

# CALL OFF THE STRUGGLE!

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE OF THE NEW AGE IS IN THE HANDS OF OUR READERS, THE ILL-CONCEIVED STRUGGLE TO THROW OUT THE KERALA GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE BEGUN. DEFEATED AT THE POLLS, REJECTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC VERDICT OF THE PEOPLE WHICH OUSTED IT FROM OFFICE, THE CONGRESS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE PSP AND CERTAIN OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES, RELYING ON DARK FORCES OF COMMUNAL REACTION AND SUPPLIED WITH UNLIMITED FUNDS OF BRITISH PLANTERS, LANDLORDS AND OTHER VESTED INTERESTS, WILL HAVE STARTED THE ONSLAUGHT ON THE KERALA GOVERNMENT—THE BIGGEST ACHIEVEMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT SINCE THE ATTAINMENT OF NATIONAL FREEDOM.

## Editorial

by AJOY GHOSH

ALL eyes are focussed on Kerala. It is there that one of the biggest conflicts of recent years is growing—a conflict between the forces of democracy and reaction, secularism and communalism, vested interests and the people. The outcome of this conflict will have far-reaching consequences for the whole country.

Enemies of the Kerala Government had hoped that by raising the Communist bogey, they would be able to isolate it. They had hoped that the blessings of the Congress High Command for their struggle would enable them to win the moral support of the vast majority of the people of the country. And when Prime Minister Nehru himself, in his statement issued from Coimbatore virtually endorsed their tactics, their jubilation knew no bounds.

But they had miscalculated. Their hopes have not been fulfilled. Already, they find themselves in an unenviable position.

The line-up of the Congress with the Catholic Church and Nair Service

Society—a line-up too blatant to be concealed by any subterfuge—has shocked public opinion all over the country. The atrocious move to close down schools and paralyse education is evoking condemnation from increasing number of students, teachers, parents and educationists. Above all, the attempt to dislodge a constitutionally elected Ministry by means of direct action and violence has caused grave apprehension among thinking sections in all parts of the country. Meetings and demonstrations have been held in many

places supporting the Kerala Government and condemning the efforts to oust it by unconstitutional means. Newspapers, many of whom have been supporters of the Congress have written editorials pointing out the dangerous consequences of the tactics which Congressmen in Kerala are pursuing.

If the Congress sows the wind, it will have to reap the whirlwind. This is what they are pointing out.

Perhaps never before was a decision of the Congress High Command condemned so widely and so bitterly as its sanction to the struggle in Kerala. Never before did an utterance of Sri Nehru evoke such criticism as his statement on Kerala.

Public opinion is asserting itself and in a manner which the sponsors of the struggle against the Kerala Government had not anticipated.

This has already yielded certain important results. Replying to a barrage of questions at his press conference on June 10 Sri Nehru stated:

- ① He was entirely opposed to any kind of picketing of schools in Kerala or elsewhere.
- ② He was disturbed at communal elements that had been brought into the political struggle, making a specific reference to the Nair Service Society and the Catholic organisations.
- ③ He was opposed to resort to unconstitutional action to overthrow a constitutionally elected Ministry.

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# NEW AGE

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school-closure movement as "individuals". As an organisation they have established "liaison" with the communal reactionaries. They have openly declared that their struggle has the aim of throwing out the Ministry.

On the very day that Sri Nehru held his press conference, the special correspondent of the Hindustan Times from Trivandrum sent a despatch which stated categorically that the "opposition parties aim at paralysing the Government." It added that an "important feature of the agitation will be a call to the people to withdraw their savings from the State Government treasuries" and that

vocally called upon the Congressmen of Kerala to abandon their plan of struggle. His failure to do that, even at this late stage, is to be deeply regretted.

The Kerala Government has now been left with no alternative. Backed by the growing volume of public opinion in its favour, enjoying the support of the majority of people in the State and confident of the justice of its cause, it will have to take firm and effective measures to afford protection to peaceful citizens, preserve communal harmony and maintain the rule of law. Its success in achieving these objectives will be a major victory for Indian

## Nehru Should Live Upto His Statements Against Violence & Communalism

These statements are good so far as they go. But they do not go far enough.

Sri Nehru should have applied the principles contained in these statements to what is being actually done by Congress leaders in Kerala. He has not done that. On the contrary, he has tried to make out that Congress leaders of Kerala are acting in accordance with these principles.

Everyone knows that such is not the case. Everyone knows that each of these principles is being blatantly violated by Sri Nehru's followers in Kerala.

They are supporting the

"they are also likely to launch a no-tax campaign."

The assertion that all this will be done by "other parties" while the Congress, though fully identified with them, will confine itself only to peaceful and constitutional methods, cannot convince anyone. But for the support given by the Congress, the movement would have ended long ago. The aims of the struggle, as declared by the Congress, are the same as those of others. So are the slogans and the form of struggle.

Consistent with the principles he has formulated, Sri Nehru should have unequivocally

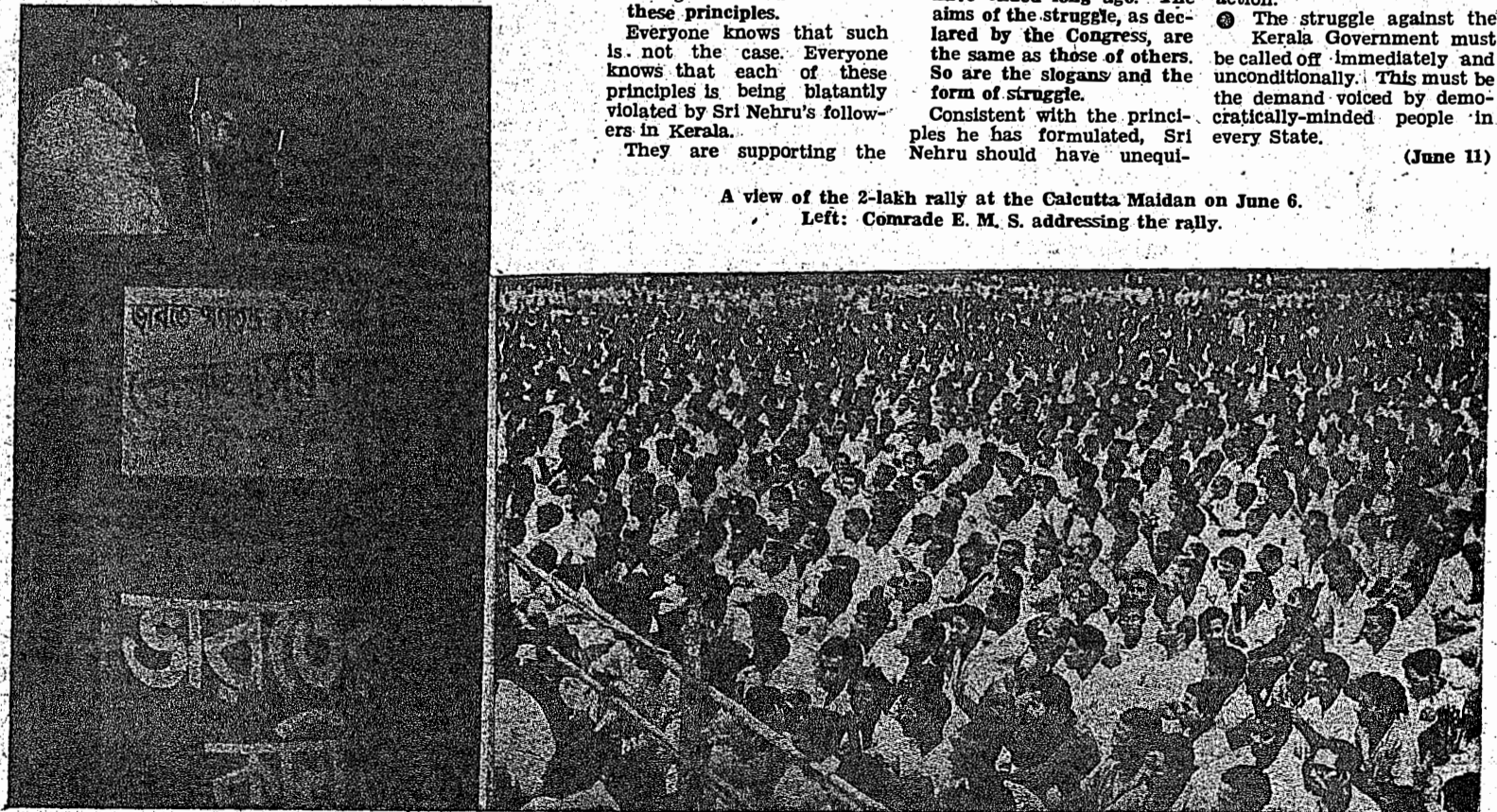
democracy and will enormously strengthen the popular movement in the whole country.

① The campaign in defence of Kerala which has already won the support of big sections of people in all States, must be intensified. The conscience of the people of the whole country must be roused to defeat the attempts of reaction.

② The struggle against the Kerala Government must be called off immediately and unconditionally. This must be the demand voiced by democratically-minded people in every State.

(June 11)

A view of the 2-lakh rally at the Calcutta Maidan on June 6. Left: Comrade E. M. S. addressing the rally.





# KISANS ALL OVER PUNJAB TO DEMONSTRATE ON JUNE 15

★ From HASTER HARI SINGH

The State Kisan Sabha Executive at its meeting held on May 15 had given the call for State-wide kisan demonstrations on June 15. These post-harvest demonstrations are being held to press the State Government to implement its commitments to the public for further substantial reduction in the amount of betterment levy and to put an end to its reactionary policy of repression and provocation against the peasant movement.

The Kisan Sabha units in all districts are busy making preparations in connection with the proposed demonstrations. Numerous public meetings, rallies and conferences are being held in the rural areas.

The Annual Delegates Session of the State Kisan Sabha is meeting at Bilga, district Jullundur, at the end of June. This momentous Session will take stock of the situation, and decide on further necessary steps to build a powerful mass movement to force the Government to honour its pledged word.

## Unfulfilled Promises

About two months and a half have elapsed since withdrawal of the great 'satyagraha' struggle, yet the State Government has not come out

duction of interest on Central loans for Bhakra Project from 4½ per cent to 3 per cent per annum for the past ten years as well which will give a relief of Rs. 9 crores to the peasantry. It is also proposed to deduct the one-crore cost of Sutlej bridge at Nangal from Project expenditure.

The Kisan Sabha, while reserving its right to conduct agitation for end to entire betterment levy on the Bhakra Project which is undeniably a productive scheme, will build a powerful mass movement, to accelerate the announcement of further substantial reduction in the levy quantum as its immediate objective. The June 15 demonstrations will help unleash such a mass movement.

## Unending Repression

The Kisan Sabha is further demanding an end to the Government policy of repression and provocation against the peasant movement — arrests and prosecutions under sundry sections of I.P.C., forcible recovery of advance payment. All constitutional and legal means are being employed to beat back the Government offensive.

The State Government led by Chief Minister Kairon has stepped up its vendetta against the peasant movement in order to demoralise peasant masses. Large police forces were sent soon after withdrawal of satyagraha to make forcible realisations of advance payment of betterment levy. Village after village in the districts of Ferozpur, Bhatinda and Sangrur was raided and besieged, peaceful harvesting labour of kisans was interfered with, kisan leaders and militants were arrested by scores and arbitrarily detained in jail.

Jathedar Hardit Singh Bhatthal, the most respected kisan leader of district Sangrur, was thus detained for the maximum period of 40 days. In village Longowal Rs. 2000 were realised as fines in addition to betterment levy amount.

Even those kisan leaders were detained who owned no land and hence owed no betterment levy to the Government. A notorious instance of such an illegal arrest is that of Comrade Jagraj Singh of village Qila Nau in district Bhatinda. A habeas corpus petition had to be filed in the Punjab High Court to secure his release. Lamberdars are being served with notice to deposit the levy amount, failing which, legal action is threatened against them under the Land Revenue Act.

Yet due to peaceful opposition of peasant masses, as admitted by Irrigation Minister himself, by May 15 not more than Rs. 9 lakhs of Rs. 75 lakhs of kharif instalment had been recovered. And in villages where such forcible recoveries have been made the common peasant comment is: "The village has been looted by the police dacoits and the Congress touts have abetted the loot."

Utterly false is the claim of Sri Kairon that all satyagrahis and other persons arrested in connection with the agitation have

## FIRST FIGURES PROVE AITUC IS LEADING

INFORMATION has been received that the 43rd Session of International Labour Organization has taken note of the protest lodged by the AITUC over the nomination of INTUC men by the Government of India as workers' representatives in the Indian delegation to the session. The issue has been referred to the Credentials Committee of the Conference.

The AITUC and the INTUC claimed membership of 15,58,737 and 14,55,030 respectively and even after preliminary verification by the Chief Labour Commissioner figures stood at 13,99,931 and 13,79,535 for both the organizations respectively.

The Government of India is understood to be taking a stand that according to the tentative figures of final verification the membership of INTUC is larger than AITUC. This is news to AITUC and other central trade union organizations.

They have been told till now that the physical verification is not yet over and this fact can be proved. Even to-day the verified figures of membership have not been supplied to the organizations concerned. These figures are also subject to challenge by any of the organizations and are not final figures. Nomination for International Labour Organization session is usually done in the month of February or March.

Has the selection this year also been made from INTUC, as in the past, on the assumption that INTUC, as ever, is the most representative organization of the workers even before the physical check-up of the membership is over?

been released and realisation of fines has been stopped.

● Fines from satyagrahis were realised even in the month of May in villages Nathana, Kallan, Bhalni, Bhuchcho Kalan, Bhuchcho Khurd, Pohla, Pohli etc. of sub-Tehsil Nathana of district Ferozpur through forcible attachment of properties.

● About five hundred peasants of district Jullundur, Ludhiana, Karnal and Sangrur were kept in jail or prosecuted in cases of alleged violence. Further arrests have since been made and prosecutions launched against scores of kisan workers and militants.

● Prominent Kisan Sabha leaders Baba Harifam Singh 85-year old veteran, Ghuman Singh, Ch. Raisal Singh and over two score other satyagrahis of the first jatha that courted arrest at Sangrur on February 16 have been sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging from six months to two years on a charge of forcible entry into District Magistrate's Court.

● Forty kisans of village Bhatthal (district Sangrur) including Jathedar Hardit Singh who had just come out of jail have been rearrested under section 107/151 of Criminal Procedure Code and a reign of terror has been let loose in the village.

The Kisan Sabha is fighting back the Government repression doggedly. It has given a call for collection of Rupees 75 thousand as Defence Fund so that the kisans implicated in sundry serious cases may not have to bear any financial burden. Democratic lawyers at the High Court and in the districts have volunteered their services and are conducting the cases with devotion and zeal worthy of the noble cause. It is the result of their devoted labour that:

—Almost all the kisans involved in cases of alleged violence in Aitiana, Sherpur, Narur, Dhaliwal and other places have been bailed out.

—The Sessions Judge Sangrur has acquitted on appeal 47 kisan satyagrahis of village Chatha and ordered refund of the fine of Rs. 750 which had already been realised from them.

—Writ petitions have been filed in the High Court chal-

lenging the act of the State Government in assessing payment on matured areas on Blst-Doab, Western Jumna and Sirhind Canals in an arbitrary and unprincipled manner without defining the criteria of assessment and in disregard of the fact that these canals are productive.

The State Government has recently carried the anti-kisan vendetta a step further. Lamberdars, sarpanches and Nyaya Panches are being served with 'show cause' notices for their alleged participation in the levy agitation or failure to support the authorities in their repressive measures.

The kisan demonstrations of June 15 will present Memoranda to district authorities for transmission to the State Government demanding that:

1. Forcible recovery of advance payment of levy be stopped and all realisation be postponed till final settlement of the issue.

2. The Government should immediately honour its commitment to the public for further substantial reduction of the levy quantum below Rs. 33 crores.

3. The Kisan Sabha claim that Bhakra Project is productive and hence there is no justification for levy should be examined and decision taken accordingly.

4. All prosecutions launched against kisans and their leaders in connection with Kisan Morcha and the events following its withdrawal be withdrawn, those convicted be released and all fines realised be remitted.

5. Action be taken against officials guilty of firing at Narur, Aitiana and Dhaliwal and of other excesses and illegalities against peasants.

The State Government and Congress Party are standing on false prestige. They are approaching the entire issue from narrow partisan, political angle and refusing to normalise the situation in cooperation with all concerned. Hence the deterioration in the situation—attendant with bitterness and resentment.

The 15th June demonstrations will express the determination of millions of peasants to force a peaceful and just settlement on the unwilling Congress Government.

# THEIR REAL CHARGES

## E. M. S. TELLS BOMBAY RALLY

★ From GERALD PEREIRA

BOMBAY, June 7

Comrade EMS Nambudiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala stole a march over the 'ever-vigilant' opposition in Kerala and presented their real charge sheet against the Communist-led Ministry, in this urbis-prima of India.

He was addressing the 50,000 strong rally at Shivaji Park on the inauguration of the Kerala Week in the City. Earlier in the afternoon, EMS addressed a crowded Press Conference at the semi-fashionable West End Hotel. The enthusiastic reporters and correspondents shot a volley of questions and the ever-smiling Chief Minister of the fourteenth State, answered in a most eloquent manner.

He took the wind out of the sails of the Opposition when he declared to the eager correspondents that the Kerala Government was prepared to discuss with those who were opposed to the Education Act, even at this stage, its implementation and consider adjustments in it, within the framework of the essential points.

The Shivaji Park rally which was preceded by an impressive procession winding its way through the labour and middle class areas of Parel and Dadar, was organised by the Maharashtra Committee of the CPI and was presided over by Comrade B. T. Ranadive.

Comrade EMS expressed amidst tumultuous applause full confidence in his Government's ability, "to inflict a crushing defeat on the frustrated political parties and the Nair-Church communal combine, with the help of the masses of Kerala and the democratic movement in the whole country."

Then he questioned, "Why is it that all the opposition parties together with the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society have come out, with extra-constitutional methods and direct action to overthrow the constitutionally elected Government?"

"What is the offence we have committed which calls for a non-cooperation movement, which includes non-payment of taxes, non-cooperation with the legislature, refusal to contribute to the National Plan Loans, marching to the Secretariat and other Government offices to destroy papers and furniture, and to physically assault the Ministers?" Comrade Nambudiripad emphatically stated that they dare not give the reasons openly and then he placed their real charge-sheet against the Kerala Government.

CHARGE No. 1: We have defeated them at the polls. The first and the gravest charge that they have levelled against us is that the Communist Party has defeated them at the polls. We had in fact, beaten them in the 1952 and 1954 General Elections, together with the other Leftists. But in 1957, we defeated them on our own even though the majority of the Press was against us.

CHARGE No. 2: We have a majority of only two. As we

have a majority of two members only in the Assembly, they expected soon the fall of the Government, either by way of bribery or corruption, as they had themselves experienced.

EMS declared amidst laughter, that the Communist MLAs are neither for sale nor mortgage. We have broken the tradition of one year-life-ministries in Kerala, by running the Government for over two years. In the last nine years, Kerala has had six to seven ministries.

CHARGE No. 3: We are implementing our election programme. We have implemented during the course of last two years as much of our election programme as possible.

This is a clear departure from the previous Congress and PSP ministries which did not pass any measure beneficial to the people. Our Education Act, Panchayat Bill, District Councils Bill, Industrial Relations Bill, Agrarian Reforms and other measures are all to the benefit of the masses.

CHARGE No. 4: Five-Years of Communist rule means all-round progress. And the final

charge, stated EMS, is that if we are allowed to continue in office for the full term of five years, then the Congress Party can never dream of coming back to power, let alone the PSP and RSP which cannot come to power ever after 2000 years.

Other parties have waited for 12 years in the country while we ourselves waited 10 years in Kerala. Why can't the Congress then patiently wait for two-and-a-half years more, if they have confidence in the Constitution?

"They know fully well," Nambudiripad stated, "that at the end of five years, the Communist Party not only will come back to power in Kerala but this 'disease' will spread to Tamilnad, Andhra and the other States."

All these forces which have united against the Kerala Government, in fact, do not

agree even on one single issue among themselves, EMS stated. Besides each party is facing its own internal dissensions. They have no alternative programme. They have nothing in common. They only aim at the overthrow of the Government by means fair or foul, and their so-called liberation movement is bound to fail, Comrade Nambudiripad stated.

Comrade S. A. Dange and Comrade F. P. Sanggiri, the Secretary of the Bombay Committee of the CEI also addressed the rally.

Earlier at 5 p.m. Comrade E.M.S. Nambudiripad was given a rousing reception by the Kerala Drama Festival Committee at the G. C. Medical College grounds in the spacious Purandare Stadium. Dr. Doraiswami presided over the function.

The city is observing the Kerala week and the Party branches will organize public meetings in almost all the areas.

## ALL CHERISHED PRINCIPLES ABANDONED PRESS REBUKES HIGH COMMAND

"THE people who go to Mannam's and to Communist rallies present a good study in contrast," writes the Kerala Correspondent of the Bombay Economic Weekly.

In the Communist rallies you find workers and peasants in large numbers with determination writ large on their faces to keep their Government in power at any cost, while Mannam's meetings attract 'Jaymanans' (the Nair aristocrats) and 'Punyawalans' (those dependent on the Catholic Church) in desperation and a crowd looking for fun...

"The Education Act and the Land Bill now under consideration of the Legislature, will cut out the root of communal politics and divide the people only into two classes, the class of workers and peasants, and the rest. Here is a dilemma for the Opposition parties to face....

"It was unfortunate that the Opposition parties were not prepared to accept their defeat at the polls in the spirit in which such defeats are accepted in Britain and other countries. Nor had they the courage to go deep into the causes of their defeat and to put their house in order....

"It does seem rather strange that when the Congress High Command has issued directives to Provincial Committees to root out communalism in all forms, individual Congressmen should be allowed to perform 'Chelliyattam' (a dance form in Kathakali) to the drum beats of Mannam and the Punnyawalans of the Catholic Church." (May 30)

An editorial in the Deccan Herald (Bangalore) of June 4 states:

"Flushed with success in their mission to get the Prime Minister's approval of their 'charge-sheet' against the

Communist Ministry, Kerala Congress leaders seem ready to launch their campaign which, viewed from any angle, seems singularly ill-advised."

"Any parallel agitation however justified, by an organization, especially the Congress, besides imparting initial momentum to the Mannam movement, must inevitably though unconsciously abet, if not add, the outbreak of violence in the emotionally charged atmosphere. And guilt by association is bound to smear the Congress, despite any loud claims about theoretical directives of a non-violent approach....

"Remote-controlled approval of this programme by the Congress High Command was itself unfortunate but even more regrettable is the line-clear given by the Prime Minister.... that the Prime Minister should appear as a partisan in a do or die collision, aided by communal forces and sectarian interests, against the State Government of a different party over disputes for which there are constitutional means of settlement, is dangerous in the extreme.

"Even Pandit Nehru could not claim in all conscience that the records of other State Governments and even of the Centre are unassailable, so that the direct implication of what is now authorised for Kerala is an invitation for trouble in other States."

"Cling to power at any cost. This has become the new creed of the Congress.... The danger signal is all around and if the present inconsistent and opportunist policy is to be pursued, it would spell disaster to the Congress."

THE Tribune from Ambala writes in its editorial of June 8:

"Discouragement of violence is the best that was expected of the head of the country's Government, but it was not enough. In his capacity as Prime Minister and India's principal leader, Mr. Nehru should have unequivocally opposed the mass agitation which the opposition parties in Kerala are preparing for and which, in spite of the Prime Minister's criticism of violence, may assume an ugly shape and result in serious consequences.

"Nor would it be perfectly honest for the Government

and sacrifice under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. "Sri Nehru, Sri Morarji Desai and Smt. Indira Gandhi, sojourning in the cool heights of Ootacamund suddenly resolved to revise their earlier 'non-intervention' stand and permitted the Kerala Congressmen to go full steam ahead in ousting Nambudiripad's Ministry, allying themselves with whomever they liked and adopting whatever means they deemed fit under the circumstances....

"It is feared in political circles here that what the Congress now proposes to do in Kerala may turn as a boomerang against the ruling party in other States."

"It might in the long run end in the wreckage of democracy and then no one but the Congress would have to be blamed....

"The secret is that the Congress party is beginning to crack and its adherents who desire to cling to power are now engaged in a back to the wall fight....

"Meanwhile, let not the Congress conduct itself in Kerala in a manner which will bring it disgrace and hold the Constitution up to ridicule. There will be opportunity in 1962 to probe that the people of Kerala are tired of the Communist Party and desire a change for the better."

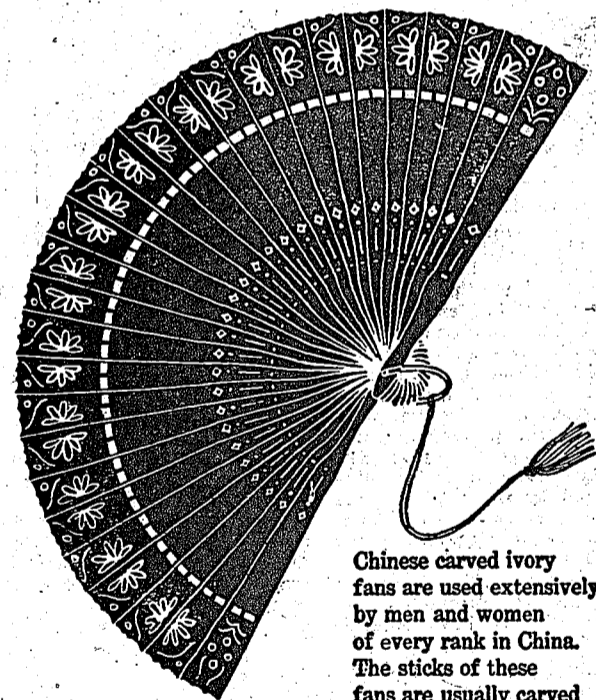
THE Statesman in its editorial of June 6 writes:

"Much more than Communist rule is at stake in this programme of direct action which, as we repeatedly emphasised, is inconsistent with Parliamentary democracy and the rule of law....

"The Communists came to power through the ballot-box and have to be dismissed the same way....

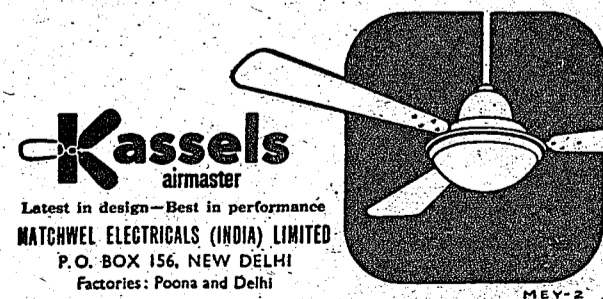
"Charge-sheets can always be prepared by the Opposition against the party in power, but the first among these accusations should not be: 'You won the general election.'"

## FACTS ABOUT FANS



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# Congress Provided Crutches To Collapsing Communal Agitation

## TRIVANDRUM:

With the "Deliverance Day" called for June 12, the first step will be taken. Call has been given for hartal and demonstrations on that day to demand the resignation of the Communist Ministry.

THE Congress has appointed a five-man committee with Sri Shankar, Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon, Sri P.T. Chacko, Sri C. M. Stephen and Sri P. P. Ummar Koya to direct the struggle.

An Action Committee of three opposition parties—Congress, PSP and Muslim League has endorsed this call for observance of the day.

The Action Council of the anti-Education Act agitators which was appointed at the leaders' conference at Changanacherry with Mannam as commander-in-chief has called for the observance of the Deliverance Day.

PSP leader P. K. Kunju in a statement earlier on June 2 had announced that the PSP had decided to launch direct action with the "cooperation of other democratic parties in the State" to remove the Communist Government from office.

The Muslim League, which as an opposition party has joined the move for hartal, has, in a separate statement made it clear that the Muslim schools will not be closed on June 15 when the school-closure campaign begins.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) in a lengthy resolution has characterised the present struggle as a struggle by the reactionary communal elements; but at the same time it has expressed its determination to overthrow the Communist Government, which according

to it is an anti-people Government. It has plans to launch direct action to capture the leadership from communal elements of the struggle to overthrow the Communist Government.

In a statement however it has said that it will not participate in the hartal of June 12—an indication of the mood of the workers who are agitating the strike on that day.

The INTUC has called for a general strike on the day. Here-again, people in the know of the situation say that if in the factories remain closed, in most cases it will be because of the owners who will not open them.

The General Secretary of the Kerala State TUC (AITUC) has called on the workers to report for work on June 12. He has warned all employers that in case they "together with the INTUC minority" closed their institutions, they would have to pay adequate compensation to the workers rendered idle for the day.

Congress leaders here think they have been clever in calling for the Deliverance Day on June 12, three days before school-closure agitation is to begin. Their hope is that this way they have dissociated themselves from the school-closure movement. But the reality is far away from this as can be seen from the developments of the last two months.

## Genesis and Growth

It will be useful, on the eve of the struggle, to recapitulate these developments and get an idea of the genesis of the present agitation and the master-minds that are behind it.

The chequered career of the Kerala Education Act is too well-known to be recalled here. Suffice it to say that it has gone through more legal and constitutional processes than any other Act of any other State Government before it received Presidential assent.

It was in the first week of April that a meeting of private school managers' association was held where the Action Council was set up with Sri Mannath Padmanabhan as its Chairman.

At a press conference he held after the meeting, Mannam demanded withdrawal of the Education Act, the reason being that clause 11 of the Act dealing with appointments of teachers was objectionable to private school managements. The emphasis at the press conference was on the demand for withdrawal of the Education Act, though, by the way, it was also mentioned that the Communist Ministry should resign and go.

Then began the campaign. A series of receptions were arranged for Mannam and

in the course of this campaign, he gradually developed his slogans. He began to say that it was not enough to withdraw the Education Act and do away with the system of reservation, but the Agrarian Relations Bill should also be given up.

He began rousing the Nair community with the slogan, that reservation would harm their interests.

Simultaneously the Catholic Church began inciting the Catholic masses with the slogans of Religion in danger.

As this campaign developed, Mannam went ahead with his slogans. The Communist Ministry should go, Communists should be sent to Moscow, he would tether his horse in the Chief Minister's room, in the Secretariat, all the Ministers should be whipped, those who try to take over surplus land above ceiling will not remain alive etc.—these became his usual slogans in meetings.

On May 2, he called a leaders' conference at Changanacherry. All the representatives of the vested interests were there—planters, landlords, bankers, etc.—as also Nair and Christian, Congress and PSP leaders.

One was reminded of another leaders' conference held at the same place at-

tended by the same vested interests and under the initiative of the same Mannam. Then it was to plot the overthrow of the PSP Ministry of Pattom Thanu Pillai in Travancore-Cochin State because it had dared to introduce a Land Reforms Bill.

At the present leaders' conference, it was decided that not only would private managements close down their own schools but Government schools and private schools, which their managements would like to open would be picketed.

The more important development of the conference

was a call to overthrow the Communist-led Government against the Education Act because such a resolution was bound to affect the PSP's alliance with the League. The decision that was taken at Qullon was for general agitation on the demand that the Government should go.

Then came Mannam's press conference on May 28. Here he declared that all other issues were secondary. The main issue was the overthrow of the Communist-led Government. School-closure was only the first step. Schools which reopened would be forcibly closed, education would be paralysed. If the Govern-

ment did not resign even after alliance with the Catholic Church had gone too far.

Teachers of all political opinion rallied in the teachers' united front with determination to keep schools open and continue education of children.

A large section of private managements which are not Catholic or NSS corporate managements declared themselves against the school-closure agitation.

Above all, the Communist Party ran one of the biggest political campaigns. District Conferences of the Party mobilised more people than Mannam could mobilise in

## On The Eve Of The Struggle In Kerala

From RAHDASS

and the setting up of an Action Council to organise the struggle.

It is worth remembering that on this Council there are three prominent Congress leaders—Kalathil Velayudhan Nair, former Minister and presently member, KPCC; K. M. Chandy, former Congress MLA, and Cheriyan Kappan, former Congress MLA and now Chairman of Palai Municipal Council; and also that right from the beginning, in receptions organised for Mannam, PSP leaders and some Congress leaders had been very active.

Within a week of this leaders' conference, the Executive of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee met and adopted a resolution saying it was the duty of the Congress to vigorously carry forward all agitations to end the Communist misrule and against the Education Act which was creating unrest all over the State.

In this setting, Mannam continued his agitation with aggressive slogans. And all the time the Catholic Church was making its preparations—organising the campaign, recruiting volunteers, training them and collecting arms.

That arms had been collected in quite some quantity became evident when some of these arms-dumps were unearthed by the police in the past few days. Apart from knives, lathis, guns, etc., it is being reported from various places that children are being sent out to collect fused bulbs from houses—obviously for the manufacture of acid bulbs.

Somewhere about this stage, some weak spots in the opposition camp began to develop. Differences inside Kerala Congress began to crop up. After the AICC meeting in Delhi, the Congress High Command began saying it was against the closure of schools.

There was trouble in the PSP too. At its Qullon conference, it could not pass a resolution supporting agitation

all this, other steps would be taken. What they were he was not prepared to divulge.

Parallel with all this, another major development was taking place and that was the growing mobilisation of the people behind the Government and the Communist Party and their policies.

There had been attacks on the Communist-led Government before this also. In fact, in these two years or more that it has been in office, the Opposition had not given it a moment's respite. There had also been mobilisations of people to meet these challenges, but the present mobilisation has been different in this that it has not remained at the level of just a mobilisation, but it has become a big movement and a growing movement at that.

The specific issues which the reactionaries have seized upon have only weakened their position. The Education Act, Reservation, Land Bill were all the issues on which large masses of people rallied behind the Government. A large majority of Kerala's people are against changing the Education Act or giving up the reservation system. The entire scheduled castes and tribes, backward communities including the Muslims are for retaining them as they are. Breaking all party barriers, they came into the movement to defend the Education Act, reservation and the Land Bill.

Congress leader and legislator, Sri K. R. Narayanan openly campaigned for them. Organisations like SNDP of the Ezhavas solidly came into the movement. It became impossible for the Congress to openly associate with the agitation against these measures. There were serious splits in Mannam's own Nair Service Society. A number of local units and prominent individuals came out openly against their leaders. Certain sections of the NSS which has been traditionally anti-Catholic began to feel that the

same places.

Very broadbased Defend Education Committees began to be formed in various places consisting of hundred and more people. Election Committees of the Communist Party at the time of the general elections were themselves very broadbased committees but the present committees have assumed a still broader character bringing in all sections of people who want the schools to be kept open.

The Government also made it very clear that any violent agitation or attempts to forcibly close down schools would be dealt with firmly.

Against such a movement, the school closure agitation had no chance of survival and the agitation to overthrow the Government based on the school closure as a first step became well-nigh impossible.

It was to support and prop up communal reaction in this desperate strait that the opposition parties have now come forward. And that is the biggest crime of the Congress. When the communal reactionaries had no leg to stand upon, the Congress provided them with crutches. But for this support from the Congress, the communal campaign could have been scotched. For the Congress to say that it is not in a joint front with the communalists is a sheer eyewash; the bonafides of the Congress cannot be accepted by any one who knows the facts.

Sri Nehru says there should not be any overt or covert action which would directly or indirectly support communal and casteist reaction. What is happening here? One does not have to go very far to see the truth. The call for hartal on the 12th has been given both by the communal forces and the political parties and what is going to take place on that day is joint action of these forces.

In addition, the KPCC Pre-

(Continued on Page 17)

# E.M.S. in Calcutta

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Over two lakhs of people assembled at the Calcutta Maidan to give a rousing reception to Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, when he came here on June 6 to inaugurate the "Kerala Week."

Except for a few very rare occasions this was the biggest gathering witnessed in this city in the past 15 years.

DURING his brief stay here Comrade EMS had a very busy programme. Besides the mass rally, he addressed a Press Conference and a meeting of educationists.

When he arrived by plane in the early morning of June 6, he was given an enthusiastic reception by more than a thousand people who had come to the airport. At several points along the eight-mile route to the Party home, where he put up, he was lustily cheered by hundreds of people. The streets resounded with slogans, like "Comrade EMS Zindabad," "Long live Kerala Government," "Defeat the communalists and reactionaries in Kerala."

Among those present at the airport to receive Comrade EMS were Comrades Jyoti Basu, Eshu Gupta and Promode Dasgupta and leaders of the Marxist Forward Bloc, Sri Amar Basu and Surhid Mallik Chowdhury.

## PRESS CONFERENCE

Comrade EMS firmly told a largely-attended Press Conference held in the morning, that the attitude of the Kerala Government towards the school closure movement launched by the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society (NSS) and the "Deliverance Day" announced by the Kerala State Congress, was one of "cool confidence and utmost preparedness." He further stressed that this confidence was born out of faith in the people of Kerala and of the entire country.

Comrade EMS's informal way, his utter simplicity, his ready repartees and prompt replies even to inconvenient questions, his lucid exposition of the situation in Kerala, his self-confidence—all this created a tremendous impression on the Press correspondents.

Emphasising that public opinion against the school-closure movement had been gathering strength in Kerala in the past few days, he said that the State Congress feared that the movement would fizzle out if left to the Catholic Church and the NSS. So it had warned against adopting a "complacent" attitude.

For over an hour Comrade EMS answered a series of questions relating to issues arising out of the current situation in Kerala.

At the very outset he repudiated a suggestion that he had come to Calcutta out of nervousness at the development in Kerala or to make political capital. He categorically stated that such a question did not arise at all. It was necessary to explain to the people the situation in Kerala, because the issues posed by the agitation there were as important to the rest of India as to Kerala.

Q. "In what way?"

A. "This is the first time when the monopoly of power enjoyed by the Congress had been broken in one

A. "The Congress claims that its movement is 'independent' of the communal school-closure movement. But, in reality, it aims at strengthening the school-closure movement, against which popular opposition has been growing in the past few days."

In this connection he referred to the meeting of Sri Shankar, President of the Kerala PCC, with Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, NSS leader, and the former's press statement in regard to an agreement.

Replying to a query regarding the suspension of arms licences in four districts of Kerala, Comrade EMS pointed out that it was one of the measures to meet the situation in the State. The Government took the step after it had received reports of preparations in these districts to defy law and order in violent manner.

Q. "What's the exact nature of this movement?"

A. "I don't know. Neither do they know. But it appears that the leaders of the movement expect the Centre to intervene after some commotion has been created, because they know that if their hope does not materialise, they will be in a soup."

Asked about the attitude of the Centre in this connection, he said that so far as he knew the Centre would look at the Kerala agitation in the same way as it would at any similar movement in any other State.

Replying to a query whether the Prime Minister had given his blessings to the KPCC's movement, he remarked, "I can't understand how the Prime Minister can countenance a movement to defy law and order in one part of the country."

Referring to the statement of the President of the KPCC that his organisation would start a complete non-cooperation movement against the Government, Comrade EMS pointed out that "complete non-cooperation has its own logic. It should either lead to defiance of law and order or fizzle out."

In reply to a question, he pointed out that the Kerala Government had all along been

trying for adjustments, except on the basic principles of the Education Act. But the Opposition had never gone a step further. They wanted the Government to quit. "We cannot satisfy them on this point. Let them have patience till 1962."

When a correspondent suggested that since the Kerala Government had been returned to power by securing only 35 per cent of the total votes polled, it should make adjustments in the Education Act in the light of opposition criticism, he observed, "If that is argued in case of the Kerala Government, the same yardstick should be applied to several other States where the Congress was installed in power with even much less votes."

Asked whether he would agree to the Education Act being submitted to a referendum, he said that he would do so provided the same procedure was followed in respect of legislation that had evoked criticism in other State.

"I refuse to accept that something should be done in Kerala which is not done in any other State. Why try to experiment in Kerala?", he added emphatically.

Answering a series of questions, Comrade EMS dealt at length with the Kerala Land Reforms Bill and the real character of the Congress agrarian legislation in other States.

He categorically denied the allegation that the Kerala Government was trying to indoctrinate people through textbooks. Of course, the Government had lifted the ban on publications describing the achievements of Communism.

He further pointed out that Kerala was the only State which had prescribed a publication of the Planning Commission as a school text-book.

## MEETING WITH EDUCATIONISTS

Comrade EMS also met a large number of educationists and explained to them the objectives of the Kerala Education Act, its controversial clauses, the nature of the opposition to the measure, the

forces behind it and their real aims.

Over 200 professors of the Calcutta and Jadavpur Universities and Calcutta and mofussil colleges, 50 headmasters and assistant headmasters and 300 teachers of schools in Calcutta and adjoining districts attended the meetings. Sri K. P. Chattopadhyaya, MLC, head of the department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, presided.

Among those present were Prof. Tripurari Chakravarty, PSP MLC and lecturer of the Calcutta University, Sri Amiyabhusan Chakravarty, principal of Bijoygarh College and member of the Calcutta University Senate, Dr. S. Deb, head of the department of Geology, Jadavpur University, Sri Satyapriya Roy, MLC, general secretary of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, Smt. Santa Deb, principal of the Kamala Girls High School, and Comrade Gopal Halder.

## STATEMENT

Almost all the educationists present at the meeting signed a statement, supporting the Kerala Education Act and opposing the school-closure movement. More signatures are being collected.

The statement declares: "Schools are to be maintained and run in the interest of the children of the community. The work of imparting education is undertaken by the teachers. The duty of the Management is to find funds and to see to appointment of qualified teachers and to ensure that they do their work properly."

"Since the State in Kerala is undertaking the entire financial responsibility of school education and laying down uniform qualification rule for teachers and the Public Service Commission will select the panel of names, the Managing Committees will be relieved of the major portion of their burden and responsibility."

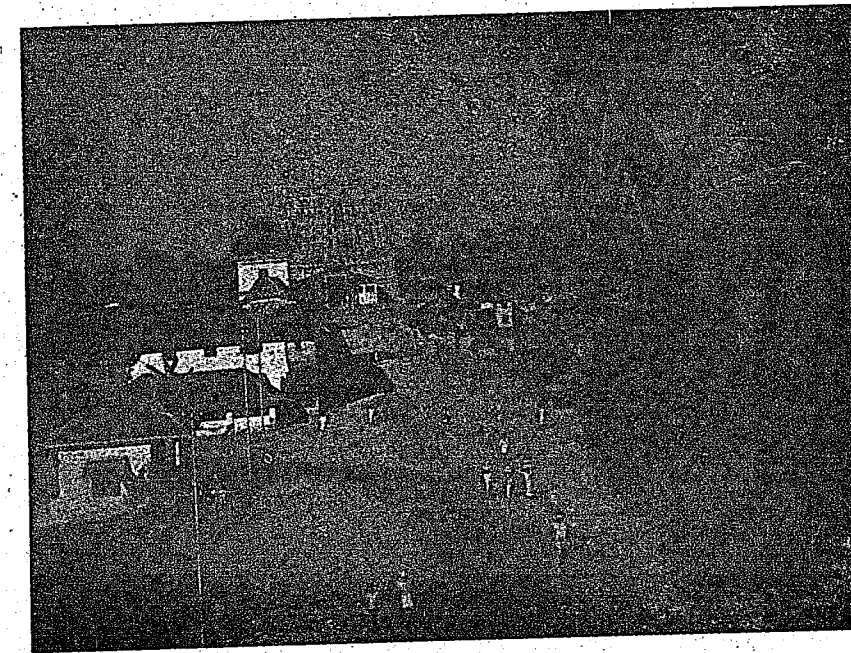
"They should, therefore, welcome this step taken by the Government of Kerala. So far as we are aware the teachers of Kerala have not raised any objections to the Act since their financial interests and conditions of service are rendered secured under this piece of legislation."

"It is true that the Managing Committees will lose their patronage but the cause of education in Kerala has nothing to lose thereby. If at a later date it is found that the Public Service Commission is not rendering justice in its selection of panel of names for appointment, proper representation may then be made."

"For Managers to close down schools in these circumstances is like declaring a lock-out by factory owners on flimsy grounds and will be condemned by all educationists. We hope that good sense will prevail and the threatened closing down of schools will not actually taken place."

"We accord our fraternal support to those who will keep the schools at work, acting in the best interests of education of children in their State."

(SEE CENTRE PAGES)



A view of Trivandrum with the Padmanabhaswamy Temple in the background.



# BACKGROUND TO NAINITAL PARLEYS

## Sampurnanand-Gupta Patch-Up On Agenda

● FROM RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW, June 2.

Ever since the sudden and hasty prorogation of the State Assembly towards the end of March following the resignation of UP Revenue Minister Charan Singh, the leaders of the Congress here as well as in New Delhi have been having a nightmarish time over the developments taking place in this vaulted stronghold of theirs.

FIRST of all, let there be no misconception that the resignation of Sri Charan Singh from the Ministry was based on any principle on either side. The resignation had come as a major step in the factional battle between the Gupta and the Ministerial groups. For many weeks there were rumours of his resignation. Then it was said that the resignation had been submitted—but with the strange request that it be held in abeyance for a couple of weeks to allow the Baraut (Meerut) by-election to the State Assembly to pass off. It was a pathetic spectacle of resigning and yet not resigning!

This play, however, could not go on indefinitely. The whole State was talking and discussing about it loudly and irreverently! As soon as it was finalised, they had to rush with the closure of the Assembly. A number of bills were before it. Some of them would lapse if they were not finalised. There was severe criticism of the move.

### Charan Singh's Charges

But in no case was the Congress leadership prepared to face the Assembly, for, it was said, Sri Charan Singh's resignation letter contained a well-documented indictment of maladministration and corruption even at high places in the Government.

In this very session, a few days earlier, serious charges of corruption had been made against the powerful Home Minister, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi and his son. The Chief Minister himself had accorded at least prima facie recognition to these charges by offering to enquire into them personally. Earlier he would not even bear the mention of the word corruption.

At such a time it can well be imagined what would have been the effect of discussing charges levelled by one who, till only a week before, was a Minister and enjoyed some reputation for elementary integrity and efficiency among the people.

So when the resignation could not be put off any longer, they put off the Assembly itself, hoping that by the time it met again in July perhaps some patch-up would have taken place.

For some time, the Chief Minister and his supporters tried even to give the resignation a political and ideological character. It is known that Sri Charan Singh holds the most reactionary views about agrarian reforms: he was the one who opposed the Nagpur resolution on ceilings on land holdings and cooperative farming most doggedly.

However, to say that that was his individual view which had nothing to do with the understanding of the leading core of the U.P. Ministry would be a hypocritical falsehood. In fact, Sri Charan Singh's views reflected only the general reactionary policy of the pro-vested interests Ministry in the agrarian field. At any rate, they had the full support of the Chief Minister.

### Champions Of Nagpur

The Ministerialists made it appear that they were stout champions of the Nagpur resolution and since Sri Charan Singh was opposed to it he had to go. They announced their adherence to the principle of ceilings on land holdings. They came out as staunch supporters of the cooperative movement, including cooperative farming.

When, in the middle of April, the State Conference of the Communist Party came out with the demand to stop the operations of the scheme for consolidation of holdings and to fix the ceiling between 12½ to 20 acres for a family, the Cabinet tried to respond to the sentiments of the State's people by announcing the stoppage of the consolidation scheme. It also announced its decision to impose ceilings.

But, of course, there was a limit up to which they could play this game. So actually while fixing the ceilings they had to say that 40 acres of land

would be allowed to a family of five. For every additional member of the family, the family would be able to retain at the rate of 13 acres per head extra land upto a limit of 50 acres.

When worked out this amounts exactly to what Sri Charan Singh was preaching. He too was for breaking up big farms. But he wanted to achieve this, as he said, by imposing heavy and graded taxes on land holders. He was against banning transfer for lands. So is the present Ministry. At the most modest estimate tens of thousands of acres of land have been sold or transferred in the State in the last few weeks alone.

To complete the calling off of the bluff, the earlier decision to stop the operations of the scheme of consolidation of land-holdings has also been reversed. Strangely enough this has been done at the instance of Sri Nehru himself who had come out in the open press against the U.P. Cabinet's decision to drop the operations!

In this connection one thing more needs to be noted. As was pointed out in an earlier issue of NEW AGE, the Congress in this State has never felt enthusiastic about the Nagpur resolution. More than four months have passed since that resolution was adopted, but besides using it to beat down their opponents, the leaders of the Congress have not lifted a finger to implement it. On this question there has been perfect, unbroken unity and concord between both the groups. The result is that the Congress organisation in the State remains virtually paralysed.

Further, the studied indifference of the Government and the Congress Party have given a free field to reactionaries of all hues to raise a howl against the Nagpur resolution. The Jan Sangh and

the Hindu Mahasabha have taken full advantage of this situation. They are carrying on a raging campaign in the countryside against ceilings and cooperative farming. They are specially using the slogan of cooperative farming to confuse and frighten the peasantry. The Jan Sangh has declared its intention of forming 11,000 committees in the rural areas to fight against the proposed land reforms.

### Communal Threat

Perhaps, an even worse aspect of this campaign is its obnoxious communal slant. In fact, communal disturbances and even riots are being perfected as serious instruments of struggle against any radical reforms. At the moment we are not dealing with this aspect of the question. But it is necessary to note that precisely as a result of this campaign riots took place in four places in U.P. at the time of the Holi festival.

There is reason to believe that there are at least powerful sections of the Congress who are looking at these ominous developments favourably. They feel their battle is being fought out by the Jan. Sangh.

### Rightist Party

Similarly, the absence of any campaigning by the Congress has been utilised by the reactionary landlords and ex-rulers, like the Raja of Mankapur, to actually form a Rightist Party in the State. They have, the old tricksters, named it the Gram Raj Party. Sri Ranga came down to inaugurate the foundation conference of this Party. The big farm-holders, landlords and the ex-rulers have also trapped Sri S. K. D.

Paliwal to be the Chairman of their Party. That conference was addressed, among others, by two Congress leaders also, one of them an ex-Minister—Sri Kailash Prakash. The other Congress leader, an M.L.A., Sri Sita Ram Shukla moved a resolution proposing that, instead of cooperative farming, we should adopt the Japanese method of cultivation for increasing food production!

The Congress organisation has not even formally expressed its disapproval of this behaviour on the part of two of its important members!

The reply of the Gupta group to the manoeuvres of the Ministerialists, was to use Sri Charan Singh's resignation to lash out ideologically. A resolution was passed by the State Capital's Congress Committee congratulating Sri Charan Singh on his bold and principled stand against maladministration, inefficiency and corruption! To intensify the battle, grand receptions were organised to felicitate Sri Charan Singh wherever he went.

Further, despite the Chief Minister's open opposition, a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee was summoned to be held at Kanpur, one of the strongest bases of the Gupta group, on May 22 and 23. The Ministers were away at Nainital. With malicious glee the Guptaites said, the gentlemen would have to come down in scorching heat to meet their Waterloo! Feverish counting and cornering of votes began again.

It is not necessary to describe in detail with what unsuppressed disgust the people, the conscious people, of the State watched these unedifying developments. To the telling defeats inflicted on the Congress in the by-elections at Bijnor, Banaras and Allahgarh (where a Communist candidate had defeated a Congressman), they added one more resounding defeat, at Baraut in Meerut.

In a straight fight the Congress candidate there, despite long and intensive campaigning by Gupta and Charan Singh, was trounced by about 13 thousand votes! These defeats coming consecutively one after another unnerved the Congress bosses here and at New Delhi.

### Communists Gather Force

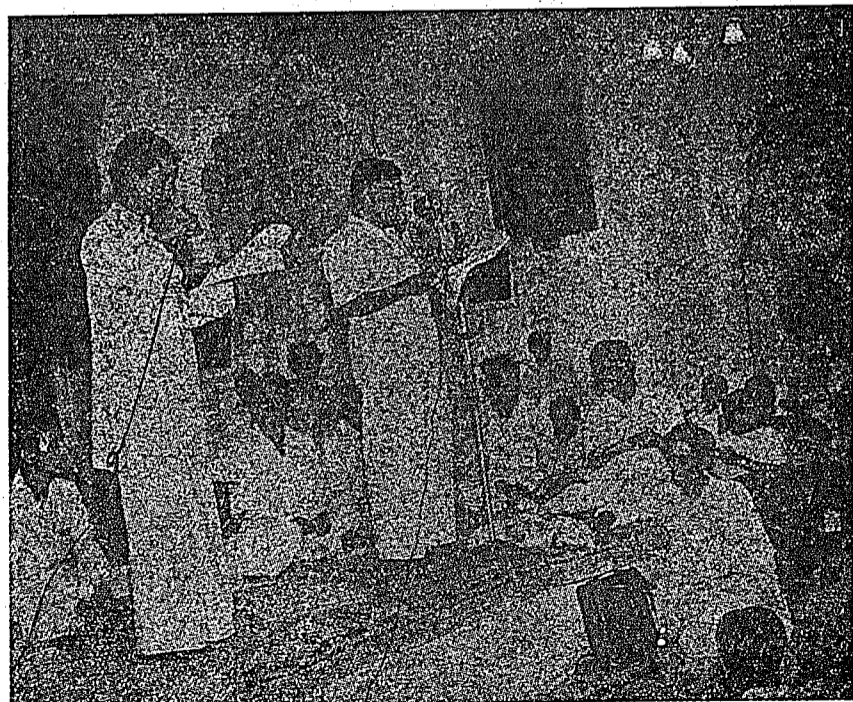
The Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha too had become a force and the Congress bosses could not but sit up and take note of their decision to prepare for and launch local and Statewide struggles on the question of land distribution.

The UPTUC has also entered the arena and is rapidly growing into a force to be reckoned with. It has even entered the sugar mill areas which were so far a preserve of the INTUC and some other small groups.

A sort of polarisation was taking place in U.P. On the one hand the rightists were organising their forces—the communalists, the landlords,

★ ON FACING PAGE

JUNE 14, 1959



Comrade A. K. Gopalan inaugurating the U.P. State Conference of the Communist Party, Lucknow, April 1959.

★ FROM FACING PAGE

### ACCIDENTS AND VICTIMS

the rich traders, the big farm-holders, the ex-rulers, etc.—and, on the other, the progressive and democratic forces were coming together more and more under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha. The PSP and the SP have not ceased to be a force, but, unfortunately, their internal dissensions and specially the dissensions of the PSP have grown even worse. The PSP has shown an increasing tendency to shy away from struggles.

And then there was the prospect of the Corporation elections in the KABAL towns. At long last the Government had announced its decision to hold their elections on July 5, 1959. Sensing the temper of the people, the U.P. Congress announced that 38% of its candidates would be chosen from among non-congressmen. Even then, it realised that if it went into the elections with its present divisions, it was sure to meet with a debacle. And a debacle in the five major cities of the State would damage its prestige beyond repair and would perhaps also prepare the ground for its doom in the 1962 General Elections.

This 'prospect', or rather spectre frightened them all and constitutes the grim background to their frantic efforts to patch up their quarrels.

The mighty Congress High Command at New Delhi, which had so far given a completely free hand to Sri Sampurnanand, was shaken up.

Further, the intractable Sri Sampurnanand too was now in a chastened mood. The last 'decisive' victory too had proved merely pyrrhic. The tide of people's hostility was rising. Gupta the 'iron man', Gupta the go-getter, Gupta the heartless executioner—would not be a bad acquisition at this time! The Guptaites also had got tired of staying in the wilderness. Shorn of power, they were also becoming increasingly shorn of support.

A perfect setting for negotiations for 'unity'. Over the past few weeks a number of meetings have therefore been held here and at Delhi.

To enable these talks to fructify, the PCC meeting which was to have been held at Kanpur was quietly postponed.

The Corporation elections too have been postponed. Suddenly the Congress Ministry became very democratic. In its communique announcing this postponement it said that it was doing so to meet the desire of the Communist Party, the Jan Sangh and the Leader of the Opposition, Sri Triloki Singh who is said to have written a personal letter to the Chief Minister (although the PSP was officially opposed to any postponement!).

Now a meeting of the State Congress Executive is scheduled sometime in the middle of June at Nainital. It has been made known that Sri Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi will also be present at that meeting to help bring the Congress warriors together. Of course, the peace-maker Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim will also be there.

During one of his recent visits to Lucknow, Hafiz Ibrahim told the press: "The quarrel cannot go on for ever. Unity will have to be forged at the time of the elections. Moreover, Sri Chandra Bhanu Gupta has to come into the Government one day or the other. He cannot be always and everywhere losing in the election..."

# LABOUR NOTES

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

increased from 34,17,529 in 1956 to 41,23,510 in 1957, the rate of accident for 1000 workers apparently fell from 18.08 in 1956 to 17.44 in 1957. Accidents resulting in temporary disablement fell from 937 to 1032 during the period 1956 and 1957.

An industrywise study reveals that the rate of accident per 1000 workers has been continually and alarmingly rising in the mines. It was 26.50 in 1954, 31.37 in 1955, 46.76 in 1956 and 18.54 in 1957. The increase in Tramways is from 14.04 to 16.27. But the increase in CPWD has been from 0.59 in 1956 to 4.02 in 1957 and that in Building and Construction has shot up from 4.85 in 1956 to 15.14 in 1957.

The highest number of deaths has been in Factories accounting for 324, closely followed by Railways 232. Fatal accidents in mines were 182 while the miscellaneous group contributed 145 deaths. Building and Construction took a toll of 82 lives.

Permanent disability was highest in the mines, 3595 (or 14.83 per thousand) closely followed by the factories accounting for 2151.

Temporary disablement was highest in factories—33,437. The mines accounted for 10,414 (or 42.96 per 1,000), Railways 11,457, Building and Construction 1,340 and port and docks 1,335.

Distribution of accidents by wage groups reveals that the maximum number of accidents (58.7 per cent) are in the wage group Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. Those below Rs. 50/- account for 26.8 per cent and those between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 200/- and above 200 are 7.1 and 7.4 per cent respectively.

A statewide study of the rate of accidents per 1,000 employees for which compensation was paid reveals that in Punjab the accident rate has increased the highest—from 54.93 in 1956 to 68.82 in 1957. In Bihar the rise is from 16.79 in 1956 to 19.91 in 1957 and West Bengal has recorded a rise from 14.69 in 1956 to 20.19 in 1957. In Bombay it rose from 16.62 to 17.92 in the same period. Accident rate in Kerala went up from 10.41 in 1956 to 16.70 in 1957.

The review indicates that only five states have sent the information as regards the appeals disposed off. They are Andhra, Bombay, Madras, U.P. and West Bengal. The other states have not reported.

Even here when the position of disposing off appeals seems to have improved in U.P. and West Bengal, Andhra lags behind. It had eight cases at the beginning of the year and they remained undisposed till the end of 1957.

The review does not report of any prosecutions launched against the employers. It is evident that the review of the working of the Act in 1957 shows no improvement either in reporting of accidents or in submitting of returns by the employers.

The increase in accidents in the Mines, Railways and

Building and Construction is alarming and needs urgent attention with regard to safety measures and precautions:

### PLANNED DISRUPTION

UST when the Pay Commission is to submit its recommendations and when the Defence Employees shall, along with other Central Government Employees, be called upon to mobilise unitedly for the implementation of favourable recommendations and resist the adverse effects; some of the INTUC leaders have come forward to divide the Defence Employees and have formed a rival 'Indian National Defence Workers' Federation.'

The defence workers have had a bitter and a very costly experience of rival unions and rival Federations, splits and division in their ranks. It was after a great sacrifice that they united into the All-India Defence Employees' Federation in the year 1953. Since then

### LIC EMPLOYEES WIN BONUS

FROM AJAY DASGUPTA

WE have in the past referred to the question of granting bonus to the employees of nationalised Life Insurance Corporation and the long drawn struggle that was being conducted by the All India Insurance Employee's Association. The struggle has now ended in victory for the employees.

After the failure of negotiations in February last due to the miserly attitude of the Corporation and its attempt to divide and disrupt the employees organisation by dangling the bait of one month's pay as bonus to the employees over the head of the Association while it had already rejected the offer, the Association gave a call for preparation of direct action, if the Corporation failed to settle the issue before April 30, 1959.

The preparations were going on briskly when by the end of March, informal approaches were made by some top officers of the LIC to the representatives of the AIEA, which eventually led to formal negotiations between the Corporation authorities and the Negotiating Committee of the Association culminating in signing a Provisional Agreement. The major terms of the agreement are:

(1) The supervisory, clerical and sub-staff (class III and V) of the LIC will get bonus at the rate of 1½ months basic salary per year for the years 1957 to 1961. Those who have served for six months or more will get proportionate amount as bonus.

(2) Apart from cash bonus the employees will be entitled to a term assurance ranging from Rs. 1,500/- to Rs. 8,000/- i.e. if any employee

they cherished and further consolidated their unity and organisation.

To-day they are engaged in defence of their day-to-day interests. They are struggling to get the distinction of industrial and non-industrial employees removed. They are struggling to strengthen Defence Industry and defend it against the attacks of automobile bosses of Private Sector. They are engaged in strengthening the Defence potential of the country when US-backed Pakistan is shooting down our planes.

But for this section of the INTUC all this is of no value. For narrow ends and political motives they are out to sabotage these very aims and struggles of the Defence Employees.

Among those they could collect around themselves are reported to be notorious anti-social elements too.

But the Defence Employees are mobilising in great numbers to fight back this disruption. Large meetings are being held all over the country addressed by leaders of All-India Defence Employees' Federation.

dies during the tenure of his service his heirs or nominees will get the amount specified above. The term will have retrospective effect, i.e. all who have died since the formation of the LIC till signing of the agreement will also get this benefit.

The General Council of the All-India Insurance Employee's Association which met in Calcutta from May 19 to 21, 1959 ratified the provisional agreement fully and wholly as in its opinion this "signifies and embodies a major and significant victory" in principle and materially, not only for the LIC employees, but also for the workers and employees of all public sector undertakings.

It is understood the LIC Central Office has already advised its zonal and divisional offices to prepare bonus pay sheets and to release it as soon as instruction is sent from the Central Office. The General Council (GC) gave a call for contribution to the Union fund at the rate of minimum two per cent of the bonus earnings.

While rejoicing over the victory on bonus for the LIC employees the GC expressed its anxiety at the critical situation in General Insurance Sector. During the period after nationalisation of life insurance more than 30 companies have either closed down completely or closed some of their offices retrenching nearly 1,000 employees out of a complement of 7,000 in the whole of the industry. Drawing the attention of the Government of India at the continued malpractices in the industry, foreign control and monopoly developments, the GC demanded nationalisation of the General Insurance business.



# DOUBLE-FACED STAND OF CONGRESS THREATENS VERY BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

Fifteen Communist MPs from Kerala led by Comrade A. K. Gopalan called on the Prime Minister on June 4 at Ooty. In the course of discussions they personally apprised Sri Nehru of the "explosive situation" developing in their State.

THEY also presented him a memorandum giving the background to the present agitation in the State, initiated by Catholic and Nair communal leaders.

Pointing out that "the opposition is throwing all constitutional practices and methods to the winds and taking the path of subversion and rebellion", the memorandum goes on to state:

The tragedy of the situation is that, in spite of the reported directive of the AICC to the KPCC not to participate directly in the school-closure agitation nor encourage mass picketing of Government schools, Congress Committees and responsible leaders of the KPCC are openly identifying themselves with this agitation and adding to the unrest. Naturally, vested interests who are affected by the agrarian and other progressive legislations of the State Government are being egged on to line up behind these agitation.

The Congress opposition in the State found this a golden opportunity to intensify their struggles against the Government at a time when communal and religious passion is roused. The tactics of the Congress seems to be to utilise this period of acute communal tension in the State in their efforts to come back to power.

The Nair Communal organisation and the Catholic Church missionaries have united against the Government, while other communal organisations of the backward classes like Ezhavas, Pulayars, etc. have pledged support to the Government to see that the communal reservation is kept intact. Reports are also appearing in the press that, in various places, Muslims have held meetings and passed resolutions to see that educational institutions are not tampered with.

This constitutes a dangerous situation which can explode into communal antagonism. Particularly striking are the passages in the Kerala Communist MPs memorandum which make an unsalvageable case against the Congress leaders of the State for their open incitement to violence. They say:

Later on, the Kerala Government introduced other progressive legislations, of which the most important is the Land Bill drafted on the general lines laid down by the Planning Commission. These legislations are against the vested interests of the landed gentry whose voice Sri Mannam is raising. He also opposed the reservation of seats for Backward Classes and Communities which is guaranteed by our Constitution. Kerala is notorious for a rigorous system of caste distinction, which had for centuries kept the non-caste Hindus socially oppressed and backward. The result was the public services remained, till very recent times, virtually the monopoly of caste Hindus and Syrian Christians.

You know very well similar circumstances exist in other States too. Here in Kerala, all the political parties have expressed their opinion that the time has not yet come to remove the reservation of seats in services for backward communities. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan started his anti-Government agitation with the slogan that the reservation system should go. When he found that he has the backing of the Catholic Church and some Congress leaders in the State, he slowly shifted his demands from the removal of the communal reservation to

the overthrow of the Government by every means. The leaders of the Nair Communal group and the Catholic Church have now joined together in a crusade against the Government. The most regrettable consequence of this agitation is that it has sown seeds of communal ill-will in a State which is all too congenial for its flourishing and growth.

princes today. The people here will certainly destroy the royal family of Communists. We are eating rice. We also have knives in our hands. If you funk, if you surrender to them they will build their tower of victory here." (Deepika, May 7, 1959).

Reports are pouring in the press that hectic preparations for the violent overthrow of the Government are going on under the leadership of the Catholic priests. Volunteers are being recruited on a mass scale to conduct this struggle. According to the Catholic paper Deepika, 2½ lakhs of volunteers have been organised in Quilon District and 50,000 in Trichur District. The volunteer force is organised with all necessary transport facilities. The report added that the mobile unit can reach any place and "deal with the situation at the shortest notice".

A PTI report in Kerala Jananatha (organ of the PSP) stated:

"The Archdiocese of Changanacherry has requested volunteers under the Education Council to protect schools if they are opened by force and get ready to be arrested if necessary. In each Council under the Archdiocese, Committees and volunteer crops have to be organised. He had instructed in a circular that every family should set apart one young man to be sacrificed in the struggle. The volunteers should not leave their places if the officials come to open the schools with the orders of the District Collector. When they are arrested, other volunteers should take their place". (Kerala Jananatha, dated May 27, 1959).

On May 24, a public meeting was held in Pullunnoor under the presidency of Monsignor Rainolds. "The meeting was addressed by Fr. Milanios and N. K. Thomas. Big processions came from various areas under the jurisdiction of the Church. A strong volunteer force capable of dealing with any emergency has been formed". (Malayala Manorama, May 30, 1959).

The daily Janayugam reported on May 27: "In Alleppey yesterday a procession took place in which 300 armed men took part under the leadership of the parish of Vattavayal church, Andrew P. Thokkevedu. The procession started from the Church compound. They shouted slogans like "We will spill our blood and fight", "This is not Hungary, this is Kerala, Beware Namboodiri".

Training in the use of weapons, it was reported was being given at night inside the compounds of many churches in Alleppey. The names of these Churches were given.

We have also come to know from press reports and through private sources that regular training in arms is going on every night in the sacred premises of all churches in Changanacherry and in the Palace of the Bishops in Changanacherry. Their plan is to turn the Church into an arm-

oury. In Mundakkayam, 200 volunteers are given training in the use of arms inside the Church. It is reported in the press that these volunteers are given instructions how to paralyse the work of the police and the Government offices and taught how to smash transport buses. (Report in Janayugam, 28-5-1959).

The dual role of the Congress policy in Kerala is more than obvious. On the one hand, Congress leaders here want people to believe that they have no hand in the communal, anti-constitutional agitation of the NSS-Catholic group. But, at the same time, they in their hurry to remove the Communists from office want to utilise the communal agitation fully for their own political ends. In their recent utterances, they are not at all hiding their affinity with the communal and Catholic reactionaries.

When the opposition draw up their plans in the line of a civil disobedience, naturally the police have to step in. The use of force is then condemned, and they demand for enquiry. This is the pattern. As you have stated, the Government need not be afraid of violence of the hooligans. But here comes the violence from the sacred voice of the high dignitaries of the Church, violence from the platform of Nair leaders and violence from the mouth of Congress leaders like Panampally Govinda Menon, P. S. George, and others.

Two days ago, in Quilon a toddy shop was set fire to by a group of armed persons. A clash took place and two persons are in hospitals now. It is reported that a group of persons came from a Church and attacked the toddy tappers. The tappers who are Ezhavas thought that the Christians are attacking them and setting fire to the toddy shops. Now this can lead to a serious communal situation.

An idea of the "struggle" envisaged can be had from the fact that its organisers have openly and repeatedly declared that not only will their own schools be closed down, but Government schools, and such other private schools as may be opened by their managers, will be forced to close down.

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan made this clear in his statement made to the press at Trivandrum on May 28. It is significant that Sri Mannath made this statement in the presence of prominent Congress leaders like Messrs. K. P. Pillai, Gopinatha Pillai, Congress MLA, and Cheriyan Kappan.

In all the recent public receptions held to welcome Nair Communist Mannath Padmanabhan, prominent Congress leaders are found scattered in the platform flanking the self-styled "Commander-in-Chief" of the "liberation struggle".

Congress MLAs address the meetings where Sri Mannam make violent speeches. Congressmen identify themselves with this school closure agitation. They sit on the same rostrum and nod their heads when Sri Mannam declares: "The Nair shall rule Kerala".

In his speech at Neyyattinkara, Sri Mannam declared, "All Communists should remain as mere specta-

tors of the people's march. Beyond a certain limit it is not possible to do so. Nor is it possible simply to watch and permit one school opening and functioning while another school remains closed". (Deepika, 28-5-1959).

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## PARTY NEWS

were being used to further the interest of the ruling party. Representatives of the opposition parties are kept out even from committees formed under these schemes.

During the last two or three years a tremendous eviction drive against thousands of peasants in several districts of Tamilnad has taken place. The report noted the blatant postponement of the land reform measures.

Kaleswara Mills in Coimbatore and many other factories remained closed down due to the refusal of the Government to intervene, resulting in untold suffering to thousands of workers. Even as the Conference was going on at Karaikkudi, nearly 25,000 workers of the Harvey Textile belt in Madurai, Tuticorin and Vikramasingapuram were experiencing a closure by an arrogant employer who wanted to thrust an increased workload.

The Government refuses to intervene and also refuses to put before the public the colossal profits and wastage in administrative expenses which the Trade Union movement was able to bring out in the course of a recent enquiry.

Similar is the position of the Indian Express newspaper employees who had been locked out for the last 40 days and face starvation. Yet the Government stands by the Press baron Sri Ramnath Goenka and pleads inability to intervene.

Some instances were brought to light of police intimidation and even of torture in the course of these two or three years. Cases have been launched against hundreds of workers, especially those of the Communist Party, with a view to handcuff and crush legitimate and lawful trade union and Kisan struggles.

Even today 15 long-term Communist prisoners continue to be kept in jail custody for the last nine years and amnesty is refused to them. Prices of food articles are going up; unemployment is on the increase even according to the Government figures. Recent taxation measures, falling mainly on the working people, have also embittered feelings considerably. Discontent is mounting and the people wanted a democratic alternative to this Government.

The attack of right reaction against any land reform whatever and taking exception even to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress, an attack in which Rajaji was playing a leading part, also had to be countered strongly.

Yet another important issue among the Tamil people was the language controversy in which anti-Hindi and pro-

That the Congress is losing its influence among the people was amply demonstrated in the recent Panchayat Board elections and especially in the Municipal elections in which the Congress Party lost its position as the ruling party in the Corporation of Madurai and in important Municipalities of Madurai and Coimbatore. Congress Party was able to secure an outright majority in 19 out of the 49 Municipalities only.

### Distressing Feature

One of the distressing features in the political background of Tamilnad the report pointed out was the use of caste divisions and caste animosities for political purposes by almost every Party, other than the Communist Party, which spells considerable danger for the unity of the democratic movement.

In this background it was to be regretted that the DMK was stressing before the people the claim for a separate sovereign, independent State and was ascribing all the difficulties of the Tamil people exclusively to the 'North Indian domination.' These slogans of the DMK diverted the attention of the people from seeing their common oppressors not only in Tamilnad but throughout India.

This is standing in the way of a great united movement of the people, irrespective of caste, creed or political affiliation to defeat the reactionary policies of the Congress Government.

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Yet another important issue among the Tamil people was the language controversy in which anti-Hindi and pro-

English propaganda had to be properly and patiently countered.

The political report recorded that in a complex political situation the Communist Party has made a considerable advance, especially if we recall the set-back it had at the time of the last general elections. The membership of the Party has increased more than three fold to 20,000. The Party is issuing a big Tamil daily in two editions now and is also editing a cultural literary monthly.

It heads the biggest trade union movement in the State and also is the leader of the growing kisan movement. Nearly thousand cadres of the Party up to the Taluk level have had the first course of education in Party policy. More than 3,000 members of the Party or close supporters were elected in the recent Panchayat Board elections, the biggest number being in the Tanjore District.

In the Municipal elections the Communist Party considerably increased its strength in the City Councils. Coimbatore has now a Communist Municipal Chairman, while the Party is the single biggest disciplined force in the Madurai Municipality.

The report, at the same time, nailed down the great weakness of the Party among the women, the students, and generally among the middle-class, both in the towns and in the countryside.

The great task facing the Party in Tamilnad was to increase considerably its own independent strength and simultaneously to rally all people irrespective of their political affiliations and unite them in struggle for common democratic objectives.

The main political report was supplemented by reports of Comrade P. Ramamurti on the trade union movement and of Comrade Manali Kandasamy on the kisan movement.

\* SEE PAGE 16



Comrade B. T. Ranadive speaking at the mass rally. Sitting beside him is Comrade M. R. Venkatraman.

## CONFERENCE IN TAMILNAD

221 delegates out of 236 representing 20,000 members of the Communist Party met in a six-day session from May 26 to 31 in the Fifth Provincial Conference of the Party in Tamilnad.

THE conference was held at Karaikkudi in Ramnad District. On the opening day a Red Flag carried for 45 miles from Manamudurai where the Party was first started years ago in Ramnad District, was received by the delegates on the outskirts of Karaikkudi town. From there all the delegates and volunteers marched in an impressive procession to the Conference pandal.

Comrade M. R. Venkatraman, Secretary of the Tamilnad Party, unveiled a memorial to the martyrs at the entrance to the venue of the conference, which was housed in a spacious, specially erected pandal named after the late Comrade Paridasan, beloved leader of the people of the area.

The proceedings opened with flag hoisting by Comrade B. T. Ranadive who recalled that the area of the conference was renowned even from the last century as the scene of anti-British revolts of the peasants and stressed that this fighting tradition was being carried forward by the Party in the service of the people.

Visitors had been invited for the morning session on the opening day when a Presidium consisting of Comrades V. P. Chintan, A. S. K. Ayyangar, S. A. Thangaraj, S. Alagirisamy and Sri. Papa Umanath, was unanimously elected to conduct the deliberations of the conference. With homage to the martyrs and music rendered by Comrade M. B. Srinivasan and Pavalar Varadarajan the morning session concluded.

In the afternoon Comrade Ajoy Ghosh inaugurated the conference. He explained how

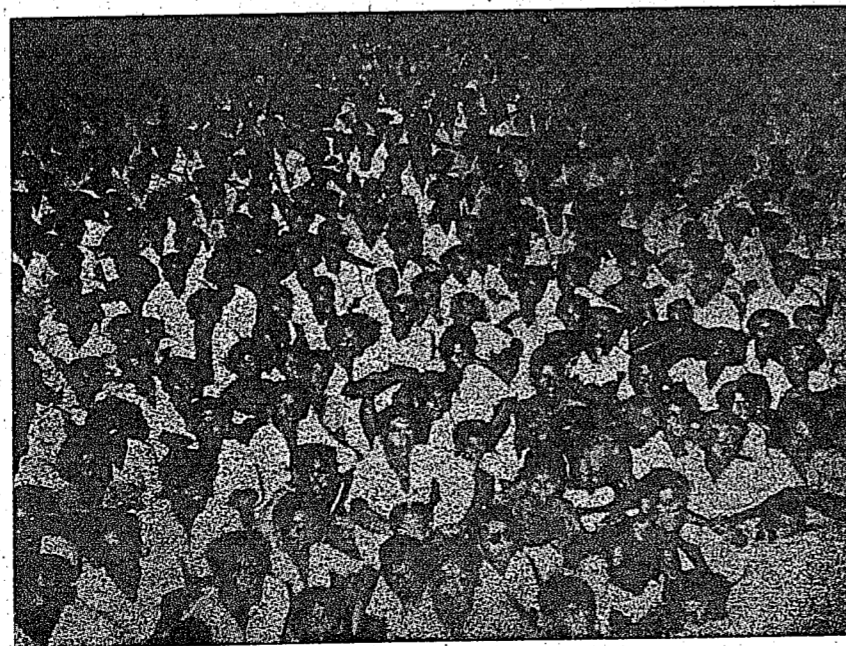
the independent foreign policy of the Government of India was sought to be changed in a reactionary direction as disclosed by recent events and called for the vigilance of the Party to counter this firmly.

The recent attack being mounted on democratic rights in this country, as significantly brought to the fore by the hostile attitude of the Congress Party to the Kerala Government, also came in for his sharp criticism. Conveying the greetings of the Central Secretariat and the Central Executive of the Party for a successful conference and the further strengthening of the Party in Tamilnad he exhorted the Party members to carry forward firmly the struggle of the people for democratic rights and for a better life.

### Political Report

Comrade M. R. Venkatraman, presented the political report of the State Committee. The report indicated how the living conditions of workers, peasants, middle-class intelligentsia had further deteriorated in the last three years in Tamilnad thanks to the policies being pursued by the Congress Government. Notwithstanding the tall claim made on behalf of the ruling Party so far as the rural areas are concerned it is only the landlords and the richer sections who had benefited primarily from Community Development and National Extension Schemes.

The very administrative cost of the schemes accounted for more than 50 per cent of the expenditure, which



A section of the 50,000-strong rally at Karaikkudi held to explain decisions of the Tamilnad Party Conference.



# E.M.S. ASKS NEHRU NOT TO CONFUSE COMMUNALISM FOR 'UPSURGE'

Addressing the two-lakh Calcutta rally on June 6 Kerala's Chief Minister Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad thoroughly exposed the communal reactionary character of the so-called upsurge in Kerala. "I can tell you with confidence", he said, "that if there is the so-called upsurge to which the Prime Minister refers, there is an equally powerful upsurge of the common people in support of the Government of Kerala". This upsurge EMS said was "the biggest in the history of Kerala". Voicing confidence that all democratic-minded people and democratic sections of all political parties will come out powerfully against this conspiracy to remove the first, and so far the only, non-Congress Government in India, EMS said, "I am quite confident that with this support of the democratic movement in the entire country and on the basis of the big mass upsurge in Kerala itself, we will be able to defeat this game".

## SPEECH AT CALCUTTA RALLY

Following are extracts from Comrade EMS's Calcutta speech :

**SISTERS and Brothers,**

A few months after we assumed office, I had the opportunity to come here and meet you and talk to you about the programme that we propose to carry out in Kerala. Now I come here when we have already started implementing many of those things about which I had referred to you then.

For example, we are in the midst of adopting the Land Reforms Bill which has reached the last stages of adoption in the Legislative Assembly. In the course of the next three or four days, the consideration of the Land Reform Bill will be over, and we hope within a week's time all the

stages of that legislation inside the legislature will be over and the bill will go to the President for assent.

I have today to speak to you on something more immediate, something more urgent. That, as Comrade Jyoti Basu has explained to you, is the danger to the very existence of our Government. There are lots of movements organised by various sections of the people, all of which are sought to be channelised into one movement to overthrow our Ministry.

This movement to overthrow our Ministry has been described by Prime Minister Nehru in his statement, as a

big upsurge of the people. I do not know exactly what Prime Minister Nehru means when he speaks of 'upsurge'.

I do not want to enter into a controversy with him as to what constitutes a people's 'upsurge'. I want to tell you what are the characteristic features, what are the elements of this so-called mass upsurge in Kerala. Who are the people who are creating and leading the 'upsurge'? What are the methods that they want to adopt and what are their objectives? Of these and other things I would just give you a brief description and we leave you to judge as to whether this is a people's upsurge or something else.

and whose leader Mannath Padmanabhan was an ardent supporter of the Education Bill when it was first introduced and when it was being debated in the legislature.

Representing as he does the big Nair landlords, he is determined to oppose the Land Bill and in this campaign he goes about saying that this Land Reforms Bill is an attack on the Nairs, it is not wanted by anybody in Kerala.

Here again the question arises—is this a communal and casteist stand which the Prime Minister denounces in general or is it an element of the mass upsurge?

And what about the political parties? Firstly, of course, there is the Congress. Secondly there is the P.S.P. Thirdly the R.S.P. and fourthly the Muslim League. What is the stand which all of these political parties are taking? I would like to explain briefly this point.

So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has not so far come out either in favour or against this liberation movement. It has certainly come out against the school-closure movement, but so far as the question of removal of the Communist Government is concerned, it has not come out openly.

So far as the P.S.P. and R.S.P. are concerned, they too are recruiting volunteers and they, it is said, propose to start a political struggle, the form of which will be mass obstructive picketing of all

Government offices in the State.

I do not know whether Prime Minister Nehru endorses that programme nor do I know whether he will endorse such a programme if it is done in Congress provinces by the opposition parties in those States.

### Political Parties

Now, lastly, comes the Congress. It, too, has now declared that it is going to launch a mass action. At first, they had thought of and announced that it would be a direct action and it was with that idea that they went to Ooty for consultation with the Prime Minister and other leaders of the All-India Congress, but probably because of considerable pressure from Ooty, they have come back and changed the name of their movement from direct action to mass movement and added the words "peaceful and non-violent."

But in that very statement in which the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee made this announcement, he stated that this mass movement would begin with a hartal and would go step by step into all forms of non-cooperation with the Government. He did not elaborate what are the terms of the non-cooperation movement, but casually and informally various Congress leaders in Kerala are saying that this non-cooperation will ultimately lead even to a no-

tax campaign and some Congress leaders are already asking the people of Kerala not to contribute to the Small Savings campaign or to the national loan, which as you know are important constituents for the financing of the Plan.

It is an irony of fate that at the very time when the Prime Minister is making calls on the people for cooperation in the implementation of the Plan, at the very time when special seminars are being conducted to discuss the question of people's cooperation in the implementation of the Plan, his own party in Kerala, where unfortunately or fortunately for them it is not their party that is carrying out the Plan, is not only refusing to cooperate but positively obstructing the implementation of the Plan by their launching of this non-cooperation movement.

Why is the Congress taking such an attitude? Why are the P.S.P. and R.S.P. taking such an attitude? It is obvious that they have not reconciled themselves to the results of the last general elections. They cannot conceive of the fact that they have failed to win a majority in the legislature in the election.

So far as the R.S.P. is concerned, they did not get a single seat and so far as the P.S.P. is concerned, it got on the whole nine seats but out of which two seats they got because our Party had supported them in order to secure the defeat of the most noto-

rious Congress leaders. So out of nine seats they got two seats with our support and four of the remaining seven, even they agree, they would not have dreamt of getting without the support of the Muslim League. The result is that at most they can claim to have on their own three seats out of 126 seats.

Pattom Tharu Pillai believes that he is born to become the Chief Minister of Kerala for all times and he could not imagine anybody else, be he a Congressman or R.S.P. or a Muslim Leaguer or, of course, a Communist becoming a Chief Minister or some other minister.

So far as the Congress is concerned, they cannot reconcile themselves to the defeats they have been receiving at the hands of the people of Kerala. In 1952 they fought and lost, in 1954, they fought and lost and in 1957 also they fought and lost and I am sure they will lose more heavily in 1962. But they cannot reconcile to this fact.

### They Dare Not Wait

I would put a simple question to the Prime Minister. Why can't he ask his followers to wait for another two-and-a-half years? If he and they are so confident that the people of Kerala are more and more turning against the Government of Kerala, then it is certain that at the next general election, we will be

heavily defeated.

After all, this is what the Congress itself advises us, the Communists, in the rest of the country. They tell us that the results of the periodical elections, once in every five years, are so sacred that every party which has been defeated or has won the elections, should wait patiently till the next elections.

They are not prepared to do it for the simple reason that they know they cannot afford to wait. They know very well that if they wait for two-and-a-half years, there is no chance at all in Kerala for them.

They know very well what will be the result of the Education Act that is going to be implemented. They know very well what is going to be the result of the Land Reform Bill, that is going to be passed and implemented, whether they like it or not. They know very well what will be the results of the Panchayat Bill and the District Council Bill which will be passed and implemented. They know very well what will be the results of the Industrial Relations Bill which has just been introduced in the Legislature.

They know very well what will be the results of the various other legislations and executive measures which our Government is carrying out.

The result of these, they know very well, will be that the back of the vested interests in the rural and urban areas will be, if not broken, at least bent. That being so, they know very well that there will be a real people's upsurge, a real upsurge of the real people of the State.

And this upsurge, it will be very difficult for even a combination of the Congress,

P.S.P., Muslim League, R.S.P. and the Catholic Church to resist. Under these circumstances, they know very well that Kerala is lost to them for ever and it is just to prevent this that they want somehow or other to launch some form of direct action or other and create chaos and turmoil and say that law and order has broken down and in the name of that, get the Centre to intervene.

It is this that is their game but I am sure that the people of Kerala with the support of the democratic people in the rest of the country will be able to defeat this game.

### People Roused

I want to assure you that during the last two weeks a big movement has been rising against the movement launched by the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the opposition political parties. I have myself witnessed several demonstrations and rallies in connection with the conferences of the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party. It has been unprecedented in the history of Kerala.

Now it happens that in the Congress and other papers outside Kerala, the big meetings that have been arranged for Sri Mannath Padmanabhan are reported and this is taken as an indication of the fact that there is a very big upsurge against the Government of Kerala.

At the same time, those papers miss the big rallies and demonstrations which have been organised by the Communist Party, trade

unions and kisan sabhas and the teachers organisations, and even the organisations of the scheduled castes and backward communities—all these rallies and demonstrations have been the biggest in the history of Kerala.

Having seen all these, I can tell you with confidence that if there is the so-called upsurge to which the Prime Minister refers, there is an equally powerful upsurge of the common people in support of the Government of Kerala.

And I am glad to notice from what little contact I have with the democratic movement outside Kerala that all democratic-minded people and democratic sections of all political parties will come out powerfully against this conspiracy to remove the first, and so far the only, non-Congress Government in India.

There is also another factor about which I want to tell you, and that is the forces that are ranged against us, though they are powerful—the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the great and powerful Congress organisation and of course the other political parties—and look very powerful—they are actually with thin feet.

They are ridden with internal differences and contradictions. There is not one single issue of importance to the people of Kerala or for the people of India as a whole on which the Congress, the P.S.P., the R.S.P., the Muslim League, the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society are united.

On the Land Reforms Bill, on the Education Act, on the Panchayat and District Coun-

\* ON PAGE 18

## WHO ARE THESE CRUSADERS ?

The leader of this so-called people's upsurge is the Catholic Church. When we say that it is the Catholic Church that is behind this movement, you may doubt it.

I want to draw your attention to a pastoral letter issued by all the Bishops and Archbishops of Kerala in which they have warned all the Catholics in Kerala about the impending implementation of the Education Act and which they say is a danger to Catholic religion and, having warned them about all this, they call upon the Catholics to resist and in the course of their call to resist, they say that those who die in the battle for this cause, will have a place assured in Heaven.

### Catholic Church

The Catholics, as you know, comprise 16 to 22 per cent of the population in Kerala and it is these Catholic masses who have been roused on the basis of religious sentiments, who have been warned about the so-called danger to their religion, danger to their schools, danger to their conscience, to their children, and then called upon to recruit volunteers, for which they say that every Catholic family must contribute one volunteer to die for the cause.

I remember very well the several occasions when Pandit Nehru has unequivocally condemned such appeals to religion and such mixing of religion and politics. Probably those were occasions on which

religion was utilised against the Congress. Now however this is a case when the Catholic clergy is using the religious sentiments of their people against the Communist Government. I leave it to you to judge whether this is an element of people's upsurge or something else.

Let me make it clear in this connection that this Education Act does not make any attack on the Catholic religion or any other religion. What it does is only to attack the autocratic behaviour of the school managers, whether those school managers are secular people or the clergy, whether the clergy belongs to the Catholic church or to other Christian churches or to other religions.

This Act only controls the activities of the managers as it is bound to do and as is being done in every other State of India. For example, let me quote the Act of the Andhra State where they have almost taken over all the private schools in the State. I have recently been in the Punjab, where the Congress Government proposes to nationalise the schools.

Recently in Madras too, because the Government there introduced certain amount of control over education and prohibited the managers from collecting fees from the primary classes, the managers have threatened to close down the schools in the same way as in Kerala.

But in Andhra, Madras, Punjab, all these actions of the Government and opposition to it of the managers do

not take on a political character as it does in Kerala.

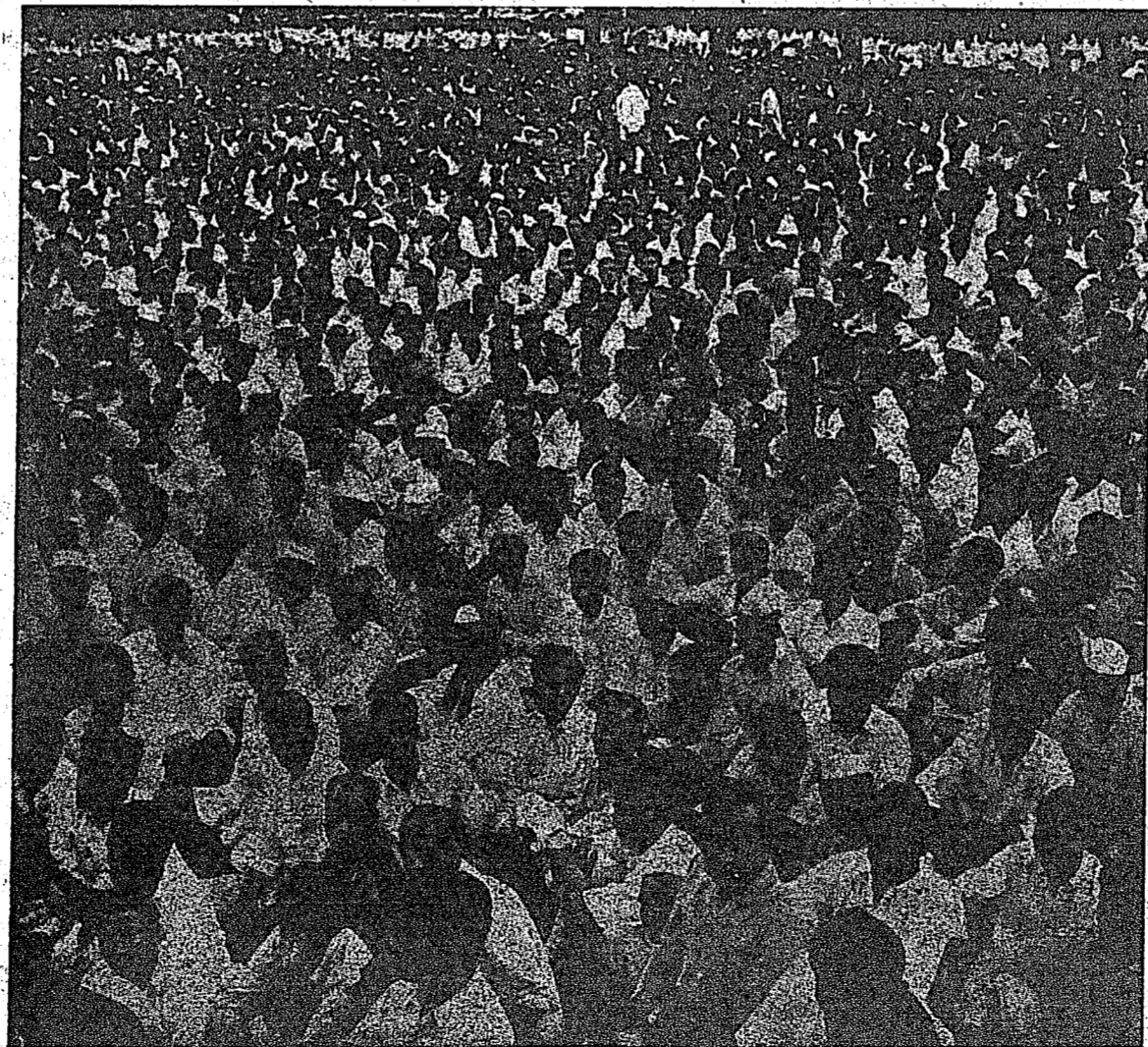
The Prime Minister in his statement denounces communalism and casteism. He also calls for peaceful methods. All that is very good. But the point is not that communalism and casteism in general is bad—on that everybody agrees—as a matter of fact it is the worst communalists and casteists who denounce communalism and casteism most loudly.

What is the attitude of the Prime Minister, what is the attitude of the Congress as an organisation to the open call to the religious sentiments made in the pastoral letter of the Bishops and Archbishops of Kerala? Does the Prime Minister, does the Congress as an organisation endorse the efforts by the Bishops and Archbishops of Kerala to introduce religious into politics in this way? Today the churches are being used to recruit volunteers and they will use all these volunteers to create tension in the State of Kerala.

This is the question which unfortunately the Prime Minister does not answer.

### Nair Service Society

Apart from the Catholic Church, there is the organisation which is called the Nair Service Society. Its very name implies that it is a communal organisation. It is the organisation of the Nairs and this organisation now runs down not only the Education Act but also the Land Reforms Bill,



Rally at Bombay

## Secularism At Stake

—Says Jyoti Basu

LONG before the mass meeting at the foot of the Monument started processions of workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people of Calcutta and of the adjoining districts converged at the Maidan. The Malayalee residents of the city also brought out a colourful procession.

When Comrade EMS appeared on the big dais, a thunderous ovation from the massive gathering greeted him.

He was then garlanded on behalf of the West Bengal State Council and the Calcutta District Council of the Party and several institutions and mass organisations.

Comrade Jyoti Basu, who presided over the rally, explained the significance of the "Kerala Week" and said that hundreds of meetings would be held all over West Bengal in course of the next seven days.

He further pointed out that the Central Party leadership's decision to observe the Week was not a sign of "weakness" of the Kerala Government. It was intended to explain to the masses of people throughout the country that what was happening in Kerala today was not the concern of Kerala alone. Democracy, parliamentary methods and the ideal of a secular State were at stake there. He asked Pandit Nehru to

give a bit of thought over the results that would follow if the "Opposition in other States pursued the same methods as had been adopted by his Party in Kerala.

He declared that he was confident that Comrade EMS would go back from the rally with the supreme confidence that the people of West Bengal stood by the Kerala Government.

Addressing the vast multitude, which heard him with rapt attention and frequently interrupted his one-hour speech with loud acclamations, Comrade EMS rebutted Prime Minister Nehru's claim that the movement was a "people's upsurge?"

When Comrade E.M.S. concluded his speech, Comrade Jyoti Basu moved a resolution which strongly condemned the activities of the communal organisations and opposition parties in Kerala and appealed to all patriotic and democratic people to stand solidly by the Communist-led Ministry and to extend it every sympathy and support in its endeavour to defend the cause of education, democracy and progress.

"The meeting emphatically states that the present movement against the Communist-led Government in Kerala, is inspired by the worst exploiters of the people. These exploiters have gone wild at the progressive measures already adopted or proposed to

be adopted by the Communist-led Ministry.

"In their desperation, the vested interests and the political forces patronized by them have thrown overboard all decent norms of public life and chosen the methods of communalism and incitement of violence. In fact, they are attacking the very foundations of our Parliamentary and democratic institutions. Theirs indeed is a most naked challenge not only to the right of non-Congress Ministry to function but also to the larger cause of democracy and progress.

"This meeting, therefore, strongly condemns this totally undemocratic and violent offensive against the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala, which continues to function by the will of the people and under the constitution. "Indeed, growing popularity of this Ministry and the selfless devotion to the cause of the people have today angered the vested interests and the political parties under their influence."

The resolution was passed with spontaneous acclamation from every corner of the vast gathering.

After the meeting was over, two huge processions were taken out, one to the northern parts of the city and the other towards the southern parts.



# NON-COOPERATION BASED ON FICTITIOUS GROUNDS

C. Achutha Menon's Reply To KPCC President

TRIVANDRUM, June 6:

I could read only with deep sorrow and regret the statement of the KPCC President announcing the decision of the Kerala Congress to launch a non-cooperation movement till the Communist Government is removed from office and calling for observance of a "Day of Deliverance" on June 12 with a State-wide hartal. I wish to point out that the reasons given in the statement for such a step are based on false and fictitious grounds, states Comrade C. Achutha Menon, Finance and Home Minister in the Kerala Government in course of a statement. The statement further reads:

It is true that a section of private school managers are opposed to the control and restrictions imposed on them by the Education Act. It is also true that the big landlords are agitated over the Agrarian Relations Bill. Some contractors are angry because of the policy of the Kerala Government of promoting and encouraging the co-operative movement.

Such sections of the people are opposed to the Government. But I do not know how a movement launched by them can be characterised as a popular movement!

At the outset I may point out that it is not a fact that a majority of managers of private schools are likely to close down their institutions. According to the decisions of the Private School Managers' Association, only about 14 per cent of them have till now notified the Government about the intention of closing down schools.

Yet Sri Sankar says that the agitation started by them is a popular movement and a political struggle worth the support and sympathy of the Congress since the Congress also wants to remove the Communists from power.

We are, however, glad that at least now the Congress has taken a definite stand that those who desire to open their schools should not be prevented from doing so, since that will lead to a conflict. But we have yet to know whether the leaders of the school closure campaign are prepared to accept the advice of the Congress.

In spite of the reported mandate of the AIOC to the Kerala Congress to keep aloof from the school closure movement and picketing, the present stand of the KPCC President seems to be one of tacit support to the school closure agitation. It is clear that the Congress has timed its plan of action with that of the leaders of the school closure agitation.

May I hope that if they, despite the advice of the Congress, take to picketing and other direct action to force the schools to close down, the Government will have the support of the Congress in the measures that the Government will be obliged to take to remove all obstructions in the way of the normal functioning of schools?

The claim of the KPCC President that the Communist Government has lost the mandate of the people to rule the country is not borne by facts. If elections are any indication of the will of the people in a democratic set-up, the panchayat and municipal elec-

municipal elections held in the adjoining Madras State and yet does not think it has lost the mandate of the people to rule in Madras, has the cheek to accuse the Kerala Government that it has lost the confidence of the people!

Moreover in a parliamentary democratic set-up where there is no provision for the electors to recall the elected, the validity of the mandate is tested when a general election is held after the termination of the period given to the elected Government by our Constitution.

## PLAN FULFILMENT

I am surprised to read the KPCC President's charge that the present Government has neglected developmental activities under the Plan. The reality as facts and figures will prove is that no other previous Government in this State has bestowed so much

attention to fulfil the Plan and taken concrete steps to enlist people's cooperation in developmental activities, despite the continuous political tensions and unhelpful attitude of the Congress.

It is worth mentioning that in Kerala the target of the third year of the Second Plan have been overfulfilled in certain departments, and Kerala's over-all fulfilment will perhaps be the highest (roughly 94 per cent) in the whole of India.

It is unbecoming of the KPCC President to make such wild and false charges like interference of the Kerala Government in the preparation of electoral rolls, which has "driven the people to a corner," and forced the Congress to deviate from the "normal path of the constitutional agitation." This charge, however, is not new. The Government has replied to this charge several times in the Assembly and in the Press.

It is known to all that the

Central Election Commission came to Kerala and conducted investigations and found that the electoral rolls were prepared without irregularities. The repetition of a charge disproved by investigation by a competent authority like the Election Commission can only be with the intention of misleading the people.

The KPCC President has expressed the fear that Communist supporters will resort to "street fight." I can only say on behalf of the Government that nobody will be allowed to take the law into their own hands and the Government is prepared and determined to take all measures necessary against attempts to disturb peace and security in the State.

It is as a part of such measures to prevent outbreaks of violence as threatened by the leaders of the so-called "people's" movement that the Government is utilising its authority to seek normal methods of strengthening the police force. The people will accuse us of endangering the security of the State if the Government fails to take the normal preventive measures.

I only appeal to the patriotic people of the State not to get provoked by attempts of interested parties to disturb peace and security of the State.

# CONGRESS COMPLICITY WITH COMMUNALISTS

\* FROM PAGE 9

be hated like lepers. In my opinion, not a single Communist can be admitted in any house. They will destroy temples, churches and mosques in this country. I regret very much that mothers of this place did not give birth to men who are capable of flogging Communists in the street.... There is no way other than dragging them by their legs and hurling them on the ground.... Our Puranas tell us how to deal with them".... (Kerala Janatha, 30-5-1959).

Immediately after this speech, Sri T. O. Bava, a prominent Congress MLA rose to his feet and addressed the gathering. Another Congress MLA Melethu Gopinatha Pillai, followed him and said: "It is a national demand of Kerala that this liberation struggle be launched under the leadership of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan" (Kerala Janatha, 30-5-1959). Not only do the Congress leaders speak in meetings organised by communalists and Catholics, but the Congress, as an organisation actively prepares for the "Operation Overthrow".

Saying that circulars and instructions are going to Congressmen from Mandal Congress Committees to take part in the struggle. The memorandum gives as an instance the text of a printed circular letter issued by the Secretary of the Kadappa Mandal Congress Committee on 21-5-1959 which inter alia states:

"The struggle for liberation from the Communists which starts on the First of June is a life and death issue for all democrats. If we do not succeed in this democracy is going to be buried here for ever. So we have to realise the seriousness of the time and act. We who belong to Kadappa

Mandal also have to do our part."

This, however, is not an isolated instance. In Kottayam District Kanjirappally Mandal Congress Committee issued a circular (No. 459) on May 5, to all Ward Committees and members of Panchayat Congress Party, signed by its President K. D. Antony. The circular said that a violent storm of political communal and sectional forces is brewing in Kerala. "It is our task to unite the forces rising out of communal and social thoughts into a single force and lead them forward".

Indian Express reported on May 29 that the parents and guardians of the local Christian Schools of Tellicherry met on May 27 and decided not to send their children to any school till the managers of those schools reopen them. The resolution on this decision was moved by Sri Kinathi Narayanan and T. Narayanan Nambiar spoke. Both of them are prominent Congress leaders of Malabar. Sri Narayanan Nambiar was a Congress candidate for Lok Sabha in the last general elections.

In this way, the press and the public will bear witness to the fact that today the line dividing the Congress and communalists in Kerala has been fully obliterated. Next, the memorandum passionately argues against this dangerous intrusion of religion into politics. It draws attention to the resolution against communal politics moved in the Constituent Assembly in April 1948 by the present Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

It recalls the eloquent speeches made by the Prime Minister himself against the "alliance of religion and politics" and its "most abnormal kind of illegitimate breed." Yet, Congressmen in Kerala do not appear to be aware of all this and have thrust aside these warnings of their own leader.

The pastoral letter of the 16 Catholic Bishops of Kerala shows how religion is dictating terms to the Government of a secular state and threatening to paralyse public education. The Catholic organ Deepika in an editorial on April 29 says:

"To run schools as at present and given instructions to students with the Government-prescribed text books, would be a deed against religion, society and the country. We need not have any respect for a law which is unjust." In the name of religion, they are inciting people to break the established law of the country.

## CHARGE-SHEET BUSINESS

It is in this inflammable situation that the Kerala Congress has decided to draw up its so-called "Charge-sheet" against the Communist-led Ministry. It is interesting to see the Kerala Congress leaders straining at this frame-up while their friends in other States have shown remarkable aptitude for brushing aside charges against their Congress Ministries not only by Opposition but also by their own Party-men. (As you know there is nothing new in such charge-sheets. You yourself had received such charge-sheets from groups of Congressmen against Congress Ministries in former T.-C. State).

The "Charge-sheet struggle" here now is timed to synchronise with the communal and religious movement in the State. The "Charge-sheet" comes at the time when an "operation overthrow" is being planned. A secret seven-man council is now giving final touches to it.

The "Charge-sheet struggle" is being launched at a time when Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the first Dictator of the "liberation struggle" re-

fuses to divulge his plan of action and calls it a "secret" as he did when he met foreign correspondents at Changannacherry recently. It is reported that the first dictator will assume command of the "liberation struggle" on June 15. The second will succeed him in the event of his arrest. But in the names of successive dictators are kept secret. Under the "dictators" there are "lakhs of volunteers who are prepared for any eventuality, for a prolonged struggle if necessary."

It is not difficult for any one to see the real motive behind this "Charge-sheet" business in such a subversive situation. By this crude manoeuvre, they want to heighten the tension and utilise the communal agitation and the "operation overthrow" for their own narrow political ends. We have noted with deep sorrow and disappointment that the Congress High Command has endorsed this and other unworthy tactics of the Kerala Congress.

When the main political party in the country takes recourse to such unprincipled and anti-democratic manoeuvres, what is threatened is the very foundation of our secular State and future of our democratic institutions.

The Communist Party sits in opposition in other States where the Congress is in power. As a democratic opposition we function also at the Centre. What will be the fate of our country if the Parties of the Opposition in the Centre as well as the States adopt such tactics as the Congress Opposition in Kerala is adopting to-day. Will it help the growth of our democracy. Will it help to promote our prestige as a leading and growing country among the Nations of the World?

We request you to ponder over the facts and give your timely leadership to arrest serious developments.

JUNE 14, 1959

# KHRUSHCHOV IN ALBANIA

The visit of the Soviet Government delegation, led by Comrade Khrushchov, to Albania and the presence there of the Chinese Defence Minister as well as the Premier of the German Democratic Republic, during the last days of May and the first week of June attracted wide attention—and the usual spate of speculation.

THE imperialist press at first tried to throw mysterious hints that Khrushchov had gone to make Enver Hoxha do a Canossa, to compel the Albanian Communist leader to apologise to Tito.

When this did not exactly work out, to use an euphemism, they tried to raise a scare that the Soviet Premier had gone to install rockets in this Adriatic country. A less than subtle hint was thrown that Geneva might as well pack up and the Summit be left unclimbed.

The truth is the exact opposite of this travesty. Both in their speeches as well as their joint statement, the Soviet and Albanian leaders put a great deal of emphasis on the unity of the Socialist camp—precisely one of the targets of attack by the Yugoslav revisionists.

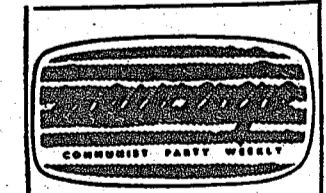
As a matter of fact Khrushchov elaborated and amplified the important theoretical proposition made at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, that all socialist countries would more or less simultaneously enter the highest stage of Communism (May 30, speech at Tirana).

Both in the joint statement and in the Soviet leader's speech at Moscow on June 6 tributes were paid to the Albanian Party of Labour for its stern struggle against revisionism—which will bring no comfort to the Yugoslav leaders or their imperialist admirers.

Secondly, far from rushing to install rocket ramps, the Soviet and Albanian leaders boldly put forward a plea for a Balkan and Adriatic zone free from atomic and rocket weapons. They again and again asked the Greek and Italian Governments to agree to this proposal and give up their present intentions to accept American missiles, which could only harm their own countries.

## Atom-Free Balkans

This was a revival of a proposal made some two years ago by Comrade Chivu Stoica, Chairman of the Council of



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JUNE 14, 1959

# INTERNATIONAL EVENTS



Khrushchov and Mukhitdinov visiting a textile mill in Albania's capital, Tirana.

## SINGAPORE ELECTIONS

THE People's Action Party (PAP) led by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, won a sweeping victory at the polls in the recent elections held in Singapore. Some 90 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise, giving 43 out of 51 seats to PAP.

Having redeemed their pledge by securing the release of eight of their prominent leaders, who were imprisoned in 1956, a PAP ministry has been sworn in and Singapore has officially ceased to be a colony from June 5. Enormous interest quite naturally has been aroused in our country by these elections. A great number of our English dailies have commented on the event, with varying degrees of prejudice and accuracy. Yet a number of salient points have been missed.

First, the atmosphere in which the elections were held. PAP was not only charged with being a "front" organisation of the Communist Party. Crude forgeries were put out, claimed to be "Peking's directives to PAP." British capital threatened flight if PAP were to win, while Conservatives of the Malayan Federation declared that a merger was more than ever out of the question if "PAP took over Singapore."

The building of such a united front acquires the greatest urgency in view of the fact that Bandarnaik will scarcely be able to achieve governmental stability, despite all his crude tricks to retain power.

This may well lead to an early general elections. With the Right-wing within the Government active, with the Kotlewalla United National Party bestirring itself, and with the virtual capitulation of the Centre forces, the disunited progressive forces can well be under a severe handicap.

And even without waiting for fresh elections reaction in Ceylon would well turn to newest imperialist gimmick—some form of military dictatorship which could throttle democracy and create big hurdles before the progressive forces.

For instance, those sections within the Government who were fighting for progressive policies refused to turn to the

Communist Party, the only coherent party here. It is the only force against the Communists."

Earlier in an interview to the Times of India correspondent on May 14, he had described India led by Nehru as his ideal. Elsewhere he has declared his faith in democratic socialism, which was not so much "anti-Communist as a-Communist."

The immediate programme of FAP has correctly been described by the New Statesman (June 6) as "the mildest Fabianism." It has offered to safeguard the interests of overseas companies, opposed British bases but not till after the merger with Malaya has been accomplished.

It proclaims social equality, accepts Malay as the official language (with the correct aim of soothing fears of Chinese "domination"), and has proclaimed that the self-government now achieved is only a stage towards merger with Malaya and Merdeka (freedom).

It has promised greater rights to trade unions, but equally insists on compulsory arbitration. It has announced its intention to abandon the policy of investing the Singapore Government funds in Commonwealth stocks and utilities.

Third, it has to be clearly realised that the self-government of Singapore is severely restricted. Foreign affairs will be entirely outside the purview of the PAP government. An Internal Security Council has been provided for, entirely under British control, which will be responsible for the island's security. And above all, the power has been kept in reserve to suspend the Constitution "under special circumstances."

Bearing all these three factors in mind, the tentative conclusion one comes to is that in Singapore powerful Left mass sentiments have found a partial reflection in the PAP successes. Though the aspirations of these masses are not likely to be fully satisfied by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's Cabinet or leadership, yet a vantage point has been won.

—Mohit Sen

June 8.



# REHABILITATION HOAX IN TRIPURA KISANS DEMAND LAND DISTRIBUTION

★ From BHOWANI SEN  
General Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha

Thousands of people mustered strong in a mass rally, held in Agartalla on May 25. The rally marked the conclusion of the third annual session of the State Kisan Sabha which commenced on May 22, in a village called Durga Choudhury Para, few miles from Agartalla, the State capital.

THE rally was a unique demonstration of the unity of tribal peasants, Bengali refugees from East Pakistan and the Muslim inhabitants of the villages in Tripura. Men and women, belonging to all these communities came in processions from distant villages, as far as 20 to 30 miles off from the town!

The rally ended with a call for unity and organisational preparations to enforce a people's food policy, rehabilitation of displaced persons and land reform.

Despite the fact that the Planning Commission regarded Tripura as a surplus area from the standpoint of food production, it is now gripped by a severe food crisis. The State needs, at the rate of four maunds per head per annum, 36 lakh maunds of rice.

But from internal sources, a little less than 29 lakh maunds are available, requiring an import of 7 lakh maunds. On top of this, last year there was 60 per cent crop failure. The administration has completely failed to keep the people supplied with foodgrains at reasonable prices. Rice is selling at prices varying between Rs. 30.00 to Rs. 40.00 per maund. A rickety structure of so-called modified rationing that exists, is now in a state of complete breakdown.

Just on the eve of the Kisan Conference, some workers of the Kisan Sabha in the 'Jirania' division were arrested for demanding rice for the people who assembled in front of a fair price shop to procure rice, only to find the shop closed. The administrative authorities had no explanation to give as to why no rice was available but they arrested the workers and sent them up for trial!

## OFFICIALS VINDICTIVE

The latest demonstration of official vindictiveness was the refusal of the Government to permit the mass rally of the Kisan Sabha in the municipal market where public meetings are generally held, though there is no section 144 promulgated in the town. In this centrally administered area, food is scarce but repressive measures adopted against democratic organisations are abundant.

The State Kisan Conference, in a resolution on food crisis, has given a call to the people to participate in a Statewide campaign for food to be launched immediately, and this announcement was responded to with thunderous cheers from the people assembled.

The tribal people as a whole are amongst the worst victims of the food crisis and the worst affected area is the Khoal division where famine conditions are prevalent.

There are 25,000 families

and then again starts the old march of JOOM cultivation. But this life too is no longer helpful for getting food.

During the discussion of the delegates it became clear that the rehabilitation plan of the Government is failing because of two main reasons.

Firstly, only piecemeal efforts are being made to give land to the JUMMIAS, instead of through a general programme of land-distribution and rehabilitation of entire communities and villages. Piecemeal rehabilitation of isolated families deprive them of the social-cultural ties of the entire community and of the cooperation inherent in that basis.

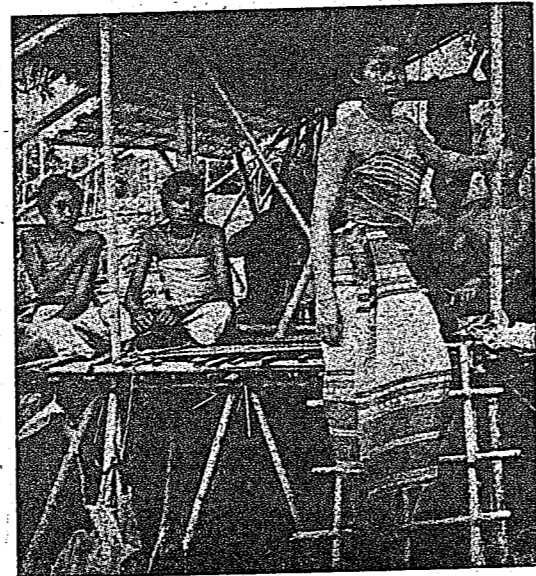
There is enough cultivable waste land in possession of the Government for a plan of wholesale rehabilitation which can create for them a new society. According to official estimates, out of a total of 26,34,240 acres of land in the State, 17.8 per cent is uncultivated land available for cultivation. In terms of acreage this cultivable waste land constitutes about 5 lakh acres, and the greater part of this land is in possession of the Government.

## LANDLORD EXPLOITATION

These tribal people are traditionally exploited by landlords and moneylenders belonging to non-tribal communities hailing mostly from outside the State. Since 1950, they have been organised into the Kisan Sabha, the Ganamukti Sangh and the landless agricultural workers' association, through heroic struggles for the reduction of rent, annulment of debt and possession of land.

The Administration has a "plan" of rehabilitating the JUMMIAS (the tribal JOOM cultivators) by giving them a plot of land, a cottage and some cash. But in the absence of any total plan of agricultural development, this scheme is ending in a fiasco.

Delegate after delegate reported how after rehabilitation, when the money is spent and they are unable to get loans and advances, this settled civilised mode of life turns into a source of graver misfortune to them



Coming down from the TONG bamboo home.

in order to obtain promises for agricultural loan. This shows how callous the Government is to the problem of rural credit, without which rehabilitation plans are bound to become a farce.

The same fiasco has met the programme of rehabilitation of displaced persons (D.Ps.). Recently, it has been announced on behalf of the Government of India that the rehabilitation of the D.Ps. has been completed in Tripura and all refugee camps have been abolished. If the claim is justified, there was every reason for the displaced persons to remain out of the movement of the Kisan Sabha; but on the contrary, it is now, for the first time, that the displaced persons are joining the movement led by the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party in thousands.

A delegate from the Sonamera Division reported that a refugee family gets only Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 for land though land that is required by him costs Rs. 500. Naturally, those who draw this grant are officially regarded as "rehabilitated" but actually such a rehabilitated family spends up the money and swells the rank of landless peasants. According to the Secretary's report,

there are one lakh families of landless and land-poor peasants among the displaced persons.

Another delegate from the Sadar Division reported how some families, getting one or two acres of land, fared in the colonies. For want of a fair price of agricultural products and on account of crop failure—they often sell their cattle and implements and hopelessly wander about to hire themselves out as agricultural workers.

In the background of this state of affairs a new upsurge of refugee-rehabilitation movement is going on in Tripura and a distinctive feature of this year's Kisan Sabha Session was the presence of a very large number of displaced persons in the mass rally.

## ENOUGH LAND AVAILABLE

There is no reason why people have to face such a critical situation in Tripura. In the first place, one of the unique advantages that Tripura enjoys—is the existence of enough land available for cultivation. According to an official estimate, the sown area in 1953-54 was 14.8 per cent of the total area, that is, about 4.5 lakh acres. As against this, there is a cultivable waste land area of 5 lakh acres. If this land is made available for cultivation, aggregate food production can immediately be doubled.

If this is done, Tripura can have surplus foodgrains for export to deficit States. But in order to do this, land reform is essential. This State, being a centrally administered area, the Planning Commission prepared a Land Reform Bill for it and Parliament is to pass it as an Act. But the Bill remains pending and the Central Government remains callous.

The Kisan Conference has demanded that the Central Government immediately enact the bill incorporating the amendments proposed by the State Kisan Sabha. Pending that, immediate steps should be taken to distribute cultivable waste land in possession

★ ON PAGE 16

JUNE 14, 1959

# Congress Fully Involved In School-Closure Campaign

## BELETED ATTEMPTS AT 'DISENGAGEMENT' CANNOT FOOL PEOPLE

A new coat of pleasing green is sought to be painted on the obnoxious jet black of the Congress complicity in the school-closure subversion initiated by the Catholic oligarchy and Nair vested interests in Kerala. The refrain today seems to be that the proposed Congress agitation against the Kerala Government on the basis of a "charge sheet" is independent of and not involved in the communal school-closure movement.

AT Ootacamund, the Kerala Congress leaders met Prime Minister Nehru and other Congress leaders and R. Shankar, the President of the KPCC announced that their agitation "would start quite in advance of the agitation sponsored by Sri Mannath Padmanabhan."

They had got permission, Sri Shankar stated, from Prime Minister and others "to carry on peaceful agitation on perfectly non-violent lines" (Free Press Journal, June 3).

## Initiative Whose ?

Delhi's Hindustan Times caught the hint and has come out with an editorial in its issue of June 5, refuting "Mr. Ajoy Ghosh's charge that the Congress and the PSP in Kerala were leaving the initiative in the anti-Government agitation to communal elements."

"The President of the KPCC has made it clear that the Congress movement against the State Government would be on the basis of a 'charge sheet'... Though all the details of this document have not yet been published, it can be reasonably assumed that the ground covered would be wider than the specific issues raised by the Education Act."

The very fact that today the Congress is obliged to demarcate itself from the patently communal school-closure movement is a triumph of public opinion in the country. Yet it is a crude manoeuvre. All available facts show that the Congress is inextricably involved in the school-closure movement.

"The leader of Opposition Mr. P. T. Chacko reiterated in the Kerala Assembly today that the Congress was opposed to the Education Act and its rules as a whole... The Congress could find nothing wrong in private school managers closing their schools as a protest against the denial of the rights they hold dear..." (Times of India, May 23).

Next Sunday, May 24, Sri Chacko spoke at a meeting in Trivandrum called to rally support for the school-closure movement and among others, the Bishop of Trivandrum and the Vicar General of Changanchery also spoke at the meeting. Here Sri Chacko called on Catholics that they must be prepared to sacrifice, if occasion arose, even their children, and that the last

war against Communism is going to be started in Kerala.

It was here that Sri Chacko confessed that "only today there has been a Government here over which the Catholic Church has no control."

Last week in Changanchery, the epicentre of the school-closure movement, a reception was held for Sri Padmanabhan, which was attended by Congressmen and PSP leaders. On the dais at the public meeting were Sri P. S. George, Treasurer of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (one of the gentlemen who was in the Kerala Congress Delegation which met Sri Nehru at Ooty), Sri T. O. Bawa and Sri M. Gopinatha Pillai, Congress MLAs, Sri Joseph Chazhikatt, Praja Socialist MLA and Sri P. K. Kunju, former PSP Minister.

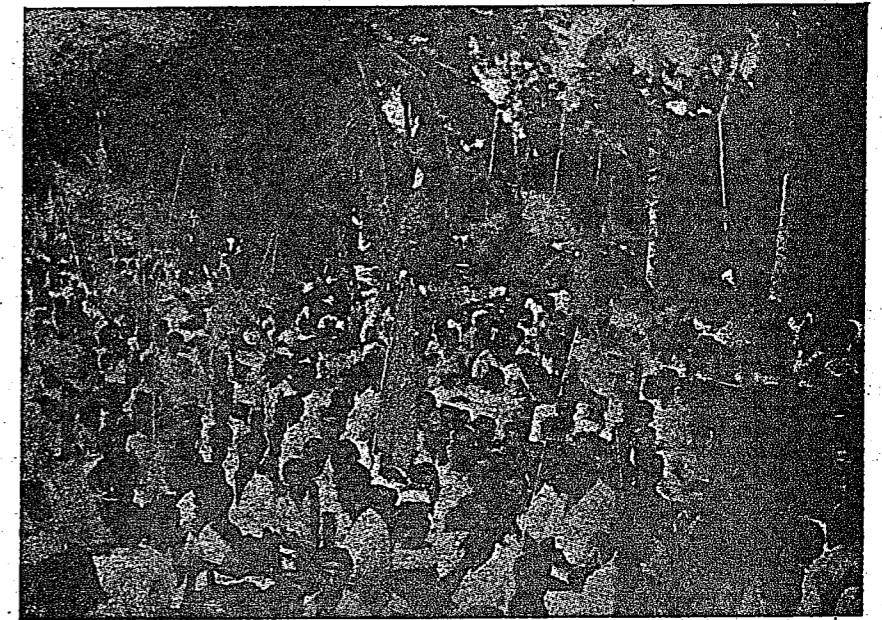
Again, in the latest resolution released by the KPCC on June 5 it is pointed out that "the Kerala Congress 'sympathise with the movement and those who are giving lead to the movement in the present moment with a view to securing a change in Government'". R. Shankar told the correspondent of Hindustan Times that "because it is a struggle to achieve the same objective, there will be a sort of liaison and mutual consultation" (Hindustan Times, June 6).

Secondly, it is now claimed that the Congress agitation will be constitutional, peaceful and perfectly non-violent. Let us see how far it is what it claims to be. According to Malayala Manorama of May 24, inaugurating a school-closure movement meeting in Ranni in Kottayam district, Sri P. S. George said:

## Unique Struggle

"We are now preparing for a struggle different from previous ones. We are holding this meeting not merely to protest against and demand the withdrawal of the Education Act; our aim is to force the Communist Government to resign. I AM IN A POSITION TO INFORM YOU THAT KERALA IS GOING TO SET THE EXAMPLE OF KICKING OUT A GOVERNMENT THROUGH METHODS OTHER THAN BALLOT BOX."

C. M. Stephen, member AICC, President Qullon District Congress Committee at a meeting at Kundara in Qullon District in support of the school-closure agitation: "To-



A section of a rally held recently at Mavelikkara under Communist Party auspices.

## 'E. M. S.' DEMANDS POSITIVE STEPS TO PROVE PEACEFUL CLAIMS

"It is difficult for a person who closely follows the political developments in Kerala to understand the 'anxiety' which the Kerala Congress leaders are reported to have expressed in their talks with their All-India leaders 'at the possibility of violence being provoked by the Government of Kerala and the Communist Party'", said Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad in a statement issued on June 4. Following are some extracts from that statement:

"FOR, it is not the Government or the Communist Party but the leaders of the school-closure movement headed by the Catholic Church and Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, who, during the last several weeks, have been openly inciting the people of Kerala to violence..."

"I would like to give extracts from a recent pronouncement of this type—the press conference held by Sri Mannath Padmanabhan on May 28, 1959. I am giving it from the newspaper Malayali which,

being the mouth-piece of the NSS, cannot be accused of distorting Sri Mannam's speech:

Q. Has not Minister Mr. Krishna Iyer stated that your agitation is a 'horse-agitation'?

A. He got the proper answer for it at Qullon, Workers, whose betterment they claim to work for, are beating them now. Krishna Iyer well deserves it.

Q. Do you mean to say that it was good that Sri Krishna Iyer was beaten?

Thirdly, the character of a movement is not decided by the criterion of who starts first. The character is decided by the nature and the content of the movement, the slogans used, and who provides the main mobilisation. Nobody can have any doubt, however much the Congress may now protest about these. The mobilisation is on the basis of religious fanaticism, and obscurantist revivalism. The slogans and speeches are for the forcible overthrow of Government.

The Congress manoeuvre to simultaneously demarcate itself from direct involvement in the school closure movement and express sympathies and unity with it is to say the least pitiable. The Congress leaders are only fooling themselves if they think that they can fool the Indian people by this strategem.

Perhaps R. Shankar, and Hindustan Times will explain to us how the Congress propose to square up these practices with the new protestations of non-violence, constitutionalism and above all anti-communism?

— K. P. S. M.

A. What I have to say is good. If the blow was good enough, Krishna Iyer would not have been alive today.

Q. So are you welcoming the assault on Krishna Iyer?

A. I do not have to welcome anything. I was not consulted on giving the blows or receiving the same.

Q. Is it proper to assault a Minister?

A. If unfit persons become Ministers, such things will happen.

"May I remind Sri Sankar that this open call for violence was given at a Press Conference which was organised by certain leading Congressmen; a few of them like Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair (ex-Congress Minister) and Sri Gopinatha Pillai, MLA, were physically present by the side of Sri Padmanabhan. And yet Sri Sankar has no word to say about this attitude of Sri Padmanabhan."

"It is also significant that the Kerala Bhoochanam, the daily newspaper edited by no less a person than the Congress Chairman of the Kottayam Municipality, writes as follows in its editorial on 31st May, 1959:

"Certain Communist leaders in and outside Kerala are now arguing that it is not proper to try to pull down a Government through illegal means... This argument has been raised on several occasions from the beginning of modern history by dictators who were enemies of democracy. Had the people on those occasions accepted this, there would not have been at present anywhere on the face of the earth what we call democracy..."

"An argument may probably be raised that after a democratic Constitution has come into being, the removal of a Government which came



Marching out at dawn to collect the harvest.

NEW AGE

PAGE FOURTEEN

NEW AGE

JUNE 6, 1959

— K. P. S. M.

★ ON PAGE 16

PAGE FIFTEEN



## PUNJAB KISANS BUILDING MEMORIAL TO MARTYRS

**F**OUNDATION Stone for the Memorial to the four tenants of Makowal who were martyred for defence of their lands on May 29 last year was laid by veteran revolutionary leader of Kama Gata Maru fame, Baba Gurmukh Singh, President of the Punjab Kisan Sabha at a big Shahidi Conference held in Makowal in Ambala District on May 29, 1959.

The memorial is being built on five Bighas of land donated by a refugee landowner, S. Makhan Singh. It is being built in pursuance of the decision of the Punjab Kisan Sabha. Many thousands of tenants of Bet area of Ambala and Ludhiana districts and kisans gathered on the occasion to commemorate the memory of the martyrs.

Besides donations by tenants, the Punjab Kisan Sabha had given Rs. 500/-, the District Kisan Sabha Rs. 100/- and the District Dehati Mazdur Sabha Rs. 51/- for the memorial.

Addressing the largely attended conference presided over by Comrade Shamsheer Singh, Baba Gurmukh Singh exhorted the peasants and the tenants of the area to unite more firmly so that landlord goondas dare not repeat

such gruesome crimes in the future. The murder of these tenants, said Baba Gurmukh Singh, is a damning indictment of the policies followed by the Punjab Government as also an exposure of the role that is played by the revenue and the police officials. Condemning the anti-peasant policies of the Punjab Government under Kairon, particularly in the recent anti-betterment levy agitation, Baba Gurmukh Singh declared that the Punjab Kisan Sabha will not leave the peasantry undefended and will sacrifice to the utmost to win relief for the peasants from these taxes.

Comrade Gurbax Singh Dakota, Ch. Telu Ram, President, District Kisan Sabha Ambala, Comrade Ishar Singh Sodhi, general secretary of the District Dehati Mazdur Sabha offered in their speeches warm tributes to the brave tenants who sacrificed their lives defending their land.

Comrades Shamsheer Singh, Raja Singh and Parkash Singh Dardi, prominent tenant leaders of the area, who were also involved in the case and were only recently released, also addressed the gathering. Comrade Josh declared

that the judgement given by the learned Sessions Judge had itself exposed the role of the landlords, the revenue staff and the police in murdering the tenants who were in peaceful possession of the land for many years.

A fine cultural programme was presented on the occasion by famous Punjabi artists Joginder Bahra, and the Dhadi Jatha of Hari Singh and Jagir Singh, the cultural troupe of Kharar and the poets from Ludhiana.

The conference adopted a resolution thanking the advocates S. Dara Singh, Anand Sarup, B. S. Bindra, Kanwar Bikram Singh, Sri Gurmukh Singh Chawla and Sri Banwari Lal, for conducting the case without charging any fees. Kanwar Bikram Singh who attended the conference assured the tenants of all help in the future too and called upon them to defend their land in spite of the terror of the landlords.

Other resolutions passed by the conference demanded that Bet area be developed immediately, a high school be opened at Bela and bus service be started on Ropar Behrampur Bet Road which should be metalled at the earliest.

## TAMILNAD PARTY CONFERENCE

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Then followed a report on the state of Party organisation and organisational tasks by Comrade N. Sankarajah.

The third item was a report on the cultural and literary upsurge in Tamilnad and the tasks of the Party in relation to it, by Comrade Jeevanandam. A statement of the Party's financial position was also presented to the conference by Comrade E. Sreenivasa Rao.

All the reports were discussed in considerable and effective detail by many delegates who brought their rich experience of the last three years to bear upon the questions. More than 100 delegates participated and several amendments were moved.

In the end the conference adopted a political resolution based on the political report indicating the following main tasks:

- A Statewide campaign rising food prices
- Intensive propaganda for land ceiling and land reform; the enrolment of one lakh of members in the Kisan Sabha and one lakh members in the agricultural labour organisation
- Further advance for unity in the trade union movement
- Steps and proposals for the further economic and cultural development of Tamilnad, and simultaneously with this a firm countering of the evil of separatism which divides and disrupts the democratic movement
- Against the attack on democratic rights by using Governmental machinery indulged in by the ruling Party
- Defence of the Kerala government;
- Against imperialist intrigues endangering the independence and the democratic development of our country, and to safeguard and maintain world peace by rallying our people against these intrigues and for firm fraternal relations with the Socialist world.

Among the other resolutions passed in the conference was one on the ensuing Pondicherry State elections, stressing its political importance not only for Tamilnad but for the entire country.

In the resolution on organisational tasks stress was laid, among other things on the need to expand the Party membership to 40,000 in the next two years, on increasing the circulation of the Party daily and monthly. A three-lakh fund drive is to be launched from this September to March of next year.

The conference elected a 101 member State Council unanimously with Comrade M. R. Venkatraman as Secretary. The State Council duly elected a State Executive of 25 and a Secretariat of nine:

M. R. Venkatraman, P. Ramamurthi, B. Srinivasa Rao, P. Jeevanandam, M. Kalyanasundaram, V. P. Chintan, N. Sankarajah, Manali Kandasamy. (One more member to be elected later.)

The conference ended with a huge procession of 10,000 people carrying flags and banners, the biggest ever seen in the history of Karakkudi. Thousands had come not only from other parts of Ramnad District but also from the adjacent districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai and Tiruchel.

The mass rally of about 50,000 over which Comrade Venkatraman presided, was addressed by Comrades B. T. Ranadive, P. Ramamurthi and P. Jeevanandam.

Throughout the conference, every night, there was a cultural show, while elaborate arrangements had also been made by the Reception Committee for the boarding and lodging of the delegates.

## TRIPURA KISANS

\* FROM PAGE 14

of the Government to the landless peasant families.

While the Bill remains pending, the landlords are evicting the tenants and sharecroppers because the Bill proposes to confer occupancy rights on them. Under the existing land laws, no tenant in Tripura enjoys even limited tenancy rights. Taking advantage of this, the landlords are evicting them and the Central Government has not taken any step to stop this drive. The conference has resolved to organise the tenants and sharecroppers in order to resist evictions.

The land-reform bill does, of course, contain many progressive provisions but some of them are undesirable and harmful too. For example, the ceiling is put at 25 acres of agricultural land per family, but the ceiling is only on self-cultivated land and not on the entire land owned. The State Kisan Sabha has formulated amendments to impose the ceiling on the entire owned land, including the self-cultivated portion. The existing provision in the bill gives the landlords ample scope to retain land much above the

ceiling either as uncultivated fallow or as land sublet to tenants.

In a resolution on Land Reform, the State Kisan Conference has given a ringing call to the people to exert mass pressure on the Central Government for the immediate implementation of land reforms, for the immediate distribution of government waste land and immediate measures to stop eviction. These measures alone can take the State forward to progress.

The biggest hindrance to the progress of the State is the local administration manned mostly by the most inefficient and the most reactionary officials available in India. Not that there are no officials who cannot be regarded as honest and good, but the general rule is for the officials and other vested interests, more openly and more overtly than anywhere else in the Indian Republic.

Strangely enough, in this centrally administered area, the Central Government does not trust the people even to the extent of letting them have Panchayats, as if none but oppressive bureaucrats are capable of running the administration in the region.

## Andhra Campaign Launched

\* From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

**T**HOUSANDS of people all over Andhra are gathering and hearing Communist leaders in 'Kerala week' meetings, applauding the speeches, and expressing sympathy and confidence that the Kerala Government would be able to weather the storm.

Andhra people have been witnessing during the last two years, a sweeping reform launched by Andhra Government and being implemented in district after district, that is, to take over all privately managed primary schools. Except for a few hot-heads here and there, the private managements have been turning over their schools to government either in a voluntary manner or after some persuasion.

In this background, Andhra people do not find anything wrong with Kerala Government deciding to take over all badly managed schools.

As for Clause 11 of the Act which ensures a full pay packet to teachers and removes the appointment of teachers from the purview of favouritism, the teachers' associations in Andhra and Telangana areas have long ago expressed their rejoicing.

For, the experience of teachers' movement in Andhra has been replete with countless instances in which aided school teachers always receive their salaries once in two to three months and that too with a cut. And instances in which teachers have been transferred, victimised and dismissed at the instance of Congressmen, for their political views or union activities are considerable.

This attitude of the people of the State is further reflected in the columns of the daily Press. For instance, Deccan Chronicle, the more widely circulated of the two English Dailies published from the capital of Andhra Pradesh, in a leading article on June 6 said:

"Having permitted the Communist Party to form the Government, having administered to members of the Cabinet the oath of allegiance and the President having given his assent to the new Education Act, any support to the agitation is morally and legally indefensible.

"The Kerala Government, however, is justified in strengthening law and order force and empowering it to act

in such a manner as the circumstances may warrant. Will the Union Government and the Congress hold themselves responsible for chaos and loss of lives and property?"

Stasat, an influential Urdu Daily published from Hyderabad, in a leader on May 16 said that the present method of agitation launched by opposition parties of framing a charge-sheet and then trying to overthrow the legally constituted government is fraught with dangerous possibilities and questions what would the Congress ministries do if similar chargesheets are framed in other States and movements launched.

In celebration of the Kerala Week all the top leaders of the Communist Party in Andhra have gone on tour to various districts and directions have been sent to all party units to organise meetings in a planned manner.

Two pamphlets have been brought out in 15,000 copies to explain the situation to Andhra's people and a sales campaign has been started in right earnest.

Visalaandhra, the Telugu Daily has brought out a special issue with articles explaining the background for the present agitation and the achievements of Kerala Communist Ministry in different spheres.

The Kerala Week in the City was inaugurated by Comrade Ravi Narayanareddi, Leader of Opposition in the Assembly, who said, that as the leader of an opposition party in Andhra, he was surprised that a movement is launched by opposition parties in Kerala to overthrow the government.

He said he could understand movements being launched and satyagraha conducted on specific issues facing the people, but not on such fantastic demand as overthrow of a government.

Another speaker, Com. N. Satyanarayanareddi wondered, how Pandit Nehru, who condemned Communists for their 'violent activities' and counselled that they should take to democratic and constitutional means, could give his tacit approval to a movement to overthrow a democratically elected government in Kerala.

In the capital city, the Communist Party has planned over a dozen meetings in various bustees and mohallas.

## "AIMS OF BOTH ARE THE SAME"

\* FROM PAGE 4

sident has declared in his statement, "We have all sympathy with those who have taken up the present agitation."

Mathrubhoomi correspondent reported that while there would not be any joint action committee of Congress and the Anti-Education Act agitators, the "aims of both are the same. Hence there will be mutual consultations. Since both will be conducting struggle non-violently, this is possible."

In an earlier press interview to Kaumudi daily, Sri Shankar had said: "In today's situation what Mannam says and what the Congress says are the same."

Sri Nehru condemns violence and says the Congress would adopt only peaceful

methods. But what is happening in Kerala? Congress leaders attend and address meetings where violence is preached. In places they supervise the arms training that is going on in Church compounds.

One has only to remember the organised communal forces that have come into the field to see that there can be nothing non-violent about this agitation. The Congress has already begun and it can do nothing else but justify whatever communal reaction does.

Apart from all this, what is it that the political parties and communal reaction are banking on when they launch their agitation?

Sri Shankar, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, Mannam, every one connected with the agitation has said that they expect Central intervention, that the Centre cannot remain a spec-

# SCRAP-BOOK

## MEET MR. SHANKAR

**H**AVE you ever met the Kerala Congress President? It is time that you did. For, R. Shankar is no ordinary mortal, he is the Man of Destiny for Congress in Kerala.

And, he deserves to be so. Few in Indian politics have such an awe-inspiring record of versatility as the great R. Shankar.

At one time a prominent leader of the Travancore State Congress, he became the General Secretary of the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDF), the organisation of the Ezhava community.

But after getting into the leadership of the SNDF, Sri Shankar showed new proclivities—he became a devoted disciple of the ill-famed Travancore Dewan, Sri C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer with all his repression against the States' People's movement.

Sri Shankar's brilliant flexibility brought him back to the fold of the Travancore State Congress when it came to power in 1948. A little later he quit Congress, protesting against the powerful "Christian hold" over it during the Ministry of Sri T. K. Narayana Pillai.

Shankar's association with Sri Mannath Padmanabhan began with the "Hindu Mandal" and the "Democratic Congress." The Congress has rarely been so maligned as by Sri Shankar during those days.

The Communist Party was then under ban, and so the Hindu Mandal leaders had a free time, hoping to play the rival to the State Congress. But, on the eve of the 1952 General Elections, when the Communists could come out of jails or underground and start a popular campaign, many of the Hindu Mandal leaders quickly returned to the Congress, and among them was Mr. Shankar.

As a Congress candidate, Shankar had poor luck, because he was twice defeated—in 1952 by a Communist-supported PSP candidate and in 1954 by a Communist-supported RSP man.

Since then, he stuck on to the SNDF, first becoming its General Secretary; then its President, and again its General Secretary.

Even in SNDF, Shankar could enjoy no peace. His colleagues in SNDF brought serious charges of misappropriation of funds. In fact, a case is now pending

tator when such things are happening in Kerala.

But it is not enough to expect Central intervention. It is necessary to create a situation to justify it. And those who talk of Central intervention have also plans to precipitate the necessary situation.

The only way to do this is to create violence and say, law and order has broken down. It is sheer farce then to talk of non-violent methods in such a situation.

against Sri Shankar in the Sub-divisional Magistrate's Court at Qullon.

On the very morrow of his election as the PCC President, his house was searched by the police, and also his office at Qullon, on the strength of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate to recover some of the documents of the SNDF. The amount of alleged misappropriation comes to more than Rs. 5 lakhs. One of Sri Shankar's accusers was himself a former President of the SNDF.

The charge included manipulation of accounts, forged vouchers and misappropriation of a large sum of money. The allegations include the charge that Rs. 1 lakh had been misappropriated by Mr. Shankar from the funds given by the Government of India for building hostel for the SNDF Polytechnic.

It is also complained that Shankar collected Rs. 300 to 500 from each student for admission to the Polytechnic, while this money was not credited to the accounts of the Trust nor any receipt given to the students. It is alleged that as a result Shankar might have netted about Rs. 45 thousand in the bargain.

Shankar's election as PCC President was commented upon by many. The President of the Qullon Mandal Congress Commit-

tee, resigning his membership, wrote:

"It is indeed fitting that Sri Shankar, who had the cheek to ask his colleagues to misappropriate, by falsification of accounts, the money received as loan from the Government of Jawaharlal Nehru, the unquestioned leader of the Congress and the Prime Minister of India, should himself become the President of the Kerala Congress. Perhaps such might be the qualification for leadership under the present set-up."

The Kerala Press was not hesitant to congratulate Shankar on his becoming KPCC President. Even Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai's paper, Kerala Janatha wrote: "Those who work in a political organisation in the morning, in a religious organisation at night, can not only not help the growth of a political organisation like the Congress, but they will actually destroy it for ever."

The Communist daily Janayugam wrote: "It is not possible to find in this period another President who is more suited to conduct the funeral rites of the Kerala Congress."

And it is this accused in a case of misappropriation of funds who is today leading the Kerala Congress in the sacred Liberation War from Communist tyranny and corruption.

## Indira's Growing Stature

**W**HEN Indira Gandhi became the Congress President, many were surprised at the choice. And some even were unchivalrous enough to suggest that she got the presidency as Nehru's daughter.

Even I was slightly taken in by such innuendoes. But I told myself: What does it matter if one is her father's daughter? She might have some originality of her own, and as Congress President perhaps she would imbibe some of Dhebarbhai's tricks of the trade.

Now I find I was not very wrong. How Indira has grown as Congress President and with the post, has blossomed forth her profundities!

Last Sunday in Madras she made an important speech which is an index of her profound original thinking: "She 'personally felt' that the major danger for India was from Communism. Educated people in India realised this danger," she said.

I really could appreciate her originality even if it is only a glimpse of the "personal" feeling.

But I am not the only one who could appreciate Indira's political capacity. I have just come across highly appreciative references to her in the U. S. News World Report dated

June 1, 1959: "The great debate over Tibet now centres on two leaders close to Nehru. "Nehru's friend, V. K. Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister is the bitter-tongued champion of co-existence with the Communists. Today he is silent.

"Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is President of the National Congress Party which dominates Parliament. Today Mrs. Gandhi is angry and vocal. "In Communist-run Kerala State, which is Krishna Menon's home district, Mrs. Gandhi is telling Indians that Communism and democracy are 'utterly incompatible'. She is denouncing co-existence, forging an anti-Communist front.

"Easy winner, so far is Mrs. Gandhi. Krishna Menon, it's rumoured, may be ditched by Nehru. Events in Tibet are changing the mood of India."

Indira, in the same speech, has assured us that the Congress is "determined" to achieve socialism in India: "We consider it merely as an instrument which will lead us in a certain direction."

The "certain direction" has quite a few milestones: Mathai episode, Mundhra-LIC hush up, Ganatantra coalition in Orissa and now the "liberation struggle" in Kerala.

## POSITIVE STEPS MUST PROVE PEACEFUL PROTESTATIONS

\* FROM OVERLEAF

into power through a general election under the Constitution should be through the next general elections by securing a majority of votes and that the instances of America, England, France, etc. cited above are not relevant here. This argument, it has to be said, is opposed to the spirit of the Indian Constitution and the fundamental principles of democracy.

"If today Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and the lakhs of people who follow him are preparing for an anti-Government agitation, the reason for it is that they sincerely believe that the present Government are destroying democracy and the rights of the people."

"Sri Sankar and his friends may say that, though edited by a Congressman, the Kerala Bhooshanam is not the organ of the Congress and that the Congress is not responsible for the views expressed by it. I do not want to quarrel with them on this point. I only want to express my hope that the KPCC will use all its authority against those Congressmen who take such an avowedly unconstitutional stand—a stand which, if taken by any other Party in the rest of the country, would be denounced by Congressmen and firmly dealt with by Congress Governments.

"Sri Sankar takes objection to our intended recruitment of the special police; he makes the slanderous allegation that this special police will be recruited from what he calls the "unscrupulous

elements" from among the Communist Partymen. Let me remind him that it is the responsibility of any Government, charged with the task of maintaining law and order to set up emergency organisations in emergency situations.

"This is explicitly provided for in the Acts and Regulations which guide the activities of the Government of this State. Such Acts and Regulations do find a place in every other State of India and are used on occasions and at places where the Government concerned find that the ordinary police force is inadequate to meet the situation. As for Communists being recruited to the police force, it is nothing but a base slander. The Emergency Police Force will be recruited by responsible police officers from among all those citizens who are prepared to help the State in maintaining law and order.

### Pious Intentions

"I am not unaware of their (Congress) avowed intention, not to resort to any direct action and to guide their own struggle on 'perfectly peaceful and constitutional lines.' I am, however, sorry that I cannot accept these professions at their face value.

"Is it not obvious that, even supposing the Congress as an organisation is capable of exercising the utmost restraint on its followers (this itself is doubtful), non-Congressmen who think

along the lines of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and the editor of 'KERALA BHOOSHANAM' would try their best to take advantage of the Congress call for hartal to create tensions?..."

"I would only point out to them that, if their claims regarding the 'peaceful and constitutional' character of the agitation are to be believed by the people, they should:

Unhesitatingly condemn the speeches and declarations of the leaders of the school closure movement which are open incitements to violence.

● Unequivocally declare that the Congress as an organisation is opposed to the reported intention of the leaders of the school closure movement to picket Government schools and such private schools as are kept open by their managers.

● Make it clear that their own agitation against the Government will be confined to such really peaceful and constitutional forms as public meetings and demonstrations, local and other elections, etc.; specifically exclude such forms of action as hartal and general strike, obstructive picketing, etc.

"Would it be wrong if one were to suspect that the very decisions of the Congress to launch the agitation beginning with a hartal is intended to supplement the activities of the school closure movement in order that the maximum trouble is created for the Government?"



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ceiling either as uncultivated fallow or as land sublet to tenants.

In a resolution on Land Reform, the State Kisan Conference has given a ringing call to the people to exert mass pressure on the Central Government for the immediate implementation of land reforms, for the immediate distribution of government waste land and immediate measures to stop eviction. These measures alone can take the State forward to progress.

The biggest hindrance to the progress of the State is the local administration manned mostly by the most inefficient and the most reactionary officials available in India. Not that there are no officials who cannot be regarded as honest and good, but the general rule is for the officials to take the side of landlords and other vested interests, more openly and more overtly than anywhere else in the Indian Republic.

Strangely enough, in this centrally administered area, the Central Government does not trust the people even to the extent of letting them have Panchayats, as if none but oppressive bureaucrats are capable of running the administration in the region.

## Andhra Campaign Launched

★ From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

**T**HOUSANDS of people all over Andhra are gathering and hearing Communist leaders in 'Kerala week' meetings, applauding the speeches, and expressing sympathy and confidence that the Kerala Government would be able to weather the storm.

Andhra people have been witnessing during the last two years, a sweeping reform launched by Andhra Government and being implemented in district after district, that is, to take over all privately managed primary schools. Except for a few hot-heads here and there, the private managements have been turning over their schools to government either in a voluntary manner or after some persuasion.

In this background, Andhra people do not find anything wrong with Kerala Government deciding to take over all badly managed schools.

As for Clause 11 of the Act which ensures a full pay packet to teachers and removes the appointment of teachers from the purview of favouritism, the teachers' associations in Andhra and Telangana areas have long ago expressed their rejoicing.

For, the experience of teachers' movement in Andhra has been replete with countless instances in which aided school teachers always receive their salaries once in two to three months and that too with a cut. And instances in which teachers have been transferred, victimised and dismissed at the instance of Congressmen, for their political views or union activities are considerable.

This attitude of the people of the State is further reflected in the columns of the daily Press. For instance, Deccan Chronicle, the more widely circulated of the two English Dailies published from the capital of Andhra Pradesh, in a leading article on June 6 said:

"Having permitted the Communist Party to form the Government, having administered to members of the Cabinet the oath of allegiance and the President having given his assent to the new Education Act, any support to the agitation is morally and legally indefensible.

"The Kerala Government, however red, is justified in strengthening law and order force and empowering it to act

in such a manner as the circumstances may warrant. Will the Union Government and the Congress hold themselves responsible for chaos and loss of lives and property?"

Statat, an influential Urdu Daily published from Hyderabad, in a leader on May 16 said that the present method of agitation launched by opposition parties of framing a charge-sheet and then trying to overthrow the legally constituted government is fraught with dangerous possibilities and questions what would the Congress ministries do if similar chargesheets are framed in other States and movements launched.

In celebration of the Kerala Week all the top leaders of the Communist Party in Andhra have gone on tour to various districts and directions have been sent to all party units to organise meetings in a planned manner.

Two pamphlets have been brought out in 15,000 copies to explain the situation to Andhra's people and a sales campaign has been started in right earnest.

Visalaandhra, the Telugu Daily has brought out a special issue with articles explaining the background for the present agitation and the achievements of Kerala Communist Ministry in different spheres.

The Kerala Week in the City was inaugurated by Comrade Ravi Narayanareddi, Leader of Opposition in the Assembly, who said, that as the leader of an opposition party in Andhra, he was surprised that a movement is launched by opposition parties in Kerala to overthrow the government.

He said he could understand movements being launched and satyagraha conducted on specific issues facing the people, but not on such fantastic demand as overthrow of a government.

Another speaker, Com. N. Satyanarayanareddi wondered, how Pandit Nehru, who condemned Communists for their 'violent activities' and counselled that they should take to democratic and constitutional means, could give his tacit approval to a movement to overthrow a democratically and constitutionally elected government in Kerala.

In the capital city, the Communist Party has planned over a dozen meetings in various bustees and mohallas.

## "AIMS OF BOTH ARE THE SAME"

\* FROM PAGE 4

sident has declared in his statement, "We have all sympathy with those who have taken up the present agitation."

Mathrubhoomi correspondent reported the KPCC President as saying that while there would not be any joint action committee of Congress and the Anti-Education Act agitators, the "aims of both are the same. Hence there will be mutual consultations. Since both will be conducting struggle non-violently, this is possible."

In an earlier press interview to Kaumudi daily, Sri Shankar had said: "In today's situation what Mannam says and what the Congress says are the same."

Sri Nehru condemns violence and says the Congress would adopt only peaceful

methods. But what is happening in Kerala? Congress leaders attend and address meetings where violence is preached. In places they supervise the arms training that is going on in Church compounds.

One has only to remember the organised communal forces that have come into the field to see that there can be nothing non-violent about this agitation. The Congress has already begun and it can do nothing else but justify whatever communal reaction does. Apart from all this, what is it that the political parties and communal reaction are banking on when they launch their agitation?

Sri Shankar, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, Mannam, every one connected with the agitation has said that they expect Central intervention, that the Centre cannot remain a spec-

# SCRAP-BOOK

## MEET MR. SHANKAR

**H**AVE you ever met the Kerala Congress President? It is time that you did. For, R. Shankar is no ordinary mortal, he is the Man of Destiny for Congress in Kerala.

And, he deserves to be so. Few in Indian politics have such an awe-inspiring record of versatility as the great R. Shankar.

At one time a prominent leader of the Travancore State Congress, he became the General Secretary of the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP), the organisation of the Ezhava community.

But after getting into the leadership of the SNDP, Sri Shankar showed new proclivities—he became a devoted disciple of the ill-famed Travancore Dewan, Sri C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer with all his repression against the States' People's movement.

Sri Shankar's brilliant flexibility brought him back to the fold of the Travancore State Congress when it came to power in 1948. A little later he quit Congress, protesting against the powerful "Christian hold" over it during the Ministry of Sri T. K. Narayana Pillai.

Shankar's association with Sri Mannath Padmanabhan began with the "Hindu Mandal" and the "Democratic Congress." The Congress has rarely been so maligned as by Sri Shankar during those days.

The Communist Party was then under ban, and so the Hindu Mandal leaders had a free time, hoping to play the rival to the State Congress. But, on the eve of the 1952 General Elections, when the Communists could come out of jails or underground and start a popular campaign, many of the Hindu Mandal leaders quickly returned to the Congress, and among them was Mr. Shankar.

As a Congress candidate, Shankar had poor luck, because he was twice defeated—in 1952 by a Communist-supported PSP candidate and in 1954 by a Communist-supported RSP man.

Since then, he stuck on to the SNDP, first becoming its General Secretary; then its President and again its General Secretary.

Even in SNDP, Shankar could enjoy no peace. His colleagues in SNDP brought serious charges of misappropriation of funds. In fact, a case is now pending

tator when such things are happening in Kerala.

But it is not enough to expect Central intervention. It is necessary to create a situation to justify it. And those who talk of Central intervention have also plans to precipitate the necessary situation. The only way to do this is to create violence and say, law and order has broken down. It is sheer farce then to talk of non-violent methods in such a situation.

against Sri Shankar in the Sub-divisional Magistrate's Court at Quilon.

On the very morrow of his election as the PCC President, his house was searched by the police, and also his office at Quilon, on the strength of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate to recover some of the documents of the SNDP. The amount of alleged misappropriation comes to more than Rs. 5 lakhs. One of Sri Shankar's accusers was himself a former President of the SNDP.

The charge included manipulation of accounts, forged vouchers and misappropriation of a large sum of money. The allegations include the charge that Rs. 1 lakh had been misappropriated by Mr. Shankar from the funds given by the Government of India for building hostel for the SNDP Polytechnic.

It is also complained that Shankar collected Rs. 300 to 500 from each student for admission to the Polytechnic, while this money was not credited to the accounts of the Trust nor any receipt given to the students. It is alleged that as a result Shankar might have netted about Rs. 45 thousand in the bargain.

Shankar's election as PCC President was commented upon by many. The President of the Quilon Mandal Congress Commit-

tee, resigning his membership, wrote:

"It is indeed fitting that Sri Shankar, who had the cheek to ask his colleagues to misappropriate, by falsification of accounts, the money received as loan from the Government of Jawaharlal Nehru, the unquestioned leader of the Congress and the Prime Minister of India, should himself become the President of the Kerala Congress. Perhaps such might be the qualification for leadership under the present set-up."

The Kerala Press was not hesitant to congratulate Shankar on his becoming KPCC President. Even Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai's paper, Kerala Janatha wrote: "Those who work in a political organisation at night, can not only not help the growth of a political organisation like the Congress; but they will actually destroy it for ever."

The Communist daily Janayugam wrote: "It is not possible to find in this period another President who is more suited to conduct the funeral rites of the Kerala Congress."

And it is this accused in a case of misappropriation of funds who is today leading the Kerala Congress in the sacred Liberation War from Communist tyranny and corruption.

## Indira's Growing Stature

WHEN Indira Gandhi

became the Congress President, many were surprised at the choice. And some even were uncharitable enough to suggest that she got the presidency as Nehru's daughter.

Even I was slightly taken in by such innuendoes. But I told myself: What does it matter if one is her father's daughter? She might have some originality of her own, and as Congress President perhaps she would imbibe some of Dhebarbhai's tricks of the trade.

Now I find I was not very wrong. How Indira has grown as Congress President and with the post, has blossomed forth her profundities!

Last Sunday in Madras she made an important speech which is an index of her profound original thinking: "She 'personally felt' that the major danger for India was from Communism. Educated people in India realised this danger," she said.

I really could appreciate her originality even if it is only a glimpse of the "personal" feeling.

But I am not the only one who could appreciate Indira's political capacity. I have just come across highly appreciative references to her in the U. S. News World Report dated

June 1, 1959:

"The great debate over Tibet now centres on two leaders close to Nehru.

"Nehru's friend, V. K. Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister is the bitter-tongued champion of co-existence with the Communists. Today he is silent.

"Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is President of the National Congress Party which dominates Parliament. Today Mrs. Gandhi is angry and vocal.

"In Communist-run Kerala State, which is Krishna Menon's home district, Mrs. Gandhi is telling Indians that Communism and democracy are 'utterly incompatible'. She is denouncing co-existence, forging an anti-Communist front.

"Easy winner, so far is Mrs. Gandhi. Krishna Menon, it's rumoured, may be ditched by Nehru. Events in Tibet are changing the mood of India."

Indira, in the same speech, has assured us that the Congress is "determined" to achieve socialism in India: "We consider it merely as an instrument which will lead us in a certain direction."

"The 'certain direction' has quite a few milestones: Mathai episode, Muddra-LIC hush up, Ganatantra coalition in Orissa and now the 'liberation struggle' in Kerala.

## POSITIVE STEPS MUST PROVE PEACEFUL PROTESTATIONS

\* FROM OVERLEAF

into power through a general election under the Constitution should be through the next general elections by securing a majority of votes and that the instances of America, England, France, etc. cited above are not relevant here. This argument, it has to be said, is opposed to the spirit of the Indian Constitution and the fundamental principles of democracy...

"If today Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and the lakhs of people who follow him are preparing for an anti-Government agitation, the reason for it is that they sincerely believe that the present Government are destroying democracy and the rights of the people."

"Sri Sankar and his friends may say that, though edited by a Congressman, the Kerala Bhooshanam is not the organ of the Congress and that the Congress is not responsible for the views expressed by it. I do not want to quarrel with them on this point. I only want to express my hope that the KPCC will use all its authority against those Congressmen who take such an avowedly unconstitutional stand—a stand which, if taken by any other Party in the rest of the country, would be denounced by Congressmen and firmly dealt with by Congress Governments....

"Sri Sankar takes objection to our intended recruitment of the special police; he makes the stammerous allegation that this special police will be recruited from what he calls the "unscrupu-

ious elements" from among the Communist Partymen. Let me remind him that it is the responsibility of any Government, charged with the task of maintaining law and order to set up emergency organisations in emergency situations.

"This is explicitly provided for in the Acts and Regulations which guide the activities of the Government of this State. Such Acts and Regulations do find a place in every other State of India and are used on occasions and at places where the Government concerned find that the ordinary police force is inadequate to meet the situation. As for Communists being recruited to the police force, it is nothing but a base slander. The Emergency Police Force will be recruited by responsible police officers from among all those citizens who are prepared to help the State in maintaining law and order....

### Pious Intentions

"I am not unaware of their (Congress) avowed intention, not to resort to any direct action and to guide their own struggle on 'perfectly peaceful and constitutional lines.' I am, however, sorry that I cannot accept these professions at their face value....

"Is it not obvious that, even supposing the Congress as an organisation is capable of exercising the utmost restraint on its followers (this itself is doubtful), non-Congressmen who think

along the lines of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and the editor of KERALA BHOOSHANAM would try their best to take advantage of the Congress call for hartal to create tensions?..."

"I would only point out to them that, if, their claims regarding the 'peaceful and constitutional' character of the agitation are to be believed by the people, they should:

Unhesitatingly condemn the speeches and declarations of the leaders of the school closure movement which are open incitements to violence.

Unequivocally declare that the Congress as an organisation is opposed to the reported intention of the leaders of the school closure movement to picket Government schools, and such private schools, as are kept open by their managers.

Make it clear that their own agitation against the Government will be confined to such really peaceful and constitutional forms as public meetings and demonstrations, local and other elections, etc.; specifically exclude such forms of action as hartal and general strike, obstructive picketing, etc....

"Would it be wrong if one were to suspect that the very decisions of the Congress to launch the agitation beginning with a hartal is intended to supplement the activities of the school closure movement in order that the maximum trouble is created for the Government?"



# RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO WIN FAIR DEAL

## JOURNALISTS RESOLVE AT BANGALORE

★ From A Special Correspondent

Relentless struggle to win a fair and equitable wage-structure — it is on this keynote that the Indian Federation of Working Journalists concluded its seventh annual session at Bangalore in the first week of June.

THE Bangalore Conference marks a new stage in the seven year old struggle of the Indian Working Journalists, whose Calcutta Conference in April 1952 first demanded an enquiry into the conditions of the journalists all over the country and led to the appointment of the Press Commission later in the same year. In two years was produced a monumental report on the Indian press, the Commission recommending among many other things legislation for the enforcement of a schedule of minimum wages. The national minimum that the Commission had suggested was Rs. 125 basic wage plus Rs. 25 dearness allowance, besides other additional reliefs.

Obviously this met with powerful resistance on the part of Press barons and the Government of India complying with this pressure brought a Bill in Parliament in 1955 which authorised the Government to set up a Wage Board, which was actually constituted in May 1956 and gave its decisions after exactly one year, in May 1957.

Meanwhile, the newspaper proprietors not only flouted the Board, but even went to the Supreme Court where they got their way nullifying the Wage Board recommendations. At the same time, whatever efforts the Government made to bring about an amicable settlement were impudently vetoed by the proprietors, mainly represented by the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society.

Faced with this powerful onslaught of the vested interests, the Government promulgated an Ordinance—later regularised into an Act—which set up another official body, a Wage Committee to go into the entire question, obviously with a view to accommodate the proprietors' powerful point of view.

### Wage Committee Slideback

On the eve of the Bangalore Conference, the Committee's report together with the Government's resolution accepting it was announced on May 29.

An idea of the extent of the slideback through these years could be had from the fact that in place of the Press Commission's national minimum of Rs. 150 the Wage Committee offers a national minimum of Rs. 95, though the cost of living has gone up in the last five years.

The candid press comments frankly stated that the Committee made at least 20 per cent cut on the Wage Board recommendations and practically all its modifications were in favour of the proprietors.

The Bangalore Conference, in its resolution, pointed out: "It is an irony that the Committee should have had the courage to suggest that it had attempted to fix wages keeping in mind the Directive Principles of the Constitution. It will be pertinent to point out that the minimum wage fixed for a working jour-

marks the Report of the Federation's Secretary-General, Sri Narasimhan. Reviewing the struggle of the last one year, he says: "Collective bargaining has come to stay but the strength of collective bargaining has to be built up."

In the course of his Presidential address, Sri J. P. Chaturvedi said: "During the course of this year we have forged greater links with the press workers all over the country. I appeal to press workers and journalists to consolidate the unity and be prepared for the final struggle not only to attain material benefits and facilities for all press workers but the ultimate partnership and management in the industry."

It was significant to find how many bitter struggles the working journalists have had to wage during the last few months. In January this year, the Federation's Executive gave a call to working journalists to "be prepared to go on strike to get fair wages fixed as it was no use getting involved in litigation."

### Memorable Struggles

First came the Allahabad Amrita Bazar Patrika Struggle. The Federation Secretary-General said: "I am proud to record the grateful appreciation of the Federation of the determination, courage and trade union spirit of our working journalists and other newspaper employees of the Patrika establishment in Allahabad in carrying on the struggle."

Next came the struggle at the Madras Express Group: "Trade unions in Madras and Andhra Pradesh states have adopted the struggle of the Express employees as their own since the basic question of job security and preservation of the rights of the working class is involved."

"We have drawn the attention of the Government of India to these benami transactions but it is unfortunate that the Government have not come out with amendments to Company Law while introducing the Company Law Amendment Bill in Parliament." A resolution to this effect was passed also by the Conference.

The Secretary-General referred to the closure of the Bombay Chronicle and Bombay Sentinel "not for economic reasons but solely with a view to blackmailing the Government, browbeating the Parliament and bullying the Wage Committee and to bring the employees to their knees."

On the closure of the Lokmanya, the employees started a newspaper of their own, Lokmitra, with cooperative management. A similar attempt at cooperatives managing a newspaper is being made by the Patrika employees at Allahabad. A resolution of the Conference said that "the effective solution to meet the challenge of employers is to organise and conduct newspapers and news-agencies on cooperative lines." A sub-committee would be set up to look after this new development.

By another resolution, the Federation urged the Government to "immediately take steps to break this concentration by implementing the recommendations of the Press Commission that diffusion of ownership in the newspaper industry should be brought

about by distribution of shares of newspaper companies to the employees."

Sri Chaturvedi quoted figures to show that there had been in evidence increasing tendency for a monopolistic hold. If the Government is unnecessarily apprehensive of the newspaper proprietors, the journalists themselves will have to take the initiative "in the form of running cooperative newspapers whenever the need for starting a newspaper is felt."

"Then only will we be able to guarantee real freedom of the press, maintenance of journalistic standards and strict enforcement of the code of ethics."

Severe criticism was made by the Secretary-General on the UPI closure: "An unscrupulous adventurer brought down the whole edifice by his immense capacity for mismanagement, throwing out four hundred odd employees on the street without a single pie of retrenchment compensation, gratuity and other benefits. Even the provident fund monies of the employees have been misused and mispent." A resolution was adopted by the Conference on this subject.

The serious implications of the UPI closure were also stressed: "The same set of persons who control most of the newspapers in this country also control today the management of the Press Trust of India, with the result that regimentation of

### EMS's Speech At Calcutta

and that is the removal of the Government of Kerala. These people who are talking of removing the Government of Kerala, have not, during the last 20 months, moved a single no-confidence motion in the State Legislature. Once they had thought of weaning or driving away some members of the Communist Legislature Party and they tried their best to do that, but failed.

The only alternative left to them is some sort of unity amongst themselves on the basis of the so-called charge-sheet, as if a charge-sheet will remove a Government. I am sure that with this weakness of theirs and with the strength of the democratic movement in Kerala and in the rest of the Country, we will be able to defeat their game.

They are making their last desperate effort. The school-closure movement which is scheduled to start on the 15th of June, the day of deliverance which the K.P.C.C. has decided to observe on the 12th, the mass picketing which the P.S.P. and R.S.P. propose to start—all these are their desperate effort. There is no doubt that a combination of all these will make our position a little difficult.

It is in this situation that we request you, the people of Calcutta, to give your solid support to us as you have all along been doing. I appeal to you, in the end, to give your earnest support to the Communist Party of Bengal in their efforts to observe the next week as the Kerala Week. I can assure you that with the support that you will be giving and the support which the people of the other cities and villages of the rest of India will be giving, we will be able to defeat this conspiracy.

Strangely enough on the 1st of June, they had announced that a Joint Council of Action of the Congress, P.S.P. and the Muslim League would be set up and consider and take their joint decision. They of course met, but obviously could not come to an agreement. The decisions taken were not joint decisions, as a result of these differences. They are now trying to have unity on one single issue

## Uttar Pradesh Campaign Of Solidarity With Kerala

# Press and People Slate Congress

EXCEPTING for the solitary and petty garrulous statement of Sri Triloki Singh, PSP leader in U.P. Assembly, who has offered oblique support to the move to oust the Kerala Ministry, the overwhelming opinion in the State is strongly critical of the unholy Congress-PSP-Catholic-Nair-League Conspiracy against the constitutionally established Communist Government of Kerala.

Most of the papers in the State, such as the National Herald, Pioneer, Aj, Sainik, Navjeevan, have come out

with caustic comments specially on the dolings of the Congress. None of them is particularly sympathetic to the Communists, but they say that what is involved in Kerala is not just the fate of an Act, or a Communist Ministry, but the future of parliamentary democracy itself.

For instance, the Pioneer, in a long editorial entitled, "Playing With Fire" has many harsh things to say about the "unparliamentary and extra-constitutional" practice of the Congress.

"...In terms of the latest decision of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Congress has taken upon itself the responsibility and the leadership of the movement for the removal of the Communist Government from office."

marching orders to the Communist Government in Kerala?"

The Banaras, a Congress daily, to mention just one more example, criticises the Congress for its alliance with the League and says "The path which the Congress is treading is not consistent with its prestige... It will neither strengthen its position so that it may be able to take up the reigns of power in its own hands... nor will it do good either to Kerala State or to the cause of democracy..."

In this background the call of the Communist Party to observe Kerala Week from June 7 to 14 is meeting with wide response. The Week has just begun, but there are already news from at least ten district centres, Allahabad, Banaras, Ballia, Deoria, Azamgarh, Fyzabad, Gorakhpur, Rae Bareilly, Hardoi, Kanpur and Lucknow, of meetings and demonstrations in support of the Kerala Government.

In Lucknow, the campaign was started even before this Week was formally inaugurated with a public meeting in the Wazirganj Ward. On June 7 another meeting was held in the maidan opposite Kaiserbagh Baradari. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Sajjad Zaheer among others. After the meeting, a torch-light procession was taken out through the main streets of the city. It was an impressive show with about 250 men and women marching.

It is to retrieve this situation that the Burmah Shell has come out with its latest offer, presumably in the belief that in spite of what the Government might say, it will be able to enlist the support of some even in the highest quarters.

To defeat this game of the Burmah Shell and its supporters in the indigenous economic and political quarters Sri Malaviya and his Ministry need not only to hasten in the erection and commissioning of state refineries but also to exercise utmost vigilance against any overt or covert attempt to put spokes in their wheel.

—ESSEN

—RAMESH SINHA

## ALIGARH TEACHERS SUPPORT KERALA GOVERNMENT

FORTY teachers of the Aligarh Muslim University and the City Colleges have issued a statement expressing their "grave concern" at "the objects and methods of the current agitation against the Kerala Education Act."

The signatories include Professors M. Habib, A. Aleem (Dean, Faculty of Arts) and Mahmud Hossain of the Muslim University; Mr. S. Bashiruddin, Librarian of the University Library; Dr. A. Mujib, Principal, University Training College; Dr. M. C. Mathur, Principal, Barahseni College and Mr. D. N. Gupta, respectively, the President and Secretary of the Agra University Teachers' Association; and Mrs. S. Sharma, Principal, Tikaram Women's College.

The statement notes that "the Kerala Education Act 'embodies a large number of important reforms' of great benefit to the school-teachers as well as students and that it seeks to make education 'more secular'."

The agitation against the Act, says the statement, is trying "to arouse the worst communal passions" and by threatening to close the schools and picket such of them as remain open, its leaders have shown "a reckless disregard for the education of hundreds of thousands of students." The statement also calls attention to "inflammatory statements, calling for defiance of a law which has passed through all the prescribed stages of constitutional machinery."

The signatories wish to record their "strong disapproval of such tactics." They declare their solidarity with the school-teachers of Kerala and their sympathy for the school-children likely to be affected by the school-closure movement. In the end, they express the hope that good sense will prevail and this "conspiracy against Education" will be defeated.

A similar statement has been signed by a number of teachers of the Muslim University schools. The signatories include Mr. S. M. Tonki, Head Master, University High School and Mr. Jamil A. Siddiqi, Secretary, University School Teachers' Union.

## OIL COMPANIES' NEW GAME

THE forthright enunciation by Minister K. D. Malaviya of the Government's Oil policy at Chandigarh last week as consisting mainly in raising the country's indigenous production of oil to ten million tons by the end of the Third Plan to make it independent of the octopus of the foreign combines, will gladden the heart of every patriotic Indian. To translate it into practice, however, Sri Malaviya and his Government will have to be wary of quite a few overtures of the Oil Companies which might look quite attractive at times.

One such overture, currently being publicised in New Delhi, concerns the readiness of the Burmah Shell to forego its existing duty protection benefits if it is allowed to set up a "new refinery for lubricants... and increase the output of its existing refinery (at Bombay) to 2.6 million tons per year" (Capital, June 4).

The duty clause in the agreement with Burmah Shell committed the Government to "continue for ten years or until December 31, 1965, whichever is earlier, protection equivalent to that resulting from the present import duty on imported automotive diesel oil, other diesel oils and fuel oil, as well as suspend levying excise duty on these oils locally manufactured" (Ibid). It also committed it to grant for the same period additional protection by maintaining the import duty on motor gasoline at least two annas an imperial gallon higher than the excise on locally manufactured variety.

Thus, with excise duty suspended on some distillates, and protective import duty levied in favour of others, the Burmah Shell exacted sufficient concessions to put its business on a profitable footing. And after charging abnormally high prices in the bargain it now flaunts its magnanimity to forego a benefit which has outlived its purpose.

The real game behind this astute move, however, is to deflect the Government from its settled course of setting up ventures to produce oil only in public sector, and persuade it into accepting a few more

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

private entrants into this coveted field.

The Burmah Shell and other foreign oil monopolists had been counting India as their close preserve as far as exploitation and processing of oil was concerned. Their schemes, however, suffered a setback when the Government itself entered the field with financial and technical assistance from the Socialist world.

It is to retrieve this situation that the Burmah Shell has come out with its latest offer, presumably in the belief that in spite of what the Government might say, it will be able to enlist the support of some even in the highest quarters.

To defeat this game of the Burmah Shell and its supporters in the indigenous economic and political quarters Sri Malaviya and his Ministry need not only to hasten in the erection and commissioning of state refineries but also to exercise utmost vigilance against any overt or covert attempt to put spokes in their wheel.

—ESSEN

—RAMESH SINHA



Chief Minister Nambudiripad addressing Calcutta educationists. In chair (extreme left) is Prof. K. F. Chattopadhyay, MLC.

—Photo Sambhu Banerjee



# WHY NO CHARGE-SHEET YET?

● By K. P. SUBRAMANYA MENON

On June 4 after a meeting of the Congress Action Council, the Congress announced its decision to observe June 12 as "Deliverance Day" throughout Kerala.

Earlier the Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, had reported on June 3 that "a meeting of the joint Action Council of the three opposition parties—the Congress, PSP and Muslim League—is being held at Ernakulam". It was also reported that "Mr. Shankar will issue a statement shortly outlining the Congress charge-sheet against the Ministry and its plan of action".

HENCE, when the KPCC President's statement appeared on June 5, I wondered what had happened to the "charge-sheet." Ever since the AICC session held in New Delhi exactly a month ago the AICC and the Kerala Congress had been speaking of this charge-sheet. Does it take such a long time to prepare a charge-sheet against the Communist Government, especially when all these 26 months they have done nothing except hurling charges one after another and proclaiming that the people of Kerala were disgusted with the Communist Government and wanted to get rid of it.

According to the *Malayala Manorama* of June 5, the Congress Action Council members met PSP leaders Pattom Thanu Pillai, P. K. Kunju, A. Sreedharan, Muslim League's Bafaqi Thangal and P. K. Sahib on June 4, and discussed with them the Congress proposals. It was reported that the PSP and League had agreed to the proposed joint agitation programme.

After all this consultation and agreement, why could they not produce the so-called charge-sheet? I looked for some clue to this mystery through all available reports about the confabulations of the protagonists of the struggle.

The truth of the matter is that, in spite of all this talk about Communist threat to democracy, and their alleged crimes, none of them can agree with the other on anything specific about what is wrong with the Government's acts of commission and omission. That the Communists run the Ministry, is their omnibus charge.

Here is what the most reputed Congress daily of Kerala, *Mathrubhoomi* has to say about the predicament of the crusaders:

"Some NSS people who do not like such close cooperation with the Catholic church are doubtful about the character of the agitation. They fear that the Catholic hierarchy is 'using' them for their purposes.

"The Congress is now going about with a different 'charge-sheet' and programme. The contradictory statements of leaders are creating confusion of ideas among them. Their position today is that they 'can neither spit nor swallow.' Communist Government must go; but how can they support an agitation conducted in the name of (opposing) Education Act and reservation for backward classes — this is their doubt. Some are insisting that the Communist Government should be pushed out with whatever forces come their way.

"The Praja Socialists have also formulated their agitation programme. There are some of them who do not like the leadership of Pattom and P. K. Kunju. They are not very en-

thusiastic about the agitation. The Muslim League does not agree to the closure movement. Their stand is 'Do not play with Education'....

"Thus nobody knows where a united front agitation of mutually contradictory forces will lead to. Many among the sponsors doubt that what had 'come like rain might disappear like dew'."

This is where the adventurist gamblers of the Opposition are leading the people—into a blind alley — without a programme, without a clear idea of what they are fighting for.

Meanwhile serious fissures have appeared in the facade of unity of opposition parties even on the issue of the programme for the "Deliverance Day!"

First of all, people may ask, why was this particular day, June 12, fixed as the "D-Day"? According to Kerala press reports, it seems it is to "accommodate" the Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim masses in Kerala will stand no nonsense from the League leaders about closing down of schools, or hartals against the Kerala Government. The Muslim masses, in common with the ordinary people of the State as a whole, have been immensely benefited by the Communist Government's measures, both legislative and executive. And any effort to move them against the Kerala Government would have exposed the League leadership as shame-faced betrayers of their interests.

It is this fear of the Muslim masses that compelled the Muslim League to take up a stand against closure of schools and hartal. June 12 being a Friday Muslim shops and other establishments will in any case be closed. So by facing June 12 as the D-Day the Congress can claim to have put up a "united front" of all the Opposition!

## PLANS FOR D-DAY

What are the plans for "D-Day"? According to the *Mathrubhoomi* of June 6, "In order to remove the Communist Government in Kerala, the Kerala Congress in cooperation with other opposition parties is starting an unconstitutional, but non-violent programme of agitation."

The report further states that apart from meetings and demonstrations, it is proposed to completely paralyse the functioning of the Government by resorting to non-payment of taxes, breaking of laws, picketing of Government offices, etc. which are all included in the Congress programme.

According to KPCC President Shankar, his "Action Council" will keep liaison with the school managers "Liberation Committee." And the "Dictator" of the Catholic-Church-NSS communal agitation told the correspondent of the *Malayala Manorama* (June 7) that "the liberation

struggle, which I am leading and the struggle started by political parties like Congress both have the same aim."

"Yesterday I had consultations with the other party leaders," he revealed and said that the action will be a joint one generally, and sometimes, it may be carried out separately also. The correspondent asked: "The Congress is launching a non-cooperation movement and you are launching a direct action?" To

that they should "work positively for peaceful approaches and methods in furtherance of objectives and long-established policies of the Congress."

● The *Deepika*, the Catholic hierarchy's mouthpiece, headlined: "Nehru on anti-Communist Revolution in Kerala," adding: "It is the expression of no-confidence in Government."

● The *Kerala Janatha* of PSP's Pattom, gave promi-

## FISSURES IN THE OPPOSITION FRONT

this he replied, "Congress non-cooperation programme includes everything—that is what I understand."

To a pointed question, as to what they proposed to do in the event of the struggle being prolonged and the Communist Government not quitting, Mannam revealed the working of the mind of reaction in Kerala: "Is the Central Government not there? They know all that is happening here!"

nence to what it interpreted as the hint of central intervention: "India cannot stand idle and watch Kerala weeping."

## INCIDENTS

This reading of their plans is also borne out by recent incidents that have taken place during the last week. The goondas of the Church and Congress volunteers have started attacking cooperative toddy shops,

Congress Committee and captain of the Blue Shirt volunteers of the Catholic Church was arrested on June 5 and the police recovered some 200 fused electric bulbs, presumably kept for throwing acid and incendiarism. It is reported that acids and other lethal chemicals have been hidden and have not yet been traced.

Goondas organised under the leadership of the Church at Koduman have attacked and wounded a local carpenter by name Velayudhan by firing from country-made guns. At Kara in Vaikam, some Christopher goondas attacked a toddy-tapper returning home after work. Communist Party workers returning home at night from party offices or field work have been attacked by volunteers at a number of places.

A meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party at Muttam near Ernakulam on June 4 was attacked by about 200 Christophers armed with daggers and sticks. The meeting had to be adjourned till reserve police came and maintained peace. The Christophers later stoned the shops of Communist Party sympathisers in the locality and attacked the houses of Harijans in the locality.

The vilest provocation was at Athirakam near Cannanore where a school was set fire to by Congress and PSP goondas.

Another report from *Pembra* near Kozhikode says that as a result of bomb explosion in the house of a Congress worker and Panchayat Board member, one *Devasay* and another person were injured and that they were admitted to a hospital in Calicut run by Christian missionaries. Explosion is reported to have occurred while manufacturing crude bombs for the "liberation" struggle.

The most important popular victory in the midst of this turmoil is the passing of the Agrarian Reforms Bill by the Kerala Assembly and the Communist MLAs who return to their constituencies on June 11 will be given hero's welcome by the people. That itself will be a demonstration of the great confidence the people have in their Government.

Meanwhile, important religious leaders other than of Catholic Church have condemned the school-closure move. His Grace the Archbishop Mar Kurielos Metropolitan of Kunnamkulam Archbishopric of the Mar Thoma Syrian Orthodox Church declared that the schools under his jurisdiction will not be closed. He said that some Catholic priests had approached him for closing the schools, but he refused.

Muslim schools as mentioned earlier will not be closed. The *Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam*, of which a Congress MLA K. R. Narayanan is the General Secretary have declared that they will not close their schools and further that they are willing to open new schools.

The Kerala Aided Primary Teachers' Union, Ernakulam District met under the Presidency of Sri C. K. Antony and passed a resolution moved by Sri K. O. John, the General Secretary of the Union condemning the school-closure movement.



Kerala Agitation "Too sweet to spit out, Too bitter to swallow"—Malayalam proverb.  
—Kutty in HINDUSTAN STANDARD.

In the light of all this talk of non-cooperation, direct action and liberation struggle, the statement of the Congress that their struggle will be 'non-violent' does not carry any meaning. The fact of the matter is that behind the smokescreen of affected non-violence, the Congress and the religious-communal reaction is preparing to unleash the force of violence and anarchy and plunge the State into fratricidal conflict.

This reading of the working of the mind of Congress and other organisers of the struggle is confirmed by the way newspapers in Kerala reported Nehru's statement of June 6.

● For example, the *Dinamani*, edited by Shankar, the President of the KPCC, headlined the report: "A dangerous situation full of possibility of violent conflict exists in Kerala." Significantly, the *Dinamani* did not report the portion in which Nehru had specially appealed to Kerala Congressmen that they should not tolerate any action "which directly or indirectly encourages violence or support communalism or casteism" and

Communist Party workers and Harijans.

For example, in Ankamali in Ernakulam district, they have mustered about four to five thousand volunteers led by about 40 known goondas of the area. Their main attack is directed against the backward communities, especially the Harijans.

Recently, a Harijan girl and her child were attacked by a set of goondas from the nearby Church who entered her compound to forcibly cut down palm trees. When the police went to arrest some of the culprits, the Church bells sounded alarm and about 200 shock troopers gathered around the police party and attacked them.

Similarly, a toddy shop in Ankamali and another in Quilon was attacked and set fire to by goondas. Both were cooperative shops run by backward communities. The efforts seem to be clearly to provoke communal clashes.

One P. P. Joseph of Edappally, Secretary of the Ward