

# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VII, NO. 28 SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1959 25 NP.

FEB 18 1960

Cost Copy

## ALIEN CHURCH

### STANDING THREAT TO NATIONAL LIFE

**T**HE Very Reverend Father J. S. Williams, the Archpriest of the Indian National Church, Secretary General and Acting President of the All-India Federation of National Churches, has said in a statement that, "The Kerala Education Act of Mr. Mundassery does not, in any way, harm the Roman Catholic management of the so-called Christians in Kerala. If the Kerala Government were serious enough about the educational reforms in the State they should have taken a firm stand against all alien influence, foreign missions and their native agents and stopped their interference with the education of younger children of a nation which has just freed

herself from the foreign rule and alien domination over every walk of our national life."

Father Williams further says, "... The direction, advice and influence or supremacy of the alien Church administrative systems over any school and in any part of India is a danger to our national life and thought".

He also stated that "devilish indeed, is the attempt on the part of those who try to incite bitterness in Kerala against the State Government which has been constitutionally framed and established, and strengthened by the will of the majority of the people of the State."

Rev. Williams concluded

his statement with a warning that "The alien Church administrative systems in India, directed from the West and managed in India by their native agents, will ever remain a danger to the safety and security of, and peace in India."

"Today they flout the people's Government in Kerala, tomorrow they will prove a fatal danger to the very Union Government of India which has afforded them all facilities for proselytisation with full control over extensive Church properties, built by the Indian exchequer during the British rule. These valuable properties are, in fact, the national wealth, but the nationalist Christians and patriotic sons of India have no access to it."

## Stop Anti-Social Activities !

## Start Negotiations !

# E. M. S. INTERVIEWED IN CAPITAL

NEW DELHI, July 9.

Flying in early this morning Comrade EMS looked surprisingly relaxed and cheerful. From all accounts the strain on him must have been tremendous. Asking him how he achieved this I was told with a characteristic grin: "Well, the feeling that the people are with you, that your opponent is getting increasingly isolated is better than any tonic".

**T**HE next query, naturally enough, was about the purpose of his visit. To this the reply was that he had come to meet the President, Prime Minister, Home Minister and others to give them, at first, hand, the very latest position in Kerala and to be on hand to answer any question or doubts that may be there.

As to the outcome, he said that this scarcely depended on him alone. But he felt that the atmosphere might begin to show signs of clearing, if democratic opinion came even more powerfully into the arena on the side of the Indian Constitution.

"You know we are always ready to discuss matters with all the opposition parties together or separately or in any permutation or combination they like. As a matter of fact, we want to emphasise that our hand is out-stretched, let the Opposition not just clench theirs behind their back."

In particular he felt that a good start could be made with two things—the Education Act and picketing. "Let anti-social activities, which are universally condemned, stop. Let us hope that the Opposition in Kerala will begin to wipe out the blot this has cast on our politics and our country's prestige. Let us hope they will try to revive some of their own good traditions".

Comrade EMS then paused but before the next question could be put, came a

striking statement: "There is so much talk of Central intervention—it goes on and on. Why does not the Congress High Command, intervene, at least, in the affairs of the Kerala Congress?"

"What else does the KPCC have to do but firmly execute some of the warnings, strictures, advice, etc., that the Prime Minister is giving in his Press conferences? What is the hitch? Is it a case of indiscipline or is it that the KPCC leaders have other mentors and different instructions?"

"I hope that the references made by the Prime Minister at his Press Conference on July 7 to the Education Act and picketing will make the leaders of the school closure movement and opposition political parties reconsider the stand which they have been taking on these questions for the last few weeks.

"The Prime Minister made it clear that it was not his intention that the whole Education Act should be suspended. Particularly was it not his intention that the sections relating to the privileges conferred on teachers should be suspended. He also expressed his regret that his suggestion that the controversial provisions of the Act should be discussed between the Government and the interests involved has not been given effect to.

"The stand which those who speak for the corporate

managements took on this question has unfortunately been quite contrary to all that the Prime Minister had earlier suggested and has now reiterated. The school teachers were, of course, much closer to the latest stand taken by Pandit Nehru.

"I know that the views of the managers and teachers are opposed to each other. Then what should be done? Surely not that either side digs his toes in and holds our future generation to ransom? Why not start discussions? This is much simpler and saner".

The other point on which Kerala's Chief Minister was passionately emphatic was the need to enforce Pandit Nehru's declarations against picketing. Actually what is going on in Kerala is far worse than the rather mild term 'picketing' would suggest. Schools are being damaged and even destroyed, peaceful citizens are assaulted, transport vehicles viciously attacked.

"It is such a campaign of wanton attacks on the persons and properties of our educational institutions and transport vehicles that it seems is

going to be intensified, from July 9, as per the diktat of the 'Liberation Committee'."

Comrade EMS felt that the Congress High Command and the Prime Minister would prove that they meant what they said if they came out strongly against this fresh move to step up violence and saw to it that the KPCC actively campaigned against it.

What about the "mass upsurge"? To this the retort was that if the threat of Central intervention was removed, it would burst like a bubble. In the recent few days even whatever tempo had been achieved earlier was gone.

As a matter of fact quarrels have already started. Sri Mannam and Sri Pattom are reported to be glowering at each other. The organ of the Catholic church Dipika has come out against the proposed move for the resignation of MLAs, municipal councillors, etc. Some Catholics are accusing the Nair Service Society of being lukewarm. All this was natural. "Order cannot exist where irrational hatred and frustration is the only impelling force."

And the final crack: "I am told that the famous 'Charge-sheet' has become a 'Memorandum' and threatens to be changed again to a 'Petition'. Even then, with all the changes in christening, the baby does not get born!

"This is not taking anybody seriously, least of all the people. But it is the people who watch all this and even a minority of them won't be duped much longer. They will all demand an end to tomfoolery and anti-social activities. And in the end they will prevail!"

—HOHIT SEN



Ajoy Ghosh Writes On "Congress Decision And After" —See Pages 3 & 14.



# CONGRESS-LED CAMPAIGN OF DESTRUCTION — E.M.S. GIVES FACTS

The decisions of the joint meeting of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) and the Congress Legislature Party are significant, not so much for what they state, as for what they fail to state, says the Chief Minister of Kerala in a statement issued on July 6. The statement further reads:

MEETING as they were for the first time after the Central Congress Parliamentary Board had adopted its resolution on Kerala, one would have expected them to take steps to implement all the policy declarations made by the Board. One, however, finds that, on one policy declaration of the Board, the leaders of the Kerala Pradesh Congress are significantly silent. I am referring to the forthright declaration made by the Board with regard to picketing of schools and picketing of transport vehicles.

Sri Sankar, the President of the KPCC, stated in his press interview on his return from Delhi that the Congress has nothing to do with picketing of transport vehicles. The former was, according to him, a form of action resorted to by the School Closure Movement, while the latter was resorted to by the students. So far as the Congress is concerned, he went on, it has declared itself to be opposed to these forms of action.

The point, however, is: Would he just pay lip service to the denunciation of these forms of action, or does he consider himself bound by the Parliamentary Board's resolution to translate the Congress disapproval of these methods into active campaign against them, a campaign with a view to dissuading those few people who are resorting to it?

## Headed By Congressmen

Sri Sankar cannot but know that this organised campaign of destruction in the name of picketing is, in many places, headed by local Congressmen, and that this is doing great damage both to transport boats in the Kuttanad area and transport buses in some other areas. The statistics collected by the Government Transport Department shows that, during the last three weeks, about 150 transport boats were forcibly detained from service and tied on the way; 10 transport boats were heavily stoned and the bodies of 20 were damaged; salt, sand, ash, etc., were thrown inside the fuel tanks, exhaust pipes, etc. of 10 boats; several boat employees were assaulted, four of them brutally.

As a result of these forms of attack (which can be stopped if the Congress sincerely wants it to be stopped), the Transport Department had to suspend boat services on certain routes, thus causing inconvenience to hundreds of people who have been using this form of transport.

As for transport buses I shall just give the statistics for three days after the Parliamentary Board expressed its disapproval:

On June 30 alone, transport

two buses were removed, while the glasses and lights of six were broken. There was stone-throwing on six buses. On the next day, July 1, transport buses were stopped at 35 places; deflating of air by damaging valve tubes was done to eight buses; tyres and tubes of three were damaged; sugar, salt and sand were put inside the fuel tank and radiator of one bus; the brake hoses of 1 bus were cut; horn, mirror, etc. of two buses were removed; glasses and lights were broken on one; stones were thrown on two, as a result of which one passenger and two members of the crew were injured; two members of the crew were assaulted.

On July 2, stopping of buses took place at 21 places, valve tubes were damaged and air

deflated in the case of eight buses, and tyres and tubes of eight were damaged. The silencers of two buses were blocked by plugging them with timber and other things. Brake hoses of three buses were cut, horn, mirror, etc. of three were damaged. Glasses and lights of three were broken. Stones were thrown on three buses, as a result of which one passenger and five members of the crew were also assaulted.

A comparison of these figures with figures relating to the period before the resolution of the Parliamentary Board shows that the policy declaration of the Board had no effect at all on the activities of the people who are resorting to these forms of action.

As regards school, I would just give a list of schools which were set fire to or otherwise damaged in some parts of the State. I should, at the same time, add that this list is by no means complete and exhaustive.

## Schools Set Ablaze

1. St. Francis Lower Primary School, Puthusseri (Trichur Dist.)
2. A portion of the Central High School, Trivandrum (Trivandrum Dist.)
3. A shed of the Govt. High School, Nedumangad (Trivandrum Dist.)
4. Pazhangalam West Departmental Lower Primary School (Quilon Dist.)

\* SEE PAGE 15

## New Foreign Investments In India

THE latest official estimates placed the foreign exchange requirements of organised industries in the private sector at about Rs. 450 crores for the Second Plan period, said the *Hindustan Times* on July 4.

The amount of foreign exchange sanctioned till the end of March 1959 for these industries, it said, was estimated at Rs. 300 crores, leaving another Rs. 150 crores to be released for allocation during the remaining years of the Plan to achieve the targets.

Lest we question the relevance of such a big allocation to the industries in private sector, the *Hindustan Times*, also detailed the schemes for which it was meant. The first among these, in terms of amount required (Rs. 73 crores) have been classified in a group named "intermediates". This includes items like iron and steel (to be had from abroad) as well as machinery for creating capacities in rayon and staple fibre. Next come "consumer goods" industries (Rs. 54 crores), ranging from sugar to newsprint, and the last are "capital goods" industries on which a mere Rs. 21 crores is to be spent.

In giving these figures the *Hindustan Times* was no doubt making a bid to publicise the claim of the private section for "leniency" in the allocation of foreign exchange. It did not, however, care to mention the cost which the country has had to bear for similar "leniency" in the past.

For this we have to look into the findings of a recent study of the Reserve Bank's on "Foreign Investments" during the last three years (published in the June issue of the Bank's Bulletin). Here are its main points:

● India's international creditor position registered a reversal in 1957 in as much

as instead of being a net creditor to the tune of Rs. 215 crores in 1956, it became a net debtor to the extent of Rs. 267 crores. Net indebtedness at the end of 1958 rose further to Rs. 648 crores.

● While primarily it reflected "developments in the official sector which became a debtor to the tune of Rs. 60 crores at the end of 1958 from a creditor sector to the extent of Rs. 970 crores at end of 1955, the inflow of foreign investments in the private sector (including World Bank loans) at Rs. 48.8 crores and Rs. 35 crores in 1957 and 1958 respectively was by no means inconsiderable.

From a net creditor to net debtor—such is the fate of the country's economy after over a decade of freedom. Surely, it is not a state of affairs of which any Government can be proud, more so when it is remembered that a sizeable part of the "benefits" it brought accrued only to the private sector.

The net inflow of private foreign investments in the private sector amounted to Rs. 16.8 crores during 1957 against Rs. 24.7, crores during 1956. The decline was not, however, due to any reluctance on the part of foreign investors to invest capital here—but was rather a result of greater "repatriation" of compensation proceeds in respect of life insurance and gold mining companies nationalised in 1956. Moreover, taking only fresh capital receipts from abroad, the position showed a "significant improvement" as evidenced in their amount rising to Rs. 15.6 crores in 1957 against Rs. 11.6 crores in 1956 and Rs. 9.2 crores (on an annual average) during 1954-55.

Thus what the country witnessed during five years 1954-48 was a continuous and ever-increasing inflow of pri-

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

private capital from abroad. Till 1957 petroleum accounted for its major share, and in 1958, when State intervention on a big scale injected an element of uncertainty into it "sectors other than petroleum" more than made it up.

As to the source of inflow it is no longer the good old England exploiting the advantage which history gave it. Now the United States, too, has been making big dents into what was till now its special preserve. Already, according to the study it had "replaced UK during 1957 "as the principal source of capital inflow" and although UK still maintained its "overwhelming lead" in respect of outstanding foreign investments the "inflow from the USA has been increasing at a faster pace than that from the UK".

The details of the study are not yet available to us, but when they will be it will be interesting to find out the "preferences" of the dollar in respect of the fields of investment. For the present, however, it is equally significant to observe the close relationship between the "massive" economic assistance which the US Administration gives to the Government with a fanfare and the steady pace at which American private capital has been making its way into the private sector. Obviously the real objective behind the first has been to brighten the prospects of the other. Still, the people are fed on the fiction of the US rendering aid without strings.

The study also exposes the relative futility of the Government's much publicised campaign of "progressive Indianisation" of foreign firms. Of the total private foreign investments of Rs.

508.7 crores in the private sector as at the end of 1957 those in foreign-controlled enterprises or foreign direct investments amounted to Rs. 446.1 crores or 87 per cent.

Time and again the Government has been urged by progressive circles not to solicit foreign private funds too much, lest the Frankenstein reared thereby tells on the country's economy in the long run. Obviously, these warnings were not heeded—and the result is there for all to see.

LAST week we referred in these columns to the discomfiture with which the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry's good will trade delegation viewed the UK Government's practice of "mark-up" of prices of Indian jute goods to bolster up the competitive position of British jute manufacturers. Now we have it on the authority of the "NAFEN that Britain "will not agree to any reduction in the mark-up" until after the general elections.

The reason behind continuance of this patently discriminatory practice in respect of goods from a Commonwealth country is said to be the apprehension that its discontinuance might "cause large-scale unemployment."

Unemployment not being conducive to the success of the British ruling party at the polls its "concern" for the livelihood of Dundee workers can very well be understood. What is not so understandable, however, is the stubbornness of our own Government in believing that Imperial Preferences yet remain some virtue.

—ESSEN

July 7.

# CONGRESS DECISION AND AFTER

Once again the Opposition agitation in Kerala has claimed fresh victims. It is tragic that the police had once again to open fire, compelled by the violent tactics of the Opposition, resulting in four deaths. Nobody regrets these deaths more than the Kerala Ministry and the Communist Party, nobody feels more grief at this loss of human life.

IT is not sorrow alone, however, but anger that the Opposition has made playthings of human beings and sought to attain their nefarious ends by the sacrifice of the lives of ordinary people. Characteristically the chosen leader of the "liberation struggle" Sri Mannam has commented on the latest firings—"more blood can be offered" (*Hindustan Times*, July 5).

This regrettable firing is only one sign of deterioration in the situation in Kerala following the infamous resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board. That resolution was passed on June 29 and immediately Opposition violence mounted. Comrade Achutha Menon, Minister for Law and Order, has in a statement shown how the stoning of buses and the obstructive picketing of government offices and schools had been stepped up during the past few days.

This was only natural. It was clear from the declaration of Sri Sankar and Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon welcoming the Parliamentary Board's resolution that the go-ahead order had been received, that the line had been determined—create chaos and give us a chance to topple the Ministry. Sri Sankar stated: "We are glad that the Congress Parliamentary Board fully appreciated the implications of the present situation in Kerala" (*Times of India*, July 7).

It is not, therefore, enough to fix the blame for the tension and crisis in Kerala on the local Congress leaders or on the Catholic and Nair communal leaders. It is the Congress High Command, the Central Congress leadership, who must be recognised as the chief culprits.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE PARLIAMENTARY BOARD'S RESOLUTION IS ITSELF A FORM OF GENERAL INTERVENTION, IS ITSELF A DIRECT AND BIASED INTERUSION INTO THE STRUGGLE THAT STILL GOES ON THERE.

Their tactic seems to be clear—plan a division of labour. The Centre will constantly dangle the threat of dismissal of the Ministry. The Vimochana Sainara Samiti, which contains two top Congress leaders—will handle the job of picketing, the students will be hurled into the "duty" of stoning buses, the Congress leaders will openly agitate around the "charge-sheet" and invite disobedience in the police and administrative services. This division of labour was more or less openly proclaimed in the July 2 statement of Sri Sankar.

The Parliamentary Board has thus directly prevented the solution of the Kerala crisis through negotiations between the ministry and the Opposition leaders. It will be recalled that on the advice of Sri Nehru, Comrade Nambodiripad immediately offered

munalists in Kerala. They are surprised that the same Sri Nehru who had condemned the Samyukta Maharashtra agitation as "following a fascist path" (*Statesman*, November 3) had blessed the agitation in Kerala as "a popular upsurge."

They are surprised that the Congress leadership which had talked so eloquently of raising the status of the teacher (the latest example being Dr. Shrimall's speech on July 4) had now called for the total suspension of an Act which aimed precisely at that.

We can appreciate this surprise, which is one manifestation of the maturity and vigilance of Indian democratic opinion which refuses to be cowed down by the obiter dicta of the highest in the land. Nevertheless, there is a method in what appears to be madness.

Whatever may be the subtle shades of difference, the variation in the phrases used, what unites the Congress High Command, the KPCC, the Catholic bishops, Sri Mannam, etc., is the identical nature of their objective—to oust the Kerala ministry. IT IS THIS IDENTITY OF AIM THAT LOGICALLY LEADS TO ALL THE OBJECTIONABLE AND SELF-CONTRADICTING FEATURES OF THE STAND TAKEN BY SRI NEHRU AND HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE CENTRAL CONGRESS LEADERSHIP.

Another striking indication of the actual swing in Kerala was the Muvattupuzha municipal election in March 1959. Previously the position was that the Congress held 8 seats and Communists 2. Now the position is that the Communists hold 9 seats and the Congress 7. Instances like these can be multiplied many times.

In any event the elections so far conducted in Kerala stand in sharp contrast to the landslide suffered by the Congress in the recent municipal elections in Madras, to say nothing of the string of defeats in the Assembly by-elections in Maharashtra. It is a fact, noted by all, including top Congress leaders, that all over the country the popularity of the Congress is on the wane.

Then, one may legitimately ask why should Kerala alone be picked out for mid-term elections? Would not yielding to this demand mean that a premium would be placed on discrimination against non-Congress parties and governments?

Second, any government charge can be levelled at all Congress ministries, except Assam and Mysore, that the percentage of votes polled by the Kerala ministry is greater than that of the Congress in Orissa (38.21 per cent) and practically the same as that in Bihar (41.90). Then should re-elections be ordered in all these States and in the centre (where the Congress polled only some 47 per cent of the total votes cast for the Lok Sabha candidates)?

That is serious about implementing its pledges to the people, that wants to carry out serious economic and social reforms must have sufficient time to do so. The Governor of the Punjab, Sri N.V. Gadgil, has very correctly stated on July 5: "A duly elected government has the right to remain in office for a term of five years. As a matter of fact it must have stability to implement its assurances held out to the electorate during the elections" (*Tribune*, July 6).

This is quite well-known to the Congress leaders, who have during two general elections stated that even ten years is not long enough for them to implement their modest programme, despite all the power and support that they possess.

How much more necessary, therefore, is it that the Kerala Ministry be given its full term of office, especially when for every important piece of legislation, every important development project it has to await the sanction of the Centre, which is controlled by the Congress?

The calculation of the High Command and the KPCC is precisely that the Kerala ministry should be thrown out before it has had a chance to redeem its pledge to the electorate—which can then be used as electoral ammunition.

Their calculation is that the holding of a snap election at a time when they have whipped up religious and communal passions would be most advantageous to them. They believe that without this their "united front" may soon disintegrate. And, without the atmosphere of passion and hatred, they feel, the people might not easily be diverted from asking first and foremost about the policies and programmes of the different candidates, and not about their religion or community.

Of course, even in such a case it may well turn out that the Congress leaders, as is rather usual with them, have counted without their "host"—the great majority of the Kerala people show no signs of being easily made the dupes of this shady game.

Still, it is evident that the demagoguery about re-elections is inspired by this nefarious

First, this "democratic" demand is offensively discriminatory. It is not the stand of the Communist Party that at no time and in no eventuality are mid-term elections to be held. It may happen that necessary in some exceptional situation. But there should be some common test, some uniform criterion to determine whether these elections have become necessary.

Is the test to be applied to all the States in India that a ministry elected on a minority vote should seek a fresh mandate? Interested parties have stage-whispered about the 41.70 per cent polled by the Communist Party and the Independents supported by it.

Official figures of the Election Commission show that this "minority of votes"

## by AJOY GHOSH

Then again it is suggested that even those who voted for the ministry in Kerala have shifted their allegiance? What is the evidence? In the Devikulam by-elections the united opposition was routed by the Communist candidate, who increased the percentage of the votes polled from 31 to 48.5. In the 175 by-elections to the panchayats held between April 1957 to February 1959 the Communist Party won 54 seats, the Congress 34 and the PSP 3. This is apart from the many Independents who won in open alliance with the Communist Party.

Another striking indication of the actual swing in Kerala was the Muvattupuzha municipal election in March 1959. Previously the position was that the Congress held 8 seats and Communists 2. Now the position is that the Communists hold 9 seats and the Congress 7. Instances like these can be multiplied many times.

In any event the elections so far conducted in Kerala stand in sharp contrast to the landslide suffered by the Congress in the recent municipal elections in Madras, to say nothing of the string of defeats in the Assembly by-elections in Maharashtra. It is a fact, noted by all, including top Congress leaders, that all over the country the popularity of the Congress is on the wane.

Then, one may legitimately ask why should Kerala alone be picked out for mid-term elections? Would not yielding to this demand mean that a premium would be placed on discrimination against non-Congress parties and governments?

Second, any government

charge can be levelled at all Congress ministries, except Assam and Mysore, that the percentage of votes polled by the Kerala ministry is greater than that of the Congress in Orissa (38.21 per cent) and practically the same as that in Bihar (41.90). Then should re-elections be ordered in all these States and in the centre (where the Congress polled only some 47 per cent of the total votes cast for the Lok Sabha candidates)?

That is serious about implementing its pledges to the people, that wants to carry out serious economic and social reforms must have sufficient time to do so. The Governor of the Punjab, Sri N.V. Gadgil, has very correctly stated on July 5: "A duly elected government has the right to remain in office for a term of five years. As a matter of fact it must have stability to implement its assurances held out to the electorate during the elections" (*Tribune*, July 6).

This is quite well-known to the Congress leaders, who have during two general elections stated that even ten years is not long enough for them to implement their modest programme, despite all the power and support that they possess.

How much more necessary, therefore, is it that the Kerala Ministry be given its full term of office, especially when for every important piece of legislation, every important development project it has to await the sanction of the Centre, which is controlled by the Congress?

The calculation of the High Command and the KPCC is precisely that the Kerala ministry should be thrown out before it has had a chance to redeem its pledge to the electorate—which can then be used as electoral ammunition.

Their calculation is that the holding of a snap election at a time when they have whipped up religious and communal passions would be most advantageous to them. They believe that without this their "united front" may soon disintegrate. And, without the atmosphere of passion and hatred, they feel, the people might not easily be diverted from asking first and foremost about the policies and programmes of the different candidates, and not about their religion or community.

Of course, even in such a case it may well turn out that the Congress leaders, as is rather usual with them, have counted without their "host"—the great majority of the Kerala people show no signs of being easily made the dupes of this shady game.

Still, it is evident that the demagoguery about re-elections is inspired by this nefarious

Publication Date—July 25, 1959

## LOKAYATA

Studies in Indian Materialism  
by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Price Rs. 27/50. 730 pp.

This work is the first comprehensive study of the subject from the Marxist point of view.

Special pre-publication quantity discount to the trade.  
(for orders received up to July 25, 1959)

Less than 5 copies 5% extra; 5 copies and more 10% extra  
Orders received after July 25, 1959.

Usual 25%

For 5 copies and more 5% extra. Carriage extra in all cases.

People's Publishing House (P) Ltd.,  
Rani Jhansi Road,  
New Delhi.

\* SEE PAGE 14



THE present phase of the developing crisis in Kerala began with the Parliamentary Board's resolution giving the line clear for the intensification of illegal activities within Kerala so that intervention from the top, from the Union Centre, can be resorted to under the plausible excuse of the break down of law and order. The Executive of our Party denounced it as adoption of the method of double standards in our political life, and resorting to tactics that are undemocratic and subversive of the Constitution.

The comments of the Indian Press and statements of prominent personalities have shown that this was not the criticism of our Party alone. Despite the use of the seemingly democratic trick of asking for general elections, the stand of the Congress High Command and the misdeeds of Kerala Congress have been widely condemned in quarters that have nothing common with Communists. Among them is ex-Finance Minister Sri C. D. Deshmukh who has chided the Congress for having now adopted the tactics of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

The Punjab's Governor Sri Gadgil has not only defended the right of the Kerala Government to rule for its full term but has appealed to Pandit Nehru to call off the illegal Congress agitation. Kerala Congress leaders, the Asoka Mehtas, and the press hacks supporting the High Command were literally counting the days for Central intervention. But their own unprincipled tactics have cost them the neutral opinion and the bulk of Indian press. Even the Political Commentator of the Statesman (July 8) has noted "the balance of advantage does not even now lie with the Congress whose actions in recent weeks have been really muddled and foolish."

The unpopularity of the stand of the High Command had its pale reflection in the Prime Minister's Conference when he said categorically that he did

not "favour" Central intervention and disclosed that the Central Government has yet to discuss it formally. He told the journalists that he would "like to avoid contingency" but also added "if there is no other way out one has to take it". India's democratic opinion has succeeded in staying the threat of imminent intervention in Kerala that loomed large earlier but the threat remains intact and so does the grave danger to Indian democracy.

The sword is kept hanging. It has yet to be kept back in the scabbard.

**The False**

**Theory**

Pandit Nehru and the like of him do not see the enormity of the crime of central intervention because, inhibited by their own partisan interest, they have indoctrinated themselves with the false theory of "a tremendous mass upsurge".

Pandit Nehru here is in the bad company of Sri Asoka Mehta who too says that he has never seen such an upsurge, and who too highlights the fact of parties which were opposed to each other having now joined hands.

A good answer to this misuse of democratic terms has been given by old-time Congress veteran Sivagnana Bramani, leader of the Tamil Arasu Khazagam, who stated before a largely attended Malayali Convention in Madras: "For the first time we are told that mass upsurge would come in the land with sufficiently prolonged advanced publicity and preparations. The mass upsurge in Kerala has been under preparation for over twelve months, with plenty of foreign money backing it. It is really a great education to hear the Prime Minister's views on what mass upsurge means in English language."

"If the present agitation of Catholic priests and Nair cavaliers could be termed a mass upsurge then the least one could say is that the Prime Minister has lost all sense of proportion."

Former Speaker of Travancore-Cochin Assembly and PSP leader Sri N. Gangadharan effectively made the point that there was no stable Government in Kerala until the Communists came to power. He characterised the opposition agitation as a "conspiracy by communal organisations to overthrow the Government elected by the people."

The aims of the anti-Communist agitation are reactionary, opposition to the Education Act and Land Bill, both of which Pandit Nehru himself has found unobjectionable and which are in fact in line with Congress policy itself. Their methods are illegal and provocative. The Congress allies are caste, communal and religious organisations. How can such an unprincipled gang up and the resultant movement be called a popular upsurge?

The Congress in Kerala has isolated itself from the people so much that it has to align itself virtually base itself, on the Catholic Church, caste organisations and cravenly clandestinely seek the support of Muslim League. This total unity of reactionary forces may help Pandit Nehru score a debating point against the Communists but it will lead the Congress itself deeper into the mire.

Comrade Dange in his inimitable way stated in Calcutta that if the agitation against the Kerala Government was a mass upsurge as described by Sri Nehru, the Communists were prepared to show such a mass upsurge in Bengal, Bombay, and in any other State in India in three days! We all know that when the Communists head a mass movement against Congress misrule Pandit Nehru would not call it mass upsurge but other names.

Unless the reactionary movement in Kerala whose avowed aim is to subvert the constitution is seen in its true black colour and not glorified as popular upsurge Pandit Nehru himself at a more advanced and acute stage, will have no prick of conscience in sanctioning central intervention against the legal

and elected Government of Kerala.

**Parallel Approach**

Pandit Nehru was asked about the apparent contardiction in the Parliamentary Board resolution asking the Kerala Government to meet the demands of the Education Act and enquiry into police firing coupled with the demand for the resignation of the Ministry.

Pandit Nehru tried to gloss over the obvious contradiction by stating that he was trying a parallel approach. Our Kerala Party Secretary Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair has fittingly and aptly said in answer "Even a highway robber demands either life or money but not both."

Kerala Chief Minister has rightly argued that the Communist Ministry according to Prime Minister's own statement at least "partially accepted" the Prime Minister's suggestions but his own Party the Congress and the rest of the opposition, its own allies, "totally rejected" them.

If the Prime Minister of our country cannot get his Party, in Kerala implement his advice, nor carry his own High Command with him we have inevitably a critical situation as in Kerala and the sorry spectacle of Pandit Nehru beating about the bush in his press conference.

In this whole mess our people learn the hard lesson who is surrendering to reaction and who is facing up to it.

The Parliamentary Board's resolution had asked for the withdrawal of the Education Act and this encouraged the private school managers and the Bishops, who have refused to meet the Chief Minister and are keeping up the deadlock in the schools. Pandit Nehru has now stated that he is only for the suspension of the controversial clauses. Let him call upon the Bishops to heed his advice and the Kerala Congress to help in the opening of the schools instead of misusing the school children.

**NOTES OF THE WEEK**

**Parallel Approach**

Pandit Nehru was asked about the apparent contardiction in the Parliamentary Board resolution asking the Kerala Government to meet the demands of the Education Act and enquiry into police firing coupled with the demand for the resignation of the Ministry.

Pandit Nehru tried to gloss over the obvious contradiction by stating that he was trying a parallel approach. Our Kerala Party Secretary Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair has fittingly and aptly said in answer "Even a highway robber demands either life or money but not both."

Kerala Chief Minister has rightly argued that the Communist Ministry according to Prime Minister's own statement at least "partially accepted" the Prime Minister's suggestions but his own Party the Congress and the rest of the opposition, its own allies, "totally rejected" them.

If the Prime Minister of our country cannot get his Party, in Kerala implement his advice, nor carry his own High Command with him we have inevitably a critical situation as in Kerala and the sorry spectacle of Pandit Nehru beating about the bush in his press conference.

In this whole mess our people learn the hard lesson who is surrendering to reaction and who is facing up to it.

The Parliamentary Board's resolution had asked for the withdrawal of the Education Act and this encouraged the private school managers and the Bishops, who have refused to meet the Chief Minister and are keeping up the deadlock in the schools. Pandit Nehru has now stated that he is only for the suspension of the controversial clauses. Let him call upon the Bishops to heed his advice and the Kerala Congress to help in the opening of the schools instead of misusing the school children.

Pandit Nehru has condemned picketing in clearer terms than in the Parliamentary Board's resolution, though even his present stand is not far from equivocation. He has also said "basically it is a bad thing."

Let him call upon Kerala Congress to implement his words and not do the opposite. According to him, the Parliamentary Board's resolution sanctioned no more than token and peaceful picketing by a small band of five for a whole day, before the collectorate.

Every newspaper report discloses that picketing has been intensified after the Parliamentary Board's resolution and the Kerala Congress leaders have organised a division of labour between the various organisations. Let Pandit Nehru call upon Kerala Congressmen to disassociate themselves from such "basically bad" actions like closing of schools, waylaying transport buses, attacking public property, etc.

If the Prime Minister of our country cannot get his advice implemented by his own party-men his words only serve as a cover to hide their very evil deeds.

Pandit Nehru also said "this trying to decide matters through movements which verge on vio-

lence is bad. They do not do credit to our public life. The question that everybody in the country has to ask himself and answer is who is guilty of attempting the above, and who the victim? Every honest man will give only one answer that it is the traditional protagonists of non-violence who are organising violence and anarchy in Kerala and that Pandit Nehru's task above all is to call them to order.

**Not The Way**

In this Kerala crisis the Communists and the other democrats have criticised the Congress in terms of the sanctity of our constitution and of building healthy democratic traditions.

**Why Workers Oppose 'Vimochana'**

THE strike call of the INTUC on June 12 to reinforce the call of hartal by the Opposition on the inauguration day of their 'Vimochana' (liberation) struggle turned out to be a complete flop, says Comrade Balachandra Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State TUC in course of a statement exposing the so-called upsurge in Kerala. The statement further says: "Realising their isolation from the working-class, they joined hands with the UTUC and HMS whose strike call of June 29 again got a severe rebuff at the hands of the workers. Barely 10,000 out of the 5 lakhs of workers in the organised industries responded to the strike call."

This is because there is a great upsurge amongst the workers in favour of the progressive measures of the Government. They fully realise the benefits they have secured after the advent of the present ministry.

The Kerala Government alone, among all the other State Governments including Central Government have accepted without any reservation the workers' right to collective bargaining and his right to strike.

This has given a fillip to the Trade Union movement whose increased membership and bargaining capacity have put the exploiters on the defensive, winning for the workers increased wages from 10 to 100 per cent in various industries, bonus on the basis of deferred wages and profit-sharing and a share in the management in Government-owned and Government-managed industries and concerns.

Workers' Co-operatives in unorganised and sweated industries such as coir, toddy-tapping, beedi, cashew, road construction etc., have put an end to the much hated system of middlemen and contractors.

The steps taken by the Government for forming the Cashew Trading Corporation will help to stabilise the crisis-ridden cashew industry.

With a view to mitigating the unemployment and under-employment in the State several collapsing concerns and industries such as Malabar Cotton Mills, the Malabar Spinning and Weaving Mills and a dozen other smaller textile concerns have been taken over by the Government.

The reorganisation of the Vanchinad Match Factory, the only mechanised dipping factory in the State on a co-operative basis, the formation of the Water Transport Corporation employing about 2000 workers, the starting of 2 coir factories in workers cooperative sector, the steps taken for starting closed-down cashew factories as workers' cooperative concerns are some of the achievements which very few State Governments can hope to equal.

The fixation of Minimum wages for 18 industries in the State, majority of which are outside the original schedule of the Act, is yet another feather in the Government's cap.

**NOTES OF THE WEEK**

**Parallel Approach**

Pandit Nehru was asked about the apparent contardiction in the Parliamentary Board resolution asking the Kerala Government to meet the demands of the Education Act and enquiry into police firing coupled with the demand for the resignation of the Ministry.

Pandit Nehru tried to gloss over the obvious contradiction by stating that he was trying a parallel approach. Our Kerala Party Secretary Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair has fittingly and aptly said in answer "Even a highway robber demands either life or money but not both."

Kerala Chief Minister has rightly argued that the Communist Ministry according to Prime Minister's own statement at least "partially accepted" the Prime Minister's suggestions but his own Party the Congress and the rest of the opposition, its own allies, "totally rejected" them.

If the Prime Minister of our country cannot get his Party, in Kerala implement his advice, nor carry his own High Command with him we have inevitably a critical situation as in Kerala and the sorry spectacle of Pandit Nehru beating about the bush in his press conference.

In this whole mess our people learn the hard lesson who is surrendering to reaction and who is facing up to it.

The Parliamentary Board's resolution had asked for the withdrawal of the Education Act and this encouraged the private school managers and the Bishops, who have refused to meet the Chief Minister and are keeping up the deadlock in the schools. Pandit Nehru has now stated that he is only for the suspension of the controversial clauses. Let him call upon the Bishops to heed his advice and the Kerala Congress to help in the opening of the schools instead of misusing the school children.

Pandit Nehru has condemned picketing in clearer terms than in the Parliamentary Board's resolution, though even his present stand is not far from equivocation. He has also said "basically it is a bad thing."

Let him call upon Kerala Congress to implement his words and not do the opposite. According to him, the Parliamentary Board's resolution sanctioned no more than token and peaceful picketing by a small band of five for a whole day, before the collectorate.

Every newspaper report discloses that picketing has been intensified after the Parliamentary Board's resolution and the Kerala Congress leaders have organised a division of labour between the various organisations. Let Pandit Nehru call upon Kerala Congressmen to disassociate themselves from such "basically bad" actions like closing of schools, waylaying transport buses, attacking public property, etc.

If the Prime Minister of our country cannot get his advice implemented by his own party-men his words only serve as a cover to hide their very evil deeds.

Pandit Nehru also said "this trying to decide matters through movements which verge on vio-

lence is bad. They do not do credit to our public life. The question that everybody in the country has to ask himself and answer is who is guilty of attempting the above, and who the victim? Every honest man will give only one answer that it is the traditional protagonists of non-violence who are organising violence and anarchy in Kerala and that Pandit Nehru's task above all is to call them to order.

**Not The Way**

In this Kerala crisis the Communists and the other democrats have criticised the Congress in terms of the sanctity of our constitution and of building healthy democratic traditions.

**West Bengal Getting Ready**

**FOR A BIG MASS STRUGGLE**

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

WEST BENGAL is on the eve of a big mass struggle. The overwhelming majority of the people are no longer in a mood to tolerate the anti-people food policy of the Government. Wherever one goes, be it an urban slum or a remote village, a middle-class home or an office, one comes across abundant evidence of the smouldering discontent against the Government.

THE central fact of the situation to-day is that all sections of people strongly feel that the Government must either take effective steps to ease the critical food position or quit.

Hunger is already reaping a rich harvest.

A few days ago Srimati Nirmala Kundu of village Srinagar in 24-Parganas district hanged herself after she had not had a morsel of food for full five days. She not only killed herself but also ended the life of the child still stirring in her womb.

Driven to desperation by the agonised cries of five hungry children, Anil Joardar of village Dharaupara in Nadia district committed suicide on June 25.

After starving for six days at a stretch, Srimati Kamala Acharya of village Kalyangarh in 24-Parganas district found her peace in death. No longer will she be haunted year after year—under the generous Congress dispensation—by the nightmare of hunger and slow death for her four children and husband.

These poignant tragedies sharply underline the gravity of the present food situation in West Bengal. Is there any wonder, then, that the people have been driven to the point of open revolt?

The State-wide general strike and hartal on June 25 was a mighty demonstra-

Adequate and timely amounts of agricultural and other loans must be disbursed. The programme for direct action includes protest meeting and demonstrations, enrolment of thousands of volunteers, mass defiance of law, creating administrative deadlock through picketing, squatting and gherao of officials and continued general strike.

This programme was placed before the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC), which is composed of the representatives of all left parties except the PSP.

The Committee discussed it at its meeting on July 1, but the final decision was deferred for further examination of the proposal. It is, however, expected that the Committee will approve the programme, and a united mass struggle will be launched under its auspices.

The meeting of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party also directed its District Councils to go ahead with preparations for the struggle.

Discussions at the meeting, which was also attended by comrades from different districts, revealed that the food situation all over the State had become very critical and that the mass sentiment was in favour of such forms of direct action as would compel the Government to change its present food policy or resign.

The PIFRC, which met on July 1 to review the food position and to consider steps for intensifying the food struggle, expressed grave concern over the further worsening of the situation and the rise in rice prices as the inevitable result of the suspension of the Price Control Order.

The Committee noted that although the people had clearly expressed their severe condemnation of the Government's pro-profit food policy through the general strike and hartal, the Government was in no way prepared to modify its policy and to pay heed to the mounting public resentment.

The Committee, therefore, felt that "more vigorous action is necessary to bring the Government to its senses or, in the alternative, force it to resign."

In this connection, it was stated, the Committee "is considering the question of mass defiance of law, creating administrative deadlock, continued general strike and other forms."

Extending its warmest greetings to the people on their magnificent response to its call for the general strike and hartals, the committee emphasised that "it is all the more encouraging that in spite of the disruptionist tactics of the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party in particular, people came forward and demonstrated their unbreakable solidarity with the Committee for the realisation of just and legitimate demands."

**A year to live**

"We must operate immediately." To old Harbans Khanna the words came as a bombshell. He heard himself asking: "What if we don't?" The doctor hesitated. Then: "Unless the tumor is removed, the most I can promise you is a year."

"And where do I find the money?" thought Harbans grimly. As he walked out of the doctor's room Harbans faced the brutal truth. He was a lonely pensioner with no one to turn to in the greatest crisis of his life. The days passed swiftly... too swiftly. Then one morning in late June, while going through his old papers, he came upon a faded Whole Life Policy. He had taken it, he remembered, many years ago in Lucknow to oblige an Agent. But he had long since stopped paying premiums.

"I wonder," he mused, "if this old paper is worth anything now." He decided to write and enquire. The policy was made paid-up under an automatic non-forfeiture scheme. The reply came promptly: "We are pleased to inform you that a loan of Rs. 950/- may be raised on your Policy."

This money paid for a successful operation. A month later Harbans left the hospital, a man with a new lease of life— thanks to Life Insurance.

**LIFE INSURANCE — the day you insure you're secure**





# CARRY FORWARD UNITED ANTI-BILINGUAL STRUGGLE

The Fifth Maharashtra Provincial Conference of the Communist Party of India which was held at Jalgaon (East Khandesh) on May 28 to June 1, attracted much attention in the Marathi as well as English press in Bombay. Quite recently an English daily in Bombay published the self-critical remarks in the organisational report of the Conference, describing the organisational weakness of the Party, to draw the tendentious conclusion that the Communist Party in Maharashtra was disintegrating.

But sometimes the wish is father to the thought, and this comment is not typical of the general trend of press reactions to the Conference both hostile and favourable. The press and the public generally took serious note of the fact that the Communist Party in Maharashtra had gained in prestige and strength as a result of the role it had played in the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra.

The fact that it was proposing to use that added strength to consolidate still further the united front embodied in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and persuade the Samiti to launch a State-wide anti-bilingual struggle jointly with the Maha-Gujarat Janata Parishad and to make a bid to end Congress rule in Maharashtra, compelled attention.

This was the key note of the extensive political resolution moved by Comrade S. G. Sardesai and passed unanimously by the Conference after two full day's discussion in the course of which a number of amendments were moved to the draft resolution and accepted.

Are the conditions in Maharashtra favourable to realising the unleashing of such a united struggle and securing its aim in the near future? Do forces exist capable of doing it? The Conference answered these questions in the affirmative. The Conference highlighted the fact that the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra and for Maha-Gujarat was part and parcel of the democratic popular upsurge which was welling up all over India as a result of the discontent of the masses against the anti-popular policies of the Congress rulers.

The point was to take note of the specific conditions of the struggle in Maharashtra and solve the concrete problems of forging the unity of the democratic front there.

In Bombay the popular discontent against the imposition of the bilingual State has been super-imposed on the mass discontent already caused by rising prices, unemployment, mill-closures, rationalisation, and by evictions and the loot of the peasantry by tax increase, and unequal exchange. This was expressed in signal defeat which the Congress sustained in the last general elections in Maharashtra.

## BYE-ELECTION VICTORIES

The mass discontent has not abated but increased as reflected in the significant victories in a series of bye-elections and local elections, in the 'Martyrs' Memorial struggle in Gujarat and in the border struggle in Maharashtra. The unity forged by the masses for Samyukta Maharashtra encouraged the

forces of working class unity as was manifested in the unprecedented protest general strike in Bombay in defence of the Premier Automobiles workers who were fighting against victimisation.

The process thus initiated has moved further in the formation of the united Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, which has already enrolled over one lakh members and will be a powerful organised force not only for winning the demands of Bombay, but also for the coming anti-bilingual struggle.

## SAMITI-PARISHAD UNITED FRONT

In the context of this situation the Conference outlined the Central tasks of the Party—prepare to start the anti-bilingual struggle without delay by moving the Samiti and by forging an united front of the Samiti and Parishad. Towards this end the Conference directed the Party to take initiative in the following preparatory tasks:

1. Take the initiative to get negotiations between Samiti and Parishad, based on the basic approach of anti-bilingual struggle and the formation of two unilingual States. Conditions are now mature for the successful conclusion of such talks.

2. Since the Congress won the Lok-Sabha bye-election in Vidarbha, by playing up to the sentiment for separate Vidarbha among a section of the middle-class, the anti-Sam-

myukta Maharashtra elements are rearing their heads in Vidarbha. These disruptors are taking advantage of the frustration of the middle-class arising out of the fact that injustice and neglect of the Vidarbha region has not been remedied, but have been perpetuated in the bilingual State and are seeking to divert this frustration into Nag-Vidarbha separation.

The task of the Samiti must be, therefore, to explain to the masses by running a powerful campaign in Vidarbha that this neglect and injustice can be remedied only in Samyukta Maharashtra and that separate Vidarbha will not solve the problem. A similar campaign must be run in Marathwada also.

3. The struggle for the rectification of the border of Samyukta Maharashtra in the border districts which has now taken the form of no-tax campaign in selected border villages must be sustained while scrupulously observing the restraints laid down by the Samiti, viz., conduct the struggle peacefully and avoid at all costs Marathi-Kannada tension.

4. The unity of the democratic forces and left parties in the Samiti must be extended to movements and problems of workers, peasants and the middle-classes and be used to strengthen their class organisations.

5. The Samiti must pay special attention to the defence of the just rights of linguistic and religious minorities and try to win their confidence.

In moving the Samiti towards the united struggle it was necessary to strengthen the unity and the organisation of the Samiti by overcoming the disruptive activities of certain elements and by solving certain problems which arise out of the same. Certain elements in the PSP were of late bringing issues like Imre Nagy and Tibet in the Samiti-led municipal corporations and local bodies to whip up anti-Communist senti-

ment. This did serious harm to the work of the Samiti in these bodies and weakened its unity.

These elements wanted to reduce the unity in the Samiti to a formality and not extend it to implementing the democratic programmes of the Samiti—to the problem of achieving unity and joint actions of working class and peasant organisations and movements. As a consequence tensions inside the Samiti began to grow, leading to the stagnation of the work and organisation and to moods of frustration among the masses following it.

This development in its turn led the independents in the Samiti and their organisation—the Janata Aghadi of Acharya Atre to come out with the idea that all this was due to the bickerings of the political parties

# PARTY NEWS

in the Samiti and the proposal that political parties be dissolved and the Samiti be made into a mass political party.

The Conference discussed these problems of united front and worked out the line for the Party to fight the disruptive tendencies and to take initiative for strengthening the unity of the Samiti. The conclusion which emerged was that to strengthen the unity of the Samiti what was necessary was not the dissolution of the parties but their joint effort to work out norms of conduct to strengthen the united front for the common objective.

The Party was instructed to put forward the following proposals:

● The habit of posing on the Samiti's platform international and national questions falling outside the scope of its aims and programme must be ended.

● When the differences between the parties in the Samiti and its shortcomings are discussed in public this should be done in a restrained and a fraternal manner.

● Those members of the local bodies who bring discredit to the policies and prestige of the Samiti should be severely punished.

● The constitution of the Samiti should be implemented to strengthen its organisation. All these discussions and decisions were incorporated in the political resolution which laid down the general line of the Party in the province. But the Conference also passed a simple operative resolution:

"This conference is of the view that it has now become an urgent need to discuss the anti-bilingual struggle and related questions and take proper decisions. The Conference, therefore, calls upon the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to convene an anti-bilingual convention."

Is the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti capable of carrying out these tasks? Yes it is. Since its very birth the Samiti carries the stamp of the militant lead-

ership of the working class and the pride and consciousness of the peasantry of Maharashtra. It has the idealist fervour and self-sacrificing spirit of the middle-class youth. Its leadership is drawn from left parties based on the toiling masses of Maharashtra.

It has within its fold the Republican Party which leads the mass of neo-Buddhists—the most oppressed section in Maharashtra. The national bourgeoisie in Maharashtra plays a role helpful to the Samiti but they of their representatives are not able to influence the democratic policies of the Samiti in their narrow class interests.

The substance of all these tasks lies in strengthening the Samiti as the organ of the democratic front and popular movement.

The discussion on the main political resolution—which worked out the slogan of struggle and the tactics of building the democratic front in the specific conditions in Maharashtra—was lively and sharp differences were expressed. Amendments were moved to clarify the main approach of the resolution and correct certain wrong statements.

Comrade S. A. Dange who was present throughout the Conference greatly helped the deliberations. He made a very instructive speech in which he defended the basic approach of the draft political resolution and refuted incorrect views expressed in some of the amendments and speeches.

The correctness of the tactical line worked out by the Conference is already vouchered for by the preliminary success it has achieved. The executive committee of the Samiti held soon after the Jalgaon Conference of the Party adopted a resolution to call an anti-bilingual convention. The executive committee also discussed the controversies in the Samiti and arrived at solutions and decisions along the lines indicated by the Conference.

This does not mean that all hurdles are cleared. But it

\* ON FACING PAGE

M. N. on Visit to Capital tells New Age

# WE HAVE WON THE FIRST ROUND

Urgency and all the tension of battle was in Comrade M.N.'s eyes and voice as he talked of Kerala. It was difficult interviewing him. Rich experience of struggle, the complexities of the situation and the interruptions of a hundred phone-calls, visitors, a press conference as well as important meetings all in a two-day stay.

"YOU seem anxious," were his first words, "Certainly the Parliamentary Board's impossibly cynical resolution does make the situation grave. But, don't forget it, we have won the first round."

Elaborating on this theme, Kerala's Communist Party Secretary, emphasised three points. First, law and order had not broken down in the State, the Government had been able to deal firmly and tactfully with a dangerous threat. The "short and swift" struggle had been met and humbled—though it was still sullen and dangerous.

Second, Central intervention had not materialised for three weeks, despite quite desperate attempts to bring it about. "You can have no idea of the exhortations to violence, the appeals to the police and officials to abandon the government and the lowest type of unconstitutional action the Opposition indulged in. And every other day they shouted that tomorrow 'Nambodiri would go hang.' It has not been easy. But the Centre could not move."

THIRD, the people in Kerala have felt the impact of

the restraint of the Government as well as the Communist Party and the incessant hooliganism of the Opposition who want only that chaos envelops Kerala. "And outside the State also, I think, we have made more friends and they have angered many. We are very conscious of the great role this democratic assertion has played. Morally and politically it is we who have won."

The discussion then flowed on to the proposal of the Congress Parliamentary Board that re-elections be held in Kerala. There was a note of hard anger in Comrade M.N.'s voice as he bluntly rejected this discriminatory manoeuvre. "Why on earth should we have re-elections in our State? You have seen the resolution of our Central Executive Committee, so I am not going into all the arguments used there. I want to stress one thing.

## Legislation Has To Be Implemented

"We Communist are not willing to convert the legislative assembly into a debating

shop, a politicians' coffee house where talk goes on and vague decisions are taken without any thought as to implementation.

"The Kerala Ministry has enacted certain important legislations and the people expect us to transform them into reality, into the facts of life in the new Kerala. It is not taking the legislature seriously, asking us to resign just at this crucial stage."

In the course of an extremely rich argument, only the bare bones of which can be reproduced here, he drew the inevitable conclusion that any progressive legislation will arouse opposition and it is the duty of a democratic government not to retreat in the face of this.

Another factor to be taken into consideration was the special experience of Kerala. Instability of the administration has been the special curse visited upon it. The Mala-

# STOP THIS INCITEMENT OF SERVICES

TRIVANDRUM, July 2:

The Kerala Chief Minister, Comrade EMS Namboodiripad, in a statement has drawn the attention of "the leaders of Indian National Congress" to the passage in the statement of Sri Sankar at the airport on July 1 in which he had promised early "deliverance" to policemen and officers under Kerala Government.

Commenting on this statement of the KFC President, the Chief Minister says "I would respectfully ask the leaders of the Central Cabinet and of other thirteen States of the country what they would do if the State leaders of any opposition party in those thirteen States made such references to police and other personnel of Government services."

"Would they consider such appeal to Government employees to disobey orders of the State Government as part of legitimate political activity of opposition parties or would they proceed against those who make such appeals under the appropriate provisions of law?"

"Sri Sankar, as well as Sri Panampilly Govinda

Menon who was by his side when he made the statement, are making reference to Clause 356 of the Constitution according to which they say the Centre is entitled under present conditions in Kerala to dismiss the State Ministry and order elections. Let me on my part, express my humble opinion that the situation in Kerala is not such to permit Central Government to do as Sri Sankar and Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon would like it to do.

"But even supposing I am wrong and they are right I would like to know whether it is right for them so openly to incite Government servants to defy orders of this Government so long as the Government continues to function and is not removed by the Centre in accordance with Constitution."

"Such blatant statements issued by the leaders of the Congress, together with the solution of the Congress Parliamentary Board lead one to the conclusion that what the Congress leaders are trying to do is deliberately to create a situation of tension and chaos, and thus create the pretext for the Central Government to intervene."

yalee people are just fed up of seeing governments topple at the whim and fancy of certain king-makers—specially the Catholic oligarchs and Sri Mannam.

"Now we are going to dethrone these 'kings of Kerala'.

We are not going to add to the disillusionment of the people. This disillusionment if it reaches a certain pitch can spell the doom of parliamentary democracy. Re-elec-

\* CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

# Maharashtra Communists In Conference

\* FROM PAGE 6

does mean that the path is now cleared for moving the Samiti for the unleashing of a united anti-bilingual struggle provided the Party maintains its initiative in fighting disruptive trends and in moving the basic masses in united action for their urgent demands.

Comrade Madhavrao Galkwad moved the draft resolution on the peasant front. The main object of the resolution was to pose the urgent demands of the peasantry in the different regions of Maharashtra, which the Party had to take up to revive the Kisan movement and build up the Kisan Sabha which had become almost defunct.

There were speeches by different comrades in which problems of different regions, the demands of different sections of the peasantry, such as Adivasi peasants, agricultural labourers, the questions of attitude to Government development schemes were posed. The Conference decided that the draft resolution be amended and rewritten in the light of the discussion and placed before the next sitting of the new Provincial Council.

The discussion on the trade union movement proceeded without any report or resolution, being presented. Various trade union comrades placed

problems from their industries before the Conference. The discussion was summed up by Comrade Dange, who sharply highlighted the shortcomings of the Party in consolidating the achievements of the struggle for trade union unity and made constructive suggestions to improve the work.

It was decided that a proper report on the trade union movement and its problems in Maharashtra be prepared for discussion in the next meeting of the new provincial council and later for discussion by a conference of trade union cadres.

Comrade Sardesai moved the organisational resolution. The total membership represented at the conference was 9,878—which was only slightly bigger than the membership at the time of the last Provincial Conference held at Dhulia in January 1958. The resolution pointed out that the Party organisation had not registered the necessary growth in conformity with growing influence of the Party and that the functioning of the Party was not satisfactory. It analysed the causes and pointed out remedies.

At the end of a lively discussion the operative clauses of the resolution were passed and the Conference decided that the analytical portions should be rewritten in the light of the additional points raised in the dis-

ussion and placed for adoption before the next meeting of the new provincial council.

## Solidarity With Kerala

One of the highlights of the Conference was a resolution on Kerala exposing the preparations then being made by the communal and other reactionary forces in the State to work up an agitation against the Communist Ministry and giving full support to the Government. One of the most significant developments in Maharashtra since the Jalgaon Party Conference has been that all political parties, groups and independents in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, with the exception of the PSP, have come out in support of the Kerala Government.

The most important among the resolutions on topical subjects passed by the Conference was the one giving support to the decision of the Republican Party to wage a struggle for demand of distribution of Government waste land to the landless.

There were resolutions supporting the struggles of the workers for the reopening of Badnera and Gandlall mills, paying homage to the martyrs of border struggle, and another greeting Smt. Sudhatai Joshi recently released from Goa jail after four years' incarceration.

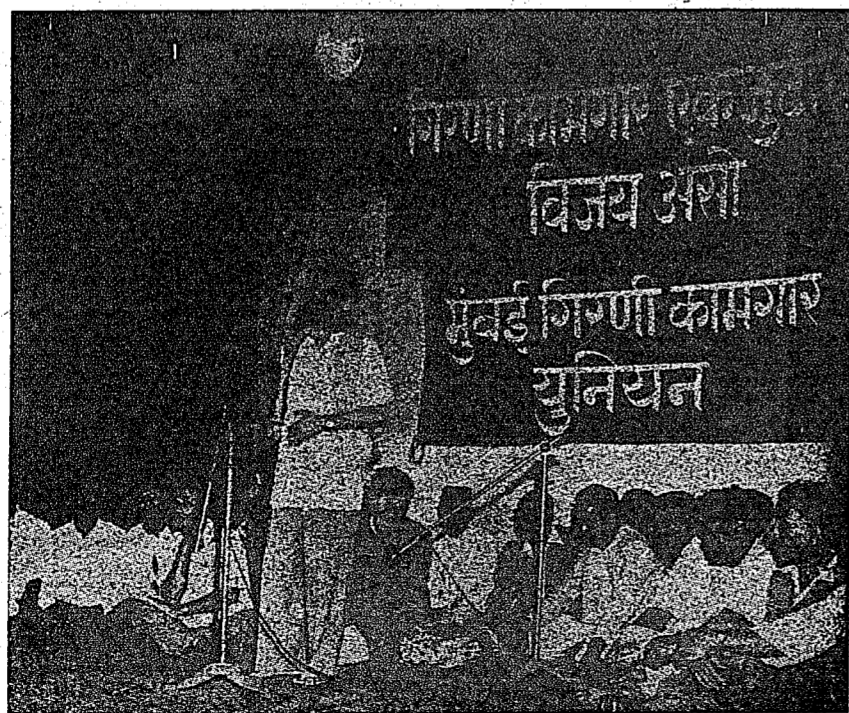
The Credentials Committee's report threw interesting light on the composition of the delegates present at the Conference. There were 284 elected delegates apart from the old Provincial committee members who were ex-officio delegates. They represented Party organisations in 25 districts out of 26 districts of the Marathi-speaking part of

Bombay State. The class composition of these delegates was 50 workers, 36 agricultural labourers, 94 peasants, 103 from the intelligentsia and rest from other classes. Front-wise the distribution of the delegates was 122 trade union workers, 145 peasant front, 21 cultural workers, 6 women's movement workers and rest from other fields. There were 13 women delegates.

In terms of membership of elective bodies, 11 delegates were MLAs, 1 MP, 30 Municipal Councillors, 21 members of District Boards and 12 members of Village Panchayats.

The figures give an idea of the class composition of the Party and its work, the loyalty and sacrifice of its members. They provide an interesting comparison between the Marxist-working-class party and other parties professing Socialism.

On the last day the conference unanimously elected a 101-men Provincial Council. This Provincial Council in its first meet which was held immediately afterwards elected again unanimously an executive committee of 25 members and a secretariat of nine and re-elected Comrade S. G. Sardesai as the Secretary.



Comrade S. A. Dange addressing the inaugural meeting of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union with Sri S. M. Joshi & other leaders on dais.



PRESS SHOWS

# OVERWHELMING OPINION AGAINST CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND

The mass-circulated Bengali daily Yugantar has raised some fundamental questions in commenting on the Congress Parliamentary Board's resolution demanding fresh elections in Kerala. In an editorial appearing on July 1, it says:

"Superficially the slogan of a fresh election may seem to be the only democratic solution... but it should be seriously considered if it will not be dangerous for India's system of parliamentary democracy to create such a precedent. For, people may think that such a demand has been put forward to overthrow the Kerala Government, because it is controlled by the Communists...."

FROM this the people may conclude that the verdict of the ballot box will be acceptable only so long as it returns the Congress party to power and no party other than the Congress will be tolerated even if it wins the elections. If such a feeling grows in the country, people will gradually lose faith in constitutional and parliamentary democracy and veer towards dictatorship.

Recalling how suppression of the Government of the United Front—which had routed the Muslim League in the last general elections in East Bengal—paved the way for dictatorship in Pakistan, the editorial gives the warning: "If parliamentary democracy is dealt such a blow only because of the hatred for the Communist Party, we shall invite danger for ourselves in the future."

The *Basumati*, another Bengali daily described the proposal for a fresh election as "hypocritical". The editorial of July 1 says: "If we

accept this thesis, we have to come to the position that we shall have to hold general elections whenever there is a mass movement against any State Government" and asks: "Is this a practical proposition?"

The editorial continued: "During the great upheaval in Bombay for a linguistic State, Nehru did not suggest this formula. The very successful general strike in West Bengal on June 25 has shown that the people of West Bengal are against the State Government's food policy. Will Nehru advise the Congress Government in West Bengal to step down and have a general election?"

"The Kerala Government has been returned to power by a general election and holds a majority in the State Legislature. Therefore, we do not see how the question of their resignation may arise... If however the Centre intervenes to oust the Government, they will at the same time dig a grave for democracy in India."

## DEMOCRACY IN GRAVE PERIL

The *Bharat Jyoti* of July 5 devotes full one-and-a-half pages to a reader's forum on the tactics of the Congress towards the Kerala Ministry.

Of the 26 letters published, only six are opposed to Kerala Ministry—violently so—and believe that it should be, willy-nilly, brought down. It is interesting to note that the arguments used in these six letters centre around one point: Whether democratically elected or not, the Communists because they are Communists should not be allowed to continue to govern. Shades of the departed McCarthy and cold comfort to the Congress High Command!

The other 20 letters make a number of points. Some argue that the workers would be sacrificed if a Communist-led ministry were to be ousted, others fear for the peasants and still others for education in this eventuality. There is a variety of suggestion offered for the way out and equally diverse reasons given why the opposition there is so desperate.

All, however, lash out at the Congress High Command for its political chicanery and its sanctioning a dangerous

attack at the fundamentals of Indian democracy.

Summing up the Editor writes: "Democracy in Grave Peril" summarises the core of reactions of a vast majority of contributors to the Open Forum column.

"The blame is not laid at the door of the Communist ministry. Nor are accusing fingers lifted towards the Church or the communal elements which have spear-headed the upsurge. It is the State Congress and the Congress Parliamentary Board, under whose guidance it functions, that have come in for severe manhandling for their unholy attempt to introduce disastrous precedents in the infant tender, democracy.

"Respect for Nehru has not blunted the edge of the two-pronged attack on him. As a Congress leader he has failed to give the correct lead to the party. As Prime Minister he should have taken courage to snuff out the crisis when it was within his power to do so and when he could have absolved himself of the charge of being a partisan.

"The most rabid enemies of Communism have been forced to concede that the power and sanctity of vote must not be undermined and ridiculed.

"They would have the impatient and unscrupulous politicians in Kerala wait till 1962 to try to turn the tables."

THE Dravida Kazhagam's official organ, *Viduthalai* of June 30, has condemned the "unabashed, naked attempts to impose President's rule in Kerala" and sarcastically commented that it would be better "to have an army rule rather than the rule by the President which meant nothing more than rule by discredited and defeated Congressmen".

The newspaper says: "The Communists came to power in Kerala through that kind of democracy which was brought into being and upheld by Congressmen. The only way in which they could be turned out of office is through a motion of no-confidence passed by the legislature. But Congressmen have chosen the path of picketing the schools and buses to overthrow the Communists.

"In this mighty 'war', they are in league with strange elements which join to make a conglomeration of conflicting colours—for, where on earth can one find any cementing link between the superstitious Catholics and professed Socialists?..."

"These dictators (the Congress High Command) in order to please their followers, have set a different standard in Kerala. All their verbal utterances of dislike for picketing of schools are nothing but humbug to satisfy the gullible people who dare to criticise them for partiality. In their hearts they desire to overthrow the democratic order in Kerala and put their trusted loyalists in power."

IN one of a number of its editorials criticising the Congress Parliamentary Board's resolution on Kerala, influential Urdu daily *Milap* writing under the caption "Challenge — to Whom?" opines that if the Kerala Government accepts the challenge of the Congress Parliamentary Board, then "such a situation will be created in the country, from which not good, but a great harm will be done."

"The contention (by the Congress) is that (in Kerala) great majority of the people are against the government which was elected by rightful and constitutional means, even those people have gone against it, who had voted for the Communist candidates. Therefore, there should be a fresh election in Kerala. Apart from a fresh election, there is no other democratic solution to the problem."

But how was the fact



THACKERAY

Courtesy: BHARAT JYOTI

know, that in Kerala a great majority of the people are against the Government. Some friends might say that... looking at the agitation in Kerala, anyone with eyes open could say that a great majority in Kerala is against the Government. But what is this agitation?"

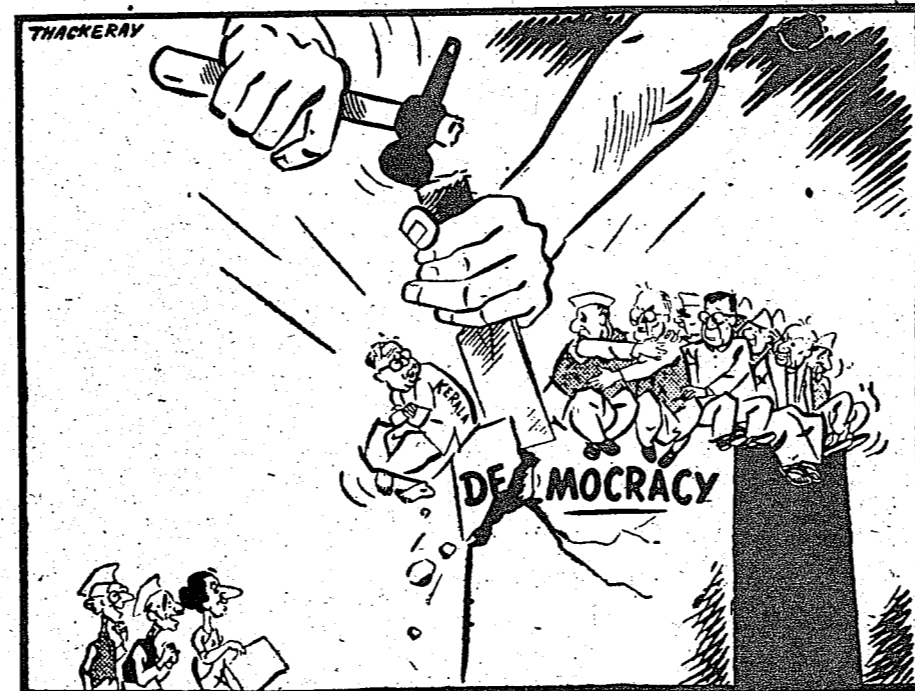
Answering this question, the editorial goes on to comment: "In reality, in no democratic country can the question of majority or minority be decided in this way. If, once the principle is admitted that in whichever State an agitation takes place and 20 or 30 thousand people are arrested, then the government will be considered to be in a minority while its opposition a majority, and that it will become necessary for the government to resign and seek new election, then there will be no peace and quiet in any State.

"In order to succeed in a State assembly election, a man requires ten or eleven thousand votes. If five or ten members would incite these voters and would make them

believe that by their staying in jail for a few weeks, the government could fall into their hands, then it would not be difficult at all to present for arrest 20, 30, 50, 60, 70 or 80 thousand people in any State. That is, those people, who could elect, in a general election, only 5 or 7 members, could end the entire government.

"In this way, the State governments and ministers could be overthrown, and in every State new elections could be repeatedly held. Then what would be the result. As soon as an election was over, an agitation would start. Because of the agitation, there will again be an election. After the election there will again be an agitation. And this game will continue in this country. All other work will come to a stop.

"That is why, if you think coolly, you would realise that the challenge made to the Kerala Government is actually not only to the Kerala Government but to this principle of democracy also, which we want to (adopt) as the path to the country's progress and welfare...."



THACKERAY

Courtesy: FREE PRESS JOURNAL

## LEADING FIGURES OPPOSE

SRI N. V. Gadgil, Governor of the Punjab, said on July 5 that the Communist Government in Kerala was fully entitled to continue in office for five years unless it was voted out or it resigned of its own accord.

He warned against holding fresh elections in Kerala under the present circumstances when feelings ran so high.

"If a democratically elected Government installed today is to go out the next day it will be worse than anarchy", said Sri Gadgil and added: "What is at stake in Kerala is not the fate of Sri Nambodiripad or of the Congress but the very fundamentals of democracy on which we stand."

Sri Gadgil, who was addressing the annual installation meeting of Jullundur Rotary Club, appealed to the Prime Minister to see that nothing happened in Kerala which would ultimately be harmful for the entire country. He said it was the responsibility of the Prime Minister to see that nothing unconstitutional happened in Kerala.

Sri Gadgil said that any Government elected by the electorate could not be driven out by violence or threats. Direct action, violent or non-violent, was invalid in a country where democratic procedure provided for changing a Government through constitutional means. "It will be through persuasion and not pressure that the Government of the day can be changed" he added.

Sri Gadgil said that a duly elected Government had the right to remain in office for a term of five years. As a matter of fact it must have stability to implement its assurances held out to the electorate during elections. If the present Government in Kerala was knocked out under the pressure of the agitation in progress there, the next Government which might not be of the Congress Party, might

go out under similar circumstances.

SMT. RAMESWARI NEHRU, President of the Indian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, speaking at Hyderabad at a reception arranged in her honour on July 6, said that it was "very unfortunate that the Kerala Government which has been constitutionally elected and constituted is sought to be overthrown by unconstitutional means."

She said: "If they have to oust any Government, they must do it through the legislature only. Every other form is wrong."

### DR. SUBBARAYAN

SPEAKING at Madras at a largely attended public meeting on July 3, Dr. P. Subbarayan M.P., veteran Congressman and former Ambassador of India to Indonesia, declared that Rajaji was dead right in castigating the Kerala agitation as the "mobocracy" of Congressmen. "The Communists in Kerala came to power only through the Constitution. Extra-constitutional agitations should have no place in Indian democracy," he declared.

"If there is a case of misrule made out against the Communists, the best judges are the people, not the agitators. It is only right and proper that Congressmen and others should wait for two years more and allow the people to judge things," the Congress leader declared.

Dr. Subbarayan said Kerala's malaise was the existence of a plethora of political and communal parties, without clear-cut economic and social purpose. The Communists in Kerala are the only organised group—the Congress there is divided into communal loyalties. The strength of the Communists lay in their unity which is also the weakness of other parties, he said.

### SRI C. D. DESHMUKH

SRI C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission in Aurangabad on July 5 condemned the current anti-Government agitation in Kerala.

Speaking to pressmen here he said "Popular reaction should find expression through discussions in Parliament and assemblies duly elected as per the Constitution, and any other mode of expression deserves to be condemned."

Sri Deshmukh said the Congress Party which once condemned the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti's agitational approach on the issue of bifurcation of Bombay State was today following the Samiti's policy to get their aims in Kerala fulfilled.

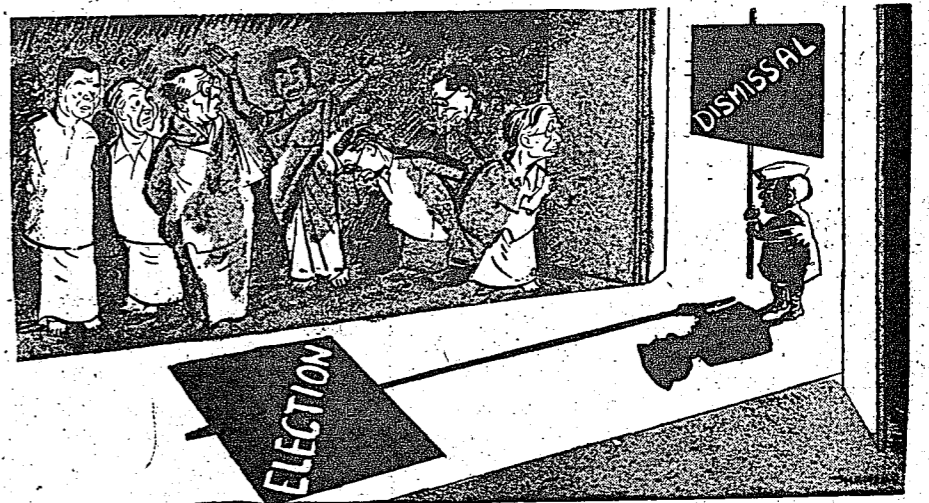
Referring to the Congress Parliamentary Board's recent resolution on Kerala, he said: "I do not see eye to eye with that resolution."



Courtesy: SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

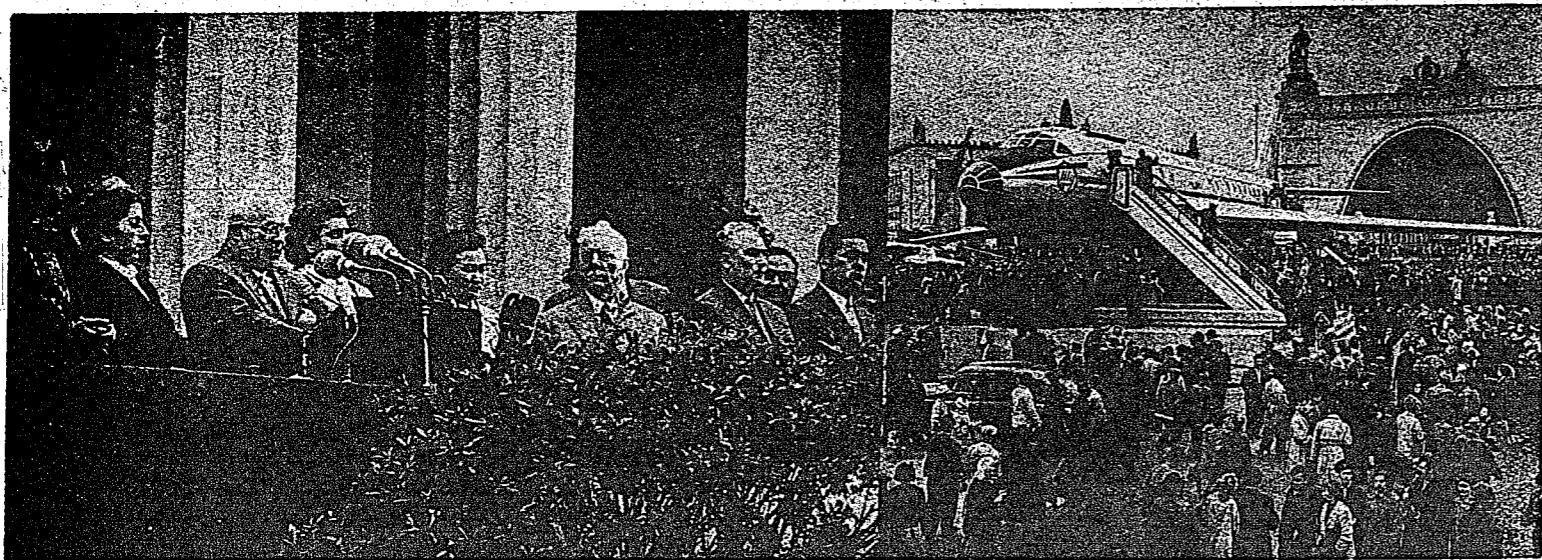


ET TU BRUTE! Courtesy: HINDUSTHAN STANDARD



SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE Courtesy: SHANKAR'S WEEKLY





Premier Khrushchev inaugurating the Exhibition of Soviet Economic Achievements in Moscow. On Right are President Voroshilov, Deputy Premier Kozlov and N. A. Mukhitdinov.

## Two Soviet Exhibitions Challenge Capitalism To Peaceful Competition

In Moscow and New York—two premier cities of the two worlds—opened within the span of a fortnight two gigantic exhibitions showing Soviet economic achievements, symbolising in themselves the Soviet Union's challenge in construction and peaceful competition.

FOR the opening of the exhibition in New York Frol Kozlov, Soviet Deputy Premier, flew in a TU 114 Turbo-prop jet in a record-breaking non-stop flight which covered the Moscow-New York distance of 4,660 miles in 11 hours and 6 minutes. The opening of the exhibition was attended by both President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon.

Kozlov in his speech at the opening of the exhibition urged the ending of the cold war and ushering in of an era of durable peace. He spoke of the great possibilities of developing economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He said

there were many things which the two countries could learn from each other. The Soviet Union had set itself the task not only of overtaking but even surpassing the United States in both overall volume of production and of per capita output.

We want to compete, Kozlov said, to make our country richer to give the people a better life, better food and clothing more adequate housing and fuller satisfaction of their spiritual requirements.

Kozlov conveyed a message from Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev wishing prosperity to the American people and saying:

"The Soviet Government hopes that the exchange of exhibitions will help the peoples of our two countries to get to know each other better." Khrushchev in his message expressed the wish that competition in the production of the means of annihilation would be replaced by a competition in the creation of material values and accumulation of spiritual wealth.

"May the American and Soviet peoples" said Khrushchev "pool their efforts to safeguard peace and create conditions, on our planet under which the people would not fear—for their future and the future of the coming generations."

Vice-President Nixon in his speech stressed the importance and utility of promoting exchanges between the two countries. He said he was sure he could say on behalf of the American people that they all rejoiced at the material progress which was and is being achieved in the Soviet Union. He acclaimed the idea of peaceful competition between the nations which, as he said, could only improve the lot of all mankind.

Tens of thousands of Americans have already visited the Soviet Exhibition in New York. Most of them are openly enthusiastic about it, as shown by entries in the visitor's book. An engineer William Grieger, for example, wrote that he had been amazed by the tremendous progress made by Russia in merely forty years. He expressed the hope that peace would prevail between the United States and Russia.

A stirring entry was made by A. Fromm. He wrote he had known that the Soviet Union had made exceptional progress in technology but what he had seen in the exhibition had amazed him. He had had no idea that Russia had advanced so far. He hoped that the two countries would maintain friendly and peaceful relations so that their peoples could enjoy the fruits of this wonderful progress. Such is the general tenor of entries.

Meanwhile preparations are afoot in Moscow for the opening of the American Exhibition on July 25 for which

U.S. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon will be flying there.

★

THE Exhibition of National Economic Achievements opened by Khrushchev in Moscow on June 16 occupies a vast area of 211 hectares—bigger than last year's Brussels World Fair. Among the exhibits shown in its 300 pavilions are as many as 16,000 machines, machine tools, etc. In his speech inaugurating the exhibition Khrushchev said that the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had released tremendous enthusiasm which had reflected itself in extensive development of nationwide socialist emulation.

"It is beyond doubt," said Khrushchev "that the programme for the new advancement of economy, culture and material standards charted out by the Congress will be fulfilled ahead of schedule."

He gave figures of production in the first five months of 1959 showing that the volume of capital construction had increased by 9 per cent compared to the corresponding period last year.

As compared with the first five months of last year, said Khrushchev, the country had produced 1,440,000 tons more of pig iron, 6,200,000 tons more of oil, 5,700,000 tons more of coal and 110,000,000 metres more of fabrics.

The exhibition Khrushchev said was an excellent school for studying and disseminating the latest achievements in the national economy.

The meeting discussed in detail the work of Party and Government organisations and the Councils of National Economy to carry out the decisions of the 21st Congress on accelerating technical advancement in industry and construction and questions related to speeding up the development of the chemical industry and measures for further advancement of the textile industry.

The Soviet Union had made a good start on the Seven-year Plan says the Appeal. All Union Republics and economic areas have overfulfilled the industrial plan for the first six months of 1959. Good progress is being made in agricultural work. All branches of national economy are confidently gathering momentum for the pre-term fulfilment of the Plan.

The words "Seven-year

Plan" have swept across the world, arousing the admiration of the whole of progressive mankind, giving heart and greater confidence in the victory of Socialism to our class brothers and our brothers in thought, the Appeal says. It has spread fear and alarm in the camp of the enemies of Socialism.

No capitalist country could have told the entire world that it was undertaking to increase gross industrial output by 80 per cent in seven years, that it would double its power generation, treble its chemical industry output and raise the real incomes of workers and peasants by 40 per cent, and build 15 million flats in the cities and seven million houses in the countryside. We have done so and we are going to keep our word, says the Appeal.

The Plenary meeting reminds the people of the principal tasks of the Seven-year Plan for 1959-65.

● The planned power generation increase of 60 million kilowatts is equivalent to the construction of 100 hydro-power stations of the size of

★ SEE FACING PAGE

## Seven-Year Plan Will Be Fulfilled Ahead Of Schedule

# MONGOLIA— LAND THAT SKIPPED CAPITALISM

THIRTY-EIGHT years have elapsed since the Mongolian people shook off the bitter regime of domestic feudal lords and alien exploiters. The Soviet people helped the Mongolian arats (peasants) to liberate their country and bring it on to the road of national renaissance and social progress. The two peoples have since become sincere and great friends.

Mongolia, which some 38 years ago had been vegetating, with extensive nomadic animal husbandry as practically the sole branch of economy, has now become a flourishing agrarian and industrial Socialist State, having avoided the capitalistic stage of development.

In 1958, Mongolia almost doubled the output of food-grains. It will be self-sufficient in this respect by 1961 as a result of intensive developing of virgin soil.

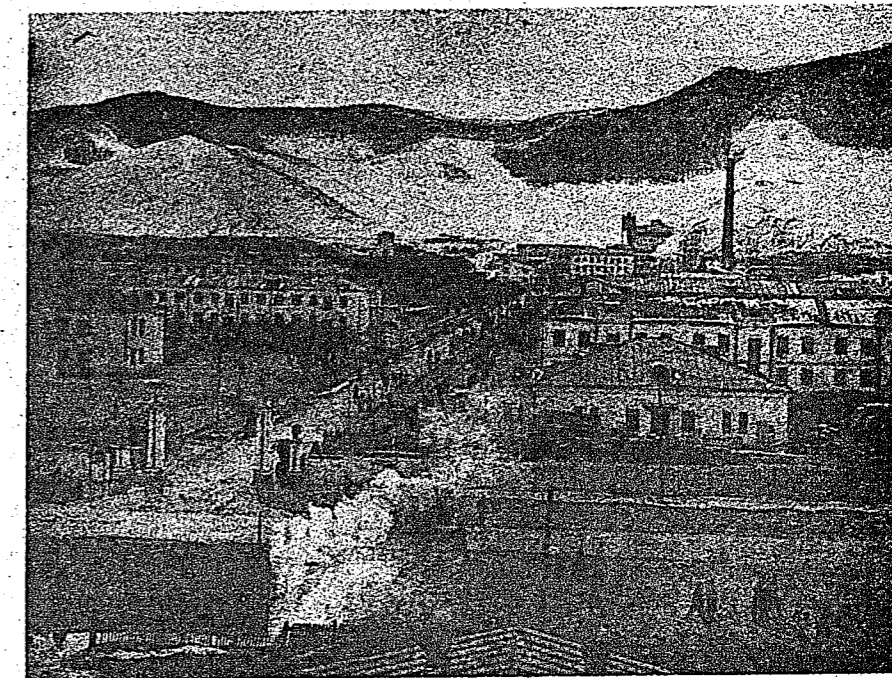
In olden days there were no industrial enterprises whatever of national importance in Mongolia. At present, the share of the industry in the national economy has become nearly as much as that of agriculture. There is such an imposing range of industries in Mongolia today as coal and ore mining, petroleum, power, building material, wood-working industries,

printing works and light industry including that of food-stuff.

Only in 1958-1959 dozens of new enterprises were commissioned. Among them are a coal pit with 500 to 600 thousand tons yield a year; a milk combine processing daily 3,000 litres of milk into some 13 patterns of dairy products; a glass-ware plant producing 400 tons of plain glass and 1,100 various kinds of glassware yearly; three flourmills each with 300 to 500 tons capacity in a year, a big power house and a brick work.

Great successes have been recorded by the Mongolian People's Republic in the spheres of cultural development, science, national education and health. Illiteracy has been liquidated and compulsory and free education is being fruitfully implemented. One out of each six persons is getting education in one or the other training institutions, the whole number of the children of school-age have practically joined schools.

From the first days of its existence, the Mongolian People's Republic has been pursuing the well-known principles of peaceful co-existence. The Republic declared unequivocally its support to the principles enunciated at the historic Bandung Conference of Asian and African Countries.



A view of the industrial sector of Ulan Bator, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Mongolia has had friendly relations with India from very ancient times. But, unfortunately, these relations had been disrupted for many centuries by colonial powers. However, at present, when both countries are free, the traditional relations have again been established between the peoples of Mongolia and India. The development of friendly relations between Mongolia and India is a significant contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

With a view to having greater possibilities for further development of its international contacts and still wider cooperation with other nations for mutual benefit, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has since 1949 repeatedly applied for admission to the United Nations Organisation. The Mongolian People's Republic as a sovereign democratic state which had all along pursued a peaceful policy even before the United Nations came into being, has an unquestionable right to be a member of this

organisation, meant to be an international forum. This was recognised by the overwhelming majority of U.N. members in 1956, when at the Tenth General Assembly, 52 countries had agreed to the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the U.N. together with 17 other countries.

But she is still being kept outside the United Nations and its other specialised organs owing to the unjust attitude of the representatives of some Western powers who use the Chiang Kai-shek representative as a cat's paw all the time.

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council recently called on all the National Committees and on the peace-loving forces in the world, to observe July 11, 1959 as a day of solidarity with Mongolia and to demand for the Mongolian People's Republic the right to be admitted to the United Nations.

## COUNTRY MUST INTERVENE ON SIDE OF KERALA

★ FROM PAGE 7

tions will only speed this sad process."

Comrade M.N. at first pulled a wry face when threatened with a question of a theoretical character, but gave a lively and striking reply.

"How can anybody think the Amritsar thesis is out-of-date? It is precisely in these days that we have felt the full force and truth of the thesis we adopted at our Party Congress some 15 months ago.

"It has been a striking fact of these days that people all over the country, of all shades of opinion, and despite all their differences with us, have rallied to our side, precisely because they feel parliamentary democracy and the Indian Constitution are in danger.

"They may not—some definitely do not—like us but they are not prepared to see democracy blown-up just to get the Kerala Ministry out. Newspaper editorials, pressmen's badgerings, the anger of teachers and intellectuals and militant mass mobilisation—all these are signs that India is determined not to imitate Pakistan.

"Besides, the Amritsar resolution had never stated that we were going to sail smoothly along. Gales are bound to be there, rough seas and the boat will rock heavily but it will go on—that is what we expected and exactly what has happened.

"Anyway, we in Kerala—the Ministers as well as the rank-and-file Party members—have firmly stuck to the path of

Constitutional action and we have no intention of giving this up. We are serious about parliamentary democracy, even if some of its architects and propounders seem to having second thoughts."

Comrade M.N. was quite visibly annoyed when it came to queries about the Congress High Command. His vigorous replies were really shafts after shafts thrown against the rank hypocrisy they are indulging in.

Sri Dhebar's instructions had been placed before the entire public by Sri Chacko—the KPCC was carrying out the ex-President's orders. No action had been taken against the Congressmen in Kerala for unabashedly going in for communal alliances, incitement to violence and obstructive mass picketing—despite verbal disapproval. And now, a few days after Pandit Nehru had declared that Central intervention was not on the agenda, had come the thinly garbed threat of it from the Parliamentary Board.

It was difficult to believe that the Congress High Command, which had taken into its hands the destinies of millions could not curb its followers in one State. Perhaps, far from curbing, instigation was their object.

"The most flagrant instance of this was the attitude to negotiations with the Kerala Ministry. On Pandit Nehru's advice Comrade E.M.S. agreed to discuss with all the parties concerned the controversial clauses of the Education Act. Now the High Command calls on him to suspend the entire Act—then why should anybody come to discuss or nego-

tiate? And the bishops and managers have taken the hint.

"We had offered to let Pandit Nehru arbitrate in the whole dispute. Now this was an unprecedented offer—to let the leader of the very party heading the Opposition mediate. Blinded by their desire to get the Ministry out, they have turned this down. They don't seem to have much faith in their own leader, nor does he seem to be able to stand up to pressures and blackmail."

Ridiculing the Congress Parliamentary Board's resolution asking the Kerala Ministry to suspend an Act, institute an enquiry and resign all at once, he strikingly characterised its attitude as being worse than a highwayman's. "They seem to want both our money and our lives! We are not prepared to part with either."

### DANGER IS GRAVE

Comrade M.N. was not complacent, however. He was quite clear that the danger of Central intervention was extremely grave—there could be no other interpretation of the Parliamentary Board's resolution, which was passed after the CEC and the Kerala Ministry had made its attitude to fresh elections emphatically clear.

What was more in order to provide some sort of cover for this shady trick, the Kerala Congress leaders were hellbent on provoking clashes and bringing about one violent incident after

another in the State. To them neither the people's security nor lives mattered so long as they could create a situation, convenient enough for New Delhi to act.

Diplka, the official organ of the Catholic church had made the whole game perfectly clear. Chiding some of its followers who wanted to go it alone if necessary, it editorially wrote that it was enough just to have the Congress banner, since without it Central intervention would not be possible!

"Let the High Command declare that they will not intervene to topple the Kerala Ministry and you will see that the entire agitation will fizzle out in a matter of days. The whole movement is on the wane and it is being given artificial respiration to keep it alive by the High Command's sly assurances."

This was the crux of the battle as it enters upon its second round. And though the going would undoubtedly be tougher, Comrade M.N. was still hopeful. The Government and Party in Kerala would work to its capacity, patiently and strictly. Miscalculations would get their deserts as the masses moved in support for the Ministry.

"But", he concluded "we also want our kind of 'Central intervention'—the initiative of the masses and all sections of democratic opinion outside Kerala. Together we have won the first round. Let us unite even more firmly and uphold our common cause against a greater menace." July 3, 1959.

—MOBIT SEN

## CEREMONY AT RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN

At a ceremony held on July 3 at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, Soviet Ambassador I. A. Bendiktov while presenting his credentials recalled the words of N. S. Khrushchev spoken before the Indian Parliament when he visited India in 1955. Friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples had been developing in the course of many centuries and had never been marred by conflicts or quarrels, Khrushchev had said then. Ambassador Bendiktov recalling and reiterating those sentiments stated:

"The consolidation of friendship between India and the Soviet Union on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and their cooperation in settling international issues will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of peace throughout the world and to consolidate international security."

Reciprocating these feelings in an equal measure Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

"Ever since we became an independent country we have believed in a policy of neutrality or non-alignment in the international sphere. I need hardly say that this policy flows from the deep regard in which we hold every country of the world and also from our age-old faith in the principle of 'live and let live'. To the best of our lights and capacity we have tried to follow this policy in matters international and in our relations with foreign countries.

"It has given us no small satisfaction to know that your great country not only looks upon this policy with approbation but shares with us the principles of peaceful coexistence and settlement of international issues in a spirit of cooperation and mutual negotiations. We set great value on this community of views between our two countries with regard to this matter and hope, with you, that it will result in the strengthening of peace throughout the world."



# MADURAI HUNGER - STRIKE OVER, MAGNIFICENT UNITY DEMONSTRATED

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

ON July 1, 1959, ended the hunger strike of Coms. K.T.K. Thangamani, M.P., Secretary of the AITUC and Balasubramaniam, President of Madurai Textile Workers' Union (AITUC).

These leaders had been on hunger strike since June 19 against the lock-out of Harvey Mills in Madurai, Vikram Singapuram and Tuticorin, throwing 22,000 workers on the streets and cutting down the yarn output in Madras State by 20 per cent.

The leaders of different political parties like Sri Sampat (MP of the DMK), Pakkiriswamy Pillai (Socialist Party), Subramaniam (PSP) and M. Kalyanasundaram (CPI) met the Chief Minister and the Labour Minister on June 30 and the Ministers assured them that de novo talks will commence on July 4 before the Labour Commission

in Madras. On this assurance the above-named leaders requested the hunger-striking labour leaders to withdraw their hunger strike. The Labour Commissioner also wrote a personal letter to comrades K. T. K. Thangamani and Balasubramaniam requesting them to withdraw the hunger strike to facilitate negotiations. The Ministers also assured the deputations that the Mills will not go in for production till a bi-partite settlement was reached.

The hunger-strike was withdrawn in the presence of more than 5,000 people—among them local leaders belonging to all political parties except Congress. The same evening in a mass rally of 25,000 people, M. Kalyanasundaram, P. Ramamurti, S. Muthu (DMK), V. K. Das (PSP), Kamaraj (Tamil Arasu Kashaagam), Kalimuthu (Madurai Mill Labour Union—unattached) and others explained the significance of the fast.

They showed how it had strengthened cooperation of all the parties and unity of the people manifested in the complete hartal on June 26 at Madurai and Thirumangalam on June 30.

The talks commenced before the Labour Commissioner at Madras on July 4. The workers' representatives include Comrade P. Ramamurti (AITUC), P. A. Kannayya (P.L.U.—unattached), Rangaswamy (INTUC) and others. The secretary of the Mill-owners' Association Sri C. G. Reddy, (who was formerly Secretary of the Labour and Industry Department of the Government of Madras) attended on invitation. The labour representatives it is learnt have submitted an agreed proposal and the management's reactions are awaited. The talks are expected to conclude within a week or so.

It may be recalled that as a result of the undeclared lockout by the Madurai Mills management, 22,000 workers

are idle since May 18, 1959. The original award of the Special Tribunal as modified under pressure from workers had remained in force from June 1957 till the closure in May, 1959.

The management wanted revision of the award and the Government was completely with the management. The struggle therefore took a political turn against the Government.

The plan was to keep the mills closed for three months and through starvation force the workers to come down. For one month, there was absolutely no stir. Then things started moving.

The special features assumed by this struggle were, first, the complete unity of all non-Congress political parties—as also the unity of the workers including those belonging to the INTUC (which though not officially participating in the strike, was sympathetically viewing it).

Secondly, complete unity of all sections of workers—i.e. of workers who were

affected by the management's proposal of workload and the workers who were not at all affected. For example, the Dunlop factory workers who were not affected by the proposals also joined the strike in solidarity with their brethren in the other mills.

Thirdly, defeat of the management's game: they wanted to negotiate with the INTUC, come to settlement, reopen the mills and then face the rest of the workers with a fait accompli. Thus they sought to break the workers' determination and break the AITUC union.

Fourthly, the hunger strike was not an isolated event. It was no substitute for workers mass struggle. Workers were constantly on the move and a terrific tempo was created by the hunger strike which resulted in the two hartals in Madurai and Thirumangalam.

Fifthly, the Kerala solidarity campaign and the strike went side by side. Every meeting held during these days passed one resolution on Kerala and another on the Madurai struggle.

## MADHYA PRADESH TUC AGAINST CLOSURES AND BLACK BILLS

THE Working Committee of the Madhya Pradesh Trade Union Congress at its recent meeting reviewed problems facing the workers of the State and particularly those arising out of the crisis in Textile and the Manganese mines.

Workers of the Textile Industry are facing hard times and are forced to shoulder increased workload and retrenchment. At least five Mills are working precariously and more than 10 thousand workers face prospects of unemployment. Nearly two thousand workers have been retrenched and two thousand more rendered unemployed in the last two years. The Mill management have been left free to misappropriate about 50 lacs of rupees of the Provident Fund belonging to the workers.

The Working Committee strongly condemned the weak-kneed policy pursued by the Industrial and Labour Department towards the textile bosses. It demanded enquiry into mismanaged concerns and taking over of the textile mills which threaten closure. The workers, the Committee assured, would fully cooperate with the Government in these measures. But in case Government proved weak, the workers would refuse to accept unemployment and would have no alternative except to take over the mills that close and insist on working them.

The closure of manganese mines has rendered nearly 15 thousand workers unemployed. The Government is doing nothing in the matter. The closures follow from the desire of the owners not to work the mines till they are allowed huge profits. The Working Committee demanded taking over of closed mines by Government and also building of Ferro-Manganese Plant and Beneficiant Plant in Balaghat

District to use our ore. The Working Committee examined the proposed Madhya Pradesh Amendment and Madhya Pradesh Industrial Relations Bills. These Bills:—withdraw workers right to raise industrial disputes and to be represented before the Industrial Courts.

—ban strikes, —allow Government at its sweet will to recognise more union than one. —give no right to trade unions other than the representative unions. —give absolute discretion to the Registrar, an officer of Labour Department, to conduct enquiry as he likes to decide between contending trade unions about representative character. —permit official interference in the autonomous functioning of the trade unions.

Hence, the Working Committee characterised these Bills as anti-trade union and anti-labour, Black Bills. The Working Committee decided to organise a widespread movement against these Bills.

The Committee also decided to prepare a charge-sheet against the Labour Minister to be presented at the next session of the Assembly. The charges will include the anti-labour policy, giving of political subsidy to INTUC Unions, Black Bills, allowing owners to retrench workers and misappropriate lakhs of rupees of the workers Provident Fund etc.

The Committee greeted the workers of Kerala for keeping away from the undemocratic movement in that State. It demanded implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, supported the demands of the Government Employees and demanded the granting of Trade Union rights to them, the reinstatement of dismissed teachers and Government intervention in the Bhopal Textile dispute.

—Homi Dajji

## BRITONS' NO TO NUCLEAR SUICIDE

Of late, Britain is witnessing its mightiest mass upsurge. It is directed against the policy of nuclear suicide, supported in different degrees by the Tory Government and Labour's Right Wing.

LAST week, this mighty upsurge in Britain was reflected in a declaration by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress on disarmament and nuclear war, and it was seen in Britain's biggest postwar demonstration of June 28.

Under the pressing demand from the British public for a relaxation of international tension and its resentment against the threat of a nuclear war, the Labour Party's declaration of June 24, indicated that its leaders advocate a permanent ban on nuclear tests, a gradual realisation to universal disarmament, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany and other European countries and the holding of Summit talks.

But true to Labour Party's Right Wing traditions, that declaration also supports NATO and strongly opposes the demand for the abolition of nuclear weapons. To placate public opinion on the one hand, and their US patrons on the other, the Right Wing Labour leadership has now come out with a proposal for the formation of a "non-nuclear club."

The "non-nuclear club" proposal suggests that the British Government would consult with those countries which, at present, do not possess nuclear weapons, to sign an agreement under which each member of the club would pledge itself not to test, manufacture or possess nuclear weapons.

The utter ineffectiveness of this proposal in banning nuclear tests and for the winding up of nuclear bases on foreign territories, is so transparent and that it has been "denounced as 'hypocrisy' and brushed aside as non-starter", in the British Press of the Left.

Inside the British Labour Party itself the "Victory for Socialism" group has declared that although the policy represented some recognition of public opinion, nevertheless, "the limited offer to stop the manufacture of British bombs, if other Governments will agree not to enter the race, is neither a realistic nor an effective initiative."

And, while the New Statesman (July 4) points out the dilemma contained in this pro-

posal, in the words: "You cannot in fact create a non-nuclear club unless you leave the suicide club", the Tribune (June 28) is more candid with the diagnosis: "The statement shows again that Mr. Gaitskell and those who think like him are bent on loyalty to the American alliance, in Churchill's famous phrase, 'at all costs'."

Hence the insistence on keeping American bomber and rocket bases a step back from the old statement, which urged a halt in building rocket sites—when everyone knows that they exist to protect the United States—not Britain."

But the back-slapping came from London Economist (July 4) in the words: "Mr. Gaitskell may have managed to make himself look a bit absurd; but he has also—and this is the important thing—remained personally and dauntlessly free to carry on the main theme of defence policy in which he be-

lieves, which is loyalty to the Nato alliance."

However, a most resounding rebuff to the policy of nuclear suicide and to the shilly-shallying tactics of the Right Wing Labour leaders, came from the British people, on June 28.

Reports London's Daily Worker (June 29): "Britain's biggest postwar demonstration, with 12,000 actually on the March for Life from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, yesterday showed the party leaders that the people want neither H. Bombs, tests, nor a rearmad Germany."

"Despite an almost total Press and radio black out, London's West End was jammed with a marching through, a human chain for peace which blocked traffic for miles along the route."

At the historic Trafalgar Square a mammoth rally of over 30,000, a substantial proportion of which repre-

sented a million people organised in the Labour movement and peace organisations, was undoubtedly a most eloquent expression of the British people's refusal to live under the nuclear shadows.

Among the personalities who marched with the demonstration and addressed, the rally were Professor J. D. Bernal, D. N. Pritt, Q.C., and Paul Robeson.

Criticising the new official policy of the Labour Party Executive, Professor Bernal made the following realistic proposal: "A far better intermediate policy, pending an agreement to end bombs altogether, is the idea of 'non-nuclear zones'—regions of the world, the wider the better in which no nuclear weapons of any kind should be stocked."

—RAZA ALI

## CONGRESS PERFORMANCE IN ANDHRA

★ From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

"If a similar situation arises in any other State, the same yardstick would be applied" this was what one of the secretaries of the AICC, Sri Alluri Satyanarayanaraju blurted out in a hurriedly called informal press conference at New Delhi.

## BOMBAY CATHOLICS REFUSE TO OBLIGE

The 'eleven-mile long' procession called by the Roman Catholic Church in Bombay on July 5, and led by the very Cardinal himself proved as smashing a failure as the public meeting called by the Catholic Union of India two years ago to protest against the Kerala Education Bill.

THE quarter of a million and odd Catholics of the City paid little heed to the vociferous slander campaign carried day in and day out in the thirty and odd Churches in Bombay for the last fifteen days in preparation for the 'Support Kerala agitation Pilgrims' procession from St. Theresa's Church at Girgaon to the Basilica of Our Lady of Mount Mary at Bandra.

Even though the rains had stopped by noon, only two hundred faithful turned up at the Girgaon Church at 2 p.m. They were led by Rev. Father Roque Pereira whose connections with USIS in jointly organising anti-Communist propaganda are well-known. By the time the procession reached half-way at the Portuguese Church at Dadar it was joined by another 700 persons. It was from here that His Eminence, Valerian Cardinal Gracias led the 900 pilgrims which included 200 white-cassocked priests with an image of crucified Christ in front, and over 500 women who were mostly members of the Legion of Mary, Sodality and of Catholic Action.

The Catholic Church circles here are very much perturbed over the apathy and conspicuous indifference shown by the Catholics. They had expected over a lakh of Christians to participate in this procession and to their utter disappointment only about 900 answered the call for the Holy Crusade. Cardinal Gracias in his sermon at Bandra stated that though the Church has been "dubbed political and communal, let the world know that our mission is spiritual, but the spi-

—Gerald Pereira

ritual would be meaningless if it were divorced from the temporal." He said, "Withdrawal from the arena of politics by good people will prompt the tyrannical minority to monopolise the great powers of Government." The Cardinal also stated that "the Catholic Church cannot remain indifferent to so important an arena of conflict as that of politics."

In his sermon-cum-speech, the Cardinal also said that "the proper atmosphere for a profitable discussion with the Kerala Government has yet to be created". However, he did not say how a proper atmosphere could be created without withdrawing from the agitation.

But one thing which the Cardinal has said has a tremendous significance. He announced boldly that the mission of the Church was "to Christianise the public life of the country." The Cardinal is right. Didn't The Patriarch of Goa charge the 5000 priests in Goa, a few years ago, for doing business in the name of God, while four hundred million Indians were still pagan?

It is learnt that the Catholic Church had approached the Anglican Church and the Church of Scotland for a common joint action. But they have quietly turned down the invitation. While the Indian National Church has come out in full support of the Kerala Education Act and the other legislative measures of the Government, and has equally condemned the direct action launched by the Catholic Church.

Why is he trying to hide the fact that in Andhra for full ten years elections to district Boards have been postponed year after year?

Why is he not prepared to tell the fact that even today, elections to panchayats in the Telangana area are not being conducted?

Does he not know that elections of presidents to elected panchayats were held over for three years in certain districts?

Why is it that even after two years, the Andhra Government did not find time to change the system of constitution of Municipalities in Telangana area, where a sizeable number of seats are filled by officials instead of elected representatives?

Why did not Sri Raju tell the people that his party in Andhra had little respect for elections, as was evidenced in the supersession of Tenali and Vijayawada Municipalities and as is being evidenced in the case of Samalkot Municipality—all of which returned a majority of opposition candidates?

Is it not a fact that the very principle of election was opposed by his party in Andhra in respect of the formation of various bodies of the Universities?

Sri Raju must also be aware that the Jilla Parishad Bill, brought forward by his Party Government in Andhra, ostensibly to give more powers

to elected bodies at lower levels, provided for arbitrary powers to revenue divisional Officers and Collectors over the head of elected bodies, thus nakedly exhibiting their contempt for elections.

The Congress Government in Andhra has earned the distinction of discriminating not only against opposition parties but against a certain group in their own party itself and Sri Raju, instead of asking the opposition to prove it, had better look in the cupboard in his office at Jantaram Road, where charge-sheets sent by a section of Congressmen were conventionally pigeon-holed by the AICC.

### Dissidents' Charge-Sheets

It is understood that the erstwhile dissident group in Andhra led by Sri Latchanna is publishing a booklet containing all the charge-sheets sent by him to the High Command, the charges levelled against himself and his ansers.

Indeed it is alleged that Sri Raju is guilty of using the Andhra government not only for his party's ends, but for his own personal ends as well. This accusation was made not merely by Communists and other opposition parties, but by his own erstwhile followers. They have charged him with getting land costing one lakh rupees gratis, in the name of a 'political sufferer'.

It may be recalled that in the erstwhile Madras State, an order to this effect was cancelled by Rajaji. But, no sooner was Andhra State formed, than Sri Raju began his efforts and succeeded in getting the land allotted to him, it is alleged. Can he deny this?

Sri D. Sanjeevayya, Local Administration Minister went a step further and told a meeting of officers of Khammam district in the presence of his own party men that hereafter they would have to obey the orders of local Congressmen. When a Member of the Assembly raised this matter on the floor of the House he evaded giving straight reply.

PAGE THIRTEEN

TWICE DAILY after meals..

The Season's greatest restorative

for that extra sparkle in your health

Two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadrahakarista (6 years old) start this course now and see the amazing difference it makes to your health. Matured for 6 years to increase its potency, this Mahadrahakarista directly acts to fortify your lungs and puts an end to cough, cold and bronchial troubles. Mritasanjibani improves your digestion and helps development of the body. Together they increase your weight and strength and make you fit for work and enjoyment.



SADHANA AUSADHALAYA

The world's Largest DAGGA Ayurvedic Institution

CALCUTTA CENTRE—  
Dr. Nagesh Chandra Ghose,  
M.B.B.S., Ayurved-Acharya,  
24, Goolbari Road, Calcutta-37

Adhyaksha—Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A., Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London), M.C.S. (America), formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhaagpur College.



# CONGRESS DECISION AND AFTER

\* FROM PAGE 3

expectation of being able to ride the communal tiger and come to power.

Third, for the Communist Party and the Kerala ministry to resign now and agree to mid-term elections would be tantamount to a proclamation of cowardice. It would mean that a premium would be placed on anti-constitutional and violent agitations against a popular ministry and would amount to surrender before it. It would mean enormously encouraging the reactionary vested interests in Kerala to believe that they can always and at any time pull down a government, which has the temerity to take some measures aimed at curbing their power and privilege.

The Communist Party, for one, is not going to be bullied into dashing the hopes of the people, into making them despair that no party has the guts to stand up to their oppressors.

In any event, there is scarcely any point in mid-term elections since Sri Chacko declared on July 1 at New Delhi: "If the Communists win and if they continue to rule in the same way in which they are ruling now we will have to start an agitation."

Hence, what is wanted is a guarantee from the Communist Party either that they will never have the temerity to actually win an election or that having won they will behave like Congress ministries—break their pledges to the people and appease the vested interests. The Communist Party, unfortunately, is not in a position to give such guarantees. It must and can carry out the mandate of the electorate to govern and govern in a manner that helps to alleviate the distress and hardships of the people.

Fourth, a large number of people had voted for the Communist Party since, after testing the other parties, they had seen in it the only hope of a stable administration for Kerala. They had felt that by voting the Communists to office they would at last lift the curse of instability from their State which has dogged them for some 12 years. This is quite a legitimate desire and realistic, as well.

If the Kerala ministry resigns, then this desire of the people will also turn to dust. It will spread that total cynicism and lethargy towards all parties which is the breeding ground for the rapid growth of anti-democratic—and even fascist—sentiments. The Communist Party is not going to do anything that might aid this most dangerous process.

Fifth, retreat by the Kerala ministry before this new offensive conducted under the banner of re-elections would have serious all-India repercussions.

Reactionary forces throughout the country—and abroad—are anxiously watching to see whether the Communist-led ministry succumbs to blackmail or not. They realise that if by this blackmail they can compel the Communist Party to retrace its steps then the other parties will be just chicken-feed.

The offensive against the progressive direction of our

foreign policy, against the socialist declarations, against the progressive aspects of the Nagpur resolution, against planned development and the extension of the public sector, would be greatly stepped up. And knowing the pull that reaction exerts inside the Congress and all its governments, we need not be surprised if a general retreat ensues.

Not only this. If once the principle is accepted that "direct action" and "paralysing the administration" are the ways by which elected governments are to be toppled, then clearly India has to renounce her chosen path of orderly progress under a system of parliamentary democracy. It will mean that chaos and instability will become the most conspicuous features of Indian political life.

This is an outcome which no democrat, nobody who had the least hope that India will escape the fate of Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, etc., can view with equanimity.

For all these reasons, the Communist Party and the Kerala ministry have rejected the "advice" of the Parliamentary Board, in the interests not only of the Kerala people but also for the defence of our democracy and its future.

## Congress Alternative

It is of the greatest relevance in this connection to bring out some of the implications of the alternative to the Communist-led ministry that is held out by the KPCC leaders, with the full sanction of their High Command.

Take the nature of the Opposition coalition. It is a fact known to all that the dominant partners in this gang-up are the Catholic bishops and Sri Mannam. These are no ordinary forces.

Sri Mannam—who has been tipped for Chief Ministership—has openly declared that he cannot help it if anybody asking for the imposition of ceiling on landholdings is done away with. He has declared time without number that he is for the rule of the Nairs—a flagrant communal position. The whole manner in which he has conducted his meetings—peacock thrones, chariots and the rest—shows his mediaeval and fossilised outlook.

In this his only rival is the other master of the coalition—the Catholic Church. Not only are the Catholic bishops against land reforms—with their estates it could scarcely be otherwise—but against any measure of social reforms, against enlightenment, rationalism and any ideas which are later than the 15th century, when they were the total tyrants of all Europe. Salazar's Portugal—and Goa—as well as Franco's Spain are the models the Catholic church leaders would like India to imitate.

This is the leadership which would be triumphant and the actual rulers should the Communist ministry be unconstitutionally removed. Such are the forces to whose hegemony Sri Nehru and the High Command have subordinated themselves in Kerala.

Nor is this all. A most

dangerous development is the wooing of the Muslim League by the KPCC—without a word of condemnation by Sri Nehru, who appears to have forgotten all that he said about this organisation only some two years ago and has repeated since. In this way the Muslim League is once again being sought to be given a respectable status, just at the time when a dangerous gathering together of Muslim communal forces is taking place in the different States of India. It should not be a matter of surprise if, after this, we find the Muslim League reviving and coming into the open all over India.

Nobody needs to be told what this implies—the horror of fratricidal killings on a vast scale are not a bare decade away. Not only the Muslim communalists but the Hindu chauvinists also would, naturally enough, seize on the recrudescence of the Muslim League to cry havoc and fan revivalist feelings.

Even with all this, the alternative offered to the present ministry holds out no prospect of stability for Kerala. Except for blind anti-Communism nothing else holds these partners together. It is well known that till recently Sri Mannam and the Catholics were inveterate foes. Nor can the Muslim League feel too comfortable in the company of the declared upholders of "Nair Rule" and the "Supremacy of the Cross".

The PSP and the Congress have quarrelled before over the leaves and fishes of office and there is no reason to doubt that this will erupt again—especially when the craving for Chief Ministership of Sri Patom may meet the resistance of similar cravings on the part of other august personalities. Hardly any mention needs to be made of the internecine quarrels within the Congress—only recently we had the curious spectacle of neck-to-neck competition for the KPCC Presidentship. And it has been noticed by many that Sri Damodara Menon has kept rather silent throughout the entire crisis.

This then is the alternative to the present Kerala Ministry presented to the people by the Congress High Command—the dominance of naked mediaevalism, the resuscitation of the Muslim League and a coalition rent with internal conflicts. Not an alternative likely to be cherished by those who support democracy and ordered progress.

It has to be seriously noted by democratic opinion that this does not end the list of crimes against India's progress committed by the "liberation leaders" in their desperate bid for grab power.

Dipika—the official organ of the Catholic Church—reported on June 15 the following remark of Sri Panampally Govinda Menon:

"If the officials carry out the orders of this government of the Communists, who were vagabonds till yesterday and will again be vagabonds from tomorrow, they will have to answer for that, they will be called to settle accounts. This liberation struggle of ours is also to liberate you."

"If you open fire listening to the orders of the Communists, tomorrow we will take revenge upon you. There are

men who are powerful enough to make you account for this. The liberation struggle is the liberation struggle of the whole of India. The Congress is ruling the whole of India."

## Inciting Services

This was no ordinary Congressman speaking. Sri Menon was till recently the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin and is reckoned to be the "brains" behind the KPCC—and much else besides. His words must, therefore, be treated seriously.

The same sentiments were repeated by Sri Sankar and Sri Menon on their return from New Delhi, when in a press statement on July 1 they declared that the day of deliverance was on hand for the police and other officials.

This is a most dangerous attitude and quite literally blows up the most basic of the foundations of our parliamentary democracy. It means that the non-elected permanent services replace the elected representatives of the people as the governing authority, whose writ is to run throughout the country.

This is the path a short slide along which leads to the military dictatorships which now tyrannise over Pakistan, Thailand and Pakistan. This hint of Sri Menon and Sri Sankar can well enough and soon enough be picked by some, creating a situation fraught with the gravest peril.

And it is amazing that nobody in the Congress High Command—not even Pandit Nehru—has had either the honesty or the decency to call the KPCC leaders to book or to repudiate their stand on this question, at least. Let the people of India note well this significant silence.

## Amritsar Now

In the light of all this, the question has been raised: does the Communist Party of India still stand by its resolution adopted at Amritsar on the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism? Our answer is that the entire ensemble of events around the Kerala crisis only confirm the stand we took then. Nor do we propose to repudiate the possibilities of parliamentary democracy just because the Congress leadership seems to be determined to blow it up for their narrow partisan ends.

The Communist Party of India never entertained any illusions about the nature of our ruling classes. It knew that given a powerful challenge by the masses all the pious phrases about "constitutional methods", "means are as important as ends", "the sacred teaching of non-violence"—that all these would be sought to be repudiated and the mailed fist displayed.

The Communist Party had clearly stated that it did not believe "that under no condition and at no stage in the development of the struggle for socialism, the ruling classes will resort to arms with a view to thwart the will of the majority of the people; that, in all situations they will observe democratic conventions and respect the democratic verdict of the people. Only those who have unbounded faith in the bona fides of the

bourgeoisie and landlords can make such an assertion." (Amritsar Congress of the Communist Party of India, May 1958, p. 2)

The ruling class and its representatives have clearly shown that far from upholding democracy, given a difficult situation they will repudiate it. Democracy has to triumph in spite of their resistance.

Forcing the ruling classes and their party to observe democratic norms and to respect the Indian Constitution—this possibility has also fully manifested itself in the recent period. This, again is a striking confirmation of the Amritsar resolution of our Party.

We have seen what tremendous mobilisation of the masses and their organisation has taken place not only in Kerala but throughout India. Everybody has been filled with admiration at the splendid militancy displayed by all units, members and friends of the Communist Party. Such a nation-wide mass campaign, such a demonstration of sympathy of all India for the ministry of a single State has never been seen in our country at any time.

It is necessary here to pay a heartfelt and grateful tribute to all those inside and outside Kerala who have done so magnificently a job, one cannot but be proud of such a Party which has such members and such friends.

Side by side with this mass upsurge we have seen the assertion of democratic opinion on an unprecedented scale. Lashing newspaper editorials, outspoken comments by commentators in our leading papers, speeches and statements of prominent personalities—all this has demonstrated the political-moral isolation of the Congress leadership.

Many of those who have so expressed themselves are far removed from the Communist Party. Some are even totally opposed to us. Among them are Congressmen of long standing and some Congress-Mandal and district committees.

We are grateful to all of them for their support of the Kerala ministry and we admire their integrity and devotion to the principles of parliamentary democracy.

It is a combination of the mass mobilisation and the assertion of democratic opinion that has till now prevented the Congress leadership from openly intervening and toppling the Kerala ministry. It is a combination of these two forces that alone can guarantee that in the future, too, our parliamentary democracy not only remains unassailable but offers scope for the social and economic transformations so ardently desired by our people.

The need of the hour is to show no fatigue in the fight, to be neither complacent nor panicky. All that we cherish is at stake and for this no effort, however strenuous and prolonged, is too much. The call of Kerala, its sounding of the tocsin must find all the democratic forces united, combative and confident. The cause we uphold is just and all our strength together can yet see its triumph.

FORWARD TO THE DEFENCE OF KERALA AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY!

July 6, 1959.

## E. M. S. Statement

# DESTRUCTIVE CAMPAIGN

5. Kulakada Bethel M. T. Lower Primary School (Quilon Dist.)

## Schools Damaged

1. The Karthika Thirumala Girls High School, Manacaud (Trivandrum Dist.)
2. The Fort Upper Primary School, Trivandrum, (Trivandrum Dist.)
3. The Kaniyapuram School, (Trivandrum Dist.)
4. Chalai Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
5. Nemon Victory High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
6. Neyyattinkara Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
7. Athiyannoor Govt. Lower Primary School (Trivandrum Dist.)
8. Dhanuvachapuram Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
9. Kalavoor Govt. High School (Alleppey Dist.)
10. The Mangad Upper Primary School (Quilon Dist.)
11. Chavara High School (Quilon Dist.)
12. English High School, Karunagappally (Quilon Dist.)
13. Karikkode School, (Quilon Dist.)
14. Pulluvilla Basic School, (Trivandrum Dist.)

It was these activities on the part of some people (who are formally disowned by the Congress organisation, but who, it is well-known to people familiar with the local developments, get direct encouragement and assistance from all the opposition parties including the Congress) that led to a series of unfortunate incidents recently in Trivandrum. A series of attacks on Transport buses and schools created tension in the City and the police had to deal firmly with the people who were responsible for it. Following these incidents, a police party had to go on patrol to the coastal areas of Tri-

vandrum where unfortunately they were ambushed and attacked and had to open fire which led to the tragic death of three, including a woman.

The Pradesh Congress leaders and the leaders of other Opposition parties have expressed their indignation against this police action, and particularly the firing. Unfortunately, however, they have not uttered a word against the series of anti-social acts which I have described above and which led to these unfortunate incidents.

There is no use of the Pradesh Congress leaders disowning responsibility for these activities and trying to put them on other shoulders than their own. For, after all, have they not themselves made repeated declarations that the Congress is resorting to "direct action" which take "all forms" and which is intended to "paralyse the administration"? If "all the forms" referred in these declarations do not include damage to and destruction of schools and transport buses, then it is their duty not only to say that is not part of the Congress programme, but to take active steps to stop these activities whoever indulges in them.

The silence on the part of the Pradesh Congress leaders on this wanton destruction of transport vehicles and schools, combined with their talk of "more intensified and uncompromising struggle" taking "new and more effective" forms, makes it appear as if the Pradesh Congress leaders have worked out a coordinated plan while the Congress as an organisation would resort to less crude forms of "direct action", these crude forms of annoyance and inconvenience to the Government transport, its passengers, teachers and students of schools, etc. would be

allowed to continue, with indirect support from Congressmen.

## High Command's Responsibility

Nor can the Congress High Command help sharing the responsibility for this state of affairs. For, stage by stage, the High Command has yielded to the blandishments of the Pradesh Congress leaders. At the first stage, when the All-India and the Kerala State Congress leaders were confabulating at Ootacamund on the desirability or otherwise of resorting to direct action, there were differences between them which were somehow patched up.

There was, however, a "misunderstanding" between the two regarding what exactly was agreed. Sri Dhebar, the author of the agreed formula, has himself now admitted that the statement dictated by him had itself given room for that "misunderstanding". He or other Congress leaders have not cared to explain what exactly was the "misunderstanding"; nor whether the "misunderstanding" has been cleared.

Whatever answer is given to these questions by the Congress High Command and the Pradesh Congress leaders, there is a question which is more important than that: What do they propose to do now in Kerala? There are three courses open before them:

- (1) Persist in the line that has, for nearly a month, been pursued by the Pradesh Congress leaders, the line of resorting to such "forms of direct action" as would "paralyse the administration";
- (2) Give a distorted interpretation of the Constitution and ask the Central Government to abuse its authority in order to dismiss the constitutionally-elected and normally functioning Ministry of this State; and
- (3) Have the problems, grievances and complaints settled through the normal constitutional process and with a view to assure the cooperation of all sections of the people in implementing the developmental programmes of the State and of the country as a whole.

I am sure that all thinking and reasonable men and women, including Congressmen and Congresswomen, would prefer the third path and reject the other two. For, both the first and second will be against the spirit of the Constitution and against the best interests of the nation. My colleagues and myself were, therefore, happy when the Prime Minister visited this State and applied his mind with a view to facilitating the pursuit of the third path. As I explained in a previous statement, he made three suggestions to us:

- (1) We should discuss with the opposition parties the complaints or criticisms that they have to make against us; and try to have them settled among ourselves; and leave any unresolved parts to the Prime Minister for his examination and advice;
- (2) We should invite the

School Managers and other interests involved for discussions with a view to having the controversial provisions of the Education Act suitably amended;

(3) Judicial enquiry should be ordered into police firings. We thought these were constructive proposals and we took a constructive attitude to them. We fully accepted his suggestions with regard to both the first and the second; as regards the third, we accepted it in principle, but pointed out the difficulty of carrying it out while the direct action is still on.

## Our Attitude And Theirs

The Prime Minister himself declared subsequently that our attitude is one of "partial acceptance". We had, therefore, legitimately expected that this "partial acceptance" by us would be followed by a similar "partial acceptance" by the Opposition and that the Prime Minister would then use his good offices to narrow the gulf.

Unfortunately, however, the Opposition, particularly the Prime Minister's own party, did not accept his suggestions even partially. They took the stand that they would not be satisfied with anything less than the Centre dismissing the State Ministry, unless, of course, we on our own tendered our resignation.

It was under these circumstances that the Central Congress Parliamentary Board held its meeting. And what was the attitude that it took?

## Not A Word Of Disapproval

It had no word of disapproval of the attitude taken by the Pradesh Congress leaders, not even to their open declaration that they were out to "paralyse the administration" in a State which, after all, is part of the administration of the whole country. They did not categorically ask the Pradesh Congress leaders to put their whole weight against those undesirable forms of activity which they themselves disapproved in words. They did not ask the Pradesh Congress leaders to pursue the path of mutual discussion between the Opposition and the Government on the criticisms and complaints that the former have against the latter—a path which had been suggested by the Prime Minister himself and fully accepted by the Government.

Regarding the Education Act, they cleared the pitch for the recalcitrant Managers by demanding the suspension of the entire Act, rather than the suspension of the most controversial provisions of the Act. As to the judicial enquiry, they demanded it unconditionally.

In other words, the stand taken by the Central Congress Parliamentary Board was one of total rejection of the first two proposals which the Prime Minister had made to us and which we had fully accepted. It was over and above all this that they demanded re-election which, as every

thinking person can see, means that very unconstitutional action which the Pradesh Congress leaders had asked the Central Government to take—dismissal of the Ministry.

## Will They See Reason Now?

The question is: "Will the Congress High Command at least now see reason and make the Pradesh Congress leaders see reason? Will they see that the course pursued by the Pradesh Congress leaders—that of resorting to "direct action" calculated to paralyse the administration" without even denouncing the destruction of transport vehicles and school property—is injurious to the interests of the nation as a whole, not to speak of the interests of the people of this State?"

Will they see that the course which the Pradesh Congress leaders ask Central Government to adopt—that of dismissing the Ministry which enjoys a majority in the Legislature—cannot be adopted unless the Congress and the Central Government are prepared to face the criticism within the country and outside that they are acting in a partisan manner and against the spirit of the Constitution, in order to remove the only non-Congress Government in India?

If they will see this, then, I am sure that they will give such advice and instruction to the Pradesh Congress leaders as would make them desist from the dangerous path that they are pursuing now, to adopt the normal constitutional path of removing whatever grievances they have, and solving whatever problems that they are facing, through the normal constitutional process.

## WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

AN INDISPENSABLE GUIDE TO EVERY FIGHTER FOR SOCIALISM

Important articles in the JUNE issue, available, now are:

- O. Bauman: German Militarism and How to Curb it.
- H. Pollitt: Problems of War and Peace and the position of the Socialist International.
- V. Chaturvedi: Development of Inner-Party Democracy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
- D. N. Pritt: The First Ten Years of the World Peace Movement.
- R. Arasimendi: On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.
- B. Fogaras: Reflections on the Philosophical views of George Lukacs.
- V. Perlo: State-Monopoly Processes in U.S. Economy.
- F. Lager: Social Democratic "Socialism" in Sweden.
- P. Gillet: French Youth and the Algerian Tragedy.

Also the usual features: Activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Books and Journals and Letters and Notes

Subscription rates:

Annual Rs. 10/-  
Single copy: Re. 1/-  
Postage Extra

Available at:

People's Publishing House, M. M. Road, New Delhi; National Book Agency, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta; PPH Bookstall, 101-E, Khatwadi Main Road, Bombay 4; New Century Book House, 199, Mount Road, Madras-2; Vikramadhra Publishing House, Ekkattampet P. O., Vijayawada.



# CONGRESS DECISION AND AFTER

\* FROM PAGE 3

expectation of being able to ride the communal tiger and come to power.

Third, for the Communist Party and the Kerala ministry to resign now and agree to mid-term elections would be tantamount to a proclamation of cowardice. It would mean that a premium would be placed on anti-constitutional and violent agitations against a popular ministry and would amount to surrender before it. It would mean enormously encouraging the reactionary vested interests in Kerala to believe that they can always and at any time pull down a government, which has the temerity to take some measures aimed at curbing their power and privilege.

The Communist Party, for one, is not going to be bullied into dashing the hopes of the people, into making them despair that no party has the guts to stand up to their oppressors.

In any event, there is scarcely any point in mid-term elections, since Sri Chacko declared on July 1 at New Delhi: "If the Communists win and if they continue to rule in the same way in which they are ruling now, we will have to start an agitation."

Hence, what is wanted is a guarantee from the Communist Party either that they will never have the temerity to actually win an election or that having won they will behave like Congress ministries—break their pledges to the people and appease the vested interests. The Communist Party, unfortunately, is not in a position to give such guarantees. It must and can carry out the mandate of the electorate to govern and govern in a manner that helps to alleviate the distress and hardships of the people.

Fourth, a large number of people had voted for the Communist Party since, after testing the other parties, they had seen in it the only hope of a stable administration for Kerala. They had felt that by voting the Communists to office they would at last lift the curse of instability from their State which has dogged them for some 12 years. This is quite a legitimate desire and realistic, as well.

If the Kerala ministry resigns, then this desire of the people will also turn to dust. It will spread that total cynicism and lethargy towards all parties which is the breeding ground for the rapid growth of anti-democratic and even fascist sentiments. The Communist Party is not going to do anything that might aid this most dangerous process.

Fifth, retreat by the Kerala ministry before this new offensive conducted under the banner of re-elections would have serious all-India repercussions.

Reactionary forces throughout the country—and abroad—are anxiously watching to see whether the Communist-led ministry succumbs to blackmail or not. They realise that if by this blackmail they can compel the Communist Party to retrace its steps then the other parties will be just chicken-feed.

The offensive against the progressive direction of our

foreign policy, against the socialist declarations, against the progressive aspects of the Nagpur resolution, against planned development and the extension of the public sector, would be greatly stepped up. And knowing the pull that reaction exerts inside the Congress and all its governments, we need not be surprised if a general retreat ensues.

Not only this. If once the principle is accepted that "direct action" and "paralysing the administration" are the ways by which elected governments are to be toppled, then clearly India has to renounce her chosen path of orderly progress under a system of parliamentary democracy. It will mean that chaos and instability will become the most conspicuous features of Indian political life.

This is an outcome which no democrat, nobody who had the least hope that India will escape the fate of Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, etc., can view with equanimity.

For all these reasons, the Communist Party and the Kerala ministry have rejected the "advice" of the Parliamentary Board, in the interests not only of the Kerala people but also for the defence of our democracy and its future.

## Congress Alternative

It is of the greatest relevance in this connection to bring out some of the implications of the alternative to the Communist-led ministry that is held out by the KPCC leaders, with the full sanction of their High Command.

Take the nature of the Opposition coalition. It is a fact known to all that the dominant partners in this gang-up are the Catholic bishops and Sri Mannam. These are no ordinary forces.

Sri Mannam—who has been tipped for Chief Ministership—has openly declared that he cannot help it if anybody asking for the imposition of ceiling on landholdings is done away with. He has declared time without number that he is for the rule of the Nairs—a flagrantly communal position. The whole manner in which he has conducted his meetings—peacock thrones, charlots and the rest—shows his mediaeval and fossilised outlook.

In this his only rival is the other master of the coalition—the Catholic Church. Not only are the Catholic bishops against land reforms—with their estates it could scarcely be otherwise—but against any measure of social reforms, against enlightenment, rationalism and any ideas which are later than the 15th century, when they were the total tyrants of all Europe. Salazar's Portugal—and Goa—as well as Franco's Spain are the models the Catholic church leaders would like India to imitate.

This is the leadership which would be triumphant and the actual rulers should the Communist ministry be unconstitutionally removed. Such are the forces to whose hegemony Sri Nehru and the High Command have subordinated themselves in Kerala.

Nor is this all. A most

dangerous development is the wooing of the Muslim League by the KPCC—without a word of condemnation by Sri Nehru, who appears to have forgotten all that he said about this organisation only some two years ago and has repeated since. It is this way the Muslim League is once again being sought to be given a respectable status, just at the time when a dangerous gathering together of Muslim communal forces is taking place in the different States of India. It should not be a matter of surprise if, after this, we find the Muslim League reviving and coming into the open all over India.

Nobody needs to be told what this implies—the horror of fratricidal killings on a vast scale are only a bare decade away. Not only the Muslim communalists but the Hindu chauvinists also would, naturally enough, seize on the recrudescence of the Muslim League to cry havoc and fan revivalist feelings.

Even with all this, the alternative offered to the present ministry holds out no prospect of stability for Kerala. Except for blind anti-Communism nothing else holds these partners together. It is well known that till recently Sri Mannam and the Catholics were inveterate foes. Nor can the Muslim League feel too comfortable in the company of the declared upholders of the "Nair Rule" and the "Supremacy of the Cross".

The PSP and the Congress have quarrelled before over the loaves and fishes of office and there is no reason to doubt that this will erupt again—especially when the craving for Chief Ministership of Sri Patton may meet the resistance of similar cravings on the part of other august personalities. Hardly any mention needs to be made of the internecine quarrels within the Congress—only recently we had the curious spectacle of neck-to-neck competition for the KPCC Presidentship. And it has been noticed by many that Sri Damodara Menon has kept rather silent throughout the entire crisis.

This then is the alternative to the present Kerala Ministry presented to the people by the Congress High Command—the dominance of naked mediaevalism, the resuscitation of the Muslim League and a coalition rent with internal conflicts. Not an alternative likely to be cherished by those who support democracy and ordered progress.

It has to be seriously noted by democratic opinion that this does not end the list of crimes against India's progress committed by the "liberation leaders" in their desperate bid to grab power.

Dipika—the official organ of the Catholic Church—reported on June 15 the following remark of Sri Panampally Govinda Menon: "If the officials carry out the orders of this government of the Communists, who were vagabonds till yesterday and will again be vagabonds from tomorrow, they will have to answer for that, they will be called to settle accounts. This liberation struggle of ours is also to liberate you."

"If you open fire listening to the orders of the Communists, tomorrow we will take revenge upon you. There are

men who are powerful enough to make you account for this. The liberation struggle is the liberation struggle of the whole of India. The Congress is ruling the whole of India."

## Inciting Services

This was no ordinary Congressman speaking. Sri Menon was till recently the Chief Minister of Travancore (Ochinchin and is reckoned to be the "brains" behind the KPCC—and much else besides. His words must, therefore, be treated seriously.

The same sentiments were repeated by Sri Sankar and Sri Menon on their return from New Delhi, when in a press statement on July 1 they declared that the day of deliverance was on hand for the police and other officials.

This is a most dangerous attitude and quite literally blows up the most basic of the foundations of our parliamentary democracy. It means that the non-elected permanent services replace the elected representatives of the people as the governing authority, whose writ is to run throughout the country.

This is the path a short slide along which leads to the military dictatorships which now tyrannise over Pakistan, Thailand and Pakistan. This hint of Sri Menon and Sri Sankar can well enough and soon enough be picked by some, creating a situation fraught with the gravest peril.

And it is amazing that nobody in the Congress High Command—not even Pandit Nehru—has had either the honesty or the decency to call the KPCC leaders to book or to repudiate their stand on this question, at least. Let the people of India note well this significant silence.

## Amritsar Now

In the light of all this, the question has been raised: does the Communist Party of India still stand by its resolution adopted at Amritsar on the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism? Our answer is that the entire ensemble of events around the Kerala crisis only confirm the stand we took then. Nor do we propose to repudiate the possibilities of parliamentary democracy just because the Congress leadership seems to be determined to blow it up for their narrow partisan ends.

The Communist Party of India never entertained any illusions about the nature of our ruling classes. It knew that given a powerful challenge by the masses all the pious phrases about "constitutional methods", "means as important as ends", "the sacred teaching of non-violence"—that all these would be sought to be repudiated and the mailed fist displayed.

The Communist Party had clearly stated that it did not believe "that under no condition and at no stage" in the development of the struggle for socialism, the ruling classes will resort to arms with a view to thwart the will of the majority of the people; that, in all situations they will observe democratic conventions and respect the democratic verdict of the people. Only those who have unbounded faith in the bona fides of the

bourgeoisie and landlords can make such an assertion." (Amritsar Congress of the Communist Party of India, May 1953, p. 2)

The ruling class and its representatives have clearly shown that far from upholding democracy, given a difficult situation they will repudiate it. Democracy has to triumph in spite of their resistance.

Forcing the ruling classes and their party to observe democratic norms and to respect the Indian Constitution—this possibility has also fully manifested itself in the recent period. This, again is a striking confirmation of the Amritsar resolution of our Party.

We have seen what tremendous mobilisation of the masses and their organisation has taken place not only in Kerala but throughout India. Everybody has been filled with admiration at the splendid militancy displayed by all units, members and friends of the Communist Party. Such a nation-wide mass campaign, such a demonstration of sympathy of all India for the ministry of a single State has never been seen in our country at any time.

It is necessary here to pay a heartfelt and grateful tribute to all those inside and outside Kerala who have done so magnificently a job, one cannot but be proud of such a Party which has such members and such friends.

Side by side with this mass upsurge we have seen the assertion of democratic opinion on an unprecedented scale. Lashing newspaper editorials, outspoken comments by commentators in our leading papers, speeches and statements of prominent personalities—all this has demonstrated the political-moral isolation of the Congress leadership.

Many of those who have so expressed themselves are far removed from the Communist Party. Some are even totally opposed to us. Among them are Congressmen of long standing and some Congress Mandal and district committees.

We are grateful to all of them for their support of the Kerala ministry and we admire their integrity and devotion to the principles of parliamentary democracy.

It is a combination of the mass mobilisation and the assertion of democratic opinion that has till now prevented the Congress leadership from openly intervening and toppling the Kerala ministry. It is a combination of these two forces that alone can guarantee that in the future, too, our parliamentary democracy not only remains unassailable but offers scope for the social and economic transformations so ardently desired by our people.

The need of the hour is to show no fatigue in the fight, to be neither complacent nor panicky. All that we cherish is at stake and for this no effort, however strenuous and prolonged, is too much. The call of Kerala, its sounding of the tocsin must find all the democratic forces united, combative and confident. The cause we uphold is just and all our strength together can yet see its triumph.

FORWARD TO THE DEFENCE OF KERALA AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY!  
July 6, 1959.

## E. M. S. Statement

# DESTRUCTIVE CAMPAIGN

5. Kulakada Bethel M. T. Lower Primary School (Quilon Dist.)

## Schools Damaged

1. The Karthika Thirumal Girls High School, Manacaud (Trivandrum Dist.)
2. The Fort Upper Primary School, Trivandrum, (Trivandrum Dist.)
3. The Kaniyapuram School, (Trivandrum Dist.)
4. Chhalai Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
5. Nemoon Victory High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
6. Neyyattinkara Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
7. Athlyannoor Govt. Lower Primary School (Trivandrum Dist.)
8. Dhanuvachapuram Govt. High School (Trivandrum Dist.)
9. Kalavoor Govt. High School (Alleppey Dist.)
10. The Mangad Upper Primary School (Quilon Dist.)
11. Chavara High School (Quilon Dist.)
12. English High School, Karunagappally (Quilon Dist.)
13. Karikkode-School, (Quilon Dist.)
14. Pulluvila Basic School, (Trivandrum Dist.)

It was these activities on the part of some people (who are formally disowned by the Congress organisation, but who, it is well-known to people familiar with the local developments, get direct encouragement and assistance from all the opposition parties including the Congress) that led to a series of unfortunate incidents recently in Trivandrum. A series of attacks on Transport buses and schools created tension in the City and the police had to deal firmly with the people who were responsible for it. Following these incidents, a police party had to go on patrol to the coastal areas of Tri-

vandrum where unfortunately they were ambushed and attacked and had to open fire which led to the tragic death of three, including a woman.

The Pradesh Congress leaders and the leaders of other Opposition parties have expressed their indignation against this police action, and particularly the firing. Unfortunately, however, they have not uttered a word against the series of anti-social acts which I have described above and which led to these unfortunate incidents.

There is no use of the Pradesh Congress leaders disowning responsibility for these activities and trying to put them on other shoulders than their own. For, after all, have they not themselves made repeated declarations that the Congress is resorting to "direct action" which take "all forms" and which is intended to "paralyse the administration"? If "all the forms" referred in these declarations do not include damage to and destruction of schools and transport buses, then it is their duty not only to say that is not part of the Congress programme, but to take active steps to stop these activities whoever indulges in them.

The silence on the part of the Pradesh Congress leaders on this wanton destruction of transport vehicles and schools, combined with their talk of "more intensified and uncompromising struggle," taking "new and more effective" forms, makes it appear as if the Pradesh Congress leaders have worked out a coordinated plan while the Congress as an organisation would resort to less crude forms of "direct action"; these crude forms of annoyance and inconvenience to the Government transport, its passengers, teachers and students of schools, etc. would be

allowed to continue, with indirect support from Congressmen.

## High Command's Responsibility

Nor can the Congress High Command help sharing the responsibility for this state of affairs. For, stage by stage, the High Command has yielded to the blandishments of the Pradesh Congress leaders. At the first stage, when the All-India and the Kerala State Congress leaders were confabulating at Ootacamund on the desirability or otherwise of resorting to direct action, there were differences between them which were somehow patched up.

There was, however, a "misunderstanding" between the two regarding what exactly was agreed to. Sri Dhebar, the author of the agreed formula, has himself now admitted that the statement dictated by him had itself given room for that "misunderstanding". He or other Congress leaders have not cared to explain what exactly was the "misunderstanding"; nor whether the "misunderstanding" has been cleared.

Whatever answer is given to these questions by the Congress High Command and the Pradesh Congress leaders, there is a question which is more important than that: What do they propose to do now in Kerala? There are three courses open before them:

- (1) Persist in the line that has, for nearly a month, been pursued by the Pradesh Congress leaders, the line of resorting to such "forms of direct action" as would "paralyse the administration";
- (2) Give a distorted interpretation of the Constitution and ask the Central Government to abuse its authority in order to dismiss the constitutionally-elected and normally functioning Ministry of this State; and
- (3) Have the problems, grievances and complaints settled through the normal constitutional process and with a view to assure the cooperation of all sections of the people in implementing the developmental programmes of the State and of the country as a whole.

I am sure that all thinking and reasonable men and women, including Congressmen and Congresswomen, would prefer the third path and reject the other two. For, both the first and second will be against the spirit of the Constitution and against the best interests of the nation.

My colleagues and myself were, therefore, happy when the Prime Minister visited this State and applied his mind with a view to facilitating the pursuit of the third path. As I explained in a previous statement, he made three suggestions to us:

- (1) We should discuss with the opposition parties the complaints or criticisms that they have to make against us; and try to have them settled among ourselves; and leave any unresolved parts to the Prime Minister for his examination and advice;
- (2) We should invite the

School Managers and other interests involved for discussions with a view to having the controversial provisions of the Education Act suitably amended;

(3) Judicial enquiry should be ordered into police firings. We thought these were constructive proposals and we took a constructive attitude to them. We fully accepted his suggestions with regard to both the first and the second; as regards the third, we accepted it in principle, but pointed out the difficulty of carrying it out while the direct action is still on.

## Our Attitude And Theirs

The Prime Minister himself declared subsequently that our attitude is one of "partial acceptance". We had, therefore, legitimately expected that this "partial acceptance" by us would be followed by a similar "partial acceptance" by the Opposition and the Prime Minister would then use his good offices to narrow the gulf.

Unfortunately, however, the Opposition, particularly the Prime Minister's own party, did not accept his suggestions even partially. They took the stand that they would not be satisfied with anything less than the Centre dismissing the State Ministry, unless, of course, we on our own tendered our resignation.

It was under these circumstances that the Central Congress Parliamentary Board held its meeting. And what was the attitude that it took?

## Not A Word Of Disapproval

It had no word of disapproval of the attitude taken by the Pradesh Congress leaders, not even to their own declaration that they were out to "paralyse the administration" in a State which, after all, is part of the administration of the whole country. They did not categorically ask the Pradesh Congress leaders to put their whole weight against those undesirable forms of activity which they themselves disapproved in words. They did not ask the Pradesh Congress leaders to pursue the path of mutual discussion between the Opposition and the Government on the criticisms and complaints that the former have against the latter—a path which had been suggested by the Prime Minister himself and fully accepted by the Government.

Regarding the Education Act, they cleared the pitch for the recalcitrant Managers by demanding the suspension of the entire Act, rather than the suspension of the most controversial provisions of the Act. As to the judicial enquiry, they demanded it unconditionally.

In other words, the stand taken by the Central Congress Parliamentary Board was one of total rejection of the first two proposals which the Prime Minister had made to us and which we had fully accepted. It was over and above all this that they demanded re-election which, as every

thinking person can see, means that very unconstitutional action which the Pradesh Congress leaders had asked the Central Government to take—dismissal of the Ministry.

## Will They See Reason Now?

The question is: "Will the Congress High Command at least now see reason and make the Pradesh Congress leaders see reason? Will they see that the course pursued by the Pradesh Congress leaders—that of resorting to "direct action" calculated to paralyse the administration" without even denouncing the destruction of transport vehicles and school property—is injurious to the interests of the nation as a whole, not to speak of the interests of the people of this State?"

Will they see that the course which the Pradesh Congress leaders ask Central Government to adopt—that of dismissing the Ministry which enjoys a majority in the Legislature—cannot be adopted unless the Congress and the Central Government are prepared to face the criticism within the country and outside that they are acting in a partisan manner and against the spirit of the Constitution in order to remove the only non-Congress Government in India?

If they will see this, then I am sure that they will give such advice and instruction to the Pradesh Congress leaders as would make them desist from the dangerous path that they are pursuing now, to adopt the normal constitutional path of removing whatever grievances they have, and solving whatever problems that they are facing, through the normal constitutional process.

## WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

AN INDISPENSABLE GUIDE TO EVERY FIGHTER FOR SOCIALISM

Important articles in the JUNE issue, available, now are:

- O. Bauman: German Militarism and How to Curb it.
- H. Pollitt: Problems of War and Peace and the position of the Socialist International.
- V. Churayev: Development of Inner-Party Democracy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
- D. N. Fritt: The First Ten Years of the World Peace Movement.
- R. Arasimendi: On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.
- B. Fogarasi: Reflections on the Philosophical views of George Lukacs.
- V. Perlo: State-Monopoly Processes in U.S. Economy.
- F. Lager: Social Democratic "Socialism" in Sweden.
- P. Gillet: French Youth and the Algerian Tragedy.

Also the usual features: Activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Books and Journals and Letters and Notes

Subscription rates: Annual Rs. 10/- Single copy: Re. 1/- Postage Extra

Available at: People's Publishing House, M. M. Road, New Delhi; National Book Agency, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta; P.P.H. Bookstall, 150-B, Khairat Main Road, Bombay 4; New Century Book House, 189, Mount Road, Madras-2; Visalandra Publishing House, Buckinghampet P.O., Vijayawada.



# FLAGGING TEMPO LEADING TO DESPERATE ACTIONS

● FROM RAMDASS

TRIVANDRUM, July 8.

Inside the State, the tempo of struggle has been visibly flagging. Even sight-seers who used to be present at the time of picketing are melting away and picketings have begun to become everyday rituals.

IT was in this situation that a new stunt was thought of. With great fanfare it was announced that July 4 would be entirely women's day and that only women would participate in picketing on that day.

This did rouse some interest and people gathered again to see the Satyagraha.

Only in Ankamali was there some sort of mass picketing by women. In three other places, women participated and in others it was all men as usual. In Kottayam, Alleppey and Ernakulam, some women turned up—the wives of bankers, planters and landlords and press barons clad in their nylons and silks.

They had none of them expected to be jailed. It is said that when they were sentenced to fines or prison, some of them were at least willing to pay fines to avoid a week in jail. But there was a rumour—people saying that paying fines would mean reducing the satyagraha to a farce. The women had willy-nilly to go to jail and it is being rumoured that the husbands became very active immediately afterwards, trying to send in soft mattresses and silken pillows for their women-folk.

In Kottayam, half the number of "ladies" announced for picketing did not turn up, because of certain "inconveniences". Another thing that has created a furore is that they could not get any Nair "lady" to join the picketers.

An interesting incident occurred in Quilon. On women's day no women could be mobilised. All wives of leaders put out excuses to keep away. That infuriated the rank-and-file and they also kept away.

Just as the Hartal on June 12, the school closure campaign and general strike on June 29, women's day which was to become a spectacular mile-stone in the struggle, proved to be total flop.

As fiasco follows fiasco, the "liberators" are getting desperate and are indulging in reckless activities. Chief Minister Namboodiripad's statement of July 6 gives an idea of these violent activities.

Typical of the attack on schools was the one on the Salvation Army School in Trivandrum.

Catholic fishermen were brought from coastal areas to beat up small children. The father of a girl of ten, a Catholic, with "fishermen's blood in him" in a statement described the attack.

His daughter tried to escape from the class. But when her books fell down, she knelt to pick up them up. Goondas hit her with stones on her back and when she fell kicked her and beat her again. Most of the children and teachers were assaulted the same

way. The guardians are furious, including some champions of the "liberation struggle" whose children were among those assaulted.

The attacks on State Transport Buses have been intensified. Now transport buses are running in convoys with police escorts—naturally leading to lot of delay.

It took eight hours to reach Quilon from Alleppey—a journey which should have normally taken five hours. I was thinking that, perhaps, the passengers would be furious with the Government for such delays. But I saw even people clad from head to foot in Khadi complaining bitterly against picketing of transport buses. Instances have also been not rare when passengers have got down and picketed other vehicles—sometimes motor cars carrying Congress leaders.

Congress leaders go on repeating that they are not in favour of picketing of schools and transport buses. But people every day see Congressmen organising and leading these attacks.

Attacks on the police have

also continued, leading to lathi charges in Trivandrum city and other places and to firing in Cheriathurai in the coastal area.

I have been told that after the first two firings the coastal area had been comparatively quiet. But after the Prime Minister's visit, some Congress leaders went there and told the fishermen that the State Government could no more resort to firing and with such "guarantees" incited the fishermen to make attacks on police patrol parties in Cheriathurai.

On all sides the "liberation struggle" is getting isolated from the people—from guardians and passengers and others of different political affiliations. As they get isolated they go in for more violence resulting in still greater isolation.

## The Vicious Circle

The vicious circle in Kerala is not as Pandit Nehru said—incidents, police firings, demand for enquiry, fresh firings. It is the Congress in Kerala which has got into a vicious circle of—isolation from the people, indulgence in violence, greater isolation, still more violence.

The struggle has already reached the point of "diminishing returns" and its leaders surely must be realising that the day of no returns is

slowly but inexorably arriving.

## Atrocities

### Beyond Words

EYE witness accounts of atrocities being committed by "liberators" in Kerala are pouring in. For example, a well-known educationist from Delhi, who had been recently to Kerala writes to a friend in Delhi, from Trivandrum on July 4:

"The position here has deteriorated very considerably in the last few days. The atrocities that are being committed by the Opposition are simply too fantastic for words. Day before yesterday, 30 Catholic fishermen invaded the local Salvation Army School and threw out physically children below the age of seven. Several of them were injured seriously and two, who were thrown from the verandah, hit their heads against coconut trees and were bleeding. When the police arrived, the fishermen ran and took refuge in the Bishop's house nearby where they were actually traced down by the police. The news that has appeared in the papers is that Communist goondas threw stones at the Bishop's House!"

In a statement, the Changanassery Taluk Agricultural Labour Union says: "For the last two or three weeks, the liberation war-mongers in Changanassery have directed

their fury against the agricultural labourers here. The attacks have been intensified particularly since the big mass rally in Changanassery on June 14 under the auspices of the Communist Party. Since that day, more than a hundred agricultural labourers have been manhandled in public thoroughfares; but in spite of this vile provocation, no retaliation from the side of workers has taken place. They are enduring patiently these agonies and humiliations.

"On the evening of June 28, the goondas attacked and destroyed the huts of 6 agricultural labour families situated on the Changanassery-Alleppey Road near Bridge No. 1. The men had gone to Kottayam to attend a Trade Union rally on that day. Only women and children were at home. Utilising this opportunity these savages attacked the families, 300 goondas were brought to the place from the Liberation-War office in Iorries. Seeing these goondas rushing to their houses, the women along with the children and babies jumped into the nearby canal and swam across to safety. The goondas entered the houses and broke all the earthen vessels, destroyed cooked food, provisions and threw away more durable household things like clothing, etc. into the canal. Not satisfied even with this vandalism, the blood-thirsty murderers caught hold of an eighteen-month old baby sleeping in one of the huts, pulled the tender frightened being by the leg and tossed it to the swirling waters of the canal."

# Delhi Workers' Protest March

● From O. P. MEHROTRA

The Delhi Trade Union Action Committee, representing 80,000 workers of the Capital in different industries and commercial establishments, led a striking procession to demonstrate at the residence of Prime Minister Nehru on July 7.

Thousands of workers marched to the Prime Minister's residence without caring for the long distance and overcast sky. They were angry and indignant and thundered their mood all along the way with militant slogans in order to tell Sri Nehru that even to-day a British manager of a bank can abuse the Indian employees, dismiss their union leaders and flout the award of a Government appointed Tribunal. They wanted to express their indignation that when the Labour Ministry is posted with these facts it does not move its little finger against the employers.

The demonstration was also in protest against the pro-employer policy of the Delhi Administration for lending a hand to the management by placing the police to interfere in totally peaceful and legitimate trade union activity.

The representatives of labour formed the Action Committee on July 3, as the continuation of an earlier meeting on June 28 to consider the problems facing the trade unions and take steps to support the struggle of 5,000 employees of the British-owned National & Grindlays Bank,

who have gone on strike since June 23.

Sri H. L. Parvana, Convenor of the Action Committee, told pressmen on July 6, how the British manager of the Bank behaved when the union leaders had gone to see him. Once this arrogant man—Mr. G. W. Brown—refused to discuss the grievances of the workers, abused the employees and told them that "he was a major in the army and knows how to deal with Indians."

The facts of the case are: In March 1959 the Delhi branch management of the bank entered adverse remarks into the service files of 12 employees. This is against the provision of the Shastri Award and the terms of the bilateral agreement. On April 14 the employees demanded an enquiry in writing under para 517 of the Bank Award against the manager and accountant.

As apprehended by employees the management singled out six top leaders out of the 21 signatories to the demand and suspended them as from April 11. The manager appointed himself as the Appel-

late authority and the Accountant as the enquiry officer. The employees challenged the appointment of the enquiry officer and appellate authority. The Government was kept informed. As a result of the fake enquiry six union leaders were dismissed on June 23. Since then the strike commenced.

Sri Parvana said in his statement that Sri Gulzari Lal Nanda, Minister for Labour and Employment, told the representatives of the employees on 20 May that he had sought for the opinion of the Ministry of Law on certain points arising out of the dispute. While leaving for the ILO Conference at Geneva he again told the representatives of the employees on 28 May, that he had left instructions that as soon as the opinion of the Ministry of Law was available, the same should be implemented in its true spirit.

"It is now, about a month and a half that the Government has failed to intimate the opinion of the Ministry of Law to the parties concerned", Sri Parvana said.

It was against these attacks of the Bank management, the insulting behaviour of the Bank Manager Mr. Brown and the dilatory policy of the Labour Ministry, that the Action Committee protested through this demonstration.

Apart from this dispute,

Delhi trade union leaders point out that:

—the employers are victimising trade union leaders and activists;

—the employers are flouting Industrial Tribunal awards;

—the Raj engineering works did not implement the Supreme Court decisions, which came after 8 long years of litigation and thus the workers there have been compelled to resort to strike;

—the Delhi Cloth & General Mills victimised the top ranking union leaders in defiance of the Code of Discipline;

—the Ajudhya Textile Mills have been closed with mala fide intentions where 1,200 workers have been rendered unemployed and they have not been paid even 3 months earned wages;

—there is too much interference on the part of the police and magistracy in the industrial disputes and trade unions leaders are implicated in false criminal cases;

—workers are not allowed to stage demonstrations, take out processions or hold meetings to mobilise support.

Does it not look like a charge-sheet against the Labour Ministry and Delhi Administration? But, the trade union leaders have put it all in a memorandum to the Prime Minister, which was also submitted when workers demonstrated at his residence.