trade Union Congress, in addition to supporting the rally of the BGKU, held under its auspices a separate May Day meeting later in the evening at Mastan Talao, in the heart of the Muslim locality. The meeting was well attended and was addressed by S. S. Mirajkar, P. K. Kurane and others.

JAMSHEDPUR: May Day was celebrated in the steel city with a big mass rally in the evening jointly sponsored by the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and the Burnpur United Steel Workers' Union.

The rally resolved to observe May 12 as Bihar Demands Day to rally opinion against the imposition of multi-point sales tax and professional tax, rise in prices and the Bihar Government's proposed amendment to trade union rules. May 12 synchronises with the anniversary of last year's TISCO strike.

The programme undertaken in connection with the Demands Day seeks to bring in all sections of the people. The rally was addressed among others by U. Misra, Vice-President of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, and Taher Husain, MLA, General Secretary of the Burnpur United Steel Workers' Union.

PATNA: Mass rally of workers was held in Patna under the Patna Trade Union Coordination Committee, which represented over thirty trade unions. The rally adopted a resolution expressing its grave concern over the anti-labour policy of the Bihar and Central Governments, and pledged to defeat this policy.

May Day was observed in all industrial centres and towns of Bihar with the holding of meetings and demonstrations. All sections of workers, including Central Government employees, participated in functions organised in connection with May Day.

KANPUR: May Day was observed jointly by various trade unions in the city. At the joint meeting organised in the evening in the Arya Samaj Hall, speakers stressed the need for working class unity.

LUCKNOW: Thirteen trade unions of the city jointly held a rally in the Aminuddaula Park to mark May Day. R. V. Ojha, President of the U.P. Working Journalists' Union, presided. The Eastern Command Defence Employees' Union took out a procession in the cantonment area and later held a meeting. The U.P. Bank Employees' Union held a meeting and demanded bipartite and tripartite conferences to consider the demands of bank employees.

BANGALORE: The climax of May Day at Bangalore was a mass rally at Chikkala Bagh under the auspices of the City Trade Union Council, attended by eight thousand people, under the presidency of A. Laxminarayana, Organising Secretary of the All-India Defence Employees Federation, and addressed by Krishnan, President, HMS, and Suryanarayana, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress.

Leading unions of the public and defence sector like Hindustan Aircraft, Electronics, Machine-Tools and Telephones joined the bank employees, engineering, textiles, silk and corporation workers in the rally, together representing twenty thousand organised workers.

Earlier, a mile-long procession paraded the streets with fluttering Red Banners and colourful folk dances, which lent a touch of colour and gaiety.

AGRA: For the first time Communists, Congress, PSP and independent trade unions celebrated May Day jointly in the city. The main function was a mass rally held in the evening under the auspices of the all-parties' Trade Union Committee, presided over by a presidium of eleven members.

Indiawide dock workers' strike. The rally passed a resolution urging the Government to revise the police code, banning shooting to kill. Mohan Kumar Ramangalam, member of the Kerala Commission to revise the Police Code, said that unless a thorough change was brought about in the attitude of the police, democracy would become a farce. The Kerala Commission's work, he hoped, would provide a model for others.

In South Madras, trade unions pledged total support to the Indian Express workers' struggle against the lock-out illegally declared by Press baron Goenka. The Government was urged to prevent Goenka from removing assets of the company in

view of the heavy compensation payable to the workers if the closure is ruled genuine. On Friday the High Court granted stay on Sri Goenka's petition to forbear the Government from compelling him to lift the lock-out.

In COIMBATORE, the Communist Chairman of the Municipality, Bhupathy, took the salute at a labour rally unitedly arranged by different unions. An eleven-point charter of demands, which included measures against rising prices, retrenchment, closure, etc., was adopted by the workers' rally.

MADRAS: MAY DAY was celebrated in Madras at three big rallies of workers led by the Taminad Trade Union Congress, the Socialist-led Madras Labour Union and the unaffiliated Trade Union Council. Slogans in giant Tamil characters demanding measures against skyrocketing food prices, closure, threats and retrenchment were carried by processionists before converging at public meetings.

The harbour workers' rally paid homage to the six workers who had been shot down by the police last year during the

MADRAS

The resolution also expressed great concern and indignation over the imperialist conspiracy in Tibet, which was aimed at driving a wedge between India and China, whose friendship was the corner-stone of Afro-Asian solidarity.

The resolution also called upon the workers to organise a powerful campaign against the Pak-U.S. Military Pact, which was a threat to Indian security and sovereignty.

Another meeting was held in the Maidan under the joint auspices of the UTUC and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. Among other things, PSP speakers in this meeting spoke at length "against Chinese imperialism for suppressing the national revolt of Tibetan people" and called for active support and help for the Tibetan struggle.

INDIAWIDE DOCK WORKERS' STRIKE

A resolution passed in the meeting sent greetings of solidarity to workers of India and abroad, particularly to workers of the Soviet Union for their historic endeavour to build Communism and maintain peace. The meeting pledged firm support to the liberation struggles of Afro-Asian countries, particularly Algeria and Iraq.

The harbour workers' rally paid homage to the six workers who had been shot down by the police last year during the

PARTY NEWS

For A Stronger Communist Party In Karnatak

STATE CONFERENCE DECISIONS

THE three-day Karnatak State Conference of the Communist Party of India was held in Devangere, nearly 100 delegates from the various districts attending.

Comrade Simson Soans, one of the oldest members of the Party from Mangalore who has served the cause of the working class for over twenty years, hoisted the Red Flag and appealed the delegates to pledge themselves to building a powerful party in the State.

The Conference, whose proceedings were conducted by a Presidium of Comrades M. C. Narasimhan, S. Sanjiva Rai and M. S. Rama Rao, began with paying homage to the martyrs. A special resolution was adopted on Sri Siddappa Hosamane, one of the foremost leaders of the Karnatak, a consistent fighter for Karnatak unification and who in the recent period had been wholeheartedly supporting the cause of the Communist Party.

The Conference then heard the report of the Provincial Committee which dealt exhaustively with the situation in the State and its problems. It showed how the Government had failed to tackle any of the problems of the State.

State's Problems

The unemployment problem was becoming increasingly serious. The Government had no policy of industrialisation. While some of the existing units like the Karnataka Textile Mills at Hubli, the Kapila Textiles at Nanjangud, etc., were closing down, the Government had failed to start any new industries and even those new industries which were proposed to be started in the State were diverted to other States because of the weakness of the Government and the instability of the regime in the State.

The food problem in the State had become acute with prices soaring high and the programme for increasing food production had flopped. While the major irrigation works like the Tungabhadra Project, etc., had not brought the expected acreage under irrigation, the performance of minor irrigation works was also far behind expectations. Because of the failure of Government policies, the State continues to be deficit in food-grains.

The progress of the Plan in the State has been extremely slow and tardy—only about forty per cent of the targets has been fulfilled in the first three years.

On the question of land reforms, the Government has utterly disappointed the people. The draft Bill which was introduced in the November

session of the legislature still remains at that stage without even being taken up for discussion and the report is that large sections of Congressmen are themselves opposing it.

Corruption, favouritism, etc., have assumed huge proportions to the disgust of the people who were seeing that the Government was doing nothing about the Gorwala Report which had exposed the rottenness of the administration.

The Congress Party had been unable to provide a strong and stable Government and attempts were being made to overthrow the present Jatti Ministry in the same way as the earlier Nijalingappa Ministry was thrown out. The internecine quarrels inside the Congress had only intensified since then.

The report then dealt with the various struggles of the working class like those in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, the Hatti Gold Mines, etc. These struggles ended in great victories due to the unity and firmness of the workers and

the widespread support they got from other sections of the people.

Working class organisations had become stronger in the State, the kisan movement had extended to new areas, and the Party had grown in many areas where the people had begun to consider the Party as the challenge to the Congress.

The report, in conclusion, made concrete suggestions for the strengthening of the Party and the mass organisations in the coming period.

Thirty delegates participated in the discussions which followed and made very useful contributions. Comrade P. Ramamurti, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, addressed the delegates' session on the role of the Party in the present period.

Resolutions

Several resolutions were adopted by the Conference.

The resolution on repression in Punjab strongly condemned the Kairon Gov-

ernment, demanded payment of compensation to the families of the killed, judicial enquiry into the police firings and an end to repression.

The resolution on land reforms, moved by Comrade B. V. Kakkilaya, dealt with various provisions of the proposed Mysore Bill. It criticised the provisions regarding resumption of land for personal cultivation, payment of heavy compensation, high ceiling limit, the exemptions from ceilings given for areca-nut and coconut gardens and efficiently-run farms, etc., and said that the result of all this would be the negation of the very objects of the Bill. The resolution strongly criticised the delay in enacting even this Bill which had caused large-scale evictions and bogus sales and transactions by landlords. This delay was only natural as the Congress organisation was dominated by these landlords.

The Conference demanded that the Bill with necessary amendments be discussed immediately and passed by the legislature. The Conference also called on all Party units to observe a Land Reform Day in cooperation with all other patriotic and democratic sections.

The resolution of the Labour Policy of the Government moved by S. Suryanarayana Rao dealt with the failure of the Government to enforce the Minimum Wages Act, Factories Act, etc., in

various establishments in the State, condemned the Government's discriminatory attitude to unions led by non-Congressmen and failure to improve the conditions of workers.

The resolution called on all sections of the people to protest against the anti-working class policies of the Government as they are against the interests of the people and of Socialism.

Comrade N. K. Upadhyaya moved the resolution on rise in food prices which condemned the Government's failure to check the price-increase. The policies of the Government were helping the hoarders to make profit at the cost of the common people. The resolution demanded immediate steps to bring down the price of foodgrains, opening of cheap grain shops, State trading in foodgrains, and also supply of agricultural implements, manure, seeds, etc., to the peasants at cheap rates.

Another resolution adopted was on the public sector.

Call To Party Members

The Conference called upon Party members to strengthen the trade union movement, organise peasants in Ryota Sanghas, agitate for the distribution of fallow land to the landless peasants and poor people, fight for increased wage to workers and middle class employees, struggle against unjust taxes, corruption, nepotism and bribery and communalism and to strengthen the Party in the State by drawing in all patriotic elements and building a powerful democratic movement in the State. It also called upon all Party organisations to utilise all opportunities like the NES, Community Development Project, etc., and also work in panchayat and municipalities to get maximum benefits for the masses.

The Conference decided to enrol 5,000 members to the Party this year, increase the trade union and Ryota Sangha membership and to collect Rs. 5,000 in the next three months.

The Conference passed a resolution condemning the repression launched by the Government on the various movements of the people. It also condemned the taxation policy of the Government, specially the recent burdens that it has imposed in the form of betterment levy, passenger tax, etc.

One of the subjects which was very seriously discussed in the Conference, apart from other matters, was the question of setting up a proper Centre for Party work in the State. The Conference decided to defer the formation of a Council till the next Conference. Instead it elected a 21 member State Committee and a Secretariat of three.

Comrades Mohan Poonamiya, Ramanand Agarwal and H. K. Vyas were elected as members of the Secretariat, and Comrade H. K. Vyas was elected as the Secretary.

ASSAM PARTY CONFERENCE

THE Fifth Conference of the Assam State Committee of the Communist Party of India was held at Gauhati from March 30 to April 2 last.

Sixty-six delegates and thirty associate delegates attended the Conference from all over the State, representing a cardholding paid membership of 2,000.

Since its last Conference the Communist Party in Assam has gained very valuable and rich experience in numerous local struggles.

It has led kisan struggles for land, struggles against eviction and for tenancy rights.

There was a big movement throughout the State for food in which the Party played a prominent part.

In the movement for location of an oil refinery inside the State, which as a part of the broader movement for the industrialisation of the State roused the whole people into action and drew all opposition parties, the Communist Party played the unifying role.

The Party has led many powerful struggles of the workers in the coal, oil and tea industries.

It is through all this that since the last general elections the Party's membership has more than doubled.

The Political Report at the present Conference, presented by the Secretary, Comrade Phani Bora, drew attention to the decline in the influence of the Congress and to its organisational disintegration. It noted that as a result of the wrangling for power, the Mehdi group had been thrown out by the Chhalha group. These groupings had little to do with questions of policy and the group now dominant was opposed even to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress.

The report pointed out the shift towards Right that had taken place in the State Congress which manifested itself both in the land policy and

the industrial policy of the Government. The land policy of the Government consisted in more evictions and refusal to distribute available surplus lands to poor peasants or agricultural labourers. The industrial policy of the Government is one of facilitating more ruthless exploitation of the working class.

There was a lively discussion on the report and the Conference laid stress on the speedy expansion of the Party and of the mass organisations which lagged far behind the Party's capacity to mobilise the masses on various issues under its leadership. Ruthlessly criticising the tendency to avoid struggles, both in the leaders as well as in the ranks, the Conference called upon the entire Party to throw its full might in struggles on local as well as Statewide issues.

While issuing a warning against the wrong understanding prevalent in the Party of equating "peaceful transition" with parliamentarism, the Conference also cautioned against minimising the importance of work inside the legislatures and the civic bodies and panchayats. It also emphasised the need to participate vigorously in the various development works undertaken by the Government.

The Conference stressed the need to organise broad-based popular movement, more especially the class battles of workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia.

The Conference resolved to increase the Party's membership by 50 per cent within the year 1959 and to extend Party bases to new areas while consolidating the already existing ones.

A State Council of 51 members was elected with Comrade Phani Bora as Secretary. An Executive Committee of 15 and a Secretariat of five as well as a Control Commission of three (Comrade Mani Bhowmik as Chairman) were also elected. Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Party attended the Conference.

Czechoslovakia Celebrates National Day With Big Achievements

MAY 9, 1945—the day Hitlerite Germany finally laid down its arms thanks to the Soviet Army's increasing hammer-blows—is also the day of the regeneration of Czechoslovakia, the State and nation which was the first victim of Nazi aggression and Western betrayal.

On this 14th anniversary of the liberation, Czechoslovakia is going ahead with her Second Five-Year Plan, building Socialism in the country.

STEADY RISE

Statistics show a steady increase both in production and in productivity. Industrial production rose in 1958 by 11.3 per cent as compared with 1957, which is the highest rate of the growth in the past six years.

Productivity of labour increased by 7.4 per cent and accounted for 68 per cent of the growth in the industrial production.

A total of 1,300 crores of crowns were invested in industry in 1958, which is 12.3 per cent more than in 1957.

The value of the gross agricultural production increased by 3.4 per cent in the last year and the investments in agriculture in 1958 came to about 530 crores of crowns, that is an increase of 4.4 per cent against 1957.

Foreign trade turnover in 1957 came to more than 2,100 crores crowns, which represents an increase of 4.4 per cent as against 1957.

This steady rise in all branches of the national economy, had naturally some direct results for the rise of the standard of living of the Czechoslovak working people.

In March 1959, the Czechoslovak Government decided to reduce for the seventh time since 1953, the retail prices of consumer goods. The reduction means benefit for the population amounting to 230 crores of crowns. It affects food by 140 crores crowns per year and some kinds of industrial products of the widest consumption by 90 crores crowns per year. The deepest cuts, 20 to 40 per cent, have been made in the prices of textiles and clothing, footwear, watches, cameras, washing machines, etc.

At the same time, some other very popular measures have been taken: the allowances for the families with more children were further increased and their amount was made dependent on the salary of the parents. The rise is highest in the lower income group, i.e. where the bread-winner's wage does not exceed 1,400 crowns monthly. The allowances in these families for the third and every further child amount to 260 crowns monthly, i.e. 120 crowns more than before.

Social welfare in Czechoslovakia, which is recognised as one of the best in the world has been further improved, and pensions have been increased. For instance, the old age, disability and widow's pensions in the first working group (miners and pilots) will amount to 2,200 crowns, in the second group (surface miners, foundry workers, etc.) up to 1,800 crowns, and in the third group (other workers) up to 1,600 crowns.

She does not accept for granted the defensive mission of NATO under the command of a Nazi General. She does not like this organisation, the same as India is not happy with Baghdad Pact and Pakistan's affiliation to it. Not enough attention, even in India, is, however, paid to her warning and not many take seriously the reality, that there are some 31 Nazi Generals reinstated in the high posts in the West German Army and that of many Ministers in Bonn have a Nazi background.

Cultural exchanges too, between the two countries, India and Czechoslovakia, have been very rich during the last year. Delhi people have had the opportunity to see the famous Czechoslovak agencies of export was added, which represents a very important step ahead. According to this arrangement, Czechoslovak exports to India as well as Indian exports to Czechoslovakia were fixed to the balanced amounts of Rs. 11.3 crores each.

Czechoslovakia will extend both the number of items and the quantity of her imports. As the second biggest buyer of Indian iron ore (after Japan) she wants to extend her import

from almost 600,000 tons to over 1,000,000 tons of iron ore, yearly. She further imports manganese ore, mica, hides, and skins, vegetable oils and spices, tea and coffee, coir, handicrafts, etc., etc.

PEACE POLICY

In the past year, since the last National Day of Czechoslovakia in 1958, there have been some important anniversaries commemorated in Czechoslovakia—the 20th anniversary of the shameful betrayal of Munich in September, the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic after World War I on October 28, and finally the 20th anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis on March 15.

The Czechoslovak Government did not fail to stress the lessons of those events not only to the Czechoslovak people, but also to the whole world. Czechoslovakia, wishing nothing more than lasting peace, sponsoring all the genuine peace and disarmament proposals, sees with the deepest forebodings some ominous signs on the western horizon: she sees the striking similarity of the neo-Nazis and revanchists in the German Federal Republic with the threats and demands of Hitler, and she follows with some anxiety the developments of the psychological and material preparation for the war.

TRADE WITH INDIA

The healthy economic situation found its reflection also in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade with our country.

In addition to the already traditional equipment for sugar mills, cement factories, and power stations, a contract for the foundry-forge project in Hatia near Ranchi was signed in August 1958.

In March 1958, to the existing trade agreement a new arrangement between the State Trading Corporation and the Czechoslovak agencies of export was added, which represents a very important step ahead. According to this arrangement, Czechoslovak exports to India as well as Indian exports to Czechoslovakia were fixed to the balanced amounts of Rs. 11.3 crores each.

India on her part won another success in the International Film Festival in Karlovy Vary, where the prize for the best actress performance was awarded to Nargis, for her role in Mother India.

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IMPROVING THE PARTY CENTRE IN RAJASTHAN

THE Fourth Conference of the Rajasthan State Committee of the Communist Party of India was held at Bhilwara last month.

About 60 delegates coming from various districts and representing 18 units and about 1,500 members discussed the report of the State Committee and adopted a number of important resolutions.

Comrade M. Basavapuniah, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Party, addressing the delegates reported on the decisions of the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Party and called on the delegates to address themselves to the task of discussing the specific problems of the State.

About 25 comrades took part in the discussion on the report. Comrades spoke about their own experiences and in no uncertain terms expressed themselves on the work of the State Committee during this period. After the discussions, the report was referred to the new Provincial Committee to be finalised.

The Conference, however, took decisions on some of the questions which were raised in the report. One such question was the need to set up a proper and strong Party Centre in the State and to evolve a team of comrades to lead the Party work. To en-

sure this the Conference elected a State Committee of 21 members with a three man Secretariat.

Third Plan For Rajasthan

One of the resolutions adopted by the Conference contained the proposals of the Communist Party for the States' Third Five-Year Plan. The Conference said that the Third Plan of the State should be much bigger than is being contemplated and has suggested a plan of Rs. 500 crores. The extremely meagre provision that was given to industry in the Second Plan—Rs. six crores out of Rs. 105 crores—and what is worse, the almost complete failure to implement even this meagre provision, came in for serious criticism, and the Conference decided that in the Third Plan much greater attention should be given to industries.

By another resolution the Conference welcomed the resolutions of the Nagpur Congress as also some of the decisions of the State Congress, taken with a view to implementing the Nagpur Congress resolutions. While serious shortcomings in these resolutions have been pointed out, the Conference has all the

same expressed its willingness to cooperate in the execution of the decisions. It has called for a wide patriotic unity of all those who really stand for the resolutions of the Nagpur Congress.

The Conference condemned the recent Pak-U.S. Pact and called upon its units to cooperate in every way with the decisions of the Afro-Asian Conference recently held at Calcutta where a call for observing May 16 as Anti-Pak-U. S. Pact has been given.

The Conference passed a resolution condemning the repression launched by the Government on the various movements of the people. It also condemned the taxation policy of the Government, specially the recent burdens that it has imposed in the form of betterment levy, passenger tax, etc.

One of the subjects which was very seriously discussed in the Conference, apart from other matters, was the question of setting up a proper Centre for Party work in the State. The Conference decided to defer the formation of a Council till the next Conference. Instead it elected a 21 member State Committee and a Secretariat of three.

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SITAMARHI: A DANGER SIGNAL

FROM ALI ASHRAF

A bare two days after the successful Statewide hartal against taxes on April 15, the whole of Bihar was rocked by the communal riot in Sitamarhi on April 17. The Chief Minister, Dr. Srikrishna Sinha, described the casualties as "very heavy". Official figures place the number of killed at 14 and if the deaths at Akhta are included, which was actually an offshoot of the Sitamarhi carnage, the figures will mount to 26. The number of injured in Sitamarhi is estimated at one thousand of which about 700 were registered in the hospital. Eighty of them had grievous injuries.

NEVER since Independence has Bihar experienced a riot on such a scale. April 17 was the peak day of the Ramnavami mela at Sitamarhi. It is one of the biggest cattle fairs in this part of the country. More than one lakh persons from far and near, from various districts of north Bihar, had assembled in an area of about 60 acres on the outskirts of the town. A good number of Muslims had also come as they used to come every year.

At about 10 a.m., in the words of the Chief Minister, "trouble suddenly flared up near a Muslim hotel set up in middle of the mela grounds." The Searchlight wrote editorially: "It appears that a calf was being led to a hotel to be fed on the refuse of the previous day. Somebody, it is stated, raised a hue and cry that the calf was being taken to be killed and that it was a cow, as if even in Sitamarhi and on a day of historic festival in me-

memory of the birthday of Bhagwan Sri Ramchandra anybody would be foolish enough to murder a cow and that too in the open bazaar." (April 19)

The new President of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee, Sri Abdul Qayyum Ansari, has expressed the opinion that "the Sitamarhi riot was not merely a communal affair." Sri Baidyanath Chowdhry, Secretary of the Bihar Bhoodan Yajna Committee, also expressed a similar opinion when he said that "the nature of the Sitamarhi riot was more social than communal." Sri Abdul Qayyum Ansari, explaining his statement, said, that "it signified disturbing trends all over the country in the wake of the revolutionary undertakings of the party in the Nagpur resolutions and all kinds of interests were trying to disturb the peace of the country and its further march."

Whatever Sri Ansari might

have wanted to say it is unfortunate that when another daily put the words "anti-Congress political parties," Sri Ansari did not consider it necessary to issue a contradiction and to make his meaning more explicit with the result that when unity of all patriotic forces was required to fight the menace of communal reaction, this statement led to confusion. And both the Praja Socialist and Communist Parties had to come out with a protest.

The Secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party has pointed out in a statement passed in an emergency meeting that of late the Party had noted with some concern the growth of the activities of the communal forces, especially the RSS, which after lying low for a long time after Mahatma Gandhi's murder had been once again raising its head and had even resumed para-military training under the most

provocative communal slogans. And allied with the RSS on the political plane was the Jan Sangh, the party of communal reaction.

The Communist Party has pointed out that for some time past in Bihar, persistent efforts are being made to provoke conflict on the question of Muslim graveyards. Recently near Hajipore, in the same district of Muzaffarpur, a serious riot was averted when an image of Buddha was discovered near a grave. Some months ago the communalists had actually succeeded in assembling a large crowd of thirty thousand at Arwal in Gaya in connection with a dispute over a graveyard and it was with difficulty that the situation was saved. Today, in fact dozens of such disputes are going on in various districts all over the State suggesting a uniform pattern and the same hand working in all these disputes.

The carnage at Sitamarhi is a portent. It shows how desperate and dangerous the communal disruptionists can become. And they can take the people by surprise. It is a remarkable fact that the riot was confined to the mela area and the people in the town gave shelter to the fleeing Muslims and I am told even Marwari businessmen of the town repelled the rioters who wanted to set fire to a mosque.

On the other hand, "the unfortunate occurrence in the Sitamarhi mela ground," as the Chief Minister pointed out, "was a specially dangerous event because in this mela there had gathered people from distant places from various districts. . . . This has caused tension to appear in many widely separated places." Thus it was that the riot spread to Akhta a few miles away.

The situation became tense in the adjoining district of Champaran where Section 144 had to be imposed in the whole district. Panic spread in yet another district in Darbhanga and an accidental fire in a timber depot in Laheriasarai was reported by the Correspondent of the Statesman as the result of communal passion. The report was later officially contradicted.

Communal elements distributed leaflets on a large scale in their effort to spread the conflagration. It is true official and public vigilance roused by the events of Sitamarhi did not allow them to succeed further. But then it cannot be denied that Sitamarhi found both the Government and the political parties unprepared. The Searchlight has rightly castigated the Government: "The Home Department must assume the entire responsibility if it had not the imagination to provide for possible contingencies". It is, however, not merely a question of police arrangements. Communal reaction has been trying to poison our social relations in many ways. It is trying to advance through various channels. It has to be fought out politically and with vigour. And it is here that political parties of the State have been victims of complacency.

The Communist Party has appealed for broad all-in unity including the Congress and the Government to fight out communalism and communal provocations.

NEW STAGE IN KERALA'S STRUGGLE

THE Malayalee people have arrived at a new stage in their struggle for democratic changes in Kerala," were the first words of Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party, during our interview.

On being asked why he had called it a new stage, his reply was that the time had come when from preparation and discussion of progressive legislations, the Kerala Government was going over to their implementation. The Education Act was only the first of such measures. The Agrarian Relations Bill, the Panchayat Act and the District Councils Act would also soon be passed into law.

Naturally the reactionary forces in Kerala were stepping up their opposition, resorting to more and more desperate and shameful methods.

"The nature of the opposition move is also somewhat new. The Congress, PSP—and in their tail the RSP—have decided to rally round an openly communal leader like Sri Mannath Padmanabhan. The driving force is, of course, supplied by the Catholic church. It is shocking to find the Kerala Congress going down to the level of open acceptance of communalism; and it is to be regretted that the Congress President during her

THE TIBET DEBATE

★ FROM PAGE FOUR

rally had to draw the attention of the House to the situation where those who had never accepted PANCH SHEEL and Sino-Indian friendship and regarded these as having been born in sin had today become champions of these. He pleaded against emotions and sentiments being allowed to distort our vision. He reiterated that what had happened in Tibet was an armed rebellion of some vested interests and reactionaries who wanted to prevent the march of history.

Bhupesh Gupta recalled articles of the 1951 agreement which Sri Shiva Rao had preferred not to mention. Disputing the thesis of national uprising, he said, "Have we not witnessed in our country how some backward, unenlightened people are liable to be swept away by rabid communal reactionaries and others?"

He recalled the Kashmir events of 1953 when it was found necessary to make a surprise arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and put him under detention. "As honourable members will remember some incidents followed and force had to be used in quelling rebellion or what contained elements of it. What did the imperialist circles and the Western Press say then. I was in Europe at that time and I distinctly remember how India was called an aggressor and how the Prime Minister was painted in the darkest colours. Sheikh Abdullah was acclaimed as a liberator and the separatist elements and other pro-Pakistan elements were lauded to the sky."

The basic question before us, however, is not the trustworthiness or otherwise of the Dalai Lama. Nor is the basic question whether, in the heat of the controversy, certain harsh words have been used by this side or that. The basic question is whether we can afford to let Sino-Indian relations deteriorate over an issue which is admittedly China's internal

visit to Kerala did not warn her partymen against this course."

The basic reason for this new move was the undoubted swing of the masses in Kerala towards the Ministry and the Communist Party. The people through in tens of thousands and even lakhs to the meetings organised by the Party.

The rallies organised following the Taluq and District Conferences of the Party saw a veritable mass upsurge. The smallest meeting would be some 20,000 strong and the largest would swell over to two lakhs and more. And these were audiences listening with intensity and concentration to the speeches, giving birth to new slogans and filled with pride and hope.

Faced with this leap in popularity of the Ministry and Communist Party, the reactionaries have turned to their age-old weapon of disruption through fanning communal passions.

"Take the most flagrant example. Clause 11 of the Education Act lays down that teachers are to be appointed from a panel prepared by the State Public Service Commission. It is against this clause that Sri Mannath Padmanabhan is hurling most of his verbal thunder-bolts.

"Yet this clause was inserted into the Act precisely because objections were raised to the original draft proposals on the ground that the Communists were going to fill the schools with their own people. "At that time the Nair Service Society and Sri Mannam came out strongly in support of the new Clause 11. Press statements were issued in favour of it. And now has come the volte-face.

"All this betrays a lack of adherence to elementary standards of public conduct," were M.N.'s indignant words.

It must be made clear that the real reason for all this hustle and bustle in the opposition leadership was not some clause or other of the Education Act. It was, in fact, resistance to any attempt to change Kerala society in a progressive direction, especially in the sphere of agrarian relations. The upper strata of the Nairs were going to be affected by the Agrarian Relations Bill and so they have joined hands with other vested interests, in the first place the

affair and which must be dealt with in the way the Chinese Government deems fit.

On this issue there can be no two opinions. Barring a handful of avowed enemies of our foreign policy, the entire people of India cherish India-China friendship. It is also admitted by all that China's action in Tibet in no way jeopardises the security of India nor does it affect Indian interests adversely. This should form the basis of our attitude, our words and deeds.

Firm and immediate steps have to be taken to repair the damage. That would accord with the national interest of India, the national interest of China, the interest of the whole of Asia.

(May 6, 1959)

Govt. Prepares To Implement Progressive Legislations, Congress-PSP-RSP-Communist Combine Gets Ready To Sabotage Them

by MOHIT SEN

bishops of the Catholic church.

Another point Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair wanted to make clear was that the Kerala Ministry welcomed constructive opposition. It could claim that it had given more rights to the Opposition than any other Ministry in India.

"We quite realise that the function of an Opposition party is to oppose. But at the same time all parties in India have to accept certain democratic tenets. They have to accept certain minimum standards and elementary rules of conduct.

"It is precisely this that the Opposition parties and movement in Kerala refuse to do. Their slogan seems to be that any slander, abuse and means are good enough to use against the Communists.

"Pandit Nehru in the Rajya Sabha recently stated that he now believed means were even more important than ends. His own partymen in Kerala don't seem to believe this at all.

"When Ministers' cars are stormed, when they are physically assaulted, as happened in Chavara to Sri Krishna Iyer, when their houses are in danger of being burnt down by flaming torches—there is not the least protest from the Congress leaders.

"On the contrary so-called volunteers' meetings are held where open incitement to violence is made. The people are told that they can do anything since the Ministry will not dare to use the police and the Communists will not dare to act on their own.

"You know Sri Mannam's threat to march to Trivandrum and 'capture' the Secretariat. This is one of the 'milder' threats. In the Press, platform and pulpit far worse things are said."

This kind of opposition is precisely what a democratic system can tolerate only at its own peril. It is this kind of opposition that democratic forces of all parties, inside and outside Kerala, should curb and warn.

Comrade M. N. went on to

state: "Their game is very clear. Earlier the Opposition leaders had shouted themselves hoarse about the breakdown of law and order in Kerala and begged for Central intervention. Democratic opinion in Kerala and throughout India thwarted their conspiracy.

"Now they are out to create a state of lawlessness. They want to provoke clashes with the supporters of the Ministry. They want to physically make it impossible for the Governmental machinery to work. I tell you, there is nothing which they are not ready to try."

When asked what measures were being taken to deal with the situation, the answer was that the chief thing was the

mobilisation of democratic opinion in Kerala and outside. The confidence of the Party and the Ministry that they would be able to repel this latest offensive, as they had done in the past, was based, above all, on their faith in the people and their attachment to democracy, their desire for social changes along democratic lines.

"While we rely on this mobilisation as our main force, we are also confident that the Kerala Ministry will do every thing that is necessary to see that violence and lawlessness are not permitted," said M.N. and warned: "The Opposition leaders need not imagine that they will be allowed to break the law; indulge in violence and go scot-free."

COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS FOR ALL-IN UNITY TO FIGHT COMMUNAL REACTION

THE Secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India, in an emergency meeting (on April 24) considered the situation at Sitamarhi following the riots there. It heard reports from Comrades Ali Ashraf and K. P. Sinha who had returned from a visit there.

The riot of Sitamarhi has shocked the people. It has been condemned by right-minded persons of all parties and communities. It has exposed not only the nefarious activities of communal elements, but also shown up the unpreparedness of the political parties as well as the Government to face and prevent the riots. The forces of law and order were so inadequate that for about six hours complete lawlessness prevailed at Sitamarhi on that day. The Chief Minister's statement that his Government would do everything to prevent a recurrence of the incident anywhere in the province, will be welcomed by all. But is that enough?

The Communist Party considers it necessary that a right awareness of the situation be created among the people. The riot at Sitamarhi was not spontaneous, nor was it an isolated act. It is to be noted that the riot was set off by a rumour which had no relation to facts. Wild and baseless rumours of the slaughter of a cow, of the attempted murder of a boy who saw and protested—were spread to infuriate the crowd. Those who spread these rumours, obviously, did it deliberately and with a view to causing the riots. Who were these people and was this their first attempt?

The Communist Party has noted with concern that for some time past, in a number of places spread far and wide all over Bihar,

regular attempts have been made to engineer conflicts over Muslim graveyards. The similarity of the issue goes to suggest that a similar hand was trying to exploit the situation in different localities on different pretexts. Sometimes it is the discovery of an idol near a grave. Sometimes it is the existence of a deity in an adjoining field. Last year at Arwal a mob of many thousands was collected from outside and a serious riot was averted only due to the good sense of the people of the locality.

COMMUNALISTS ACTIVE

The Communist Party wants to point out that of late the activities of the RSS—including the paramilitary training of young men under the most provocative communal slogans—have been on the increase. And with them are associated reactionary communal parties like the Jan Sangh. It is no secret that these elements of communal reaction which have been repeatedly rejected by the overwhelming majority of our people in the elections, see the only chance of their growth in whipping up communal frenzy. It is this way that they want to defeat the democratic gains of the people, disrupt and weaken the democratic forces and pave the way for the domination by reaction of the Indian scene.

These elements have mostly failed in their efforts due to the sound, healthy democratic instincts of our people. But what happened at Sitamarhi and in the wake of it at Akhta, however, is a warning which the democratic movement and democratic parties in Bihar can ignore only at

great peril to the whole people.

It has to be admitted that the Government as well as the political parties have shown an unawareness of the activities of the communal reactionaries which has been fully exploited by the latter. And even after the Sitamarhi occurrences, instead of the Government and the political parties uniting their forces in an effort to fight out the communal frenzy, some of them have tried to take advantage of the situation for their narrow group and party interests. This was evident from the way the rival groups inside the Congress Party conducted themselves and some of the Opposition parties also tried to take political advantage of the incidents.

Unfortunately, the new President of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee hesitated to name the communal parties and went out of his way to lay the blame at the door of "anti-Congress political parties."

There is the case of the editor of a paper owned by a big capitalist of the country, who is steeped in communal and the worst obscurantism, and yet has the audacity to throw mud at the Communist Party in connection with the Sitamarhi riot.

An Urdu paper, too, obviously, fell victim to this anti-Communism when it blacked out the speech of the leader of the Communist Group in the Assembly, both on the adjournment motion, as well as later, during the debate on the Sitamarhi riots.

The Communist Party wants to point out that this anti-Communism does not serve the cause of communal peace.

The Communist Party has been in the forefront of all movements and struggles which unite the people in the defence of their

rights and demands, the Communist Party has always fought for communal unity. At Sitamarhi it was a Communist worker, Lakshman, who was attacked by the rioters for his defence of the riot victims. At Muzaffarpur, it is the Communists who took the initiative in organising peace committees all over the town. Despite their well known political differences with the Congress, the Communist Party readily offered to work jointly with it to maintain communal peace and while the President of the Muzaffarpur Peace Committee is Sri Mahesh Prasad, one of the Vice-Presidents is a Communist leader of the district, Ramdeo Sharma.

The perpetrators of the conflict at Sitamarhi have tried to poison the atmosphere in the whole State. They have not succeeded in their efforts to expand the area of disturbance to other districts. But that is not the end of their efforts. Bakr Id is not far off and these elements will do their worst to stir up trouble again.

CALL FOR VIGILANCE

The Communist Party calls upon all its members and sympathisers to follow in the glorious traditions of the Party in defending the minorities, braving every odd, to rise to the occasion and to be vigilant and in the forefront in organising peace committees, in exposing and isolating the communal elements and in organising relief for the riot victims at Sitamarhi and Akhta.

The Communist Party appeals to all political parties, democratic elements and the Government to join together in a mighty united effort to fight out and isolate the communal parties and defeat their efforts and intrigues.

W.F.T.U. EXECUTIVE DECISIONS

THE decisions of the 19th Session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions (Warsaw—April 2 to 5, 1959) are of great significance in building and advancing the united action of working people throughout the world.

The Executive has noted with great anxiety that a new economic crisis is developing in all the advanced capitalist countries specially aggravating the situation in the economically backward countries.

For the working people this means speed-up, rationalisation, automation and mass unemployment while the profits of the monopolies continue to rise.

The situation is being utilised by the monopolies to further step up concentration and domination. Agreements between cartels and economic alliances are growing. Imperialist monopolies are making fresh inroads into the economies of backward countries to exploit their resources and make super-profits. Everywhere the slogan of competition is being raised to cover up their designs against the living standards of the workers. Dismissals, unemployment, refusal to grant wage-rise, attacks on trade union rights are all growing.

The WFTU Executive points out that the workers have learnt bitter lessons and are showing growing social awareness of the contradictions of capitalism. This, the WFTU Executive says, is expressed in the powerful development of the strike movement.

The Executive has taken the historic decision to convene a world conference of the unemployed for social security.

The Executive has also decided upon an economic conference of trade unions to chalk out a programme of action for developing mutually beneficial trade among countries.

The third important decision of the Executive is to convene conferences of workers' representatives from various countries but all belonging to the same trust in order to develop international united action in such concentrations like automobile, iron and steel, chemical and petroleum industries.

The Executive thus gives the ringing call for united action of workers:

- For higher wages and guaranteed minimum wage;
- In defence of jobs and for opening new avenues of employment;
- For reforms to curtail the power of monopolies and their dominating influence over the State, for nationalisation of certain basic industries;
- For shorter working hours without loss of pay;
- For an end to speed-up;
- For extensive international trade and end to embargoes;
- For the protection and expansion of trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

The decisions of the WFTU Executive give a fighting anti-monopoly and anti-colonial edge to the growing united action of the workers and thus serve as a weapon of immense significance for the struggle of the working people.

EXPERT COMMITTEE FOR TRANSPORT

SRI Raj Bahadur, Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications, told the Lok Sabha in reply to a question that it had been decided to set up a high-level committee of "experts and economists" to advise it on the principles on which a national transport policy might be formulated.

The growth of road transport and of the public sector in it has undoubtedly raised vital problems of policy with regard to the further expansion of transport, the coordination between various modes of transport so that they complement and not compete with each other, lack of uniformity of approach among the State Governments, the question of automobile industry catering to the growing needs of transport and above all uniform legislation.

But the Union Transport Ministry seems to forget that the transport worker is vitally interested in this "transport policy" and has some expert information to give and suggest-

tions to offer to the Government. Even where the Transport Reorganisation Committee was appointed the Government made Sri Masani—no friend of the public sector—its Chairman. A representative of private sector employers was included in it, but the representative of the organised workers was deliberately kept out in spite of demands and even protests.

While the Labour Ministry talks of workers' participation in management, the Transport Ministry deliberately refuses to associate the workers even with such committees that are essentially of an advisory character.

JUTE BOSSES IGNORE DECISIONS

THE jute bosses and their organisation, Indian Jute Mills Association, are refusing to implement the agreed recom-

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M. P. SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

mendations of the Industrial Committee on Jute held in Calcutta in August 1958.

It was agreed that "As regards dearness allowance and other amenities like housing, medical and welfare facilities, it should be considered by employers and workers in a friendly atmosphere with a view to coming to agreed solutions."

But in spite of repeated requests from jute unions the bosses are callously avoiding any bipartite discussions to settle these matters.

Comrade Indrajit Gupta, Secretary of the AITUC and member of the Special Committee for the Jute Industry, is reported to have written to the Union Labour Minister how the employers have failed to abide by the Industrial Committee decisions, how the steep rise in the cost of living has made a rise in dearness allowance imperative and how it is essential that a meeting of the Industrial Committee on Jute should be

convened immediately to settle matters.

Meanwhile, the workers are preparing to submit a new charter of demands.

GHAZIABAD RAILMEN'S GRIEVANCES

ON January 31, 1959, the Class IV staff working at the Ghaziabad station of the Northern Railway went on a protest strike demanding an enquiry into the conduct of the Sub-Inspector of Railway Protection Force who is alleged to have beaten an employee and pending this enquiry the Sub-Inspector be transferred.

On January 16, a worker was beaten on the head, on January 27 a worker was stabbed by goonda elements and on the 28th this Sub-Inspector is reported to have beaten an employee.

The workers served a twenty-four hours' notice on the administration asking for an enquiry. Failing to get any response, they went on a strike action on January 31.

The strikers worked during the day and abstained only during the night as no protection was granted. After three nights the strike was withdrawn.

And the administration has now pounced on the employees by effecting a break in service in the case of 45 workers most of whom have been in service for the last 20 to 25 years.

Even the Code of Discipline agreed to at Natinal does envisage precipitate actions by workmen under provocation and calls upon the management to take appropriate disciplinary action against its officers and members in cases where enquiries reveal that they were responsible for precipitate action by workers.

In the railways, specially, there is no grievances machinery to promptly deal with such grievances as they arise. The administration in this case has failed to respond to the 24 hours' notice and refused to even assure the workers that the matter would be looked into. Even now no enquiry has been instituted against the RPF official. Instead, workers are victimised.

The entire city, the Municipal Councilors and all the parties have rallied behind the workmen. Deputations have waited on the administration and the Ministers. The Railway Minister is reported to have assured Messrs K. T. K. Thangamani, M.P., and Nath Pai, M.P. that he would do something. But nothing has been done so far.

More than this it is amazing that the PSP leadership of the HMS-affiliated Northern Railwaymen's Union has dissolved the Ghaziabad branch of the office-bearers with copies to management.

This amounts to stabbing the workers in the back when they are engaged in a struggle against the administration. We hope sanity will prevail in the AIRF leadership and the union will see that the workmen are protected.

ALL EYES ON GENEVA

ON May 11, is due to start in Geneva the much-awaited Foreign Ministers' Conference. The events that have led up to the Conference, and the tasks that are expected to be tackled by it will have a very important bearing on the development of the international situation and the creation of conditions for ensuring a peaceful and tranquil life for humanity.

In the present-day world, the cold-war wind has been blowing hot long enough to have caused strong feelings of alarm and indignation amongst the peoples of all countries.

It is the desire of the people everywhere that a start be made somewhere towards easing international tension, ending the cold war and saving the world from a nuclear menace.

Soviet Initiative

Today, one the eve of the Foreign Ministers' meet, no fair-minded person will contest the fact that the Soviet Union, putting forward solutions to the German problem, has provided for such a start.

It will be remembered that when the Soviet proposal on ending the Four-Power occupation status of West Berlin was first made, a hue and cry was raised by the imperialist circles that the Soviet Union, by raising the issue, had endangered world peace, had further aggravated international tension and killed

all prospects of an East-West Summit meet.

However, under the shattering blows of Soviet initiatives, far from moving away from the path of negotiations, we find the imperialist Powers dragged towards a conference table.

Obstructions Removed

Step by step, the Soviet Union has smashed all their obstructions. To the time-limit set by the USSR, the West objected that it was an ultimatum, and as such unacceptable. Replied, the Soviet Premier: "If you gentlemen are willing to speak to us reasonably, we can postpone this date..." To the Soviet proposal for a Summit meeting, the West counterposed a meeting at the Foreign Ministers' level. The Soviet Union accepted this also. And as a final blow to the Western Powers' obstructionist tactics came Khrushchov's Berlin speech where he offered: "If need be, we are even ready to have the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union or neutral countries to maintain in West Berlin some minimum of troops to assure the observance of the free city status, which, however, would have no right to interfere in the city's internal life. With such guarantees no one would dare to infringe upon the independent life of the free city."

The imperialist Powers, were thus cornered. The more so, as the Soviet propo-

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

sals were finding increasingly wide-spread support amongst the peoples of the Western countries themselves.

The date for a Foreign Ministers' meet was finally announced, and the principal capitals of the world buzzed with intense political activity.

That date, has now arrived. The developments leading to it have been reported in these columns from time to time. Latest in the chain of these developments were the separate Foreign Ministers' Conferences—that of the Western "Big Four" in Paris, and that of the Warsaw Pact countries in Warsaw. Their respective positions were announced in their communiques. What attitudes towards the coming Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva do these communiques reveal?

What The People Demand

To start with, let us keep in view what the vast majority of the peoples the world over, and particularly those of the European countries, expect from the Geneva meet.

In the light of the developments leading to it, the Geneva Conference is expected to arrive at agreed East-West decisions on the two most acute and important problems that face the world today—

- 1. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and
- 2. The ending of the occupation status in West Berlin.

But the communiques, referred to above, show that whereas the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries that met in Warsaw, proceed with this viewpoint, the Western Powers are still bent on raising obstacles in the way of the success of the Geneva meet.

Whereas the communique released at Warsaw has tackled these issues, the one released at Paris is remarkable at best, only for its vagueness.

After reiterating their "determination" to "maintain the freedom of the people of West Berlin and the rights and obligations there of the Allied Powers," all that the Foreign Ministers of the Western Powers had to "reaffirm" in their communique was their "willingness to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union with a view to establishing a just and durable peace in Europe."

In vain would one search in the Paris communique for the issues on which they had "reached complete agreement"; their "position" is in fact bogged in their cold-war approach and in their own mutual differences.

And so sharp are their differences that a U.P.I. (United Press International) Correspondent in Paris, quoted diplomatic sources as saying that "the

West has abandoned attempts to reach complete agreement on a detailed cold war, peace blueprint before the Geneva East-West Conference."

However, at Paris they did line up behind some plan, according to Press reports. The "starting point" of that plan is "an attempt to link together the two questions of European security and German unification in a phased programme designed to lead up to a joint solution."

Same Old Approach

In other words, theirs is the same old "package deal" approach. If this is so, then it is not at all difficult to see that far from leading to a solution, this approach will land the Geneva Conference in a deadlock. Even the Daily Telegraph had to admit editorially that the package deal approach "is a far cry from the mood of flexibility which Mr. Macmillan brought back with him from Moscow."

In sharp contrast to such "preparations" by the West, came the warnings in the Warsaw communique, sounded precisely on these two points on which the West might try to wreck the Geneva Conference. The Warsaw communique states on these points precisely what the entire experience of East-West negotiations has taught the world. To quote from the communique—

"The Ministers of Foreign Affairs believe that the at-

tempts to link the examination of urgent questions of a peaceful settlement over Germany and West Berlin with other problems, such as the unification of Germany, cannot facilitate the successful work of the Geneva meeting. At this moment, when two independent German States exist on the territory of Germany, the reunification of Germany is an internal matter which can be settled only by the Germans themselves through rapprochement and GDR-FRG agreement without any interference from without.

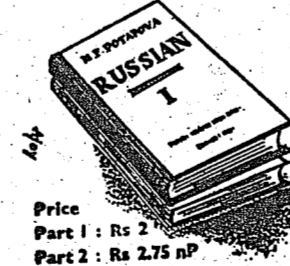
"The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and also the settlement of the Berlin question cannot likewise be made dependent on the settlement of the European security problem. Each of these questions, taken separately, is complicated by itself and those who try to tie them up in one knot are obviously endeavouring to hamper the adoption of agreed decisions both on questions on a peace treaty with Germany and on West Berlin, and on questions of European security."

Hence, if the Geneva Conference is to pave the way towards a Summit meeting, it is to be the turning point in the development of international situation which the peoples of all countries so strongly desire, then it can set the right course only by solving the issues step by step, starting with the German problem, working towards a peace treaty with Germany, a step that would ensure peace and security in Europe.

—RAZA ALI

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MAY 10, 1959

BIHAR STATE TRADE UNION CONGRESS CONFERENCE

THE Fifth Conference of the Bihar State Committee of the AITUC held from April 17 to 19, 1959, at Jamshedpur marks the tremendous growth of the trade unions and the AITUC in Bihar. Its decisions will lead to a further consolidation of the unity and organisation of the workers and move them into united action to face the Government-employer threats to living standards and trade union rights.

More than two hundred and fifty delegates came to the Conference from all over the State representing 75 unions and 89,000 organised workmen from almost all the industries in the State like iron and steel, engineering, copper, coal, iron ore, manganese, mica, fire-bricks, cement, jute, cigarettes, electricity, biri, rickshaw, municipalities, etc.

AITUC unions have come to occupy a major place in Bihar's trade union life specially in iron and steel, engineering, fire-bricks and public sector coal and is making an all-round advance. The AITUC unions and their self-sacrificing leadership have led many a heroic battle during the last two years in defence of the living standards and trade union rights of the working masses.

The struggles in TISCO, in Tin Plate, TELCO and Tata Foundry and the strike in the Bokaro coal-fields have all made history. Workers have gained important concessions including the recent wage-rise in TISCO.

It was a revealing report that the General Secretary of the State TUC made to the Conference.

The report said that the number of workers in registered factories in Bihar declined from 1.92 lakhs in 1951 to 1.76 lakhs in 1956. Employment in mines fell from 2.50 lakhs in 1946 to 2.28 lakhs in 1956.

The report asserted that there was reason to believe that since then there has been a further fall in industrial employment in Bihar. Last year has seen a further deterioration in the situation with growing closures in manganese and mica, in jute and matches and in sugar factories and iron ore mines.

While employment has fallen the productivity of labour has increased from 100 in 1951 to 133 in 1956 and 148 in November 1957.

While productivity has grown, the annual money earnings of the workers drawing less than Rs. 200 per month in registered factories have declined from Rs. 1,472.6 in 1953 to Rs. 1,235.6 in 1956. And the cost of living index has shot up from 398 in 1955 to 498 in 1958.

The number of accidents in Bihar factories has increased from 3,979 in 1941 to 5,159 in 1951 and 6,014 in 1954.

Less employment and less wages, high prices and more accidents—such is the lot of the workers.

That is why the workers have moved into action and the number of mandays lost due to strikes rose from 0.4 lakhs in 1956 to 4.5 lakhs in 1957. And in 1958 in Jamshedpur alone more than nine lakh mandays were lost due to strikes and lock-outs.

The upsurge has extended to middle class employees also like those in the banks, insurance, the post and telegraph, etc. Even teachers and Government employees have moved into action during this period.

As against this the Bihar Government has adopted a very reactionary labour policy of allowing a free hand to the brute-productivity drive of the employers at the cost of employment and safety of workmen; of taking no steps even under the existing legislations to take over or otherwise help

in reopening the closed concerns; of suppressing the workers and curtailing their trade union rights. It is reported to have circularised to the conciliation officers not to conciliate in the disputes raised by unrecognised unions. It proposes to amend trade union legislation denying registration of any union for one year if in the same concern or industry a so-called "recognised union" already exists. And if during this one year the union "violates" the code of discipline, registration could be denied.

The Conference, therefore, recognised the fact that workers had fought the battle industry-wide and realised the urgent need for united State-wide campaigns against these policies of the Government.

May 12 was, therefore, fixed as the day to commemorate the first anniversary of the historic Jamshedpur strike and observe it as an All-Bihar Workers' Demands Day.

The Conference decided to launch a collection week beginning with May 12 to collect Rs. 30,000 for the defence of the Jamshedpur comrades and Rs. 4,000 to start a trade union journal.

Tahir Husain, M.L.A., leader of Burnpur steel workers who inaugurated the Conference, launched the funds drive by donating a garland of fifty ten rupee notes on behalf of the Burnpur workers.

Ranen Sen, M.L.A., Vice-President of the AITUC, who presided over the Conference donated Rs. 100 for the fund.

A noteworthy feature of the Conference was that a separate women workers' conference was organised.

Habibur Rehman was elected President of the State TUC and Kedar Das, M.L.A., and Sunil Mukherji and others were elected Vice-Presidents. Ratan Roy was elected General Secretary.

NEW AGE

MAY 10, 1959

NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

The heart of the Party

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VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN FOR LAND REFORMS

A serious chronic food crisis is affecting every year the life of tens of millions of our common people. The crisis is being intensified every year and it has assumed the character of a national crisis affecting the whole economy of the country, weakening the internal market, intensifying the problem of unemployment and producing a crisis for the Plan itself.

It has highlighted not only the vicious role played by the increasing grip of big landowners and profiteers over the marketable grain produced in the country and the urgent necessity of breaking this grip, it has also exposed how dangerously weak and disorganised is the state of agricultural production, creating the chronic problem of deficit in the production of foodgrain. This again, in its turn, provides wider scope to hoarders and profiteers. Thus, the question of increasing production has become a question of the most urgent importance.

The AIKS has been declaring year after year, and it has also been proved to be correct by hard reality, that the problem of increasing agricultural production is not simply or mainly a technical problem. With concentration of land in the hands of a handful of landowners on the one hand, and on the other hand millions of tiny holdings, tens of millions of landless peasants and agricultural labourers faced with increasing pauperisation, there cannot be any solid basis for a rapid growth of production.

It demands, first, a radical reorganisation of agrarian relations — which alone can create the solid basis, and secondly, emancipation of

peasants from the heavy burdens of debts, unequal exchange, growing taxes and lack of irrigation, etc. The miserable failure of the Government in both these respects has inevitably resulted in the crisis in agriculture.

Competition of rapid advance in agricultural production in China with the sorry state of affairs in India conclusively proves the contention of the AIKS that radical agrarian reforms

with alarm that, while the Planning Commission and the Central and State Governments have in theory recognised the importance of land reforms, time and again, in actual practice they, except the present Ministry of Kerala, have made a caricature of land reforms. They have shown and are showing more concern to protect the interests of bigger landowners in various ways.

Most of the State Governments have not even passed legislations for imposing ceiling. Such measures as banning of mala fide transfers, partitions, evictions, etc., which are absolutely necessary as interim measures for checking the evasion of ceiling and for giving

seven lakh acres has advanced to a great extent. Scope of partition has been greatly restricted. Very soon an Agrarian Relations Bill is going to be passed, which imposes ceiling, confers security on tenants, reduces rent, makes provision for distribution of surplus land and for adjustment in the relations between tenants and small owners. The AIKS congratulates the Kerala Ministry and calls upon the peasants of Kerala to play their part properly in carrying forward the reforms.

The AIKS notes that when objective conditions urgently demanded proper land reforms, the reactionary landlord elements and their representatives within and outside the Government, emboldened by the pro-landlord policies of the Central and State Governments, started a concerted campaign against any land reforms and particularly against ceiling. In such a situation, the Nagpur resolution of the Congress, which is the ruling party in the country, by directing its Ministries to pass legislations about ceiling within this year, has taken a welcome step. The AIKS thinks that it is not only a rebuff to the reactionary landlord campaign, it also provides a scope for forging wider and more united mass campaigns for proper land reforms.

on the contrary, land distribution itself can create the real basis for proper cooperative development. The AIKS opposes the sidetracking of the issue of land distribution in the name of cooperative farming.

But the AIKS strongly disapproves of the activities of the reactionary elements who are creating a row against cooperative farming to oppose land reforms altogether. The AIKS is of the considered opinion that to make cooperative farming an issue of debate at the present moment objectively helps the pro-landlord elements to befog the whole issue and sidetrack the question of land distribution. The Kisan Sabha calls upon the people to be on guard against this device.

Attitude To Cooperatives

While noting the fact that in the present socio-economic set-up of the country, development of real cooperative farming has only limited possibilities, the AIKS is firmly of the opinion that the future of scattered and backward Indian agriculture lies in its march through various stages towards cooperative farming. The AIKS and all its units shall take the initiative and join others in forming various types of mutual-aid societies, service cooperatives, and even where it is possible to form cooperative farming societies and foil the attempts of big vested interests to dominate the cooperatives.

But the process demands education of the masses and only through their own experience and by stages, with proper help from the Government, can the peasants advance on this path. In this connection the Kisan Sabha cannot but note that while talking loud about cooperative farming the Government itself puts obstacles in its path. To mention an example as one of the worst of its kind, in West Bengal some cooperative farms organised and run by ordinary peasants are being crushed by an unbearable burden of heavy income-taxes, and no remedy has been obtained even after repeated representations. The Kisan Sabha opposes such obstacles against cooperatives and demands proper help from Government.

In this connection the Kisan Sabha notes that cooperative farming cannot be successful unless the difference in the size of holdings owned by different landowners is reduced to the minimum, cooperative farming as well as service cooperatives can be successful only when the entry of landlords into these societies is banned, when they are freed from the control and interference of corrupt and bureaucratic officials and also from the political domination and manoeuvres of the vested interests. It also demands thorough change in and the democratisation of the existing cooperative Acts and rules, etc.

The AIKS is of the opinion that if the defects and short-

* SEE PAGE 13

Resolution adopted by the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha held at Mayuram from April 29 to May 3, 1959

are the most urgent need of the hour. It is necessary not only to save the peasants from ruination; but also for increasing production in order to save the country. The AIKS, therefore, correctly demands, under the existing conditions, the breaking of land-monopoly of the big landowners by putting a ceiling on landholdings, distribution of surplus and Government waste lands to the landless and land poor peasants and agricultural labourers, security of tenure to tenants, etc.

But the AIKS notes again

security to unprotected tenants, are practically refused. Even many remnants of various forms of intermediary interests have not yet been liquidated. This has only encouraged landlords and has also given them the time to resort to the above-mentioned methods so as to defeat, as much as possible the purpose of any imposition of ceiling.

In a few States like Punjab, Hyderabad and Bengal, laws about ceiling have been passed, but they are passed and implemented in such a way and with such exemptions like exemptions of gardens, orchards, fisheries, efficiently-managed farms, etc., and with such scope for mala fide transfers and evictions that lakhs of tenants and sharecroppers have been evicted and have become helpless victims of landlords; on the other hand in the first two of these States, not a single acre of land has yet been acquired, and in West Bengal out of the Government's own calculation of six lakh acres, only about 1,22,000 acres of surplus land have vested in the State.

Provisions for checking of mala fide transfers, even where they have been statutorily provided for as in West Bengal, are implemented in such a way that they have been reduced to a farce. Nowhere has distribution of surplus and waste land even been commenced. There is little relief from the rent-burden and in some cases revenues have been increased. All this has created a serious complicated situation, a great uncertainty disorganising agricultural production.

Kerala Congratulated

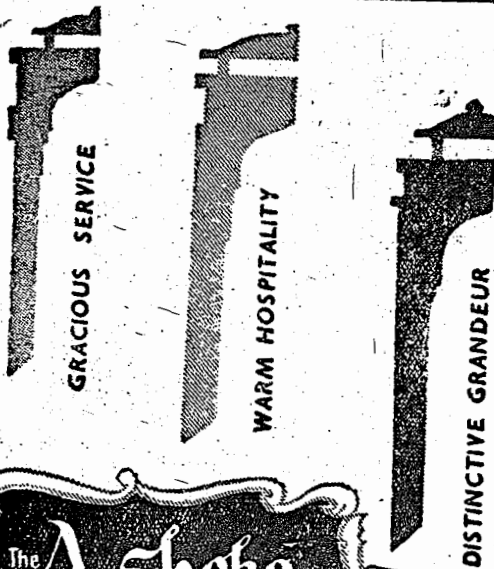
Only in the State of Kerala, under the present Ministry, steps towards correct agrarian reform have been taken. Eviction of tenants has been banned as an interim measure, conferring on the tenants much-needed relief and security. Distribution of waste lands amounting to

Nagpur Resolution

But the AIKS also notes with regret that the Nagpur Congress resolution has many shortcomings and does not mean any basic change from the past policy whose defects have been proved in practice. It does not say anything concrete about ceiling, about plugging or even restricting the loopholes. No mention has been made about banning of transfers and partitions, and about reviewing past transfers. The land reform Bills, that have been brought forward after Nagpur in Andhra or Orissa and are intended to be brought in other States, are full of all these defects.

Secondly, distribution of land, which is the central task of any land reform and without which land reform becomes meaningless has been practically ruled out. As a substitute to land distribution it has been suggested that surplus land will be handed over to the panchayats and will be run by cooperatives of only agricultural labourers. As a first step towards cooperative farming, it suggests formation of various service cooperatives. The AIKS is opposed to the idea of handing over surplus and waste lands to the panchayats. Instead it demands their distribution to landless and land poor peasants, as otherwise land reform loses its main significance.

Like all other democratic people, the AIKS supports the principle of cooperative farming and formation of mutual-aid teams and various types of service cooperatives. But it cannot be a substitute for land distribution;



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