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## NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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### E. M. S. SAYS IN DELHI:

### VIOLENCE AND DISORDER WILL BE DEALT WITH FIRMLY

● by MOHIT SEN      NEW DELHI, May 20.  
An impressively large gathering of Pressmen encountered an equally impressively confident Chief Minister in the courtyard of Kerala House in the morning of May 20. A barrage of questions, lively repartee and high good humour characterised the hour-long exchange between Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad and the Correspondents.

GOOD work had been done by the Kerala Information Officer in New Delhi in preparing a printed hand-out which revealed the more than lurid character of the Nair-Catholic communal agitation against the Kerala Education Act. The very fact that few questions were asked about the nature of the gang-up against the Ministry itself testified to a kind of unanimity about this point.

the Home Minister stated that if necessary the Government would use all the powers constitutionally conferred on it, including the military if the opposition took up arms which they are reported to be collecting." But he thought this possibility might not arise at all.

What the Press seemed particularly anxious to know was—would the situation get out of hand? Had the Chief Minister rushed to Delhi to seek the protection of the Prime Minister and the Centre? Would the Ministry have to retreat or even resign?

Then to indulge his wit some Correspondent asked: "Is it a struggle between the Church and the Commissar in Kerala?"

The key-note of the replies to about a dozen variations on this theme was firmness based on confidence.

"Not at all! We have no quarrel with the Church as such at all. It is a straight issue between the mass of the people intent on social change and a handful of reactionaries" was Comrade E. M. S.'s retort.

Seeking clarification, a number of Correspondents asked at once whether the situation could be called serious if the opposition was only a handful?

### No Withdrawing Of Act

"We cannot withdraw the Act even if we want to. The overwhelming majority regard it as a good piece of legislation. We shall pass all the necessary rules and notifications so that the Act is technically, and in every other sense of the word, in force by June 1.

The considered reply of the Chief Minister was: "I want to make things quite clear. FIRST, there is no doubt the opposition is in a minority and equally that the popularity of the Ministry has considerably increased. SECONDLY, the situation is not serious if by that is meant that we feel there will be a break-down of the Government. As I have told you all earlier we are fully confident of being able to meet the agitation. THIRD, the situation is serious if you consider the nature of the opposition and the violent and adventurist tactics it openly states it is going to follow."

### Position Of Congress

"We are quite confident that the overwhelming majority of the schools will open as usual. And as for the handful of rowdy elements who are not prepared to abide either by the law or ordinary standards of political decency, we are equally confident that the Government will be fully able to prevent them making a social nuisance of themselves."

As for the position of the Congress vis-a-vis the agitation, Comrade E. M. S. felt that there has been some slight shift following the AICC meeting. "Perhaps the very challenge we posed to the Congress leadership to declare its attitude to this openly communal and unconstitutional agitation has had some effect. Of course, they are planning a parallel movement with a 'charter of grievances' and individual Congress school managers may decide to close their schools. Then again, they may not."

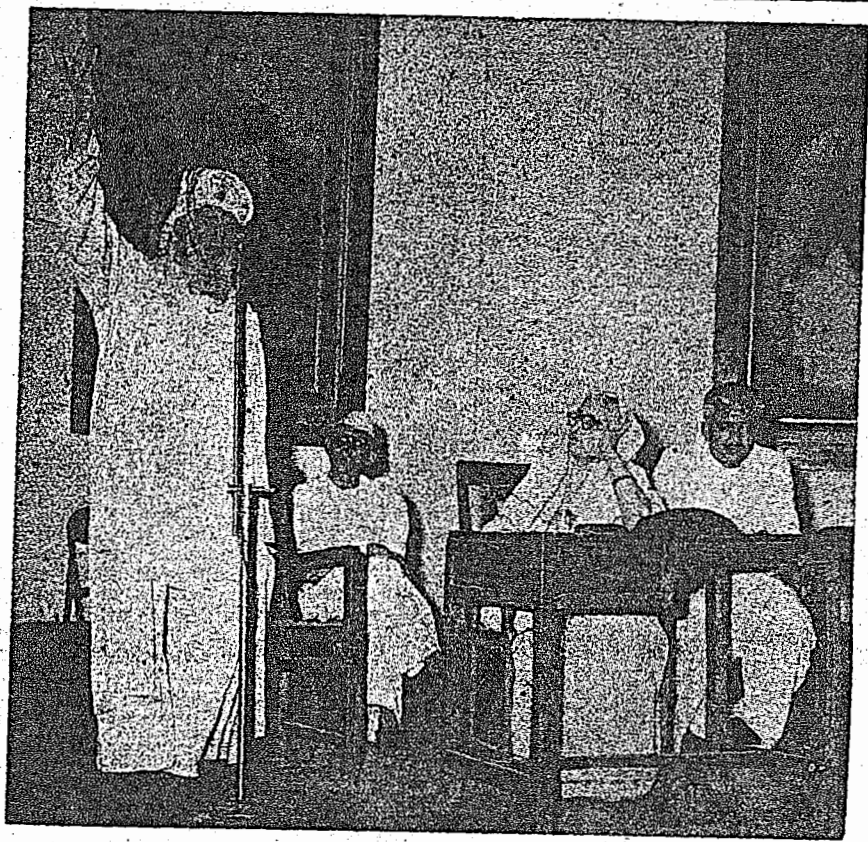
A tenacious questioner tried to raise a scare by alleging that Comrade Achuta Menon was in a panic, wanted military aid and had sent the Chief Minister on a mission for this aid.

Swift came the reply: "Please don't distort a perfectly simple statement. The Home Minister was making it clear that the Government and not the Communist Party was going to deal with the law and order situation. You know the usual slanders about this.

"We have the police and we shall use it against any violent actions, which have been openly threatened more than once. As you know we have given full freedom for peaceful and constitutional opposition. It is in this context that

Asked about why he had come and what the attitude of the Central Government was, the Chief Minister replied

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## U.S.-PAK PACT CONDEMNED

With a well-attended meeting in the Darbar Hall, Delhi observed U.S.-Pak Pact Day on May 17 in response to the call of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference recently held in Calcutta. The meeting, presided over by Smt. Rameshwari Nehru was addressed by Chaudhri Brahm Prakash, M.P. and Delhi Congress leader, Maulana Ahmad Sayeed, President of the Jamiat Ulema, Ranbhir Singh, Editor, MILAP daily, M. Farooqui, Secretary of the Delhi Committee of the Communist Party of India, and Sarla Sharma, Communist Corporator of Delhi.

The resolution adopted by the meeting reiterated that the "Afro-Asian people's opposition to all military pacts is basic and fundamental" and added: "To the people of India, the U.S.-Pak military Pact is of the most immediate and direct concern."

The resolution referred to statements by Pakistan spokesmen who "have been refreshingly candid in proclaiming that there is nothing to prevent the potentials of the military Pact from being utilised vis-a-vis India," and to the recent shooting down by the Pakistan Air Force of the Indian Canberra which "has created further anxiety."

"This meeting of the citizens of Delhi is opposed to this military pact as it has always been an ominous threat to India's national security and independence and continues to aggravate and poison Indo-Pakistan relations," said the resolution and added:

"This meeting extends its fraternal feelings to the people of Pakistan, with whom we have innumerable ties, and with whom we must live in a spirit of friendship and cooperation. We hope that the Pakistan Government would of its own accord recognise the futility and the danger of such pacts and renounce them in the interest of peaceful relation, as in its own interest."

"This meeting calls upon all parties and organisations to lend their whole-hearted support to this campaign against the U.S.-Pak military pact."

Picture above shows Maulana Ahmad Sayeed addressing the meeting. Others on the dais are (left to right) M. Farooqui, Smt. Rameshwari Nehru and Chaudhri Brahm Prakash.

—Photo: VIRENDEA KUMAR



## OFF THE MARK

PRIME Minister Nehru held his usual monthly Press Conference soon after the Parliament session was over. One expected a serious review of the national and the international scene, a clear statement of the problems facing our country and the world at large, and what we were endeavouring to do, how far we have succeeded and where failed, how we propose to overcome difficulties and register advance. I doubt if Sri Nehru has ever been so disappointing as at the present critical juncture.

The Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers is on. He had not a word to say about it. It is true that Sri Nehru was emphatic in dismissing the apprehension that there had been any recent attack on the policy of neutrality. In the Soviet Union, the varied questions on foreign policy asked by the foreign correspondents showed which way their masters are seeking to turn the face of our country.

The report of the International Commission for Vietnam headed by India is out. Sri Nehru paid a tribute to its work. The report documents the case that the U.S. puppet Government of South Vietnam has violated in every possible way and over and over again the Geneva agreement, that its recalcitrant policy is a direct threat to peace in the area and we all know that it is being supported, financed and guided by the U.S. Government. Occasion demands not a pat on our back. Our representatives have done all that they could. A bold call to all Afro-Asian nations to seize the initiative and turn the tide—this is what is needed. What is happening in Vietnam is part of the U.S. imperialist policy in the whole Afro-Asian region. The U.S. bilateral pacts, the aid to Pakistan, planning and utilising the Tibetan turmoil are all part of the same picture. It is a pity that our country's Prime Minister fails to educate and warn the country against the dangerous plots of imperialism.

## THE TIBETAN AFFAIR

SERIOUS elements of Indian public opinion are coming to realise that the Tibetan affair was a big diversion to take our attention off the U.S.-Pak bilateral Pact. Enough has happened in recent weeks to expose the evils that have followed this Pact. But Sri Nehru took no notice of the same.

It is true Sri Nehru has been primarily responsible for toning down the aggressive anti-Chinese offensive of the Right wing in his own party and laying stress on maintaining India-China friendship.

Sri Nehru significantly admitted that the presence of the Dalai Lama in India did involve a "certain strain" in the relations between China and India. He once again reiterated that Tibet was an integral part of China, though "obviously there is a Tibetan individuality."

He missed the occasion for a bantering cheap attack on the Communist Party. He said that the resolution of our Executive on Tibet was a "precis" of the Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY article "with an attempt to tone it down to suit Indian conditions." The whole country is talking about who had to come down to earth and

sober down. Ill-mannered expression of partisan bile is no dignified way to conduct our national affairs. Sri Nehru talks loudly about maintaining national dignity, but he tends to sacrifice it himself when it comes to our Party.

He again characterised as "completely wrong" that his policy is not fully a Cabinet policy. "He went further and stated "there is no difference at all even in a small degree."

When the Prime Minister of our country hides the wrong pro-imperialist anti-Chinese policy of some of his influential colleagues, he is doing no service to our country or our own cause. One need not refer to the statements of Morarji Desai regarding Quemoy and Matsu made in the United States. One has to read together the speeches of his leading colleague and Home Minister, Sri Pant, on the day he was absent from Parliament and of his own Deputy Minister Mrs. Menon and compare them with the speech Pandit Nehru himself had to make on Tibet the next day to see what are the differences in approach and policy inside the ruling party.

We welcome his efforts to keep in leash his own reactionaries but our internal differences should not be minimised for they cannot help to restore a correct balance in our China policy and friendship towards our great neighbour.

## ANTI-CHINESE ACTIVITIES

HOW far confusion in Government policy had gone was demonstrated when the pro-imperialist reactionaries dared plan an all-parties all-India convention at Jullundur and Sri Nehru did repudiate it. But it was held nevertheless, with the participation of the R.S.P. Chairman Ganga Saran Sinha, Akali leader Master Tara Singh and leaders of the Jan Sangh and other splinter groups, but only a hundred persons attended it.

The Congress and the Communists did not join the convention. The main edge of the speakers was directed against the foreign policy of the Indian Government and both Sri Nehru and Sri Krishna Menon were named and criticised.

The Jan Sangh spokesman openly said that what was happening in Goa, South Africa, Ceylon, etc., was the logical result of the foreign policy of the Government of India, for the Western bloc was retorting to this policy of appeasing the Communist bloc.

The PSP spokesman wanted a plebiscite to be organised in Tibet and representatives of the "free world" allowed to go there.

From outside the convention, Jai Prakash pronounced that the original sin lay in India recognising the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

The U.S. Medical Aid Foundation has decided to give tons of medical aid costing millions of dollars to the Indian Central Tibetan Relief Committee.

It is noteworthy that none other than Acharya J. B. Kripalani is the Chairman of the committee and he has stated that his committee and the Government work in close co-operation. In Bombay, the entire American Lobby and the leadership of Big Business is in the committee. Their names are worth remembering: Lal-

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

chand Hirachand, R. G. Saralaya, Homi Mody, Ramnath Poddar, Babubhai Chino, Pratapsingh Mathradas, Congress chief K. K. Shah and the Praja Socialist chief M. Harris. The Bombay meeting was convened by the Congress Chief Minister Chavan at his residence.

Must the U.S. imperialists be allowed to use our native soil the way they used West Germany and Austria over the Hungarian affair? Must our Big Business and reactionary politicians be allowed to gang up with hardly veiled agencies of the U.S. State Department?

It needs no saying that our Party is the most consistent defender of our independent foreign policy and friendship with China and Sri Nehru does not advance national interests by attacking us. He and his Government should pay more serious attention to the pro-imperialist reactionaries in and around his Government and party who seek to distort and change his foreign policy.

The anti-Chinese campaign is cooling down. It could not but be so, for it had no real roots. But the very fact that it could be raised to a high pitch and could confuse a large number of honest elements deserves the earnest and deep attention of patriotic and peace-loving elements inside the ruling party.

## THE CANAL WATERS

ONCE again, while the Right-wing bourgeois Press was trying to build up the World Bank Mission, it was our Party alone which was cautious and sought to stir the vigilance of the nation. The Mission has come and gone after visiting and talking at New Delhi and Karachi. Even the Times of India had to admit that the early "enthusiasm" has been replaced by "reserve."

The proposals of the World Bank have been kept secret but enough has leaked out in the Press to show that the new proposals of the Bank are more in line with the Pak demands than the Indian and they go back on the earlier recommendations of the Bank itself. In other words, they are another and crude attempt at "monkey justice," to use an Indian proverb.

In the original proposals, India was to pay Rs. 60 to 70 crores. Now the Indian share has been fixed at Rs. 120 to 250 crores according to varying Press reports. The dateline of ending the supply of canal waters to Pakistan was 1962; it is now proposed that it should be extended by another ten to 15 years.

Sri Nehru in his Press Convention stated that the Bank's latest proposals were "financially overwhelming to our thinking and the period rather long."

Even the Times of India editorially wrote on May 16: "It is not a compromise plan. It comes dangerously close to the Pakistani plan." It involves that we will not feed our own Rajasthan canal for another eight years with our own waters and let Rajasthan desert lands remain dry. The Bank has summarily rejected the Indian plan that could meet the just demand of Pakistan at less than one-third of the expenditure and in

about half the time. The only defence of these perilous proposals advanced in the Press is that they will help to normalise Indo-Pak relations and that loans for the large amount needed would be supplied by the Bank at lucrative rates.

Must we undergo more bitter and worse experiences before coming to the conclusion that the World Bank is a U.S. agency to further weaken Indo-Pak relations and economically enslave our country? It is necessary to stir nationwide indignation against the Bank proposals.

The Chester Bowles proposal for a joint defence plan between India and Pakistan was also part of the above game. Sri Nehru did reject it. But it is not enough to treat it as an isolated incident. Forcing a pro-Western swing by exploiting the Tibetan issue, proposing an Indo-Pak military alliance (under hardly veiled U.S. auspices), the World Bank mediation and loan for canal water, open-door to U.S. and foreign capital as proposed at the Washington Conference—all this constitutes the demands of U.S. imperialist policy on our country. They are vital to our sovereignty and security and mean an end to our independent national development plans. The danger they betoken demands a united campaign against U.S. policy—aims vis-a-vis our country.

## ORISSA

THE AICC has supported Morarji Desai's proposals for a Congress coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa. In his Press Conference, Sri Nehru gave full-throated support to this move and advanced some curious arguments.

Soon after the General Elections, the Congress Secretary Sadiq Ali in his pamphlet on the General Elections had described the Parishad as "an organisation of ex-Princes and ex-princelings." Sri Nehru has now discovered that "the Parishad is something more than the rulers. It is an organisation in the territory of these old rulers which consists chiefly of Adivasis.... Therefore, you must not look on it as some alliance with merely old rulers but rather with certain people who do at the present moment represent the Adivasis."

It is an amazing argument which blindly states that the feudal chiefs represent their subjects.

The truth is that the Congress even after ten years of independence has not carried out its own anti-feudal programme that would have broken the link of the feudal rulers with their subjects and with the people for the Congress. The feudal rulers have been using the sins of omission and commission of the Congress regime and the fact of a part of the feudals themselves being inside the Congress to prove that the Congress is no better than them but in fact worse.

It should put every honest Congressman to shame that after over ten years of Congress rule, a situation exists in Orissa where the Congress Assembly Party as a whole, the majority of the

Congress leadership in the State, the AICC Working Committee and even Sri Nehru have come to the conclusion that there is no other way out except an alliance and coalition with the feudals and their party. The Congress leadership is not prepared to change its own compromising and wrong policies, cooperate with the progressive Left outside the Congress and pursue measures that will win the confidence of the vast masses of the Oriya peasantry and tribal folks, and break them from their traditional feudal chiefs. Instead of correcting its mistakes, the Congress leadership is taking a new and more reactionary step to coalesce with the arch-feudals in Orissa.

## OPPORTUNISM

IN Orissa, the Congress opportunism will discredit the Congress itself and damage its regime. But the same opportunist policy is being tried out in Kerala as well, directed to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry and it violates every canon of democracy. Sri Nehru has stated that the Congress is "not connected" with "the big movement in Kerala" led by the Christian and Nair leaders to close schools but Congressmen were free to take part in it in their individual capacity.

His statement further revealed that the Congress leaders of Kerala did succeed in getting the support of the Congress High Command in their parallel movement against the Kerala Government in alliance with all the Opposition parties. Pandit Nehru only stated that their agitation would be carried on "peacefully."

Now everybody knows with whom the Kerala Congress allies, e.g. the Muslim League and the Praja Socialist Party.

It is necessary for the country to know what the Congress-led Opposition in Kerala is seeking to do. It is misguiding school children at the instigation of the reactionary Catholic Church and the high-caste pro-feudal Nair leaders against a legally passed Act of the State Legislature, which has been screened by the Supreme Court and signed by the President of the Indian Union himself. The self-proclaimed champions of democracy and rule of the law are violating it with impunity in Kerala for their narrow partisan aims.

They are going in for all-out resistance campaign against implementing the Education Act because they are panicky. This is the year when the Land Bill, Panchayat Bill and the District Council Bill—all serious practical democratic measures, will be implemented in practice. The reactionaries of all hues in Kerala know that their future is dark if these progressive measures come into operation. They are fighting with their backs to the wall. But they are fighting not only the Kerala Government but the common people of Kerala, violating all decencies of public life, all democratic principles and every noble tradition of our country. They will not succeed.

—P. C. JOSHI

(May 19)

## BUDGET SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

The Budget Session of Parliament is the longest and also more important than other sessions in a number of aspects. First, it gives an opportunity for Parliament to review the work of the Government in the preceding year. Secondly, the Government's programme for the current year is placed before the country in the form of budget demands. Thirdly, by its very length—it extends to over three months and in the meantime many national and international developments take place—it provides many unscheduled surprises also.

THE occasion for review was provided by the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament, the discussion on the General Budget, Railway Budget, etc. This year we had our quota of surprises in the echo of events in Tibet, the shooting down of the IAF Canberra by Pakistan and in the domestic sphere what may be called *l'affaire Mathai*.

Another issue which should have received greater attention was the U.S.-Pak bilateral military aid pact signed at Ankara, but which by a pattern of events and processes quite understandable in the context of the given political representation in Parliament, was almost sidetracked in spite of the efforts made by the Communist Group to rivet the attention of the country on the new threat to our security and peace.

The Vivian Bose Enquiry into the conduct of officers involved in the LIC-Mundhra deal, hanging fire since the Budget Session last year, also assumed some importance.

The session started in both Houses with a privilege motion against Sri M. O. Mathai, the former Special Assistant to Prime Minister Nehru, for certain remarks he made about Parliament in his letter of resignation to the Prime Minister. Towards the close of the session the Government placed their decision on the Vishnu Sahai Enquiry into the allegation against Mathai, which left the Members dissatisfied and angry. Thus throughout the session, the Mathai episode and the LIC-Mundhra deal were hot favourites for headlines in spite of the anti-Communist frenzy sought to be created over Tibet.

## Failure Of Plan

The Session started towards the end of the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan which promised an increase of 84 per cent in industrial production, 58 per cent in mining, 18 per cent in agriculture, 25 per cent in national income and 18 per cent in per capita income. But the progress of the Plan showed that none of these targets are likely to be achieved. The rate of increase in industrial production had precipitately come down; the national income had actually gone down in the previous year as revealed later by the Estimates of National Income; agricultural production had gone down considerably in the previous year and the country was facing an almost perpetual food crisis. The foreign exchange crisis was becoming worse with the fall in exports.

Neither the President's Address nor the Finance Minister's speech introducing the General Budget provided any serious appraisal of the situation or even an honest admission of the failure of the Plan to push forward our eco-

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## REVIEWED BY

K. P. SUBRAMANYA MENON

dependence on foreign assistance to carry out economic development.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that foreign private capital investment in our country today stood at Rs. 650 crores while at the start of our independence it was only Rs. 300 crores. "Are we to believe that by giving more and more concessions and advantages to foreign capital in the private sector our economic dependence will be over?" he asked.

In a detailed analysis of foreign aid we have received so far, especially from the United States, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that Rs. 133.74 crores has been allotted to the private sector (mostly at the instance of the USA or the World Bank). The second feature of the aid is that quite a large chunk of it is not for productive purposes, but for direct consumption. Pointing to the danger ahead, if this tendency of depending on foreign aid and encouraging foreign capital continues, he warned that "by the time we proceed to the Third Plan, we will be faced with a payments crisis.... The

mony on to the road of steady progress.

Comrade Dange characterised the President's Address as a "lifeless address, almost a dead catalogue of things done" and pointed out that "there is nothing in it and whatever little attempt is made to make a review, well, the review is very faulty and hides certain very crucial things that have taken place in this country of ours in the last year."

Dr. Ahmad said in the Rajya Sabha that the Address was "uninspiring, stale in its approach and unrealistic in its assessment."

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta characterised the Budget proposals as mocking at the Nagpur declaration of the Congress. "The Nagpur declaration has gone by

# COMMUNISTS STRESS DANGER OF OVERDEPENDENCE ON U. S. AID

## Foreign Aid

In both Houses, Communist spokesmen drew the attention of the country to the necessity of changing certain basic attitudes of the Government in regard to foreign aid, foreign capital, expansion of State sector, taxation measures, wage policy, food policy, agrarian reforms, etc., illustrating the weaknesses and failures of the Government on each of these counts with specific instances.

For example on the connected questions of foreign exchange crisis and foreign aid, Comrade Dange pointed out how foreign capital was dictating to us terms which are inimical to our national interests and harmful for planned development. Taking advantage of our difficult foreign exchange position, the World Bank team in its report on our economy advised us not to go in for expansion of the public sector. Then again, how did foreign capital behave? Last year, Government wanted a five per cent cut in the Rs. 28 crores import bill of kerosene, but that move was effectively sabotaged by the powerful international oil cartels. Machine-tools worth Rs. seven crores were given to us as American aid which will adversely affect the production of our State-owned Hindustan Machine-Tools at Bangalore.

This question of foreign aid and its implications to our economic and political independence was again spotlighted by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha during the general discussion on General Budget. We saw correctly the danger looming ahead in an undue

country's future is being mortgaged when it is possible to find other alternatives sources of revenue, especially by mobilising the internal resources for the reconstruction of the country, by using the unutilised manpower, by using the unutilised installed capacity and above all, by reorganising the trade pattern of our country so that our external export trade pays for our machinery imports."

## The Drug Deal

There were a number of instances, revealed during the session, to show that the foreign aid we receive from the USA has begun to influence our internal and international policies to the detriment of national interests. One such was the notorious agreement with Merck, an American drug manufacturing firm, entered into by the Hindustan Anti-Biotics to manufacture streptomycin and Dihydrostreptomycin.

Comrades S.V. Parulekar and Renu Chakravarty through a motion for discussion of the agreement, spotlighted the harm done to our people by the agreement. It will prevent the supply of these wonder drugs to our people at low prices; it will drain large amounts of foreign exchange out of the country in the nature of royalties and technical services; it will give a monopoly to Mercks for the supply of some of these drugs for the next ten years to our country at prices much higher than is necessary. Lastly, it will hamstring our sci-

fluence Government policies and decisions.

The S. P. Jain case, which was also pursued with vigour by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, ending in the conviction of one of the biggest industrial magnates in the country for illegal holding of foreign exchange outside the country—a practice widely prevalent among the "patriotic" free enterprisers—was another blow to the panegyrist of private sector virtues.

While the Government went on adding to the tax burden on the common people, enforced betterment levy on the peasantry at the point of bayonets, it demonstrated quite a classic sense of "democratic spirit" and "non-violence" by writing off over Rs. 100 crores of income tax arrears due from the biggest financial sharks, tax-dodgers and speculators.

## Punjab Struggle

During the session, the great Punjab betterment levy struggle was on. The firings on unarmed villagers, the brutal repression resorted to by the Government to suppress the people, the violation of all norms of decent behaviour by the State Government and Chief Minister, etc., were sought to be ventilated by Communist Members of Parliament during the session.

But the fact that the subject matter of the agitation came solely under the jurisdiction of the State Legislature, prevent-

ed our spokesmen in Parliament from spotlighting the issue in a big way. However, we achieved a measure of coordination between the mass movement outside and our work in Parliament on this issue also.

During the discussion on the Railway Budget, we concentrated attention on the unsatisfactory working of the railways, the bureaucratic and unhelpful attitude of the Railway Board towards the staff, the widespread political victimisation indulged in by the Government against workers, etc.

Comrade A. K. Gopalan picked the Railway Minister's bubble of competition from road transport as the cause for decrease in earnings of the railways by pointing out with facts and figures the fall in efficiency, the under-utilisation of full capacity of rolling stock and the indifferent attitude of the management towards complaints from the public. He also drew pointed attention, with instances, to the wastage and corruption rampant on the railways.

An important non-official resolution on the malpractices indulged in by Big Business in the matter of foreign exchange was moved by Comrade V. P. Nayyar during the session. Comrade Nayyar pointed out that though there were rules and regulations for controlling foreign exchange, experience had shown that the Government had not

been strict in enforcing them and had been over-indulgent towards big defaulters.

## Foreign Exchange

Topmost industrialists who had been going outside the country were indulging in all sorts of manipulations of secret accounts. In the case of imports into India they over-invoiced and, similarly, in the case of exports from India they under-invoiced. Whatever profits accrued thereby were being deposited with the banks in foreign countries over which the Government had no control. Though about 135 cases had been taken up in one year against businessmen for violation of foreign exchange regulations, the Government had not chosen to prosecute even a single individual.

Government had no control over the ex-princes who held huge foreign exchange resources in foreign countries. He suggested revision of the present Acts and rules to make it more rigorous and fool-proof and called upon the Government to enforce the Act vigorously.

The Government in its reply contended that the present position was satisfactory and that it is dealing with malpractices as far as possible.

During the session, certain other interesting developments took place. It was during the session that Sri M. R. Masani

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# GET-TOGETHER IN WASHINGTON

A recent Washington Conference which has received a fairly good coverage in the Indian Press marks the starting point of a new line of American approach towards India which may have considerable significance for the future.

HELD on May 4 and 5, the United States-India Conference on International Economic Cooperation was organised by the Committee for International Economic Growth, a body set up last year with the encouragement of the State Department to provide a sort of bipartisan lobby for the Mutual Security Programme. While this year's conference was devoted to India, next year's will be on Africa.

The Board of Directors of the Committee for International Economic Growth makes an interesting cocktail of the Wall Street and the Pentagon: its Chairman is Eric Johnston, President of the Motion Picture Industry of America, and its members include General Lucius D. Clay, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, President of Johns Hopkins University and brother of the President; General Alfred M. Gruenther, former Chief of NATO; and George Meany, the trade unionist with a heavy bias for Big Business.

The co-sponsors of this year's conference on India were the National Planning Association, the Asia Foundation, the Stanford Research Institute and the Centre for International Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The list of companies which acted as the "contributing sponsors" shows the active interest of American Big-Business in this conference and particularly of those who have already been doing business in our country. The list includes the Bank of America, the Bunge Corporation; Central Gulf Steamship Lines; Johnson and Johnson International; Kaiser Engineers Overseas Corporation; Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Corporation; K. A. Export Co.; Koppers Co. Inc.; Merck, Sharp and Dohme International; Pfizer International Inc.; Standard-Vacuum Oil Co.; Union Carbide International Co.; Willys Overland Export Corporation; and Ishman Steamship Co. It is interesting to note that in the Press publicity given to the conference in India, this important list of contributing sponsors was played down, if not altogether missing.

The prominent personalities participating in this conference covered a wide range—from Government representatives to businessmen, economists and specialists on Indian developments. Apart from Ambassador Chagla, the Indian participants included B. K. Nehru, I.C.S., Commissioner General for Economic Affairs, and H. V. R. Jengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank, who has been described by a U.S. Senator as "one of the chief architects of India's economic programmes."

It was quite a sight to find, standing between two American millionaires, Averill Harriman and John D. Rockefeller III, the shining specimen of Indian Socialism, "the Honourable Asoka Mehta" described as "one of India's most outspoken anti-

Communists." Other Indians included Bharat Ram, son of Lala Sri Ram, the business magnate; B. J. Patel, President of the All-India Cooperative Union and, of course, A. D. Gorwala and Frank Moraes, editor of *Indian Express*. One only missed Mino Masani.

The conference was meant to create a sort of climate for dollar aid for India's Third Five-Year Plan, and at the same time to influence its course. What is significant to note about it is that it clearly reflected a new American approach to Indian policy. At the same time, it indicated the anxiety of powerful Indian circles to get large-scale American private investment into this country and thereby ensure the pattern of Indian economy congenial to Big Business, both indigenous and foreign.

The running thread of the Indian contributions to the conference voiced this dangerous point of view. Important to note is the fact that India's official spokesmen took up this theme throughout.

Americans who raised the Tibetan affair and its impact on Indian opinion. Hindu's Washington Correspondent Balaraman noted that "it was only Indian participants including Mr. Asoka Mehta himself who were being apologetic about India's Socialistic pattern of society."

## Self-Assured Businessmen

Averill Harriman, the millionaire Democrat, tried to dispel American fears about India Government's "Socialist" objectives: "For my part, I think it is a good thing that they use this word. It is a highly popular word among the Asian peoples, where capitalism has become closely identified—almost synonymous—with colonialism. The Indians have taken it away from the Communists who have tried to exploit it for their own purposes."

How self-assured American businessmen could feel about present-day India could be seen in the speech of Ralph Binney, Vice-President of the First National Bank of Boston, who recently returned from a State Department Trade Mission to India: "Now is the time for the American

ed and uncommitted nations for 1958 as totalling one billion dollars, which he described as "a dramatic acceleration of the tempo of this drive."

If Dillon warned about the Soviet economic challenge, others, equally influential, have been talking of the Chinese threat. Senator Kennedy, a very influential figure in the Democratic Party, told the conference that the outcome of the economic competition between India and China would vitally affect the security and standing of the United States. "But the harsh facts of the matter are that in the last decade China has surged ahead of India in most sectors of its economy."

He revealed that "last year, China's rate of economic growth was at least three times as high as India's..." "Unless India is able to demonstrate an ability at least equal to that of China to make the transition from economic stagnation to growth, so that it can get ahead of its expanding population, the entire free world will suffer a serious reverse."

"India herself will be gripped by frustration and political instability, its role as a counter to Red China would be lost, and Communism would have won its greatest bloodless victory."

however, President Eisenhower held a Press Conference in which he said he was fearful of the term "massive" aid. While he believed that India's progress must be rapid, Eisenhower added that he did not think that America had the "sole responsibility" in the matter.

While the immediate impact of the Washington conference may not be seen as stepped-up American Government aid to India, it does not, in the least, mean that American private investors will not try to come in in a big way. Besides, the political strategy that lay behind the Washington conference is extremely significant.

## Grooming India

Worked out with painstaking persistence by the former American Ambassador in India, Chester Bowles, it aims at building up closer Indo-Pak entente under Western, particularly American patronage, as the first step to grooming India as a counter to the growing might of China in Asia.

It was in this context that Bowles gave the call at the conference for a Nehru-Ayub Summit. He declared that the chances for Indo-Pak reconciliation are "probably better today than at any time since the partition of British India in 1947."

It was in this context that India's attitude to the Tibetan question was regarded as a godsend for these long-range American political strategists. *Washington Post* wrote on May 5: "What the experience (India's on Tibet) may well do is to intensify India's determination to succeed with a free alternative to the Communist system—in ways currently being discussed at the conference in Washington—and thereby to influence the course of other Asian countries. Beyond this, the experience also may be an impetus to more regional co-operation among the non-Communist countries."

## Asoka Mehta's Performance

Asoka Mehta in an American radio programme readily echoed this point of view, saying that "On both sides in the past two months there has been a desire to get over our difficulties, and come closer together." Presumably gauging the Indian feelings over American arms aid to Pakistan, he cautiously added that "it would be easier for us to come together in terms of regional economic interests."

Asoka Mehta also disclosed that he had already spent long hours with Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington, Aziz Ahmed, and in fact suggested a "package deal" to him. Aziz Ahmed, it may be noted, had suggested on April 30 in a speech before the Far East American Council of Commerce and Industry in New York: "If our great neighbour were to view the facts of life in their correct perspective, and were to desire it, Pakistan could well become its defensive shield, lying, as it does, across the historic invasion routes to India in the north-west and the ap-  
\* SEE PAGE 13

# New Line Of U.S. Approach— Aim Is The Same: Change India's Foreign Policy

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Ambassador Chagla said that though India wanted loans to "tide us over this critical period in our economic history, even more important to my mind, is the investment of private American capital in Indian industries. There is a wide and expanding scope for this investment... I attach more importance to this because it would lead to economic cooperation between the peoples of the two countries and cooperation between peoples is much more important than cooperation between Governments."

Reserve Bank Governor Jengar said: "The development in the public sector has not only not retarded progress in the private sector, but in fact stimulated it and given it an opportunity to grow."

## Underplaying Public Sector

Sri B. K. Nehru was equally forthright in underplaying the public sector. He told the Americans that "the Indian economy, contrary to popular belief in this country is still a predominantly private enterprise economy. Indian Governmental expenditures are about ten per cent of the total net national income as against 20 per cent in this country... It is, therefore, obvious that a plan for the public sector alone would, in our conditions, be meaningless."

In the conference itself, it was the Indians and not the

firms to move in. There is ample opportunity for making money there. You get virtually a free ride on your capital for the first five years of a company's operation." Binney frankly stated that the advantages of investment with Indian firms in joint ventures are especially attractive. He warned that if the American firms did not move in, the Soviet side would.

## Meeting Soviet Challenge

The "Soviet economic challenge", particularly with the adoption of the Seven-Year Plan, has indeed created grave concern in Washington. A speech by Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency of America, was the beginning of a new campaign for highlighting this "challenge". Characterising an American recession as "an expensive luxury", Allen Dulles warned "the Soviet propagandists have had a field day in recent months, pounding away at American free enterprise."

Effective U.S. aid programmes have been under consideration for several months to counter this threat. These are mainly sponsored by Dillon, himself a big financier, who is Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Dillon has recently estimated that Soviet commitments to underdevelop-

Much has been made in the Indian Press about Vice-President Nixon's speech at the conference, in which he said: "I would not like to rest the case on simply the negative issue of how to defeat Communism. If there were no Communism and there were no Communist threat to people like those of India, there would still be poverty, disease and need. Our primary interest must be the victory of plenty over want, of freedom over tyranny."

But the real meaning behind this catchy rhetoric was provided by Senator Kennedy who agreeing with Nixon's dictum, elaborated it: "If our interest appears to be purely selfish, anti-Communist and part of the cold war—if it appears to the Indian people that our motives are purely political—then we shall play into the hands of Communist and neutralist propagandists..."

## Glittering Proposals

Many glittering proposals for helping India came up in the conference: Harriman wanted India be given a thousand million dollars annually. Kennedy suggested a Marshall Plan for India. Humphrey recommended long-range U.S. aid, all the wheat India needs and also development of regional and multilateral aid programmes. During this very conference,

# COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS

# Fight Communal Riots!

Resolution adopted by the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India held from May 9 to 12, in Delhi.

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India deplores the communal disturbances which have recently taken place in Bhopal, Sitamarhi, Akhta in Bihar and Mubarakpur (U. P.)

The Central Executive Committee offers its deep sympathy to the families of those who have lost their dear ones and to all those who have suffered physical injuries, mental anguish and destruction of property. It hopes that they will be given all necessary relief and every other kind of assistance.

## NO UNFORESEEN OCCURRENCE

The Central Executive Committee notes that in many cases the riots were not the result of some sudden unforeseen occurrences. It is well known that in many places, the avowed parties of communal reaction like the Jan Sangh and the E. S. S. and the Hindu Mahasabha were actively rousing religious and communal passions.

Moreover the communal elements get encouragement from certain vested interests who want to divide the masses and disrupt mass movements by rousing communal passions. It is also distressing to find that in some cases the communal feelings and prejudices are exploited for gaining narrow or unseemly political advantages.

## FAILURE OF AUTHORITIES

The Central Executive Committee notes with pain and sorrow that the administrative authorities and police have not always discharged their responsibilities with impartiality and courage in dealing with communal tension or disorder.

In the first instance, they fail to take effective preventive action and when the riots start, they do not deal with the situation with the requisite firmness and impartiality. Instigators of communal frenzy and similar other culprits are not always apprehended, while innocent people are subjected to all manner of harassment and persecution. This, for example, happened in Bhopal and Mubarakpur. In the latter place, the police indulged in wholesale beating up and oppression of persons belonging to the minority community. In the name of investigation, the police are carrying on harassment of members of the minority community in Bhopal, while the guilty persons are still at large.

## COMMUNALISTS' OFFENSIVE

Chafing under that blow they mounted an offensive against the nationalist elements first organising a boycott of the Holi procession and then blaming the office-bearers of the Teohar Samiti for the Holi celebration not having been on the usual scale.

Two days after Holi they organised a reception for a jatha which was going from Bhilsa to Banaras to partic-

ipators of communal hatred and communal riots, no matter which community they belong to, will be dealt with and punished in an exemplary way. Utmost vigilance must be exercised over their activities and timely preventive action must be taken wherever they are active. Thus it should be made plain to these anti-social elements that their criminal activities will be suppressed with all the strength at the command of the Government.

The C. E. C. appeals to our people to take the recent communal disturbances as a danger signal and

unite in concerted efforts to combat the anti-nationalist forces of communalism and maintain communal amity and goodwill which are essential for the advance of our democracy. Communal riots and communalism constitute the weapon of people's enemies to divide them in order to defeat them. They are a weapon to divide the trade union and kisan movement to defend the gains of the vested interests.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to the organised mass movement, to the workers' and peasant organisations and to all progressive institutions to

fight against the communal canker and fight communal riots.

It sends its warm greetings to our Party comrades who have risked physical assaults and injury, defending the victims of these riots.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee on this question and offers the Communist Party's cooperation in combating the forces of communalism. It earnestly hopes that all progressive parties will come together to fight this menace to national unity.

# COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN BHOPAL

# AN EYE - WITNESS ACCOUNT

★ Incidents Were Organised ★★ Police Resorted To One-Sided Punitive Measures

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

We have received a number of enquiries as to why we have not been reporting on the communal disturbances that have taken place. We have already published a report on Sitamarhi. Regarding Bhopal, we were keeping back the report pending representations that were being made by Communist M.P.s and others who had gone there. Here below we give an eye-witness account of some of the incidents in Bhopal.

THE communal disturbances that took place in Bhopal towards the end of March and the way the situation there has been handled by the authorities have caused serious suffering to the people in general and to the minority community in particular. Although trouble subsided long ago this suffering is not yet over.

Far from being spontaneous in any sense the incidents were the result of organised efforts by the communal parties, the Hindu Sabha and Jan Sangh which are fairly strong in Bhopal. The Hindu Sabha had recently lost in the elections of the office-bearers to the Hindu Teohar Samiti (Festivals Celebration Committee) and a Congressman was elected its President.

Tension over this was raised to such a pitch that the nationalists in the procession including the office-bearers of the Teohar Sabha had to leave. After this the communalists had a free run, diverting the procession from its fixed route and attacking places of worship and shops, etc., belonging to the minority community, who too came out in places to offer resistance and clashed with the processionists. This went on for a few hours, with the inadequate police force remaining ineffective, and no reinforcements being called.

able damage had been done under Section 144 were imposed. Curfew was enforced in such a stupid way that people going for night prayers—this being the Ramzan months when special night prayers are held—were driven off to the police stations.

Panic among Muslims was taken advantage of by aggressive elements among them to give a call for congregating the next day at afternoon prayers in the Jama Masjid. They assumed the leadership of that congregation and succeeded in leading a small number of them out of the mosque to attack nearby Hindu shops. The attack was felled by the police but it became a handle for wholesale repression of the minority community.

## INNOCENT PEOPLE JAILED

Hundreds of innocent and peaceful citizens who had remained behind in the mosque were dragged out, beaten up and sent to jail. Houses were raided at night and it was provocatively announced with great fanfare that lots of "arms" had been unearthed—most of these arms being just articles of daily use like kitchen-knives.

Meanwhile the Hindu Sabha and Jan Sangh had organised a raid on the Assembly and tried to mob the Chief Minister himself. The culprits were quietly taken to their homes in police vans and left there without any action being tak-

en against them. Assembly members who demanded facilities to go to the town to help control the situation were asked not to interfere in the administration.

One-sided application of the punitive measures gave police opportunities to lord it over both communities. Indiscriminate beating up, terrorisation and pilfering against the minority community was accompanied by open and shameless feasting at public cost in the localities of the majority community. Gondas were given a free run to set fire to minority residential areas which MLAs watched helplessly from their Rest House situated on the hill top.

By the time trouble subsided, losses suffered by the minority community ran into several lakhs of rupees. Three persons had been killed, sixty shops had been looted, twenty houses had been set on fire. In all about 1,200 people had been arrested and put in jail. This, besides about 2,500 who were dragged to police stations and harassed in every possible way.

On the other hand, those guilty of serious crimes like murder, arson and loot were not even touched.

This behaviour of the authorities and the police created utter panic and demoralisation among the Muslims. Their appeals to the Chief Minister remained unheeded. When the Muslims' most festive day of the year—the Id—came on April 10 it was a day of mourn-

It was only after consider-  
NEW AGE

★ SEE PAGE 12  
PAGE FIVE



# MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE IN ORISSA

by GURUCHARAN PATNAIK

The Congress Parliamentary Board has now given its formal approval to the manoeuvres by Sri Hare Krushna Mahatab and his group to form a coalition Ministry with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa. This is the first coalition Ministry that the Congress has formed during this period. There is no doubt that it will mean a big change in the political situation in the State.

LET us briefly examine the background to this development. About a year ago, the Ganatantra Parishad and the PSP advanced a joint programme for the formation of an alternative Ministry in consonance with the demand of the masses for a change, the Communist Party announced its support for this programme, which had many democratic demands in it.

As is well known, the Governor energetically and undemocratically intervened and allowed Mahatab to withdraw his resignation, as a result of which the Ganatantra Parishad and the PSP were not able to gather the required number of MLAs to establish their absolute majority.

Following this failure, the Ganatantra Parishad and the PSP failed to popularise their programme, as also to try to get suitable legislation passed in the Assembly in this direction. They went on pinning their hopes on dissensions within the Congress and hoped for a break-away of Congress MLAs.

In the meantime, the Congress was not having an easy time of it either. In two constituencies, the Ganatantra Parishad defeated the Congress, while only in one was the Congress able to defeat the PSP candidate.

## Dwindling Majority

Then again the Congress majority in the Assembly dwindled from 11 to 2. The position was so bad that the 1958 supplementary budget session was hurriedly prorogued after 12 days, instead of running its due one month. Quite recently, two Congress MLAs announced their resignation, though they have not yet broken away from the Congress. As a result, the Congress majority, despite Jharkhand support, became extremely precarious.

This made Sri Mahatab take the initiative in approaching the Raja of Patna, the leader of the Ganatantra Parishad. He put forward the specious plea that political instability in the State was hampering the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and that this instability would not be ended by fresh elections, since neither party was likely to gain a majority.

To his own High Command and partymen, Sri Mahatab's argument is that the Ganatantra Parishad is going to accept the Congress programme, and that the coalition is going to be the first step towards merger. His calculation further is that in any event this move will lead to the dis-

ruption of the Ganatantra Parishad, should its leaders refuse a merger. Through the coalition tactic, he feels that the Congress will be able to penetrate the Ganatantra Parishad fortresses by infiltration, which have not so far yielded to direct storming.

## Not A Stable Solution

Thus the coalition move will by no means be a permanent or stable solution of the unsettled political life of Orissa. All sorts of intrigues, manoeuvres and squabbles can be expected.

At the same time, it has to be realised that behind the coalition there is a certain unity of material interests. The peculiarity of the situation in Orissa is the great strength of the feudal forces. They are strongly entrenched in the Congress and completely control the Ganatantra Parishad, which has been the main party of opposition.

These feudal forces found that the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad conflict enabled the democratic forces to make some headway and win some concessions. Under mass pressure spearheaded by the Communist Party and fearing a defeat in the Assembly, the Congress was compelled to abolish the family allowances of the feudal rulers, to tax the rent-free lands of the rajahs and their families, to give

some rights to the sharecroppers who cultivate the lands of the feudal chiefs. These measures, though mild and very halting, hit the interests of the rajahs, both in the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad. The latter was unable to oppose these measures, since it was hoping to win popular support by demagogic slogans and programmes.

Due to the strong opposition in the Assembly, the Congress was not able to impose any new tax nor enhance the old ones, though it tried to introduce a number of financial bills to that effect and made provision in the budget accordingly.

Not to be outdone, the Ganatantra Parishad abandoned its previous opposition to land reforms and abolition of privy purses and last May went so far as to agree to a 15-acre ceiling on landholdings! Now with the coalition established, these feudal forces hope to get some respite, hope to be able to offer some sort of united opposition to the democratic forces. At least they estimate that for some time there will be a cessation of competition in the game of anti-feudal demagoguery and concessions.

The news of the coalition has profoundly demoralised the Congress rank-and-file who do not know what to explain to the masses. The Ganatantra Parishad had al-

ways been branded by them as the party of the feudals, of anti-national rajahs and so on. This growing discontent cannot manifest itself strongly due to lack of proper leadership.

The Ganatantra Parishad MLAs have also not taken to the idea very enthusiastically. They are quite critical, though they have accepted the fact of coalition. They are anxious to maintain intact the independent existence of their party.

## Communist Party's Task

The task of the Communist Party is quite clear. Both the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad will have to be exposed and fought. The Ganatantra Parishad in particular, will have to be constantly reminded of its programme and urged to implement it now that ministerial power is in its hands. While combating the Right reactionary policy of the PSP leaders, the Party will strive its utmost to draw the PSP members and supporters into joint activity.

The coalition move is no sign of strength of either of the two parties. Nor is it going to prevent the cracking of the mass base of either the Congress or the Ganatantra Parishad. A strong, united democratic movement can give this reactionary combine several hard knocks and eventually pack off both partners to this marriage of convenience.

(May 15)

# ANTI-TAX INCREMENT STRUGGLE IN BIHAR

FROM ALI ASHRAF

THE formation of the all-parties Preparatory Committee for convening the Provincial Anti-Tax-Increment Conference on May 31, at Patna, marks a new important stage in the development of the anti-tax increment movement in Bihar.

The Preparatory Committee is headed by the PSP leader, Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, and has as Secretaries Sri Janki Nandan Singh, the General Secretary of the Bihar Jan Congress, and Sri Ramavatar Shastri, member of the Bihar Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

The Statewide movement against the new taxes to the tune of more than Rs. six crores imposed this year was initiated by the Communist Party with the organisation of the 40,000-strong demonstration before the State Legislature on March 18, and the general hartal on the same day in Patna. This was followed by a general Statewide hartal on April 18. The

## ALL-PARTIES COMMITTEE SET UP TO HOLD PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

broad popular response roused by these anti-tax actions could not but move even the leadership of all popular parties.

Sri Janki Nandan Singh, MLC, the General Secretary of the Bihar Jan Congress, who had addressed the demonstrators before the Assembly gates on March 18, and had supported the movement, readily agreed to become the Convener of the preparatory meeting for the Conference.

The meeting which was held on May 5, was attended by legislators and other representatives of the Communist Party, the Bihar Jan Congress, the Jharkhand Party, the Janata Party and mass organisations like the Bihar Branch of the AITUC, the Bihar State Kisan Sabha, the Bihar Trade Union Coordination Committee, the Bihar Bank Employees' Association, etc.

Prominent among those present were Sri Ram Binode Singh, MLC, Sri Girja Nandan Singh, MLC (Jharkhand), Sri Budhan Rai Verma, MLC (Ja-

nata Party), Sri Ram Rup Rai, MLC (Jan Congress), Sri Karyanand Sharma, MLC (CPI), Sri Kishori Prasanna Sinha, Sri Ramavatar Shastri, Sri T. Parmanand (UTUC), Sri K. Gopalan (Municipal Councillor and Secretary, Trade Union Coordination Committee) and the PSP MLA from Sitamarhi, Sri Ram Sevak Sarma.

The meeting was presided over by Sri Ram Binode Singh, President of the Bihar Jan Congress, who welcomed the unity of "these colleagues of old" in a broad, anti-tax movement which will "dig the grave of the Congress Government of the vested interests."

Eleven speakers addressed the meeting after which a resolution was unanimously passed fixing May 31 for holding the Provincial Anti-Tax-Increment Conference which will take final decisions about launching a broad movement against the tax increments.

Sri Mahamaya Prasad, who could not be present at the

meeting, sent word expressing his readiness to join any all parties' committee which the meeting elected.

The meeting elected a thirty-nine member committee to make preparations for the Conference. Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha was unanimously elected President of the Preparatory Committee.

## HARTAL AGAINST INCREASED OCTROI IN JODHPUR

FROM R. K. VYAS

THE people of Jodhpur moved into action in a big way on the 8th of this month. There was complete hartal in the city in protest against the decision of the Municipal Board

★ SEE FACING PAGE

# ★ INDIAN DELEGATION COMES BACK IMPRESSED ★ WITH CHINA'S STEEL INDUSTRY

## ★ Stress On Self-Reliance

## ★ Few Foreign Experts As Advisers

## ★ High Speed And Standardisation



The Steel Delegation with Foreign Minister Chen Yi

NEW DELHI  
THE spirit of self-reliance marking China's striking efforts for steel production has made a deep impression on the five-man Delegation sent by the Government of India. The Delegation has submitted its report to the Union Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

The Delegation—which visited both China and Japan—was sent to study the methods of small-scale blast furnaces for steel, particularly in China. Sri K. S. Raghupati, Deputy Secretary, Department of Iron and Steel, was the leader of the Delegation which included Dr. Nijhawan, Director, National Metallurgical Laboratory at IILKAR, Senior Industrial Advisor, Ministry of Com-

merce and Industry, Sri B. S. Sharma, Additional General Manager, Mysore Iron and Steel Works, and Sri M. M. Dastur, Engineering Consultant.

The Delegation's report on China says: "In designing the plants, constructing them and operating them, a sense of 'rely on ourselves' permeates the entire body of leaders, engineers and workers. Wherever modern equipment is not readily available, labour intensive methods are adopted. Improvised methods of construction, for instance, construction of buildings in wood and ordinary bricks, construction of blast furnaces in brick are adopted extensively. Almost all the plant and equipment for small and medium-scale

plants are manufactured in China and in the integrated steel works. Only the most essential and complicated items of plant and equipment, for which there is no manufacturing capacity within the country, is allowed to be imported. No package deal, no project on "turn-key" basis could be seen in China.

The delegation found the entire country "geared to increasing rapidly the production of iron and steel." This is because "the leaders in China came to the conclusion that development of the iron and steel industry was essential to progress in agriculture and in industry as such."

The Delegation has recommended that "in our

future plants, emphasis should be on 'self-reliance' in building iron and steel works and attempts should be made to build these plants with the use of Ladian resources, except where import is unavoidable. Adjustments should be made in designs wherever necessary to use Indian material in preference to imported equipment."

An interesting point noticed by the Delegation was that "in the projects under construction, there were few foreign experts." Some foreign specialists are there in the Ministry in Peking and in the different Bureaus in the Provinces while "the operation of the projects is undertaken by the Chi-

nese themselves with the few foreign experts acting merely in an advisory capacity."

The Delegation was impressed by the high speed of construction of both small and large integrated steel works. Small blast furnaces are put up in a week or a fortnight. The "home-made steel plant" with capacities ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 tons annually take one to two months in construction, while small rolling mills including modern tube mills are completed in three to five months.

Standardisation is maintained in designs, plant and equipment as also in construction methods. "This facilitates speedy construction and is conducive to economy in the maintenance of plant and equipment as it makes for easy interchangeability of parts during maintenance and repairs." Similarly, close and constant contact is maintained between the Metallurgical Research Laboratories and the iron and steel plants.

The Delegation has, therefore, recommended that close relation should be "extensively developed between the National Metallurgical Laboratory at Jamshedpur and the steel plants in India, which is bound to yield very valuable results."

The Delegation holds that in our country "there is scope for some small-size blast furnaces and side-blown converters in areas where conditions are favourable to the development of such small units," while keeping in view the claims of economy and efficiency.

A few small plants "constructed from entirely Indian designs and with Indian material will give confidence to designers and construction engineers and workers in this country." The Delegation has, therefore, recommended that, on an experimental basis, "the design and construction of a few small blast furnaces and converters be taken in hand."

The report of the Delegation is likely to be placed before Parliament.

# UNITED RESISTANCE TO JODHPUR OCTROI INCREMENT

★ FROM PAGE 6

taken the previous evening imposing octroi duties, which according to unofficial computation, come to the figure of about Rs. 30 lakhs.

A procession started from the Sarafa Bazar and parading the main bazar reached the office of the Municipal Board and demonstrated there for some time and then dispersed. In the evening a public meeting was held on behalf of the Citizens' Action Committee which had been set up in a meeting of citizens held at noon.

## Unjust And Unnecessary

The meeting protesting against the decision of the Board declared the imposition of octroi to this extent as unjust and unnecessary. It demanded that the schedule be withdrawn and on the lines of the discussion held in an all-parties meeting on the 7th evening, the whole question of municipal finances should be reviewed. The income of the Jodhpur Municipal Committee is about Rs. eight lakhs whereas the expenditure even on the normal work would come to about Rs. 14 lakhs, and if some sanitation and development

schemes have to be taken in hand the whole expenditure would go to about Rs. 25 lakhs. The problem is to raise the necessary resources for this.

The Municipal Committee, six months ago, called a meeting of all the citizens, political parties, trade unions, business organisations, etc., and posed the problem before them. It was then decided that the question of existing revenues, any leakages or laxity in collection, as also the pruning of present expenditure should all be examined. Along with this the possibility of raising resources through non-tax revenue was also to be examined. A Sub-Committee of the Municipality, known as the Financial Enquiry Committee, was formed. Another body composed of representatives of political parties, trade unions and business organisations, known as the Finance Advisory Committee, was set up. This was six months ago.

But for six months no serious effort was made by the authorities of the Board. The Finance Advisory Committee meeting was not even called. In the Finance Enquiry Committee, despite the protest of the Communist member, the only question that was discussed was the revision of the octroi schedule; and the revision decided there by some members was so heavy that the business circles compute that it would mean a burden

of about Rs. 30 to 40 lakhs on the citizens.

## Suggestions For Finance

Then suddenly a meeting of the Finance Advisory Committee was called on the 7th. The first suggestion that was made was that there were many items in which the State Government had not honoured its commitment of giving resources to the Municipal Committee. The Government should be approached and pressure put on it to get it to honour these commitments.

The next suggestion was that taxes whose burden falls proportionately to the income, like the house-tax and the professional tax, or tax on advertisement or on establishments, etc., should be undertaken. In the new municipal law these taxes have actually been made obligatory on the municipalities.

Since the collection of existing taxes is not very efficient, efforts should be made to speed that up also, specially in regard to recovery of rents of municipal property and octroi.

Having done all this if it is still necessary, some slight revision in the octroi schedule may be made, but that should be only on luxury goods or intoxicants or such things whose

burden would not fall on the consumers, and local industry and trade would not be adversely hit.

These were almost the unanimous conclusions arrived at in this informal exchange of views. The Finance Advisory Committee of which the Chairman of the Board is the convener, decided to recommend to the Board that the present schedule should not be passed and instead efforts in the direction stated above should be made. This was the position at about 4 p.m. But in utter disregard of all this, the Municipal Board, despite protests by thirteen members belonging to the Citizens' Front and some independents, passed the octroi schedule in just five minutes.

Against this arbitrary attitude, the citizens of Jodhpur showed their protest and resentment, by organising a most successful hartal the very next day.

A Citizens' Action Committee with Sri K. C. Bhatia as convener has been formed in which representatives of all parties and business and trade unions are represented. If despite all efforts, the authorities and the Government do not retract from their adamant attitude, preparations for a more determined struggle are under way.



The crusaders in Kerala are getting ready to launch their offensive against the Communist-led Government. The "liberation struggle" is to begin on June 1. On that day private school managers have been asked to close their schools and paramilitary volunteer groups are being organised to forcibly prevent the opening of Government and other schools.

## The Controversial Clause

THIS school-closing agitation is ostensibly against the Education Act, particularly its Clause 11 which concerns the appointment of teachers in private and Government schools. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the crusade, has said about this clause, "as far as the management is concerned, so long as they do not have full powers in the matter of appointments, they will not be in a position to properly run the schools." So Mannam has called for the closing down of schools.

This was not what Mannam himself used to say even a few months ago.

### Original Provision

When the Education Bill was first introduced, it was Clause 13 of the original Bill which dealt with the question of appointment of teachers. That clause had provided that all teachers in aided schools should be appointed only from the panel of names given to the manager by the prescribed authority.

There was an uproar against this provision. Opposition leaders said this was to pack schools with Communist teachers and so on.

It was at the Select Committee stage that this provision was amended to become the present Clause 11. The Select Committee considered that "instead of asking the manager to select teachers from a panel of names given to him, it would be better if the Public Service Commission selected candidates for appointment of teachers both in Government and aided schools and permitting the manager to appoint any person from the list of candidates so selected." The Committee held "that this method will ensure the best hands available being recruited as teachers and at the same time give sufficient freedom to the manager in the matter of appointment of teachers." The **INDIAN EXPRESS** wrote (August 21, 1957), "the Government has acted wisely in withdrawing it (the original provision) in deference to public opinion."

### Amended Clause

Clause 11 of the Bill, as it came out of the Select Committee, read:

"11. Appointment of Teachers in Government and Aided Schools.—(1) The Public Service Commission shall as empowered by this Act, select candidates for appointment as teachers in Government and aided schools. Before the 31st of May of each year, the Public Service Commission shall select candidates with due regard to the probable

number of vacancies of teachers that may arise in the course of the year. The candidates shall be selected for each district separately and the list of candidates so selected shall be published in the Gazette. Teachers of aided schools shall be appointed by the manager only from the candidates so selected for the district in which the school is located, provided that the manager may, for sufficient reason, with the permission of the Public Service Commission, appoint teachers selected for any other district. Appointment of teachers in Government schools shall also be made from the list of candidates so published.

(2) In selecting candidates under sub-section (1) the Public Service Commission shall have regard to the provisions made by the Government under Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution." (Clause 4) of Article 16 of the Constitution says: "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

This provision was met with the most bitter opposition by Christian school managements.

The Christian managements, especially Catholic managements, claimed absolute freedom in the matter of choosing and appointing teachers in their schools. This, when the entire salary and allowances of the teachers (and even their pension as provided for in the Education Act) are fully paid by the Government over and above a sum for maintenance expenses. These managements resented even the feeblest restraint on the choice of teachers.

Two of the main reasons for the Catholic managements' opposition can be understood if one sees how they have been running their schools.

For them education has been a business for profit where teachers' posts were auctioned to the highest bidder. The Bill would not allow them to do that any more.

For them educational institutions were an instrument to spread their religion and if they could appoint their own teachers, their services could be utilised to teach religion, too, without any additional payment. Clause 11 put a restraint on that.

Against this opposition of the Catholic Church rallied the teachers who, under the Bill, would get full protection, who would be paid by the Government—they would no longer have to sign for their salary and take whatever the manager was pleased to give them—whose service conditions would be laid down by the Government and brought on a par

with those in Government schools.

### Mannam's Support Then

Among the staunchest supporters of the Bill and its Clause 11 were Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, leader of the present crusade, and the Nair Service Society of which he is the President. Mannam then declared that he would move heaven and earth to get the Bill adopted and implemented.

He had said at a Press Conference in the last week of August 1957: "It is quite clear that these ecclesiastics are frantically running about on account of the fear that once the Bill is passed they will not be able to continue their usual looting of other's purses. Those who support them are people belonging to certain political parties and their leaders who were ousted from power. Their only interest lies in sabotaging the Communist regime at the earliest opportunity."

He added: "If the Government of today has passed the Bill, it will also enforce it. There is so much of public support and reason behind the Bill."

The reason for which he then supported the Bill is now being put forward by his own followers in the Nair Service Society to condemn him for his leadership of the present anti-Education Act agitation.

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of his demand, and he and the Nair Service Society entered the arena to defend the Bill against the Catholic managements.

### Present Volte Face

Why then has Mannam made his present volte face? To the question why he switched over from support to the Bill to opposition to it, all that Sri Mannam has to give is the infantile explanation that he had not carefully read the provisions of the Bill earlier when he supported it. The people of Kerala who had read Mannam's statements of those days or heard his speeches know this is a total falsehood. What then has caused his opposition? Its reasons have to be found elsewhere.

Inextricably bound up with the question of the Education Act is the principle of reservation. Reservation of seats for backward communities in recruitment to Government services has been incorporated in our Constitution. The basic idea underlying this principle is that justice should be done to the communities which have remained backward because of historical and social reasons, that they should be helped to raise themselves to reach an equal status with the privileged communities in all walks of life.

Since the Government

pledges to scrap such a principle can ever hope to be voted into office."

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan cannot even in his wildest of imaginations aspire to become Chief Minister of Kerala and abolish reservation. None of

the parties which back him have promised that they would do away with reservation.

So abolition of the system of reservation cannot be Mannam's immediate objective, nor the cause of the present struggle.

## Opposition Really To Land Bill

Currently the Kerala Assembly is discussing the Agrarian Relations Bill. The Congress has gone on declaring—before it came to power and since—that it will implement a programme of land reforms. But the vested interests in land are so firmly entrenched in the State Congress organisations and their pressure so irresistible on the Congress Ministries that none of the Congress-ruled States has so far been able to introduce a Bill providing for radical changes in the existing agrarian relations. The landed gentry have been able to sabotage from within all proposals for any progressive measures.

The situation is very much different in Kerala. Here no sabotage from within is possible. The ruling Communist Party is not in the habit of surrendering to the pressure of the vested interests. Hence it is that only the Kerala Government

who demand that the Communist Party should be liquidated in Kerala along with its Government, while the leader of the crusade, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, will not be satisfied with anything less than "wiping the Communist Party and Communism off the face of India and sending whatever remains of them to Moscow." Mannam has obviously forgotten the fate of those who wanted to wipe out Communism not only from their own countries but even from Moscow. It was Hitler who got wiped out, Moscow remained and Communism got strengthened.

### A Few Hometruths

Mannam is forgetting another truth and that about his own community. While Mannam gets ready to fight for the Nair school manager, he forgets that there are

the apple of their eye since it tries to implement the Education Act and the Land Bill."

The Vice-President of a Nair Service Society unit in Vaikom has said:

"The Catholics are using Mannam to fight the Education Act so that their right to appoint only Catholic teachers in their schools is not touched. This agitation does not at all benefit the Nairs."

"Mannam says schools will not be reopened on June 1. It is not for Mannam alone to decide whether the Nair schools will be opened or not. The question has to be decided by over 2,000 branches of the Nair Service Society."

### Schools Will Be Opened

"Nair schools were built with money got from collecting coconuts from Nairs. They were not built with Catholic subsidy. Not one Mannam, not a hundred Mannams, can prevent these schools from being reopened to satisfy the wishes of the Catholics."

"Our school buildings which we built with our contributions are for our children to study. I wish to only remind the leaders of the community that we know how to keep these schools open."

Cherthala Union Nair Service Society Vice-President Parameswara Kurup has said

cent High School if the management closes it down. Such opposition to the agitation is being voiced in many parishes.

But, at the moment, in the leadership of both the Nair and Christian communities, the voice of sanity and reason finds no place. The Deepika, mouthpiece of the Catholic priests, has called for bloodshed. Pattom Thanu Pillal at a public meeting in Trivandrum called the Communist Government in Kerala a set of "political gangsters." "I wanted the people to act like men." If the people "acted like men," he said, "self-respect is more precious than even life," this "Government will not last even for three days..."

Mannam has asked the people to capture the Secretariat

## Congress And The Struggle

What is the Congress doing in this serious situation which is being worked up in the State? It has all along been trying to play a game of hide and seek—and for obvious reasons.

While one section of Congress leaders has been actively participating in the communalist campaign against

and his own horse, he has threatened to tether in the Chief Minister's room in the Secretariat. The R. S. P. has already begun to show what it is capable of. The unruly demonstration inside the Assembly, the assault on Minister V. R. Krishna Iyer, the numerous murderous attacks that have been made already are only an indication of what the political desperadoes intend to do when the crusade begins on June 1.

There is no doubt that violence is on the agenda—communal reaction and the vested interests are determined to stop at nothing in their efforts to throw the Communist-led Government out. As the Indian Express columnist "Witness" has written "violence is inherent in the programme of action evolved."

Naturally the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, neither at its meeting in Ernakulam nor its Executive meeting in Trivandrum was able to decide upon an attitude to the agitation against reservation and the Education Act.

At the Trivandrum meeting, the KPCC President and some others are reported to have taken the stand that the Congress should not become a party to the agitation to close down schools. Another group demanded that the Congress as a party need not take any attitude on the question, but individuals could be allowed to participate in the movement.

What the Kerala Congress has now planned to do is to prepare a general charge-sheet against the Kerala Government and launch a movement on its basis. At a time when communalists and the vested interests are mounting their offensive, the Congress decision, whatever the facade that may be given to it, whatever the protestations of the Congress leaders, is in effect a decision to participate in reaction's agitation and its campaign of violence.

Mannam says he won't rest till he throws out the reservation system and the Government which provides for it, said Sri Narayan and warned: "Whoever opposes reservation and the provision of the Education Act which provides for it will have to meet with stiff resistance of the backward communities."

The President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Sri Shankar, was himself till recently the President of the SNDP and he, too, has not dared to oppose the Education Act and the reservation system.

### Differences On Land Bill

On the Land Bill also, differences have cropped up in the Congress Party.

The Congress members on the Select Committee had thrown overboard the Nagpur resolutions on Land Reforms and Reorganisation of Agrarian Economy on Cooperative Basis and voiced the demands of the landlords. They had suggested a higher ceiling, more compensation and more exemptions. But their most shameful pro-landlord proposal was to allow landlords six months' or one year's time after the Act comes into force to dispose of their excess lands as they pleased.

It is obvious that if the landlords are given such a chance there will not be any surplus land for distribution. The experience of West Bengal has only to be recalled to understand what this proposal would mean. When the B. C. Roy Government moved its Bill for abolition of zamindari it was calculated that about six lakh acres of surplus land would vest in the State for distribution but after implementation of the Act it was found that the Government could not get even one lakh acres. This

is what the Congress members of the Kerala Select Committee wanted to happen in that State also.

But these pro-landlord demands have not found ready support from all sections of Congress leaders even. The resignation from the Congress Legislature Party Executive (later withdrawn after a compromise) of Sri K. K. Viswanathan disagreeing with the Congress proposal for exemption from ceilings of well-managed farms was an indication of these differences. Since then another resignation has taken place—that of Sri K. R. Narayanan.

But despite all these differences they are all agreed that the Communist-led Government must go.

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### Nehru's Remarks

While Sri Nehru says that "with this particular movement (of the Nair and Christian communal leaders) the Congress is not connected," it is only a recognition of the popular opposition in Kerala to the communal agitation.

When he says that "it does not come in the way of an individual Congressman involved in it from acting as he thinks best" and acting "in his individual capacity" he is only recognising the reality of the differences in the Kerala Congress and at the same time allowing participation by Congressmen in the movement.

And when he says, "they (the communalists and the Congress) move in different lines although in some places they may converge, may meet," his words can only be seen as giving assent to the Congress-communalist axis which already exists. In the context of the Kerala situation this is nothing but giving the green signal to the State Congress leaders to exploit communalism, create lawlessness, all in an effort to overthrow the Communist-led Government.

Sri Nehru is not even factually correct when he says that "the Congress is not taking any part so far as I know in this campaign that the schools should not be opened."

When the President of the Action Committee of the

\* SEE PAGE 15

# KERALA: NEW STAGE IN OPERATION OVERTHROW

by RAMDASS

For instance, a statement by Sri K. Manikantan Nair, Vice-President of one of the Nair Service Society units in Vaikom, says: "There are 7,000 private schools in Kerala. Of them those directly run by the Nair Service Society or in which the Society has appointing powers number just about 50. The rest are mostly under Catholic managements."

"Mannam knows that the Catholic managements do not appoint Nairs as teachers. Under the Education Act Nair teachers will also have to be appointed as teachers in Catholic-managed schools. So the question before the Nairs is: Whether all the appointments in 50 schools are better for them or a good share of 50 per cent of the appointments in 7,000 schools."

It was on this same ground that Mannam had, long before the Communists assumed office in Kerala, called for an agitation against the Catholic Church which was exploiting education to get Government funds and further the interests of the Catholic hierarchy. Mannam had put forward three suggestions then—nationalisation of primary education, handing over of appointment of teachers to the Public Service Commission and limiting the number of schools which could be opened by any community.

When the Education Bill was introduced, Mannam found that the provision regarding appointment of teachers was along the lines

pays the entire salary of the teachers from the public treasury, it is only just that the general principles that govern the recruitment of personnel to the Government services should be made applicable to the recruitment of teachers also.

### Principle Of Reservation

It is the agitation of the Nair and Christian communal leadership against this principle of reservation which Sri Mannath Padmanabhan leads today. From what Mannam says, it would seem as if the Communist-led Government has introduced this system of reservation and that either the reservation system should go or the Communist Ministry should go.

The fact is that the system of reservation was introduced in the State of Travancore at the time of Dewan Habibullah, that the whole period of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's Deanship had followed it, that the Congress had ruled the State for ten years and kept this system and Mannam nor anybody else had all through this period raised the demand that the system of reservation must be scrapped. Nor has any party in Kerala promised to day that if it is voted to office after the Communist Ministry is thrown out, it would abolish the system—for the simple reason that no party which

has been able to introduce an Agrarian Relations Bill which meets the age-old demands of our peasantry, hence it is that the landed interests unable to sabotage the Bill from within have had to come out in the open to fight it.

Big landlords of all communities have rallied against the Bill and it is this fight against the Agrarian Relations Bill that is developing in Kerala today. It was not accidental that when Mannam came on the platform to address the meeting on the Pazhavangadi Maidan in Trivandrum, leaders of the Walluvanad Landowners' Association like A. V. Narayanan Nair, T.M.P. Namboodiri Balaram and others, garlanded him and bowed before him and in his other meetings the dais is always decorated with the biggest landowners of the area.

They are not interested in opposing the Education Act; they are accepting Mannam as the leader of the battle against the Agrarian Relations Bill. The Education Act and the principle of reservation are all brought into the picture only to confuse the people and to rouse communal passions, the real target is the Agrarian Relations Bill and the Government which dares to introduce such a measure to abolish landlordism.

The least that these crusaders want is the overthrow of the Communist-led Government, there are others

more Nair teachers than managers; while Mannam gets ready to defend the interests of Nair landlords, he forgets there are more Nair landless than landlords.

Mannam's followers themselves have begun to point out these hometruths. A number of statements have appeared in the Malayalam Press. The Secretary of the Meenadu Karayagam of the Nair Service Society, Sri P. N. Thankappan Nair, says in his statement:

"It is the upper-class Nairs who are opposing the Education Act and the Land Bill. Other Nairs welcome them. In the front ranks of the upper-class Nairs is the community's Acharya, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan..."

"It is difficult to understand why Mannam asks the homeless and starving Nair to oppose the Education Act and the Land Bill."

"Not only can we not agree with the Acharya when he calls for closing down of schools and opposing the Land Bill, we have to tell him that it is entirely wrong."

"If you hear the speeches of the leaders of the Nair community, you will think all Nairs are bhoo-swamis. Poor Nairs will not oppose the Education Act and the Land Bill. In fact they will pray for their implementation. The landless Nairs, if they want an end to their sufferings, have to protect the Kerala Government as

in his statement: "When the Education Bill was introduced the Nair Service Society and Mannam fully supported it and declared they were ready to do everything in its support. The Bill has now been passed and has received Presidential assent. How can the Society now oppose it? How is such an opposition beneficial? This unwarranted opposition will not serve any purpose other than harming the interests of the Nair Service Society and Mannam himself. All that we can say is that those who believe that the programme of closing down schools will succeed are living in a fool's paradise..."

"Experience will show that the Land Bill will be a blessing to the poor, common Nairs who are the majority in the community..."

"We do not see any reason to believe that Mannam's agitation to overthrow the Government on vague and imaginary grounds can succeed..."

### Supporters Of Bill

Speaking at Ambalappuzha recently, he said that the SNDP had studied the Education Act and the Land Bill. Accepting the principles underlying these legislations, the SNDP had put forward a number of suggestions some of which had been accepted by the Government. The SNDP would strive to get the rest also accepted by the Government. But whether they are accepted or not, Sri Narayan said, the SNDP will welcome the legislations while continuing to point out their shortcomings.

What holds the attention of the SNDP and the Ezhava community today, he added, was the question of reservation. The SNDP and the Ezhava community consider that the present ratio of reservation is inadequate and it is when they are demanding that this inadequacy should be removed that the Nair Service Society and Mannam are

### Among Christians

Even in the Christian community, the saner elements are giving voice to their opposition to the programme. An instance is that of the Christian citizen of Kaniyapuram, who has promised two acres of land to build a new school adjacent to the present St. Vin-



# UTTAR PRADESH COMMUNISTS HOLD FIFTH STATE CONFERENCE

The Fifth U. P. Conference of the Communist Party of India, held in the famous Kaiser Bagh Baradari of Lucknow from April 18 to 22, will go down as an important turning point in the life of the Party in this State.

THE last Conference of the State Party was held three years ago at Fyzabad. Since then radical changes have taken place in the Party and in its status in the socio-political life of Uttar Pradesh.

The membership of the Party at the time of Fyzabad was about 5,000. Now it had become about three times as much—nearly 15,000. What is, however, more important is that at the time of Fyzabad the Party was riven on many political and tactical questions. The Party till then did not have experience of any Statewide mass struggle and its activities had been confined mainly to partial, economic struggles of the masses. The Party was now possessed of an all pervading sense of unity, and the experience of the last year's Statewide food struggle, in which nearly three thousand members and supporters of the Party had courted arrest, had given it poise and a new sense of confidence.

The tie-up between the Congress leaders and the vested interests in U. P. has been much stronger than in many other States. The policies pursued by the Ministry here have, therefore, been far more reactionary. They have brought the economy of the State to the verge of collapse. Inefficiency or sheer incompetence and corruption have worsened the situation. The life of the people has become literally unbearable.

The deep discontent of the people has expressed itself in numerous struggles that have taken place in the last two or three years. Workers, kisans, students, teachers, middle class employees, merchants—all have been drawn into the vortex of these struggles. Democracy, even as the bourgeoisie knows it, has often lain battered and butchered in the holy precincts of the Assembly as the voice of these struggles was raised in the legislatures.

## Growing Influence

The discontent of the people has also expressed itself in the form of electoral defeats that have been inflicted on the ruling party in Bijnor, Banaras, Aligarh and Meerut, one after another, in what have been regarded as important by-elections.

In this crisis, larger and larger sections of the people have been looking up to the Party for help and guidance. Even the enemies of the Party have recognised this fact and commented upon the emergence of the Communist Party as a significant force in the life of the people. It has been noted that the Communist Party is becoming a national Party in the State.

Hence, to find the most energetic methods of mobilising, uniting and organising different sections of the peo-

## FROM RAMESH SINHA

ple, specially the workers, peasants and youth, into powerful mass organisations for the defence of their rights; to make efforts to establish the hegemony of the working class over the fast-developing democratic movement in the State; and to strive to become the second party in the State have become urgent tasks of the Party in U. P.

It was under the consciousness of these tasks that the preparations for the Conference were made. In keeping with the traditions of U. P., a number of new features were introduced to associate the largest number of friends and common people with these preparations. A fairly large Reception

Shankar Shukla. After briefly narrating the reactionary, pro-landlord, pro-profiteers land policy of the U. P. Government, the resolution welcomed the Nagpur resolution on ceilings on landholdings and cooperative farming and the decision to start State trading in food-grains.

## Political Report

From the morning of April 19, the delegates plunged into serious discussions of the problems of the State.

Out of 343 elected delegates 323, that is nearly 95 per cent, were present. Besides them, there were also present in the Conference about 250 observers who had been invited from the districts. These included leaders of all mass organisations. The Secretariat's political-organisational report, which had been given to the delegates on April 17 itself, was presented before the Conference by Comrade Kail

Shankar Shukla. The resolution said that a maximum of 12½ to 20 acres of land should be allowed to a family of five. With regard

to strengthen the UPTUC centre, to move the workers into struggles against the policies of the Government and to educate them in regard to their political responsibility in these struggles should be considered as an important political task of the Party.

In the last General Elections, the Party in U. P. had received about 8½ lakhs votes. Since then the dissatisfaction of the people with the policies of the Congress and their attachment to the Communist Party have grown much more. But the Party has failed to organise even a part of it into mass organisations.

## A Wrong Tendency

Not only this. Some time ago a wrong tendency had raised its head inside the Party. It was said, when everything has to be done through and on behalf of the Party why not concentrate on building up the Party? After all everything has to be achieved through elections, then why not popularise only the symbol of the Party? Why waste time and energy in organising and popularising other organisations such as the Kisan Sabha, the trade unions, youth organisation, etc.?

This deviation, which had occurred some time ago, was mentioned in the Conference to greatly re-emphasise the need to build up powerful mass organisations. The Conference decided that the Party must do its utmost to help the Kisan Sabha to enrol 1½ lakh members this year and to implement its slogan of a Kisan Sabha unit in every village of the State.

The Conference took a firm decision that the Party must take immediate steps to organise unions of the agricultural workers and to set up a strong youth organisation, linked up with the day-to-day activity and life of the people, specially the rural people. The Conference further directed the new leadership of the Party to take steps to strengthen the work in their organisations and to revive the writers' and cultural workers' organisations.

The resolution noted that along with new members many alien tendencies have also come into the Party. The parliamentary phase has also brought with it many evils. A large percentage of the Party membership is not only uneducated, but is also illiterate. Then there are also some hang-overs from the past.

There was a part in the resolution which dealt specifically with the methods of functioning of the Provincial Committee. The Committee was criticised for not discussing political and ideological problems properly and for remaining satisfied with just "working unity".

The Committee was also criticised for its individual functioning and for liberalism in its work. In fact, liberalism and individual functioning were declared as the two main evils of the Party's working.

The Conference mandated the new leadership to take special measures, along with measures for Marxist education of the new and old comrades, to fight against these two weaknesses. The Conference also mandated the Party to combine education with a properly worked out rectification campaign inside the Party.

The Conference decided that the membership of the Party should at least be doubled, that is made into 30,000 by the time of the next Party Conference.

Comrade Z. A. Ahmed, who had come to the Conference after attending the Polish and British Party Congresses, devoted his speech mainly to the problem of improving the work of the Party by restoring the Marxist-Leninist principles of democratic centralism, unity of thought and action, iron discipline and collective functioning. His powerful speech underlined the need to take up the task of Party building seriously. He said unless this was done here and now, unless the Party was galvanised into a fighting instrument, unless its links with all sections of the people and specially with the workers and kisans were immensely strengthened, unless its cadre was developed and ideologically equipped to face the complicated problems facing the country, the Party will not be able to discharge its national responsibility. Not only this, it will also not be able to withstand properly the attack of the reactionary classes which are organising themselves to hold up the tide of the people's movement for freedom, democracy and extension of their rights, etc.

Two other questions that figured during the deliberations of the Conference were: 1) the question of forming a united front with other parties, specially the PSP and the SP, and 2) the question of advancing the slogan of an alternative Government of democratic unity.

With regard to the first, some comrades, embittered by the splitting and unprincipled policies of the PSP and SP leaderships as well as their reactionary foreign policies, felt that it was impossible to form any united front with them.

At the moment the Party is busy preparing for struggles against the policies of the present Government, to get these policies changed and to get the decisions of the ruling party itself implemented in the interest of the people. When the Party considers the slogan of forming an alternative Government of democratic unity mature, these gentlemen will not need to cook up cock-and-bull stories. The Party will announce its own decision.

The enemies of the Party, and the papers mentioned above, had also spread stories of dissensions in the leadership of the State Party. The Conference of all major issues as well as the unanimous election of the Secretary of the Party have given a lie to this.

In fact, the unity, maturity, sense of responsibility and urgency that were witnessed in this Conference were a firm indication that the Party in U. P. has become a mature Party. There was the greatest unity between the delegates and the leadership of the Party because all of them were equally keen to eliminate weaknesses of the Party.

Meeting the next day, the State Council elected an Executive Committee of the following 25 comrades: Kail Shankar Shukla, Shankar Dayal Tiwari, Shiv Kumar Misra, Jai Bahadur Singh, Ramesh Sinha, Ram Asrey, S. S. Yusuf, Harish Tewary, Jharkhande Rai, Sarju Pande, Shiv Varma, Ashok Bose, Mohan Lala Shukla, Ravi Sinha, Chandra Shekhar, Shanti Tyagi, Ram Narayan Upadhyaya, Jagdish Pathak, Dharmadeo Lal, Chandrasekhar Yadav, Ram Sumer Yadav, Pratap Kumar Tandon, Rustom Satin, Sunil Das Gupta and Mumshi Gajadhar Singh. The first nine comrades have been elected as the Secretariat with Comrade Kail Shankar Shukla as the Secretary.

CORRECTION

In the report of the Assam State Conference of the Communist Party, the membership of the Party was reported as 2,000. This is a printing error. The membership of the Party in the State is 3,000. We regret the error.

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# IMPERESSIVE ARRAY OF STUDIED ARTICLES

ENQUIRY—Forum of Research and Discussion published by Sri Bipin Chandra, Lecturer, Hindu College, Delhi. Price Rs. Two. Available with People's Publishing House, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-1.

THE aim of Enquiry is to provide a common forum for all "who are engaged in one or the other of intellectual disciplines—in the sciences and humanities."

The articles in Enquiry carry a stamp of learning and serious study and impress one by the meticulous attention they pay in marshalling facts before reaching a conclusion. One may not agree with all that is said and one is not expected to do so but nonetheless one cannot but be impressed by the level of the articles.

Sri Naqvi's article on "Foreign Capital and the Problem of Foreign Exchange" does much to attack the smug complacency of those who would

seek to create a new millennium, by relying on foreign loans. He says, "the widely accepted notion that foreign loans are a temporary phenomenon to tide over the problems of the initial stages of development and that in the long run no such problem would arise is a gross oversimplification."

This conclusion is perfectly valid in so far as an underdeveloped country relies on huge loans from Western imperialist countries, for whom export of capital is a necessity and who cannot easily "accept the situation of import surplus (which is) incompatible with the desire to maintain stability."

But fortunately today there is the Socialist world which with its advanced technique

can furnish up-to-date machinery and capital goods to underdeveloped countries. Not interested in economic domination, the Socialist countries offer easy terms, alleviating the problem of foreign exchange. And further, not dependent for their stability on export surplus, they are not afraid of import surplus in payment of debts. Their existence and policy of help for mutual advance lessen the capacity of imperialist countries to drive a hard bargain with underdeveloped nations and force high rates of interest and economic domination on them.

Sri D. D. Joshi has contributed an interesting and instructive article on Information Theory.

## Origin Of The Rebellion

Sulekchandra Gupta's "Agrarian Background and the 1857 Rebellion in the North-Western Provinces" emphasises the peasant origin of the great rebellion. Though it began as a revolt in the army (its immediate cause may have been anything) it was born out of the accumulated peasant discontent arising out of the land measures introduced by the East India Company, especially the heavy taxation burdens and the expropriation of peasantry following the introduction of money economy. The Indian sepoys were in the main the Indian peasant whom the Company had given a uniform and rifle. And it was not surprising that armed with the confidence of the rifle, the uniformed peasant should set the pace for the peasant without uniform.

Dr. B. N. Ganguli, Director of the Delhi School of Economics, makes a valuable contribution on India's Colonial Economy (1751-1947). He analyses with great precision the transformation of India—free India exporting her manufactures to Europe—into a colonial dependent India, with her industries ruined, and the products of British manufacturers flooding her market. With all this, it has to be admitted that Dr. Ganguli's article suffers from a few shortcomings and misses some important developments.

He says that when the situation had been returning to normal the police under pretext of arresting goonda elements have continued to harass and arrest on flimsy grounds a large number of innocent citizens, while criminals and murderers are going scot free. "All this shows that the police are not helping a speedy return of normal peaceful life but are proving to be a hindrance."

Comrade Khandkar in his statement demands:

- Stop indiscriminate arrests and harassment of the innocent people, the guilty must be punished irrespective of caste and creed and after proper enquiry;
- Withdraw the cases against innocent persons;
- Compensation to the persons of relatives who have suffered loss of life and property;
- Immediate relief to the worst sufferers;
- Seized property to be returned immediately;
- Immediate enquiry into police excesses;
- Repairing of damaged mosques should be undertaken immediately.

# BOOK REVIEW

the rupee-sterling ratio to 1s.4d. should seem revealing in this respect.

Notwithstanding Dr. Ganguli's criticism of Marx, Marx's observations on the development of railways and modern intelligentsia in India have been corroborated by recent history. If the writer were to ponder over the class character of the Congress leadership, he will realise that it represents something different from the interests of intermediary subordinates.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya contributes an illuminating article "Brahman and Maya," packed with relevant extracts from Vedic literature. The object of his article is to discuss, with reference to the literary speculative material of ancient India "the process described as the emancipation of consciousness from the world," by which is meant the process of division of mental labour from physical labour.

Sri Chattopadhyaya states that except in its admittedly latest portions, the Rig Veda does not reflect any caste-divided society. Rather, the desire for safety and victory, for physical strength and progeny and above all for material wealth, etc., betrays a collective bias.

Pre-history of these concepts—Brahman and Maya—shows, according to the writer, that Maya originally meant wisdom of practical activity—and may have meant craft; and Brahman meant food and material wealth. Maya, which meant practical wisdom or labour wisdom, and which was glorified at one stage, was degraded at later stages—and Brahman, which originally meant food and material wealth, but later on meant pure consciousness gained ascendency. This process, according to the writer, reflected the social process of division of mental and physical labour in society and the growing ascendancy of the former.

## Prof. Lange's Article

Professor Oscar Lange's article on "Marxism and Bourgeois Economics" will obviously attract wide attention. Prof. Lange is Deputy Chairman of the Polish State Council and Chairman of its Economic Council as well as being a foremost Marxist economist, and as such his views deserve utmost consideration.

There are many points and generalisations on which there need be no difference of opinion. Prof. Lange makes valuable observations when he generalises about the neo-classical school and Walras as well as about the Austrian school and Pareto. A correct analysis of the various schools that have dominated bourgeois economics since the days of Marx, and a proper assimilation of the critical elements divulged in certain trends, is of immense value to the working class in fighting new illusions about capitalism.

Prof. Lange does great service in bestowing attention on the various trends, analysing the place they occupy and arm-

ing Marxists to understand them critically.

He also draws attention to the fact that for their own purpose bourgeois economists have developed new tools and instruments, statistical, mathematical, etc., to understand economic phenomenon and that some of these can be used with effect by the proletariat as a help in building its social order.

In spite of all this, it is difficult to agree with Prof. Lange's attitude to bourgeois economics, his eagerness to give a status of science to feeble critical elements.

Prof. Lange is aware that present-day bourgeois economists dare not deal with laws of production and distribution and production relations, but concerns itself mainly with circulation. And yet he makes the following strange formulation: "The development of monopoly capitalism and especially of State monopoly creates, so to speak, a new social need: the need for real scientific knowledge and not just special pleading." (Emphasis ours. We hope Lange's article has not suffered in the course of translation—BTR).

## Nothing To Be Glorified

All that monopoly wants is a weapon to estimate the market and correctly forecast demand. Prof. Lange knows this. And yet he says monopoly requires real scientific knowledge which to a Marxist means basic understanding of the laws of production and distribution. Confusing tools with science, part with the whole and too much impressed by the results, of cybernetics, Lange passes the following uncritical judgement: "I consider that this process makes of economics less of an apology and more of science." Monopoly stage is the decaying stage of capitalism. And yet it seems, the economics of this decaying stage is becoming less apologetic and more scientific.

If a century after Marx made his brilliant analysis of capitalist society, certain bourgeois professors only suspect that there might be something wrong with this or that aspect of capitalist society, if after Lenin's mastery presentation of monopoly stage of capitalism they only suspect that there is "imperfect competition"—and after the astounding triumphs of socialism—it is not a matter to be glorified and raised to the status of science; though it may be noted.

Nor can these feeble criticisms form the building material for the fight of the working class, even though the delicate tools made by the bourgeoisie to assess particular phenomenon, should no doubt be mastered. While making these critical comments, one must add that everyone interested in Marxism, however, should carefully study Prof. Lange's article.

The editors of Enquiry must be congratulated for having brought together such varied material of high quality. We are looking forward to their second number which we hope will maintain the same standard.

May 18

# FORWARD TO SUMMIT! END THE COLD WAR!

The World Council of Peace held its Tenth Anniversary Session at Stockholm at the same time as the Foreign Ministers' Conference opened at Geneva.

ONE of the first acts of the Council was to send a message to the four Foreign Ministers by name demanding that "Your Conference create a climate of goodwill which would facilitate the work of the Summit Conference, enable it to avert the threat of atomic war, and pass from cold war to peaceful coexistence and international cooperation." (A full report of the Council Session will appear next week).

The minds of men and women in all lands are turned today towards Geneva and the coming Summit Conference. What is clear, however, is that the Western Powers, and particularly U.S. imperialism, the cold warriors that they are, will do their utmost to prevent an agreement, delay or hold up the Summit Conference from taking place, and if forced to hold it, to sabotage it from the start.

Public opinion in this situation is of paramount significance.

The World Peace Council

## WASHINGTON GET-TOGETHER

\* FROM PAGE FOUR

proaches to that country from the south-east. . . . One may express the hope that recent developments on India's northern borders may perhaps lead to that realisation."

Ahmed even looked upon America as having a "special responsibility" in settling Indo-Pak disputes, "not only in order that the assistance it gives to India and Pakistan should make the maximum impact in promoting the welfare of the peoples of that sub-continent but to preserve free institutions and safeguard peace in Asia."

Calling for a "sub-Himalayan Summit Talks", the Christian Science Monitor made a more specific suggestion on May 4: "If Washington can quietly extend its good offices—and money from its long-term, low-interest loan fund—to help India and Pakistan harness the Indus by joint agreement, it will signal aid the amity moves now under way. Then the situation will be up to Khan and Nehru, two capable and temperate men." Here is the context that tells us from where the friends of Washington in India got their cue.

Thus, the Washington conference was not a mere dollar-aid move for India's Third Plan but something deeper. It sought to pave the way for an Indo-Pak summit via Tibet, to lay the foundations for a Western strong-hold against China.

Prime Minister Nehru's categorical rejection of such a summit with Ayub and also of the sly suggestion for joint Indo-Pak defence—together with his renewed stress on India-China friendship have no doubt put off such moves. But they have by no means been scotched, since there is a powerful lobby in this country which is working hard to change the nation's foreign policy.

(May 19)

# Peace Council Launches New Worldwide Campaign

● by ROMESH CHANDRA

(June 1), with the people of Korea, demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea (June 25), with Mongolia, demanding the seating of Mongolia in the U.N. (July 11), with Vietnam, demanding the implementation of the Geneva Agreements (July 20). These days of solidarity will undoubtedly be linked with the new worldwide campaign round the Stockholm Appeal of 1959.

In Asia and Africa also will be conducted mass campaigns for solidarity with all the peoples struggling against colonialism and collections will be made for the Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund to help the freedom movements in their fight against imperialism.

These campaigns will again be linked with the world campaign round the Stockholm Appeal of 1959.

The movements for peace and national independence are inseparable. Together with the demands for the ending of the nuclear menace and disengagement, in Asia and Africa and Latin America, will always

go up the demand for the ending of colonialism, of imperialist domination and interference. The fight for the Summit, for success at the Summit is given added strength by the anti-imperialist movement.

The All-India Peace Council appeals to all its State and District Committees, to all other organisations which stand for peace, and especially to the mass organisations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students, for support in this campaign through all possible means.

We must draw into this campaign the widest sections of the population.

The first phase of the campaign—which must go full steam ahead from now—must ensure statements and appeals by the most prominent people in each city and district and State—in their own words and round the Stockholm Appeal or round an Appeal specially framed—round the demand for the Summit, for banning the nuclear weapons, for dis-

engagement, for the end of colonialism, military pacts and imperialist domination and interference, for national independence for all.

The campaign will develop through the holding of meetings on as big a scale as possible on the special days of solidarity indicated above and also particularly in connection with the main national campaigns against the U.S.-Pakistani Pact and for India-China Friendship (Panchsheel Day on June 28), where special resolutions must be adopted on the Summit meeting and in support of the world campaign.

The campaign will also be strengthened through the preparations for the World Peace Pilgrimage and World Conference Against A and H-Bombs to be held at Hiroshima from August 1.

And so forward to the observance of Anti-War Day on September 1 on as big a scale as possible with the cooperation of all parties and forces working for peace.

In India, we shall do all we can to make real the hope expressed by the Stockholm Session of the World Peace Council:

"May the peoples together make an end of the cold war. May the spirit of peaceful negotiation, cooperation and friendship triumph for the sake of the happiness of mankind."

# CAPITAL CAUSERIE

## M. O. MATHAI GOES ABROAD

DELHI'S notorious coffee houses and restaurants were honoured by a mention at the Prime Minister's last Press Conference. It was as though these dens of do-nothings were threatening to usurp Government's right to frame its policies and run the country's administration. Naturally, the Prime Minister found it his foremost duty to prevent any such calamity befalling the country.

It all happened over the Mathai affair. After Sri Nehru had categorically asserted that "The question of a judicial enquiry into his case had at no time arisen" and now that he had had the facts ascertained by a competent authority and he had reported to the Speaker and Chairman of the Houses of Parliament, "there the matter ends," a Correspondent (Sri Saxena of Nai Duniya) who had raised the question asked:

"Does it not betray some sense of weakness on the part of the Government to face the facts before a judicial commission? And do you not feel that departmental enquiry is no substitute for a judicial enquiry and that your reluctance will increase public suspicion on this point all the more?"

Sri Nehru's discomfiture

was plain. He said, "I do not understand all this, business; it is a very simple affair." The Correspondent naturally told the Prime Minister that it was not such simple business as he thought. Sri Nehru decided to stick to his guns and descended to gibes. "I am very sorry if you are unable to see the light," he said, adding, "If you prefer to live in darkness, I cannot throw light in your mind. It is an exceedingly simple question," he insisted.

The argument proceeded with the Correspondent inviting the Prime Minister to restaurants, cafes and public places and hear what people say about this sordid business which had been made so simple by him. Brushing aside the invitation, Sri Nehru informed the Pressman that restaurants and cafes were not the places from where his Government was run and movements which started there were generally doomed to meet collapse and failure. This was obviously a level at which the argument could not be pursued.

By the time this issue of New Age is in the hands of its readers, Sri M. O. Mathai will have flown to Moscow on his way to Geneva and Belgrade. As the Prime Minister told his Press Conference, Sri Mathai had not

asked for any foreign exchange. Why should he? Hasn't he enough money deposited in Swiss banks and friends to look after him in Geneva? Isn't President Tito's standing invitation there for a six-month holiday in Yugoslavia which can be availed of irrespective of Sri Mathai's having ceased to occupy the position which he held when the invitation was extended?

Sending him away for six months or more at this moment is considered necessary in order to help the coffee house lot to forget about the whole episode. It is considered safe because the rules are there and "no ex-Government servant has a right to use any confidential papers without permission of the Government," and above all, because M. O. Mathai is a good boy, equally popular in both of the two households that really matter in the country—namely, the Prime Minister's and the Birias.

Who was it who, speaking in the same hall about the same business only three months ago, had said:

"It was wrong. I should have thought a little more about it."

"You know sometimes I act wrongly."

—ZIAUL HAQ

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# THE NEXT ROUND AT GENEVA

NOT content with having made themselves look more than ridiculous through their "table tactics", the Western Foreign Ministers have now made public their long-expected "package deal"—a veritable package of confusion.

So conservative and anti-Communist a newspaper as the London Daily Telegraph in its issue of May 14 rather ruefully states about this latest Western move that "the plan includes nearly every proposal on which agreement with Russia has been found impossible during the past ten years."

Actually the "package" contains almost all questions under the sun—reduction of armed forces, surprise attack, nuclear tests, European security as well as specific proposals on Germany. What is more, the Western Ministers insist that the "package" cannot be untied, that agreement has to be reached on all the elements of the medley. The most they are at present prepared to concede is that each item may be discussed separately—hardly a concession, since in the normal course of any discussion everything cannot be talked about at once!

Of specific interest are their proposals with regard to Germany. Now they propose that Berlin should emerge as a united city guaranteed by the Four Powers, that an all-German Commission be set up to draft electoral laws, that a plebiscite be held on these laws, after this elections held and then a peace treaty concluded. They make it clear that Germany will have full rights to join any military alliance of its choice, that no restrictions will be placed on her armed forces or on the type of weapons it can have.

**Western Objective**

Their objective is clear—delay a German settlement as long as possible and utilise the time gained to rearm West Germany as the shock brigade, to instigate incidents in Berlin to keep tension alive.

K. S. Shelvankar has correctly stated: "The Western Powers holding to their 1955 positions, are thinking in terms of reunifying Germany through elections in such a manner that a powerful and rearmend Germany would be sure to be attached to the Western bloc and it is only after this that they are willing to conclude a peace settlement." (Hindu, May 17)

In sharp contrast stands out the eminently practical Soviet proposals. They touch on the two points of tension in Europe, the two problems the solution to which would considerably lessen tension in Europe and the world—a German Peace Treaty and the status of West Berlin.

The Soviet Peace Treaty first of all recognises the blunt reality of the existence of two sovereign German States—both of whom sit in the Geneva Conference room—and at the same time points to the possibility of unity through negotiations among Germans themselves aimed at a Confederation.

The Soviet Peace Treaty goes to the heart of the matter by

proposing a ban on the arming of German troops of either the two States or the Confederation with nuclear weapons. It calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the ending of foreign bases.

And it again outlines the extremely flexible and feasible solution to the Berlin crisis through the free city concept, guaranteed by the Four Powers and the United Nations.

It is on this issue of a peaceable Germany or a rearmend Germany in Geneva is now joined. The New Statesman of May 18 sombrely warns that the West German Bundeswehr "during the next two years will expand into the largest ground force in Western Europe. It will—and this is crucial—get its share of tactical nuclear weapons."

The Western Foreign Ministers assembled at Geneva have precisely set themselves the

task of preventing by any and every means the diminishing of this mounting threat to European and world peace.

**Gromyko Speaks**

Gromyko in his statement of May 18 makes it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union has no objection to elections as a method of unification but it insists on respecting the sovereignty of the two German States, who alone can decide in what form and manner they will unite themselves. He reminded the Conference that the Soviet Union was even prepared to allow the two German States to remain in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organisation for a certain period after the signing of the peace treaty.

But, first and foremost, the contents of the peace treaty

must be discussed and the tension point of Berlin reduced. The aggressive nature of the Western proposals is particularly manifested in their ambition to spread the occupation regime from West Berlin to the whole of the city, thus infringing grossly the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic.

The specific causes of Western rigidity are to be sought in the peculiar position in their own camp. Under pressure of electoral prospects and disliking the pre-eminence of West Germany as the principal American ally, Britain has been slightly restless. Selwyn Lloyd had to face what almost amounted to a "hate Britain" campaign from his other colleagues for a simple attempt at mediation. The compulsions of a fear of disunity reinforce rigidity.

Time of May 16 noted that "there was a real danger that the U.S.-British-French united front that Herter mortared together at Paris a fortnight ago

might show cracks under the stress of Soviet probing." Hence, he as unreasonable and diversionist as possible to withstand the probe. As against this Western stand is the Soviet determination to continue the negotiations.

And, second, is the shadow of Adenauer, the grasping clutch of the "old one." It was not only Khrushchov who noted this but also the London Economist: "The West German Government will be exercising its veto in the background" (May 9). The last consultation Herter had before his arrival in Geneva was with Adenauer. It is this most predatory element in the Western alliance that is virtually dictating its policy.

Herein lies the danger to a settlement at Geneva. Popular opinion in every country must rouse itself to protest against the fate of our times being decided by Hitler's heirs.

—HOHIT SEN

turned for support to the Right and struck at the workers.

Police violence on a scale worthy of the pre-coalition Government days was the Government's answer to workers' strike like the PSWUF strike.

The obvious result was the serious damage to the anti-UNP forces that had brought in the present MEP coalition Government, and the serious encouragement to the reactionary forces to organise a come-back to power. The warning was sounded at the local governmental elections where, while the anti-UNP forces were found squabbling among themselves, the UNP had been able to make considerable headway.

Serious also was the warning sounded by the development of a virtual alliance between the UNP, the Federal Party, the LSSP, the Catholic Church, Lake House Press and the big monopolies. Its aim could be no other than an attempt to bring about the downfall of the MEP Government.

The reactionary forces in Ceylon were thus playing upon the discontent among the people and taking advantage of the inconsistencies in the Government's policies in dealing with the situation arising out of the danger from the Right.

Pointing to all these facts, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon Peter Keuneman, on May 8, said that the real aims of the Right-wingers within the People's United Front in creating the present serious situation in Ceylon were "to intimidate the middle-of-the-road forces and drag them over to their side, to prevent the implementation of the progressive measures for which the people voted in 1956, to drive out the progressive forces in the Government, and finally, to pass over to a general offensive against the progressive movement as a whole."

While calling for the overthrow of the Communist-led Government and playing with communalism for this purpose, the Kerala Congress leaders certainly have no hopes of winning a general election in the State. While they talk of the growing discontent of the people, they do not have the patience to wait for two-and-a-half-years more to defeat the Communists at the poll.

The Times of India columnist "Pollux" reporting an interview with the Kerala Congress President, wrote: "He told Pollux that the Congress had decided to draft a charge-sheet against the Communists and intensify the agitation against them. He was not too confident that the next elec-

tion was in the Congress pocket."

In fact, it is an open secret that in the initial stages of the campaign against the Communist Government, when the Congress leaders were shouting hoarse about breakdown of law and order and were calling for Central intervention, they had been asked the straight question by the High Command whether they could win a majority if a re-election was ordered. The Kerala Congress leaders could not say yes. Whatever change there has been in the situation since then has not been in favour of the Congress.

**Principles Jettisoned**

So their game today is to defy the law, indulge in violence, create lawlessness and get the Centre to intervene. To quote "Witness" of the Indian Express again, "In Kerala the Congress by open and unashamed coquetting with rank communalists and by boldly deciding on unconstitutional methods has jettisoned its principles...."

"Having found that by democratic means they cannot uproot the Ministers and with no patience to await the electoral results, an unholy combination, a sort of cave of Adulman, has been formed by extending the areas of grievance and discontent to include a piece of legislation now fought over at all stages, including the Supreme Court. The object of the weird combination of communalists, disgruntled and inefficient ex-Ministers is to rouse the rabble and to egg them on even in such

stupid proceedings as besieging the Secretariat. Already Ministers is becoming too common.

"One need not be a Communist to detect the fatal mischief of these aristocratic distempers. Violence is inherent in the programme of action evolved. Since no Government can look on with unconcern, it is perhaps argued in the interior forum of these Congressmen that some of the odium may attach on the Government, and conceivably lead to a break-down inviting President's rule. This is to play with fire...." (May 18, 1959)

The gauntlet has been thrown by reaction in Kerala, and it has to be picked up.

In meeting reaction's challenge, the Kerala Government has powerful forces on its side.

It relies on the vast majority of teachers and students to fight the campaign to close down schools. Representatives of various teacher's organisations have met in Trivandrum, formed a Teachers' United Front and declared that they will go through any suffering necessary to fulfil their patriotic duty of defeating the programme of school-closing which is against the interests of the teachers and students

and of educational progress itself.

It will rely on the saner elements in the Nair and Christian communities—and they are the majority—to defeat reaction's game of rousing communal passions.

It relies on the common people of the State to defeat the opposition to progressive legislations. The rallies held along with the District Conferences of the Communist Party have seen unprecedented mass gatherings—two lakhs and more strong. They are the poor peasants and agricultural labourers who are rallying to support the Communist-led Government and its Agrarian Relations Bill.

It will rely on the democratic opinion in Kerala which has seen the Communist-led Government functioning for two-and-a-half years and felt the difference from the previous Governments.

A powerful ally is the democratic opinion all over the country which wants the Kerala Government to continue and will not allow a democratically-elected Government functioning in the interests of the people to be dismissed by the Centre to appease the vested interests.

Finally, Kerala's Chief Minister has made it clear that the Government will use all the force at its command to suppress any attempt at subversion. The leaders of the law-defiance campaign have already been warned that strict police measures will be used against them. The police policy of the Government has not meant and will not mean a free run for violence and anarchy, it is only meant to give protection to the democratic movements of the people against whom in the past the vested interests had been able to use the police.

It is a serious situation but it can be met with the popular backing which the Communist-led Government already enjoys in Kerala, if democratic opinion all over the country powerfully rallies to its support to defeat reaction's vicious offensive.

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NEW AGE

PAGE FOURTEEN

# INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

FROM CENTRE PAGES

Private School Managers, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, held a Press Conference and openly challenged the Education Act, two leading Congressmen were present with him—Sri F. S. George, the new Treasurer of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, and K. M. Chandiy, a Congress MLA, Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair, a former Congress Minister and at present a member of the KPCC Executive, has been making speeches in favour of the agitation from the platform of the communists. Three Congress leaders—Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair, Sri K. M. Chandiy and Sri Cherian Kappan—are members of the action committee appointed by the recent "Leaders' Conference." If this is not Congress approval of and participation in the law-defiance campaign, what else is it? Sri Nehru owes an answer to this question.

While calling for the overthrow of the Communist-led Government and playing with communalism for this purpose, the Kerala Congress leaders certainly have no hopes of winning a general election in the State. While they talk of the growing discontent of the people, they do not have the patience to wait for two-and-a-half-years more to defeat the Communists at the poll.

The Times of India columnist "Pollux" reporting an interview with the Kerala Congress President, wrote: "He told Pollux that the Congress had decided to draft a charge-sheet against the Communists and intensify the agitation against them. He was not too confident that the next elec-

tion was in the Congress pocket."

In fact, it is an open secret that in the initial stages of the campaign against the Communist Government, when the Congress leaders were shouting hoarse about breakdown of law and order and were calling for Central intervention, they had been asked the straight question by the High Command whether they could win a majority if a re-election was ordered. The Kerala Congress leaders could not say yes. Whatever change there has been in the situation since then has not been in favour of the Congress.

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So their game today is to defy the law, indulge in violence, create lawlessness and get the Centre to intervene. To quote "Witness" of the Indian Express again, "In Kerala the Congress by open and unashamed coquetting with rank communalists and by boldly deciding on unconstitutional methods has jettisoned its principles...."

"Having found that by democratic means they cannot uproot the Ministers and with no patience to await the electoral results, an unholy combination, a sort of cave of Adulman, has been formed by extending the areas of grievance and discontent to include a piece of legislation now fought over at all stages, including the Supreme Court. The object of the weird combination of communalists, disgruntled and inefficient ex-Ministers is to rouse the rabble and to egg them on even in such

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NEW AGE

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stupid proceedings as besieging the Secretariat. Already Ministers is becoming too common.

"One need not be a Communist to detect the fatal mischief of these aristocratic distempers. Violence is inherent in the programme of action evolved. Since no Government can look on with unconcern, it is perhaps argued in the interior forum of these Congressmen that some of the odium may attach on the Government, and conceivably lead to a break-down inviting President's rule. This is to play with fire...." (May 18, 1959)

The gauntlet has been thrown by reaction in Kerala, and it has to be picked up.

In meeting reaction's challenge, the Kerala Government has powerful forces on its side.

It relies on the vast majority of teachers and students to fight the campaign to close down schools. Representatives of various teacher's organisations have met in Trivandrum, formed a Teachers' United Front and declared that they will go through any suffering necessary to fulfil their patriotic duty of defeating the programme of school-closing which is against the interests of the teachers and students

and of educational progress itself.

It will rely on the saner elements in the Nair and Christian communities—and they are the majority—to defeat reaction's game of rousing communal passions.

It relies on the common people of the State to defeat the opposition to progressive legislations. The rallies held along with the District Conferences of the Communist Party have seen unprecedented mass gatherings—two lakhs and more strong. They are the poor peasants and agricultural labourers who are rallying to support the Communist-led Government and its Agrarian Relations Bill.

It will rely on the democratic opinion in Kerala which has seen the Communist-led Government functioning for two-and-a-half years and felt the difference from the previous Governments.

A powerful ally is the democratic opinion all over the country which wants the Kerala Government to continue and will not allow a democratically-elected Government functioning in the interests of the people to be dismissed by the Centre to appease the vested interests.

Finally, Kerala's Chief Minister has made it clear that the Government will use all the force at its command to suppress any attempt at subversion. The leaders of the law-defiance campaign have already been warned that strict police measures will be used against them. The police policy of the Government has not meant and will not mean a free run for violence and anarchy, it is only meant to give protection to the democratic movements of the people against whom in the past the vested interests had been able to use the police.

It is a serious situation but it can be met with the popular backing which the Communist-led Government already enjoys in Kerala, if democratic opinion all over the country powerfully rallies to its support to defeat reaction's vicious offensive.

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NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

# THE CRISIS IN CEYLON

REPORTS of the serious Government crisis in Ceylon have been in the headlines of many Indian dailies for the last two weeks.

The 14-day old Ceylonese Cabinet crisis appears to have taken a turn for the worse, with the announcement in today's papers about the Viprakari Lanka Sama Samaj Party led by Mr. Philip Gunawardane breaking away from Ceylon's three-year old Coalition Government, reducing thereby the Government group's elected majority to 46 in the 101-member House of Representatives—not counting the support of five nominated members—and causing a serious threat to its very existence.

The present crisis, reported to be "the gravest crisis of its life," was precipitated in Ceylon when ten, out of the 15-man Cabinet, Right-wing Ministers came out demanding the dismissal of the Food Minister, Mr. Philip Gunawardane.

**Reactionary Forces**

What are these forces? The foreign banks and rural moneylenders who are against the Cooperative Development Bank proposed by the Government, the landlords who are trying to prevent the implementation of the Paddy Lands Act; the wholesale and retail traders who fear the extension of the cooperative movement; the Catholic Church and other vested interests in education who fear the taking over by the State of assisted schools; the imperialists who fear the nationalisation of their assets; the United National Party which was trying to force the dissolution of Parliament before provisions for the new delimitation of constituencies and voting right at the age of 18 became effective.

If these forces have now dared to challenge the Gov-

ernment, Mr. Bandarnaike's own policies are to an extent responsible for it—policies which underrated the importance and need of maintaining and strengthening further the unity of all anti-UNP parties which had led to the resounding victory of the MEP Government on the one hand, and on the other, went on appealing the Right-wing elements and the reactionary forces in the country.

When the MEP Government was formed, the Ceylonese people had hoped that the Government would tackle the basic economic issues facing the country. And the popular pressure on the Government was such that despite a substantial Right-wing inside it, it did succeed in effecting a number of progressive legislations. To cite a few examples:

In the field of foreign affairs, Ceylon formally exchanged diplomatic representatives with the USSR and People's China, opened relations with Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.A.R. Ceylon declared itself committed to PANCH-SHEEL and opposed to nuclear weapon tests. It took back from the British the naval base at Trincomalee, while the air base at Katunayake retained a few RAF personnel to be gradually withdrawn.

On the home front, among the notable progressive measures taken by the Bandarnaike Government were the signing of the Bandarnaike-Chelvanayagam Pact which had been hailed in the Ceylonese progressive Press as "the most important victory on the home front" because, "despite its limitations, this Pact objectively eased communal tension and brought into correct perspective the pressing social and economic needs of the country"; the nationalisation of bus services and port which the people had been pressing for long; the introduction of the Paddy Lands Bill meant to control the more rapacious landlords and to give some measure of

security to paddy cultivators, etc. The last-mentioned measure was most bitterly attacked by the reactionaries, as it struck at the ability of the landlords to terrorise and coerce the cultivator.

In the period under consideration a number of trade union demands were also won by the Ceylonese workers. Government servants won the right to federate among themselves; victimised trade unionists in the Government sector were reinstated; the National Provident Fund Bill was passed and many wage increases were also won by the workers.

**Appeasement of Reaction**

Side by side with such progressive measures the Ceylonese Government foot-faulted many a time by taking steps that could not but destroy the unity of the people and give a handle to reaction to stage a come-back.

The introduction of the Sinhala Only Bill resulted in serious communal rioting and in driving away a large proportion of the Tamil people into the arms of the most reactionary Federalist leaders. Under the pressure of the extreme Right, the Government's attitude towards the Sinhalese was so "soft" that later on, even when the Government hastily passed



# READ WHAT THEY SAY AND DECIDE

Here we give extracts from speeches made by the communal leaders and leaders of Opposition parties in Kerala as reported in their own Press. These extracts are only illustrative, and by no means exhaustive.

Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan, in his open letter dated March 25, 1959, addressed to the Kerala Chief Minister, stated:

"I make the demand (for replacing the Education Act with a new legislation) in accordance with the wishes of other managements also. I want to inform you that, in case it is not possible for you to withdraw it, we will be resorting to direct action." (Malayali, March 29, 1959)

Speaking at a meeting at Kottayam, Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan said:

"Not only will private schools remain closed from June 1 when the school year begins, but we will not permit the opening of Government schools also. ... It will not be possible for them (Communist Ministers) to save themselves by effecting some changes in the Education Act or the Land Bill, because our aim is to remove the Communist Government." (Malayali, May 4, 1959)

Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan, in the course of his speech at Panmana, is reported to have said:

"The Nairs have the ability to-day to throw into the waste-paper basket, Mundassery's law (Kerala Education Act), which has been passed, and Gowri's law (Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill), which is going to be passed. We have decided to organise a law-breaking programme, if need be." (Malayali, April 25, 1959)

## Paralysing Govt. Work

The Kerala Janatha (edited by Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, leader of the PSP) in its issue of May 10, 1959, carries the following despatch from its "Political Correspondent":

"The plan, it is understood, is not merely to close down the private schools on June 1, nor will the agitation end with preventing the opening of Government schools. It is understood that the programme has been drawn up to paralyse the activities of Government in all respects."

Speaking at Kottayam, Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan said:

"June 1 is approaching. Much has to be done before that. Schools which are closed should be closed properly. Schools which will be opened should be forced to close. For all these, volunteers in lakhs are necessary. Volunteers should be organised in every taluk, every village and every kara (locality). There should be committees to lead them. Each committee should be under a leader. Thus you should proceed to the battlefield to achieve your purpose." (Deepika, May 5, 1959)

Catholic Bishops have issued a pastoral letter jointly on May 7, 1959, which reads in part:

## What The Opposition In Kerala Is Up To

"The move effected by the Kerala Government against the minorities and the believers in God is causing great concern. Let us try our best in this grave juncture to defend our precious faith, taking refuge in God the merciful. We will have to suffer difficulties, discomforts and tortures. Let us be inspired by the words of the Divine: those who are tortured in the cause of justice are the fortunate, for the Kingdom of God belongs to them."

Speaking at a meeting at Trivandrum, Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan said:

"Let me declare that my mind will be set at rest only after sending these Communists, bag and baggage, not merely from Kerala, but from India and driving them to their fatherland—Russia." (Malayali, April 28, 1959)

Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan concluded a speech he delivered at Tiruvella on April 12, 1959, thus:

"The Nair is going to take over the administration from the Communists. Nair, is the simple reply to those who ask as to who will rule, if the Communists go." (Desabandhu, April 14, 1959)

Referring to the analogy of Aswamedha Yaga, Mannathu Padmanabhan said in a speech at Trivandrum on April 26, 1959:

"There need be no doubt about it. Mannam himself will take his horse to the Secretariat building and have it tied in Chief Minister Nambudiripad's office room." (Malayali, April 28, 1959)

Mannathu Padmanabhan in a speech at Trivandrum on April 26, 1959, said:

"I appeal to you (Communist Ministers) to quit voluntarily without giving room for unrest and bloodshed. I give you the warning that, if you try to stick on to the Ministerial chairs, the consequences will be terrible. If the people wrest power from these Ministers and subject them to trial, their ears and noses will have to be chopped off or they will have to be whipped in public." (Malayali, 28 April, 1959)

Speaking at Tiruvella, Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan is reported to have made a reference to the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill and said:

"It is not possible to send back alive whoever comes saying that excess land will be taken away. That is why I am sorry. My wish is that all including these Communist Ministers should remain alive." (Malayali, April 14, 1959)

Speaking at Quilon, Sri Mannathu Padmanabhan said:

"I doubt whether they are capable of beating. Is it that the Government alone can beat? Beating can be from our side also... We will courteously ask them (the

ganacherry which was attended by Nair and Christian leaders belonging to the Congress and certain other political parties.

Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair (Congress leader and former Minister), in the course of his speech, said that the

started against you." (Malayali, April 16, 1959)

Sri K. M. Chandy, a Congress leader, speaking at a meeting at Kottayam, is reported to have said:

"Chief Minister Sri Nambudiripad is reported to have said that certain people were getting ready for a civil war. Whatever may be said, that will not affect us. Well, if it is civil war, we will resort to that to drive away this Government." (Malayali, May 4, 1959)

Deepika, mouthpiece of the Catholic Church wrote editorially on May 12, 1959:

"The Communists do not consider it wrong to do anything for attaining their object. Is it wrong in these circumstances if we think in favour of being prepared even for shedding blood? The Communists will not hesitate to do anything if they find that there is no preparation on this side. On the other hand, the Communists might give up their mischief if they find that there is, on this side, readiness to meet that and even more. That is why we say that volunteers should be raised in all places. In Ankanmal alone 5,000 persons have arrayed themselves. It is not possible for the Communists hereafter to try to inflict pain on their (Catholics') institutions. Such volunteers in lakhs would be raised in Palai, Changancherry and at every place where people with self-respect and courage reside."

Ministers) to quit. If they are not prepared to go, we will send them, all the eleven, to the jail." (Desabandhu, May 12, 1959)

Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, leader of the PSP, in the course of a speech at Trivandrum, is reported to have said:

"If you have manliness, they (Communists) should be driven out of the Secretariat. Life is not bigger than self-respect. If only you exhibit your manliness they will not remain there even for three days—let alone the question of three years. And they are not going to remain there. This is Pattom Thanu Pillai who says so." (Malayala Manorama, April 7, 1959)

The leaders of the communal groups, the Nair Service Society and the Catholic Church, recently convened a conference of leaders at Chan-

agitation against the Education Act would ultimately develop into a political struggle.

Sri P. S. George (Treasurer, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee) is reported to have stated at the conference that a deadlock would occur in June and that it would not be possible for political parties to keep aloof.

Sri Cherian Kapan, another prominent Congress leader, said that the resolution adopted at the conference implied that the fight would not stop with the termination of the Education Act agitation. (Malayali, May 4, 1959)

Sri Panampilli Govinda Menon, former Congress Chief Minister, said in a meeting at Trichur on April 13, 1959:

"The time has come for a freedom fight so far as Kerala is concerned. I am telling you, Communists, that a liberation struggle has been

## E.M.S.'s Press Conference

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

that personal explanation of the situation as it was developing was always useful, so that no misunderstanding was possible. "I would like to make only this comment about the attitude of the Centre—it cannot be said to be unfriendly. In any case the immediate issue is not a Congress-Communist quarrel. I have come here as the Chief Minister to appraise the Centre about the situation in my State."

Trying to score a debating point a Pressman asked whether the Chief Minister was going to advise his comrades in other States to drop their various agitations. He went on to ask about a code of conduct for political parties.

Comrade E. M. S. emphatically declared that he was not opposed to agitation in Kerala, let alone in other States. As a matter of fact in Kerala itself the Communist Party was also agitating—holding meetings, demonstrations and taking up struggles as well—so why not elsewhere?

"But it is not this kind of agitation that the opposition plans in Kerala, it openly incites violence. This cannot be allowed and offenders cannot go scot-free. Pressmen can judge for themselves who conducts peaceful agitation and who does not."

"We are all for a code of conduct for political parties. But it is far better that you ask the Congress, as by far the biggest political party in the country as a whole, to take the initiative in the matter."

Asked whether the Government intended taking over those schools that refused to open, the Chief Minister replied that this was not the immediate issue. The immediate issue was of preventing the possibility of a breakdown of law and order.

"As for the schools, well the managers have the right to keep them closed. The local people have the right to open new schools. And, of course, the Government has every right to withdraw its grants from the schools that are closed and give them to the newly-opened schools."

"It is too early to say what we shall do. Let us see how the situation develops."

Comrade E. M. S. made it absolutely clear that on the question of communal reservation, the Congress, PSP, RSP and the Communist Party had no difference. It was quite wrong to state that the Administrative Reforms Committee, over which he had presided, had recommended its abolition.

A particularly sharp reply met the question as to why the Congress so vehemently opposed the Ministry in Kerala, if it had not violated the Constitution and was implementing policies which in many respects did not differ from Congress pronouncements. Was it a matter of dislike for extra-territorial loyalties of the Communists as witnessed over the Tibet question?

"Let us not not talk about Tibet. Let us not go into who had to change their position and who had to climb down.

It is quite irrelevant here. "Extra-territorial loyalty is a perennial charge against us and we have sufficiently rebutted it time and again. You may doubt us, but the people don't seem to."

"These are all extraneous. The reason for the Congress opposition is quite simple. It nowhere wants a breach in its monopoly of Government power. Least of all does it like the fact that the first breach successfully effected is the result of a Communist victory at the polls. This it dislikes and more."

And the same dignified, cheerful confidence which had met the first question permeated his concluding remarks: "I want to state that a two-member majority in the Assembly is not an adequate reflection of our public support. Nor is the fact that a majority of newspapers in Kerala are against us a true reflection of public opinion. After all newspapers lag behind public opinion sometimes."

"With a two-member majority and with a minority of newspapers backing us we have done—and will do—far more for the State and the people than any other party had done or will be able to do. That is the source of the strength which can and will defeat any reactionary attempt at disorder and overthrow."

Saying which Comrade E. M. S. greeted us and walked away leaving the Pressmen to murmur their approval and rush their copy.