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GLORY TO OUR FIGHTING PEOPLE

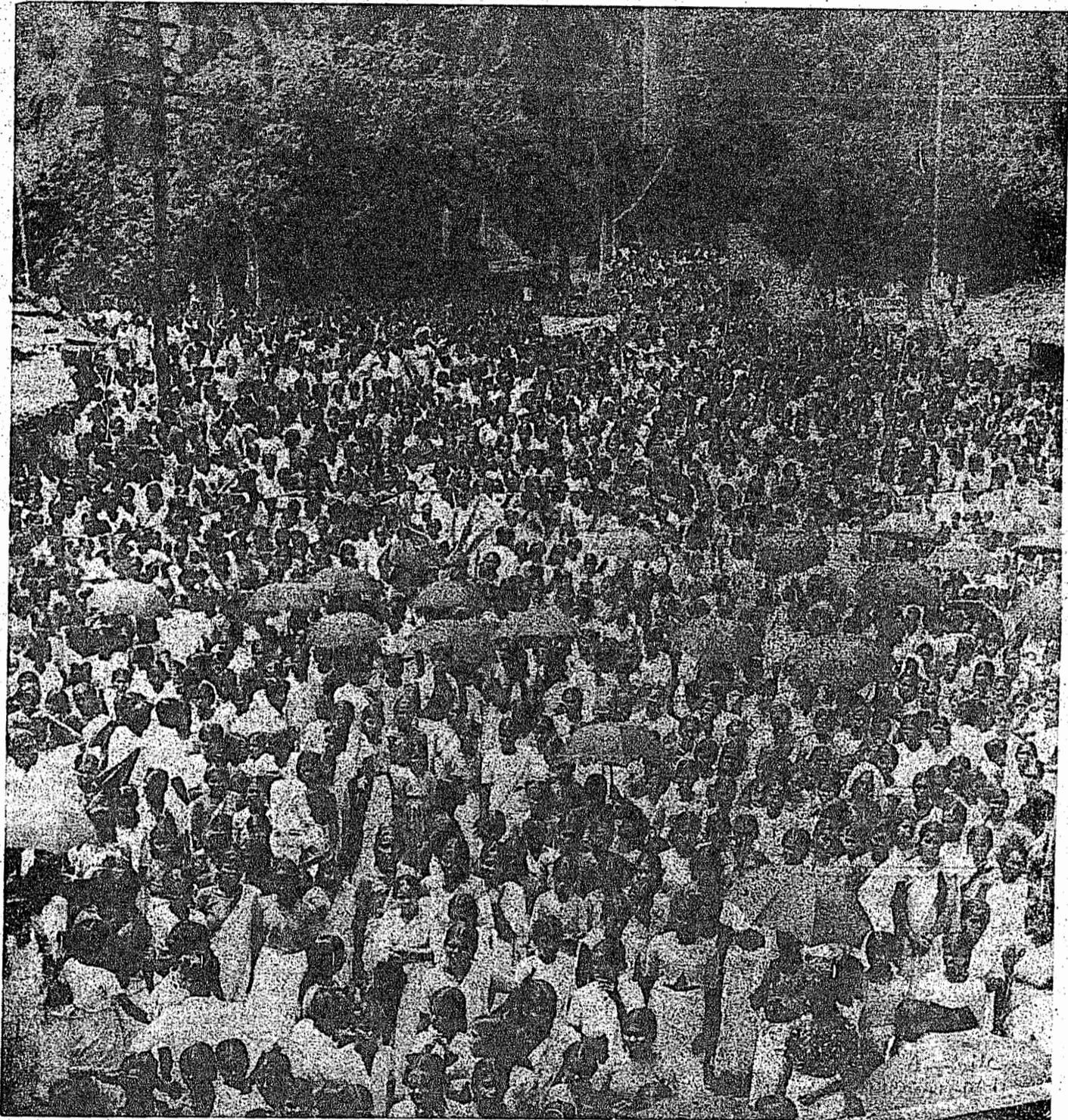
NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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FORWARD! *Strengthen National
Independence—Defend
Democracy, Parliamentary Institutions
Assure Food & Jobs to All
Secure Triumph of World Peace*

NEW ROUND OF FOOD STRUGGLE IN W. BENGAL

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The West Bengal Food Convention held in Calcutta on August 8, under the auspices of the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC), decided to launch Statewide direct action from August 20. The main objective of the struggle is to force the State Government either to accept the demands put forward by the PIFRC for tiding over the present grave food crisis or to resign.

THE programme of action, approved by the Convention, seeks to achieve this objective by creating administrative deadlock through mass squatting, mass gherao of Government officials and mass defiance of the law, etc. The possibility of a sustained general strike, if necessary, is not ruled out.

Towards the end of this month, a big demonstration will be held in Calcutta with the participation of thousands of peasants from the adjoining districts.

Apart from these militant forms of mass action, determined efforts will be made all over the State to dehoard paddy and rice stocks with jotedars, wholesale traders and rice mills. The seized hoards will be sold to consumers at a reasonable price.

The Convention also endorsed the decision of the PIFRC to withdraw its representatives from the State Food Advisory Committee in

view of the Government's persistent refusal to accept any suggestion of the opposition members, and the insulting attitude of the Food Minister.

The Convention was attended by over 500 delegates, representing the district units of the PIFRC, all Left parties, except the PSP, which had broken away from the united food movement last year, the Trade Union Action Committee, Kisan Sabha, individual trade unions and more than 50 other organisations.

The struggle for food was launched in Midnapore district on June 15, and about ten days later in the 24-Parganas and Hooghly districts. At least 750 people, including many women, have so far been arrested for demonstrations and picketing in courts and block development offices and gheraos of officials.

Of the total number arrested, Midnapore alone accounts for about 500.

A big police force has been deployed in these districts and, from the very beginning, the Government has adopted repressive measures to suppress the struggle.

The police lathi-charged a peaceful demonstration at Diamond Harbour (24-Parganas) on July 27. Five persons were injured, one of whom had to be removed to hospital. Many of those lodged in the court lock-up after their arrest were also beaten up by the police. On August 6, volunteers picketing the main gate of the Serampore Court (Hooghly district) were brutally kicked and then be-laboured with lathis.

But whatever repressive measures the Government might choose to adopt, the struggle will be launched simultaneously in all the remaining 13 districts of the State on August 20.

THE general strike of 300,000 tea garden workers of West Bengal, which was scheduled to begin on August 10, has been deferred by ten days in response to a request by the State Labour Minister.

Workers' unions were forced to serve the strike notice after

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SCRAP BOOK

HUSH HUSH CO-OPS

THE Prime Minister (or somebody on his behalf) has at last discovered the Kerala Communists' "astounding failure" in constructive approach—and it is time that he discovered it since the elections are said to be coming—but I did not fully comprehend how very true is Pandit Nehru's great discovery until I heard the other day the way the Congress Party manages things neatly in Andhra.

I hear that early in July this year, the Congress Ministry in Andhra decided on promoting toddy-tappers' co-operatives in areas where prohibition has not been imposed. But curiously enough, the Andhra Cabinet kept the decision a secret and would not announce it. Why is it so?

I do not know why, but I know this much that the Andhra Pradesh Congress, soon after, sent out a circular to the District Congress Committees in Telengana—where there is no prohibition—to hurry up with setting up toddy-tappers' co-operatives at once. Of course, the Communists must not know about it.

When the Government decision will be announced, there would of course have sprouted up by then a mushroom of toddy-tappers' co-ops in Telengana, which naturally enough, the Government must patronise. This is the right "constructive" way to function indeed—the great Congress, Chief Minister, Sri Sanjeeva Reddy has no doubt a thing or two to teach Comrade EMS.

ANDHRA DONATIONS

BUT I too happen to have a thing or two more about Andhra Congress. Comrade EMS today faces the terrible charge of having filled the Communist Party coffers out of the funds of the Kerala Exchequer—now of course, we shall hear all about Kerala gold supplementing Moscow—and even Panampilly, I hear, has told some of his Congress bosses in Delhi that the Communists have grabbed as much as Rs. 25 lakhs (so much more than his Rs. 5½ lakhs). For all this, no doubt, no proof is necessary. Now, see how beautifully the Andhra Congress manages its affairs.

The Andhra Government owns considerable shares in a number of companies located within the State. And it is not for nothing that it holds these shares.

The Hyderabad Allwyn Metal Works Ltd. paid Rs. 15,000 to the Hyderabad Congress in 1956. In 1957, the Andhra Pradesh Congress got Rs. 1,000 only. Last year, it went up to Rs. 5,000.

Similarly, the Hyderabad Asbestos Cement Products Ltd. gave Rs. 10,000 to the Pradesh Congress in 1957 and Rs. 6,000 again in 1958. The Hyderabad Chemical &

Fertiliser Company in 1957 gave Rs. 5,000 to the Pradesh Congress and the modest sum of only Rs. 500 to the Socialist Party.

But, the big donor was the Sirpur Paper Mills Ltd. which gave Rs. 39,000 to the Congress through Pandit Nehru and Morarjibhai, and Rs. 25,000 to the Pradesh Congress. In 1958, the Mills gave Rs. 41,000 to the Andhra Pradesh Congress and even the distant West Bengal Pradesh Congress was the recipient of a donation of Rs. Rs. 1,000.

Money was also taken out of the Nizam Sugar Factory Ltd. to augment the Congress funds. In 1956, this company gave Rs. 5,000 to Pradesh Congress and another Rs. 1,000 for the Congress Youth Convention. For 1957, the company's accounts showed an entry of Rs. 1,00,000 as "the amount drawn by the representatives of the managing agents by self cheques, representing payment made to the funds of a political party." And I leave it to you to guess what that political party could be.

Really, there is much that the Communists have to learn and emulate from such clean record of their Congress precursors.

DISPUTED ACRE

AND not only Congress Committees, even individual Congress leaders should enjoy the benefit of Congress Raj. And rightly so, for should not Congress reward at least those who have worked for its glory?

One such valiant warrior is Sri A. Satyanarayana Raju, one of the General Secretaries of the AICC. The old Madras Government gave him an acre of land at Jinjur in West Godavari District as a just reward for being a political sufferer.

But this particular plot of land is of great importance to the adjacent village. The villagers made repeated representations to the Government that it should not be given away but the village be allowed to retain it. When Sri Rajagopalachari formed the Ministry in 1952, the opposition leaders raised the matter, and Rajaji forthwith cancelled this gift to Sri Raju.

Recently, however, Sri Sanjeeva Reddy showed more compassion for this political sufferer and made a present of the same plot of land to Sri Satyanarayana Raju.

Not that Sri Raju was dead set in cultivating this plot of land for himself. Last month, he sold this plot to the village which, in its dire need, had to pay him Rs. 55,000 for this one single acre.

On this score, Comrade EMS should have taken lessons from this Congress Ministry. And then at least, Comrade Gopalan could have claimed his acre as a political sufferer.

You cannot run Governments by sticking to principles, tells a Congress friend of mine. And I feel like agreeing with him now.

—Diarist

U. P. CONGRESS BUBBLE HAS BURST

SAMPURNANAND MUST NOW GO

The Leviathan of the Congress Assembly Party, which like the proverbial snake has sat like a dead-weight on the life and progress of this State, has at last broken into two. It happened rather dramatically.

THE leaders of the Praja Socialist, Communist, Socialist and other opposition groups in the UP Assembly had jointly moved a motion of no-confidence in the State's Congress Ministry. August 6 and 7 had been fixed for discussion of the motion. On August 7, exactly at 2-00 pm, when the big debate was on and individual Ministers and the Ministry as a whole were being brought to book for crimes which are now too numerous to enumerate, suddenly got up Acharya Jugad Kishore, ex-Minister and a Congressman of some standing.

Speaking on behalf of 97 Congress MLAs, he regretted he was unable to take full part in the discussion that was going on and then he read out a written statement on behalf of them all. Though worded softly and spoken out even more mildly, it was an indictment of the Ministry more severe and thorough-going than any that had been made in the debate so far.

The six-point indictment charged the Ministry with inefficiency, wasteful expenditure, corruption, lack of standards in public conduct, neglect of people's welfare and running the Government "not as a Government of the Congress Party but of a group of the party". The statement said, "The official machinery is being utilised to further group interests openly and unashamedly". It further said, the Ministry "has particularly failed in the sphere of law and order. The sense of insecurity in the countryside has increased. Corruption has increased and invaded even the ranks of the Services and branches of administration where it did not exist before."

The statement concluded, "In the circumstances we cannot say that the Ministry enjoys our full confidence."

The full meaning of this declaration of no-confidence by these 98 Congress legislators would be realised when it is remembered that in a House of 430 members the Opposition already numbered 141. These along with the 98 constitute a clear majority. (Since then the number of what have been described as 'dissident' Congressmen has increased to 103.)

Hence, Comrade Jharkhande Rat, leader of the Communist group in the Assembly, who took the floor immediately after Acharya Jugad Kishore, was right in demanding immediate resignation of the Congress Ministry. The same demand was made by Sri Triloki Singh and Sri Raj Narain Singh, leaders of the Praja Socialist and Socialist groups in the Assembly.

What came to pass on that fateful afternoon, was not a fortuitous or sudden development. The readers of New Age would recall the Sampurnanand-Gupta parleys that took place in May last.

The situation at that time was particularly difficult for the Ministry. One after another, in four or five consecutive by-elections to the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha, the Congress had been licked. Just a little earlier, they had received

a heavy beating in the elections to the Municipalities and the local bodies. Reeking with corruption, nepotism and inefficiency, the State's administration lay virtually paralysed. Crisis held both agriculture and industry in its grip. Food continued to be scarce and prices showed no signs of coming down though the new crop was already in hand.

FROM RAMESH SINHA

The Opposition, particularly the Communist Party, had already announced its intention to launch a mass struggle for land, food and against rising prices. On top of it, Corporation elections had been announced for June. The Ministry needed strength to face all this.

Hence, Sri C. B. Gupta, "iron-man" of the Congress or-

ganisation was invited to a dinner by Sri Sampurnanand. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim had acted as go-between. On the basis of preliminaries, a settlement seemed to be in the offing. To finalise the "deal", Sri Gupta was invited to meet the Chief Minister at Nainital in June. He was jubilant and announced that his "stars were now on the ascendant" and that he would "emerge out of his grave in July."

As it happened, on the appointed date, Sri Gupta started on his journey to Nainital by jeep. His most important lieutenants accompanied him. But he had hardly covered two-thirds of his journey, when he got the news that Sri Sampurnanand had forestalled him by appointing five deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries. At least two of these had belonged to the Gupta group. They had obviously been bought over with ministerial posts.

Since his meeting with Sri Gupta, the Kamlapati Tripathi-Mohanlal Gautam group in the Ministry had started a campaign against the Chief Minister's

SHAMEFACEDNESS OVER KERALA

Last week in Parliament the interest and excitement was mainly provided by the non-scheduled business in the form of adjournment motions, privilege motions, etc. The regular Government business itself was rather dull.

THE Socialist member from Uttar Pradesh Sri Braj Raj Singh brought forward a motion about what he termed as the "discriminatory practices" adopted by the Chinese authorities in Tibet against Indian traders. But apart from the Prime Minister's tame reply almost agreeing to what Sri Braj Raj Singh alleged, there was practically no interest in the House in the matter.

Comrade V. P. Nayar's privilege motion on the refusal of the Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant to lay a copy of the Governor's report on the table of the House created quite a stir. Comrade Nayar brought up some very important political points while arguing his case in favour of the privilege motion.

He pointed out that "while this House (Lok Sabha) is being denied the facts as embodied in the Governor's report... an opportunity to have a verification of the objective facts, even the hon. Prime Minister elsewhere, if not in this House, is relying on the contents of the document, maybe for party purposes."

He contended that the Parliament was being called upon to act as a rubber stamp of the Executive and thus by implication the Government is acting against the spirit of the Constitution which requires the Parliament to approve of the President's Proclamation.

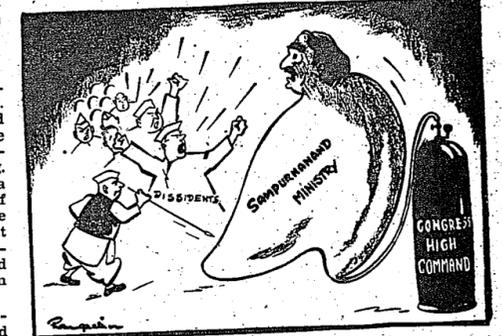
Comrade Nayar's arguments, amply buttressed by plenty of quotations from May's Parliamentary Practices, and past precedents were opposed by Sri Nath Pal of the PSP

and Sri Asok Sen, the Law Minister. Ultimately, as was expected, the Speaker ruled out the motion.

August 10, the opening day of the Raj Sabha, provided another opportunity for the Communist MPs to record their protest against the Central Government's intervention in Kerala. When the Home Minister laid on the table the President's Proclamation on Kerala, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta raised a point of order that "the Government is under a constitutional obligation to place before this House the Governor's Report and other information which the President had considered and on the basis of which, evidently, the President had acted under Articles 356 of the Constitution."

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta pointed out to the Rajya Sabha that "when a serious step has been taken under the Constitution to do away with the future of a State, dissolve an Assembly—an elected Ministry is dissolved—I think the position should be at least that of a person who is detained without trial. That man is given the grounds. Here we are not given anything."

On the Chairman's ruling rejecting the point of order, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta pointed out he was very sorry that the Government had taken this attitude after making "a very outrageous assault on democratic and parliamentary institutions for the partisan interests of the Congress Party. And as a protest against their behaviour in this House, we shall abstain from



move for rapprochement. They threatened to go out of the Ministry and do what Sri Gupta was doing then. Sri Sampurnanand had to abandon his efforts for "unity". To strengthen his Ministry and himself he created five more Ministerial incumbents. The Corporation elections too were put off for another few months.

As soon as Sri Gupta read of this "second betrayal", he is reported to have got down from his jeep and boarded a

train going in the opposite direction. War was declared again.

Since then organised struggle was conducted by the Gupta group, which still, by and large, controls the organisational wing of the Congress. The group organised district political conferences and oiled the factional machine for the forthcoming elections to Congress committees.

This was all going on till the

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week in parliament

FUNDS FROM ABROAD

THE total amount of funds received in India from abroad by "Christian Missionaries" during the FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1959 (January 1 to April 30, 1959) is Rs. 3 crore 70 lakhs and 2 thousand. Of these, the amount received from UK was Rs. 68.3 lakhs, from USA 264.2 lakhs and the European countries 24.1 lakhs. No doubt the Vimochana Samara Samiti was amply financed. (Question by Comrades A. K. Gopalan and P. Kurnan in the Lok Sabha on August 10, 1959).

While walking out of the House, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta remarked that "Parliamentary and democratic institutions are unsafe in these (Congress) hands".

Spotlight On Laos

The burning issue of Laos was spotlighted through a question in Rajya Sabha on August 10 by Comrades Bhupesh Gupta and P. Narayanan Nair. The Deputy Minister Srimati Lakshmi N. Menon pointed out that "in view of the recent developments, India has suggested that the International Commission should be reconvened for the purposes of conciliation and mediation. This, however, has not been possible owing to the objection of the Government of Laos. Some signatories of the Geneva Agreements have been in favour of the reconvening of the International Commission for Laos."

"The Government of India feel that any step taken in Laos

should be in keeping with the Geneva Agreements..."

It was then pointed out by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta that the Communist Party had earlier pointed out the danger of the suspension of the Commission for Laos. "May I know whether the Prime Minister now recognises that it was a great mistake for him, for India as Chairman to agree to the suspension of the Laos Commission which has led to the deterioration of the situation?"

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, the Prime Minister does not realise that yet.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta: We are extremely sorry that some of the things we cannot make him realise in time.

Realising the predicament, the Prime Minister immediately retraced and said "It is not a question of my realising what should be done but of my capacity to do it. We did not want the Commission to be ended or postponed indefinitely. We thought it should be kept up in case of need but when the host country refuses to agree to that, we cannot trust the Commission on it... Ultimately it was agreed that it should be adjourned... so that it can be reconvened when necessity arose."

But at least to conform to current fashion, the Prime Minister did not forget to put a part of the blame for the trouble in Laos on the North Vietnamese also. "The real trouble at the present moment is in the Northern provinces of Laos. There has been and may be very little trouble in the South too but the real problem that has arisen is in the Northern provinces" he said after saying about "some Vietnamese intrusion".

—K.P.S.M.
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NATIONAL SCENE ON 15th AUGUST

NOTES OF THE WEEK

THE most distinctive feature of the national scene on this 15th August is that the moral-political prestige of the Congress is at its lowest ebb and the internal state of its organisation has become a matter of shame to its followers and alarm to its leaders. This is one part of the picture

The other part of the picture is the unprecedented rise in the prestige and influence of the main opposition party, the Communist Party. Despite the fact that our Party is the main victim of the partisan wrath of the Congress leadership, it is winning unimagined sympathy from the masses and from bourgeois democratic elements themselves.

What is the new scandal from within the Congress? What is the next move of the Communist Party? These are the questions of the day.

Once Stronghold— Now Problem State

UTTAR Pradesh has traditionally been the biggest Congress stronghold. The affairs of the ruling party and the State Ministry have been drifting from one crisis to another. The highlight came this week when all the opposition parties together moved a motion of no-confidence and 98 Congress MLAs, headed by ex-Ministers read out a statement indicting the Government of their own party and expressing their own lack of confidence in it. The Treasury Benches were "dazed" (Statesman, August 8).

The National Herald, the traditional mouthpiece of Congress opinion in the State editorially wrote: "The U.P. Ministry finds itself in a strange and dismal quandary... The allegations made by Mr. Jugal Kishore in his statement seem to be correct and the most truthful part of it is when he accused the Government of 'functioning not as a Government of the Congress Party but of a group in the party'... The time has come for them to redeem themselves by sacrificing the seals of office to which they have brought neither prestige nor honour."

Bombshell For High Command

The Ministerial group is planning "strong action" against the dissidents. There is the simple argument of the political gangster, use the big stick of disciplinary action against the leaders of the dissidents and the rest will turn on their heels! No Congressman with his head on his shoulders is for this mad course but the very fact that it is seriously suggested by Sri Sampurananand and his loyal supporters shows the straits to which they have been reduced.

The U.P. revolt came as a "bombshell" to the Congress High Command and its spokesman stated: "We are unhappy over the situation" (Times of

India, 10.8.59). The National Herald forecast "compromise talks before drastic steps." The latest press reports are that leaders of both sides have been summoned to New Delhi. This too has been tried before. Can a patch-up in such a situation be a principled solution?

The U.P. crisis is very real and deep. The Congress has never faced anything like it in its whole history. It is historic vengeance for its manufactured crisis in Kerala. The U.P. crisis came within 8 days of the Presidential Proclamation.

The Kerala Ministry enjoyed the confidence of the majority in the Legislature. The U.P. Ministry, on the day the motion of no-confidence was moved, had the support of only 187 loyalists against 141 Opposition MLAs plus 98 dissidents, now become 103. How can the U.P. Ministry be allowed to function at all?

The charges against the Kerala Ministry were false. The KPCC Memo stands self-condemned as a partisan slanderous document. Neither the President nor the Union Government dare stand by it. The chargesheet against the U.P. Ministry has been made by responsible Congressmen themselves.

There is no moral-political justification left for the existence of the Sampurananand Ministry in U.P.

In Kerala— The New Phase

THE Union Government continues to be on the defensive over Kerala. The Parliamentary debate was postponed for two weeks after the Presidential Proclamation. It refused to lay the Governor's report on the table of the House and faced walk-out by Communist MPs. The latest is that the long-awaited White Paper is also not being issued. The marathon session of the Congress Parliamentary Party, needed to ease the conscience of Congress MPs and let out their steam, itself constitutes a condemnation of the action of the Union Government.

Pandit Nehru faced a barrage of questions on Kerala at his monthly press conference. He underplayed the crimes of his own party leaders in Kerala, without identifying himself with them. Pandit Nehru stated that his remarks to the Parliamentary Party about the Communist leaders themselves wanting Central intervention, the Communist Ministry being an astonishing failure, the Communist unity with the Muslim League were misquoted and that what appeared in the press was not true.

Nehru Should Explain

Pressmen bluntly stated that they had faithfully reported what a Secretary of the Party, delegated to brief them, had

told them. It is for Pandit Nehru to explain to Indian public opinion how there exists a Secretary of the Party who can misquote and misrepresent the statements of the leader himself? Such is the tragic-comic situation inside the Congress machine and it helps to focus the strength of reaction inside the ruling party and the unworthy weakness of Pandit Nehru himself.

Against the demand of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and other "liberation" leaders, who would deny the Communist Party its constitutional rights, and who threatened another liberation struggle if the people of Kerala elected a Communist Government a second time, Pandit Nehru declared in his press conference that if the Communists win at the polls they will enjoy the right to form the next Government.

But the next elections, will come only in January-February. The issue of issues in Kerala is whether there will be free and fair elections or fascist activities will be allowed free run under which the elections can be safely rigged.

Ever since the Centre took over Kerala disturbing news continues to come that the self-styled "liberators" are creating conditions of terror against our Party, to paralyse and provoke it, and pressurising the administration to liquidate the gains of our Ministry, to demoralise the mass of people.

On August 8, Martyrs' Day in Gujarat, 75 were hurt and 150 arrested. The leaders of the Parishad in a declaration read out at various meetings held on this day asked the State and Union Government to split bilingual Bombay and give the Gujaratis and Maharashtrians their own States or "face a grim battle by the people on non-cooperation lines," from November 1.

The Kerala Ministry produced its answer to the chargesheet within seven days. The B. C. Roy Ministry has handed over the job to the officials who are going on fiddling with the files. The food situation is the worst ever. The Congress Ministry refuses to listen to the advice of honest Congressmen at all levels, that the pro-hoarder policy must change and the Food Minister go. The Left Parties, on wide popular demand, will begin mass satyagraha on August 20.

Comrade A. K. Gopalan faced the Lok Sabha with a sheaf of telegrams about murderous assaults, rape and arson against the Communists, their supporters and offices. The Speaker won't let him speak and Pandit Nehru tried to teach Parliamentary manners to Comrade Gopalan. Communist MPs inside a House full of Congress MPs saw to it that Comrade Gopalan got the chance to speak and that Pandit Nehru sat down and listened to the tale of crimes that are being perpetrated in Kerala. There can be no fair and free elections without ending this hooliganism and ensuring civil liberties in Kerala.

There is also disturbing news that the progressive laws are in danger of being put in cold storage or played with and the coops run the risk of being arbitrarily dissolved. The job of the present administration is just to carry on and not change the course of development in the opposite direction. These reactionary monkey tricks must stop. The common people of Kerala will certainly defend their democratic gains with all their strength.

There is more of such disturbing news. The officials who were loyal to the EMS Ministry are being victimised. Congress Governor Rao is considered by the Vimochanites too soft and weak, he is to be strengthened by a high-powered corps of advisers and officials from New Delhi, and so on. Pandit Nehru will have to be asked over and over again: Is the Kerala administration, in the interim period, to be streamlined to strengthen anti-Communists or justly and honestly prepare for the next elections?

Our Kerala State Committee and Central Executive have fervently appealed, that despite all differences and passions of the past, Fascist type hooliganism must end and civil liberties ensured to all, that the progressive legislations and democratic gains of the people under the last Ministry must be respected and not played with, that the administrative machine should not be corrupted and subverted in party interests. It needs no argument to see that this is the only way to have free and fair elections in Kerala.

Kerala, more than anything else, will decide the shape of things to come. The reactionary circles know this, cower within themselves, and resort to provocative undemocratic tactics.

In Other States

U.P. and Kerala are only two "peak points. The sins of the Congress rulers are creating acute problems for the Congress Party all over and pushing the people into mass actions. News of the week once again underlines this.

The Swatantra Party has risen as a challenge from the extreme Right. It calls the progressive policy declarations, after 1950 as near-Communist which must go. It has powerful friends within the Congress. The Congress has either to straighten out its own contradiction or it will have to ultimately seek its "cooperation". The unity with the Akalis in the Punjab, with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and now with the League in Kerala point the way.

The Communist Party is a growing challenge from the Left. We demand that the Congress change its reactionary practice and bring it into line with its progressive aims. We cooperate with it wherever it is in the common interests of our nation and people. We resist it whenever it pursues anti-people policies and surrenders to the enemies of the nation. Its leadership, however, concentrates the main fire against our Party and not the Swatantra!

Alliance With Communalists

In the Punjab, the Akali MLAs and MPs returned on Congress tickets are being called upon to explain their continued political alignment and activities in cooperation with Master Tara Singh. The Congress Party in the State is heading towards another burst up. Despite this bitter experience, Kerala Congress wants to unite with the Muslim League!

The Punjab Kisan Sabha has been peacefully but patiently persisting in its campaign that the Chief Minister must be made to implement his pledge. The cross-country march of the big kisan leaders' jatha to Chandigarh has galvanised the situation. The Punjab PCC has rushed to pass a resolution demanding the reduction of the betterment levy. The Governor is reported to be pressing

for a solution and the Cabinet is again considering the issue. The Kairon Ministry has been made to realise that it has either to implement its pledge or face another mighty *Morcha*.

The Two Alternatives

THE present political situation in our country is the reflection of the explosive contradictions on which the ruling party is based.

What we Communists have been forecasting and stressing for long is now a popular expression, that the words and deeds of the Congress are self-contradictory. The words are meant to win popular support, the deeds are meant to serve the practical and material needs of the vested interests.

All the events of the year, the state of our economy, the motion of our democracy underline the fact that drift is no more possible. The Congress is faced with two sharp alternatives.

The Education Act, the complete prohibition of eviction of peasants from land, the Agrarian Relations Bill which was passed by the Legislature two months ago, the Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act, fixation and implementation of minimum wages for agricultural labourers and other sections of workers, support to industrial workers to win their legitimate demands, expansion of the cooperative movement, formulation of a new police policy which granted wider civil liberties, preparation of a master plan for full and all-round utilisation of the water resources of the State, steps to improve the efficiency of the administrative machinery and enlistment of people's cooperation which brought up the State to the second position in the matter of Plan-fulfillment from a backward position—were some of these measures.

The Industrial Relations Bill and bills to decentralise the administration and confer wide powers on the local elected bodies were to be introduced in the Assembly. Under most trying conditions created by the opposition forces led by the Congress and in face of heavy difficulties, it achieved what no Ministry in any State in India has been able to achieve. Thereby it came to be looked upon by the toiling

The Congress Parliamentary Party is reported to have gone in for heart-searching and self-criticism. More and more of it will be all for the good.

On this 15th August, we appeal to all Congressmen to seriously think out how they are going to resolve the basic contradiction on which the policies and activities of the Congress Government are based. It has blown sky-high all their ardent hopes and produced the deep frustration they suffer from. The way their traditional leadership is leading their organisation has produced the crime against democracy in Kerala and the shameful situation in U.P., which beats all the earlier scandals.

—P. C. JOSHI

(August 12)

C E C STATEMENT

DEFEAT ATTEMPTS TO NULLIFY POPULAR GAINS IN KERALA

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the action of the Government of India which by dismissing the Kerala Government, by dissolving the State Legislature and by imposing President's rule on the State has grossly violated the spirit of the Indian Constitution and committed a grave crime against Indian democracy.

CARRIED out in the partition interest of the Congress Party which runs the Central Government and the Governments in all but one State of India, this action has naturally been viewed with serious apprehension by democratic-minded people all over the country and evoked wide protests.

Measures That Earned Reaction's Wrath

Formed twenty-eight months ago, the Communist-led Ministry of Kerala took firm and resolute measures, within the framework of the Indian Constitution, to serve the cause of the common people and extend democracy.

The Education Act, the complete prohibition of eviction of peasants from land, the Agrarian Relations Bill which was passed by the Legislature two months ago, the Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act, fixation and implementation of minimum wages for agricultural labourers and other sections of workers, support to industrial workers to win their legitimate demands, expansion of the cooperative movement, formulation of a new police policy which granted wider civil liberties, preparation of a master plan for full and all-round utilisation of the water resources of the State, steps to improve the efficiency of the administrative machinery and enlistment of people's cooperation which brought up the State to the second position in the matter of Plan-fulfillment from a backward position—were some of these measures.

The Industrial Relations Bill and bills to decentralise the administration and confer wide powers on the local elected bodies were to be introduced in the Assembly. Under most trying conditions created by the opposition forces led by the Congress and in face of heavy difficulties, it achieved what no Ministry in any State in India has been able to achieve. Thereby it came to be looked upon by the toiling

people of Kerala as their own Government and won the respect and love of democratic-minded people in all parts of the country. It was precisely this which earned the Kerala Government the wrath and hatred of reactionary vested interests and their allies in the political parties. The policies and measures of the Kerala Government, especially its policy of agrarian reforms, created apprehension in the mind of the leaders of the Congress—in Kerala as well as outside—that if the Kerala Government was allowed to continue and implement all its declarations, the base of reaction in Kerala would be seriously weakened and prospects would open up for the formation of democratic governments in other States.

Therefore, a sordid conspiracy was hatched by the Congress Party in Kerala, with the blessing and direct support of the Congress High Command and in alliance with dark forces of communalism and casteism to overthrow the Kerala Government. The Praja Socialist Party, throwing overboard all its pretensions about socialism, democracy and leftism joined this conspiracy.

Rousing religious hysteria and communal passion, and misleading a section of the people, they launched a struggle with the avowed objective of paralysing the administration and throwing out the Government. Many schools were closed down at the behest of managers, attempts were made to close down others by methods of intimidation, physical assault on teachers and students and even burning down of schools. The State Transport system was sought to be disrupted by inflicting heavy damage on buses and boats and by attacks on passengers. In the name of peaceful picketing, organised raids were made on Government offices. Landlords threatened not to sow crops and bring about a state of starvation. Banks declared they would not subscribe to the development

loans. Big industrialists tried to hamper production. Terror was let loose on peaceful citizens who supported the Government and the Communist Party and resented hooligan tactics.

Simultaneously, systematic and sustained efforts were made to incite the officials against the legally-constituted Government, to hold out threats that if they carried out the orders of the Government, vengeance would be wreaked on them later.

In this way, the whole economy of the State was sought to be disrupted, education sabotaged, normal life brought to a standstill and a state of chaos and lawlessness created.

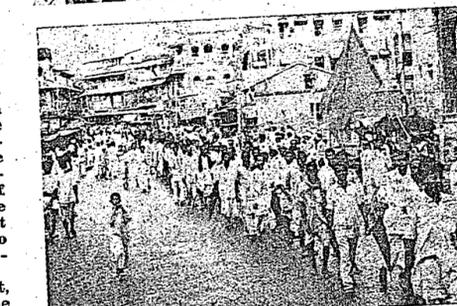
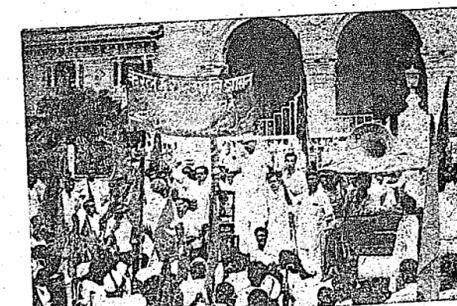
It is to the credit of the Kerala Government that, in face of these acts of grave provocation and disturbances, it behaved with the utmost restraint and moderation. It is to the credit of the vast majority of the toiling people of Kerala that they refused to fall victim to provocation and firmly supported their Government.

There can be no doubt that, despite all the forces that the opposition mustered, the struggle would have ended in ignominious defeat had it not been for the political and moral support that was given it by the Congress High Command and by some of the leaders of the Central Government, including Sri Nehru who, as the Prime Minister of India, had a special responsibility towards the State Ministry.

Central Instigation

Hopes of intervention by the Central Government formed the very basis on which the movement was sustained from the beginning. Successive statements and utterances of several members of the Central Government, above all of Prime Minister Nehru, strengthened these hopes, sought to demoralise the services and created the impression that Central intervention against the Kerala Government would be forthcoming if the law and order situation in the State grew more acute.

Nevertheless, Central intervention did not come as early as was expected by the sponsors of the struggle. This was primarily due to the upsurge of democratic



AUGUST 3 DEMONSTRATIONS
1) Dr. Z. A. Ahmad addressing demonstrators before the Assembly at Lucknow.
2) Procession at Indore.
3) Punjab Governor Sri N. V. Gadgil receives memo from Comrade Surjeet at Chandigarh.
Bottom: Rally at Calcutta.

opinion that took place all over the country against the tactics of the Congress in Kerala—its alliance with forces of communal reaction, its support to and participation in unscrupulous and violent methods, its attempts to throw out the legally-constituted Ministry by unconstitutional methods. All over the country, in vast rallies and demonstrations, workers, peasants, students, teachers, middle-class employees and others demonstrated their support for the Kerala

* SEE OVERLEAF



Dismissal of Kerala Ministry

AN ATTACK ON INDIA'S TOILING MASSES

★ From Overleaf

Government and condemned the struggle against it. Frustrated in their hopes of victory by means of a short and swift struggle and dismayed by the growth of public opinion inside Kerala and in other States against their tactics, the sponsors of the struggle in Kerala, in close collaboration with the Congress High Command, worked out a new plan. They declared they would stage a "march" on Trivandrum and "besiege" the Secretariat with 25,000 volunteers who would not quit till the Ministry either resigned or was dismissed. It was a plan to provoke clashes on a big scale and enact a blood-bath in the heart of the capital.

If the Congress High Command and Prime Minister Nehru had the slightest regard for constitutional propriety and for their professions of non-violence or even if they adhered to their own resolution which permitted only "token" picketing, they would have condemned this provocative plan in unequivocal terms. They would have called upon their followers to dissociate from it.

They did not do that. Instead, they used this as the pretext to intervene—not against the organisers of the illegal and violent struggle but against the legally-constituted Government. Under the advice of the Union Cabinet, the President of the Indian Republic issued a proclamation on July 31, dismissing the Ministry, dissolving the State Legislature and imposing President's rule on Kerala.

It is significant that while invoking Article 356 of the Indian Constitution, the Presidential Proclamation did not assign any reason for the drastic action taken. It merely stated that the President was "satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State (Kerala) cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India." Eloquent silence was maintained about which particular provision of the Constitution was in danger of being infringed, as well as what the "situation" was and who created it.

The much-publicised allegations in the chargesheet (later named memorandum) presented by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee full five weeks after the initiation of the struggle, and ably refuted by the Kerala Ministry, found no mention in the Proclamation—a fact which itself showed their utter hollowness.

Outcome Of A Prepared Plan

This, as well as the sequence of events in Kerala, leaves one in no doubt that the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry was the outcome of a carefully prepared and deliberate plan.

The Ministry was dismissed, not because of any sins of omission or commission, but because the Congress Party which runs the Central Government desired it to go. The wide powers

which the Indian Constitution confers on the Centre, were deliberately misused to overthrow the Ministry because its policies and measures served the interests of the workers, peasants and toiling masses.

It was thus, not merely a violation of the spirit of the Indian Constitution, an act of gross discrimination against a non-Congress Government and an assault on provincial autonomy—it was also and above all, an attack on the toiling masses, on their fundamental democratic right to elect a Government of their own choice and the right of that Government to carry out its policies and measures as long as it enjoys a majority in the legislature.

Following Intervention

Central intervention in Kerala has been followed by numerous acts of violence by "liberation volunteers", Congressmen and others. Offices of the Communist Party are being attacked, Party members, friends and supporters of the Party are being assaulted. In several places, attempts are being made to forcibly eject agricultural workers from their homesteads, violating the provisions of the Anti-Eviction law; attempts are made by landlords to illegally harvest the crops standing in tenants' lands.

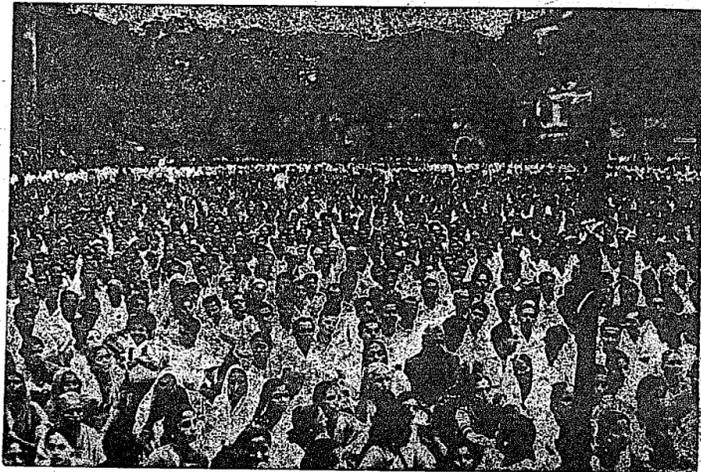
There are strong reasons to believe that these are not isolated acts but part of a plan to intimidate and terrorise the exploited masses with a view to keep up the tension and hamper free and fair elections.

Simultaneously, reactionary forces have already started demanding modification and annulment of some of the progressive measures enacted by the Kerala Ministry.

Ensure Fair And Free Elections

To defeat these attempts, to preserve the gains achieved under the twenty-eight month old Communist-led Ministry, to ensure that free and fair elections are held—these are tasks, in conformity with the interests of workers, peasants and all sections of toiling masses, irrespective of their political loyalties and religious beliefs and of the stand they took in the recent struggle. Forging of the broadest mass unity for these tasks, here and now, will alone defend the existing achievements, create conditions for the success of the democratic forces and ensure that the process of democratic reforms, interrupted by the imposition of President's rule, is carried forward.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, fully endorses the decision of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India to launch a powerful mass campaign to unite the masses, to defend the gains of the people against the attacks of vested interests and to restore normal con-



August 3 Rally at Bombay's Kamgar Maidan.

ditions in the State.

The Central Executive Committee demands that the Education Act should be implemented. It demands that the Jemnikaram Abolition Bill sent to the President of the Indian Union long ago and the Agrarian Relations Bill passed by the State Legislature should be immediately given assent to and put into practice.

The Central Executive Committee fervently appeals to all sections of people in Kerala to try resolutely to remove the bitterness created by recent events and to realise that division among them can only help the vested interests and reactionaries. It assures people of all religions, communities and castes, that the Communist Party never interferences with religious beliefs and practices, and that its programme serves the genuine interest of all toiling masses.

Confident that the people of Kerala will emerge triumphant from the ordeal through which they are passing, the Central Executive Committee takes this opportunity to congratulate the Kerala Ministry headed by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad for the magnificent way in which it has conducted itself during the last 28 months—serving the masses unflinchingly, running the administration in an impartial and efficient and popular manner, setting a high standard of integrity and behaviour.

It expresses high appreciation of the role played by the progressive Independents in the Ministry and in the State Legislature.

It congratulates the members, friends and sympathisers of the Party who made it possible for the Ministry to achieve so much in such a short time and who rallied the people in support of popular measures.

Above all, the Central Executive Committee pays tribute to the working class, peasantry and the toiling people of Kerala, who stood firmly by the Ministry and actively participated in nation-building measures initiated by it.

Gratitude For Support

Conveying warm thanks to all those who helped in developing the campaign for defence of Kerala into a powerful nation-wide campaign, who took part in the massive protest demonstrations of August 3, as well as to people from all walks of life who criticised the tactics of the Congress, the Central Executive Committee expresses the hope and confidence that toiling masses and fair-minded people all over the country, recognising the vital significance of the coming elections in Kerala, will demand that they are free and fair and will support the struggle of the Kerala people to secure victory for democracy.

The Central Executive Committee notes that under the smokescreen of anti-Communism, forces of bourgeois-landlord reaction are striving to launch new attacks on the working class, peasantry and democratic forces. They are striving to disrupt the unity of the masses and justify repressive measures against the Communist Party.

Reaction's New Campaign Of Lies

It is being assiduously propagated that the Communist Party is planning "retaliatory" action and resort to violent methods. This is nothing but a crude and provocative lie, deliberately fostered by those very people who investigated and indulged in violent actions in Kerala. This lie was exposed during the mighty protest demonstrations which took place all over the country on August 3 unmarred by a single incident.

The Communist Party, the Central Executive Committee reiterates, basing itself on the growing support of the people and confident of victory for the cause of democracy and socialism, will continue its present policy of peaceful and democratic methods.

The Central Executive Committee considers it of utmost importance that the events in Kerala are viewed in proper perspective and correct lessons are drawn from them.

The dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and the manner in which it was brought about constitute an attack not only on the people of Kerala, but of all States. They reveal the grave danger which Indian democracy faces. They show the length to which the dominant Congress leadership is prepared to go and the depth of degradation to which it has sunk.

With discontent against its misrule growing in all parts of the country and finding expression in mass actions, with deep fissures growing in its own ranks, the Congress leadership had already intensified the offensive against democracy and the people in all parts of the country. That offensive reached a new stage in the onslaught on the Kerala Government and is likely to intensify in the coming period.

The most important task before all Indians who cherish democracy is to unite and defeat this offensive. The Central Executive Committee, therefore, appeals to all democrats, including those in the Congress, to close their ranks, to rally in defence of democracy and parliamentary institutions, to defend civil liberties and to redouble efforts to secure democratic reforms and the immediate political and economic demands of the masses.

The Central Executive Committee is confident that the attack of reaction will be defeated and the Indian people will score new triumphs in the battle for democracy and socialism.

FOR MORE CEC RESOLUTIONS SEE PAGES 8, 13, 16.

After Trivandrum—Delhi

ROUSING RECEPTION TO "DISMISSED" MINISTERS

★ FROM O. P. MEHROTRA

It all happened on a rainy day within 24 hours. Comrade EMS had come here on August 6 to attend the meeting of the Central Executive of the Communist Party. He hardly had time since he wanted to fly back to Trivandrum next day. But the local Communist leaders, urged by many trade unions and other mass organisations, persuaded him to give them an hour.

NOTHING could be done to publicise the meeting, except an announcement in some local papers and a poster on the day itself. Uncertain weather throughout the day with heavy



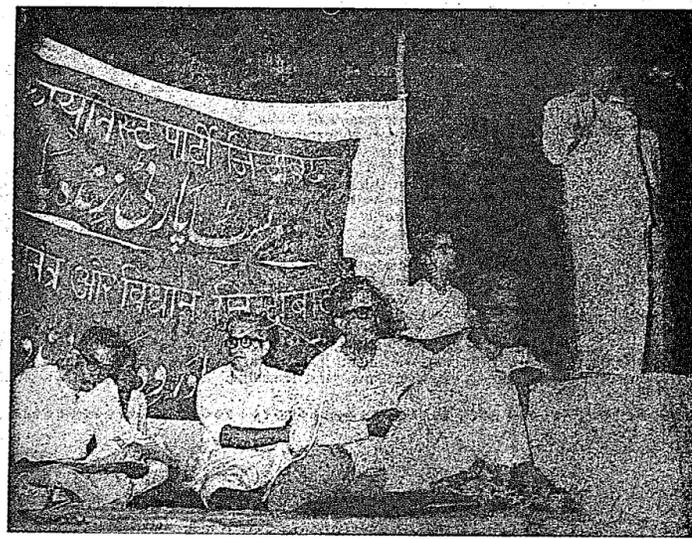
Comrade EMS wearing a garland of currency notes.

rains in the evening just an hour before the meeting at the busiest time of the day within a city famous for its transport bottle-necks—nothing daunted

Delhi's people. Volunteers were spreading some sort of durt for seating the audience at 6 p.m. when I reached the Gandhi Grounds. Within half an hour it was difficult to find a place even in the area marked for Press. And at the start of the meeting over 20,000 had assembled.

Representatives of several trade unions, mass organisations, students, youth, municipal Corporators and individuals practically made a stampede to garland Comrades EMS and Achutha Menon because they saw in them the real defenders of democracy and democratic rights. There were garlands of flowers—but not only that.

Some had decided to garland them with currency notes. Envyng them some others came with cash donations—Rupees hundred and one, fiftyone, ten, five and then the avalanche of small coins. A worker gave ten rupees and in addition announced he would sent 10 rupees every month from his wages to Kerala Communist Party till the elections were held. One should remember that his wages come only to Rs. 52. Then there were others—



Comrade EMS addressing the Delhi rally on August 7. Comrade Achutha Menon can be seen on the dais.

rickshaw-puller, a scooter driver, a tonga-wallah who donated their day's earnings. But the climax was reached when Sri K. L. Joseph, a Catholic from Kerala, donated his gold ring to the Election Fund of the Kerala Communist Party. On the spot collections in cash came to about Rs. 900 apart from promises.

As the time at his disposal was not much Comrade EMS expressed warm thanks for all these measures, he said, "If these bills had been passed it would have been possible that with Congress ruling in the State, the Communists in the State, the Congress and theoretically even the PSP in some district and many other parties in Panchayats could have shared power. It was this that was envisaged in these bills. The Communist Party wants that people should enjoy power at every level."

"Firstly, we had successfully piloted the Agrarian Relations Bill. It is significant," Comrade Namboodiripad pointed out, "that we passed it on June 10 and on June 12 the 'Direct Action' started. We sent it for President's assent on July 28 and the Proclamation was issued by the Rashtrapati on July 31."

"With satisfaction we can record that we brought out the Statute Book the Agrarian Relations Bill which incorporates all principles accepted by all democratic parties and the Planning Commission. It was a privilege to have it passed and we are proud about it," Comrade Namboodiripad added.

He then referred to the two other Bills drafted by his Ministry—the District Councils and Panchayat Bills. "The first among them," he said, "transfers all administrative authority today exercised by the Collector and District Magistrate, etc. to an elected District Council." All district officials—that of major development departments, agricultural administration, etc.—would, according to it, be responsible not to the State Government but to the elected District Council.

"Similarly," Comrade EMS explained, "at the village level all officials who are responsible to the State Government through the District officials will be responsible to the Panchayats."

Comrade EMS said, "It is very often said that Communists do not believe in demo-

cracy and believe in one Party dictatorship. In real life it so happened that when a non-Congress Government came into power in one State, this so-called 'democratic' Congress suppressed it. On the other hand the so-called 'totalitarian' Communist Party wanted to share power with whoever gets the majority support of the people."

Explaining the implication of these measures, he said, "If these bills had been passed it would have been possible that with Congress ruling in the State, the Communists in the State, the Congress and theoretically even the PSP in some district and many other parties in Panchayats could have shared power. It was this that was envisaged in these bills. The Communist Party wants that people should enjoy power at every level."

Explaining the significance of agrarian reforms and the resistance of the landed interests to it Comrade Namboodiripad reminded the audience about the report of a Congress sub-Committee on land reforms headed by Sri J. C. Kumarappa. "It was more than ten years ago that the Committee placed certain recommendations before the Congress. Major recommendations were incorporated in the First and Second Plan. But that report during the last ten years has been put on the shelf. Only the Kerala Government attempt-

ed to implement it." Speaking about the Bill passed under his Ministry, he challenged any Congress member of that Committee to show him any provision which was not in conformity with the report. Comrade EMS, then referred to the declaration of the Congress about completing land reform legislation by the end of 1959. He observed that now only five months were left and still no steps had been taken.

Comrade EMS pointed out: "It was just because our Government's continuance would have been a constant exhibition of their refusal or failure to implement these bills that they decided to remove us."

Concluding the speech he declared amidst thunderous applause: "But this dismissal is not going to prevent the onward march of the democratic movement. On the other hand the protest demonstrations are a beginning of a mass movement not only for the defence of democracy but also for democratic reforms."

As Comrade EMS finished his speech, the Gandhi Maidan resounded with slogans: "EMS Zindabad, Communist Party Zindabad." Comrade Achutha Menon also addressed the meeting for a few minutes on persistent demand from the audience. He thanked the citizens of Delhi and concluded with the words: "With your blessings we hope to come out successful."

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SCARCITY AND SOARING PRICES IN MIDST OF RECORD PRODUCTION

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India views with alarm the fast deteriorating food situation in the country. Vast regions are experiencing acute food shortage and prices of foodgrains have registered an unprecedented rise everywhere, even in the surplus States. The situation is bound to worsen still further in the coming lean months.

The fact that food crisis of such a magnitude has deve-

loped in a year in which there has been a record production of foodgrains as claimed by the Government of India, is the sharpest condemnation of the policies pursued by the Central and State Governments in this respect.

The so-called scheme of State-trading in foodgrains enforced this year leaves the market entirely in the grip of big dealers who have been appointed Government licensees but who have themselves conspired to make a farce of the whole scheme by purchasing as little as possible on Government account and by purchasing and hoarding

large stocks on their own personal accounts. In several States, they have created a situation in which normal flow of foodgrains to the market has been reduced to the lowest level ever reached in recent years. In such surplus States as Andhra, the Central Government has purchased very inadequate stocks from the millers and other big traders, thereby allowing the latter to corner large stocks and raise the prices to abnormal heights.

Neither the Central nor the State Governments have taken any action against their anti-social activities.



A victim of hunger and fatigue. Photo: Sambhu Bannerjee

The corrupt administrative machine has, on the contrary, abetted and encouraged them. The State Governments have obstinately resisted the popular demand for de-hoarding and for strict enforcement of the Essential Commodities Act. In fact, some State Governments with this artificially created scarcity in the market, have withdrawn all price control orders, thus giving full freedom to the black-market dealers to push up the prices and fleece the people, as is happening in Bengal today.

The Central Government has not only connived at such developments but has in many ways itself contributed to bringing them about. The Union Food Ministry has shown utter callousness and incompetence in tackling the country's food situation.

Thus, it can be stated that the present food crisis in the country is the result of the bankrupt food policies of the Central and State Governments which, despite the introduction of their scheme of State-trading were unable to buy more than a tiny fraction of the total marketable surplus immediately after the harvest and allowed the monopolistic trading interests, millers and big landlords to corner the greater part of the produce.

The Central Executive Committee expresses its strong condemnation of these policies of the Central and State Governments which have resulted in a calculated strengthening of the parasitic and exploiting classes, within the towns and in the countryside.

Moreover, the Congress Governments in the States, either refuse to form popular committees or deliberately make them, where these exist, ineffective and useless. Even the consultative committee on food constituted by the Prime Minister at the Centre remains a meaningless show. The Central Executive Committee deprecates this negative attitude towards popular co-operation.

The Committee demands that the following measures should be immediately put into effect in order to provide enough food at reasonable prices to the people and to alleviate the prevailing distress:

- 1) All food stocks lying with traders, millers and big landlords should be immediately requisitioned and all acts of hoarding and black-marketeering should be severely punished.

- 2) Anti-hoarding campaigns should be launched with people's cooperation in all areas affected by scarcity.

- 3) Cheap grain-shops should be opened in adequate numbers in all urban areas and also in such rural areas as are affected by scarcity and high prices of foodgrains.

- 4) Adequate relief measures in the form of test works and gratuitous relief payments should be undertaken in rural areas where mass distress and starvation due to high prices of foodgrains prevail. Taqaavi loans on a liberal scale should be granted to peasants.

- 5) Prices of all other essential commodities required by the common people should be controlled and brought down.

- 6) Food Advisory Boards of a proper representative character should be constituted at all levels, from district upwards and these Boards should be functioned in a manner that they can safeguard popular interests effectively as against the anti-social activities of the big traders and landlords.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all units of the Party to take steps to mobilise and unite the people on the biggest scale possible against the present bankrupt food policies of the Central and State Governments and for the achievement of the above-mentioned immediate demands.

RESOLUTION

Reservation For Scheduled Castes

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has given its earnest thought to the question of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and in the State Assemblies as provided under Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution of India.

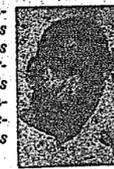
According to Article 334 of the Constitution, these provisions for special reservations however, are to

* SEE PAGE 13
AUGUST 16, 1959

PRESIDENT'S RULE HAS NO RIGHT TO REVERSE POLICIES

V. R. Krishna Iyer Asks Some Questions

Ordinarily if fresh elections following upon a dissolution of the House take place the same ministry continues as a care-taker Government, but here in Kerala the ministry has been sacked and the House has been dissolved. The Governor is exercising powers of administration as the President's proxy. It is elementary constitutional propriety that a non-elected regime temporarily carrying on till the next elections which are round the corner should function strictly as a care-taker Government.



It is said that the Union Government had already released some of the prisoners and it is reported that stage by stage, some others also will get the amnesty.

THIS means that on policy matters changes should not be effected. Moreover, administrative continuity is the basic principle of parliamentary democracy. Reversals of policies or Tammany Hall tactics are very wrong in our system. Nor is it decent or just to take steps to placate a group, in this case the Vimochana Samiti group. One would like to ask a few questions in this connection and leave it to others to answer.

- 1) The Vimochana Samiti leaders including the KPCC President demanded on the public platform at Trivandrum while celebrating the victory of their "war," that the Chief Secretary, the Home Secretary and the I.G. of Police should be removed. The leaders are believed to have demanded in Delhi that the Governor also should be removed.

There are rumblings in the sky that these things will happen because the Congress Party is in power in the Centre. The I.G. of Police has been shorn of most of his powers although he nominally retains his position as the I.G. of Police (Special). What is to happen to the Home Secretary and the Chief Secretary and the Governor?

- 2) There are a host of other officers, mostly police, who have been black-listed by the Vimochana Samiti and their fates are in the balance. Some Dy. S.P.s. have been reverted; probably there may be some little justification for it.

But what is to happen to all those others particularly in the police department who have had the misfortune, while in the discharge of their duties, to annoy the "villains" who have emerged as the "heroes"? Is there going to be Macarthysm practised? Many officers, it is said, are apprehensive. There is some warrant for it from the few acts already done. But the question remains, as one of general policy.

- 3) The Education Rules framed, after great debate, are, it is said, being revised by a quasi-Adviser to the Governor, if newspaper reports are to be believed. Are the management going to be placated and the teachers sacrificed? Or will the Education Act and the rules, fully considered by the Legislature, be left intact?

- 4) School managements in defiance of rules continue to keep the schools closed for nearly two months. In some cases recognition had been withdrawn. It is stated that they are being restored. Does it mean that the Government of India sympathises with those who wanted to "paralyse" the Government by starting the school closure movement?

- 5) The Kerala Government was charged by the KPCC with releases of prisoners when they came to power. Now, the Vimochana Samiti leaders are

pressing the Governor and the Union Government to release all those who have been convicted of offences during the agitation. They are also demanding the withdrawal of all cases which have been started under the Public Safety Act. There is no doubt that the agitation to "paralyse" the Government and to "overthrow" the Ministry was unconstitutional. The President's proclamation might have been wise or right. But there cannot be any doubt that the "deliverance" movement was, in the eyes of the law and the Constitution, an indefensible

- 6) The President of the KPCC presented a charge-sheet in regard to which the Kerala Ministry issued a detailed reply and refutation. It is gathered that the Adviser regime is preparing a different reply. Are there two gov-

ernments or one Government succeeding the other? If there is to be any enquiry into the charge-sheet is it fair to have it done through the backdoor in this way? One does not know what other things are taking place behind the curtain, because it is said that Trivandrum city and other places in Kerala are honeycombed with Central Intelligence men now.

Does it mean the Union Government (the President, who is bound to protect, preserve and defend the Constitution) is going to condone and remit the sentences of those who were convicted for participation in a movement calculated to violate the Constitution?

7) A liberal use of the Preventive Detention Act has been prescribed by the Union Government against "anti-social" elements. Who are the "anti-social" elements in the eyes of the Congress Party? Civil liberties are in peril and we expect the Prime Minister to ally our fears.

8) Is assent to the Agricultural Debt Relief Amending Bill going to be withheld to appease the Kerala Bankers? More and more such questions will crop up as the days go by if policies of the previous Government are upset. They are being upset, perhaps, only a few of them or more. Mere beneficent acts like sending more rice to Kerala with an eye on the elec-

tion are welcome because at least the people benefit during the interregnum. It is necessary for the people of Kerala and of India to get a clear assurance that a care-taker Government will function strictly as such.

Instability except during the 2½ years (nearly) of Communist regime has been a feature of Kerala's political life. It is difficult to prophesy whether disequilibrium will haunt the State for many more years to come. Political unrest and frequent change of Governments hinder the State's progress and all national developmental activities. It is, therefore, the primary duty of the citizens of Kerala to choose decisively a stable and good Government.

Which party is going to assure good government to the State? The Congress Party has ruled for long and had made headway steadily backwards during the frequent general elections in the Travancore-Cochin State and in Kerala. The Praja Socialists have dwindled by stages although "talking like big whales." The Muslim League may not aspire to be in office. It is too early. The RSP

* SEE PAGE 12

Wheels Of History Can't Be Turned Back

A Review by C. Unni Raja

July 31, 1959, will go down as Black Friday in our history. That was the day on which on the advice of the Congress-manned Central Government, the Communist-led Kerala Ministry was dismissed, the State legislature in which the Ministry continued to enjoy a majority was dissolved and President's rule was imposed.

THE President in his proclamation said that he was "satisfied" that a situation had arisen in the State in which the Government of that State could not be carried on in "accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

And the Kerala Governor in a statement, after taking over the powers of the State Government on behalf of the President, said, "This Constitutional step had been taken in the interests of a democracy... with the only object of providing the administrative machinery for the minimum period necessary to complete the process of appeal by the political parties to the electorate and seek their verdict with a view to forming a stabler Government."

The Congress President, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Kerala Congress and Praja Socialist leaders and above all the Catholic Church, the corporate managements of private schools, the Kayal Kings of Kuttanad, the big landlords and planters, and their "leader of leaders," Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, all expressed their satisfaction and gratitude.

One fact has, however, emerged clearly: the Communist-led Kerala Government can in no way be held responsible for the situation that was created.

- 1) The Kerala Government can justifiably claim that it successfully maintained law and order in the State despite the widespread and planned attempts to storm public offices, paralyse transport, attack police stations, etc.

2) The Kerala Government can be proud of the fact that till the very moment it was ordered to hand over charge, it continued to run the administration of the State, despite the direct action with the declared

Naturally the landlords and other privileged sections were enraged at the prospect of their economic position being weakened and political power being curbed. The leaders of the Opposition parties, especially of the Congress, were also unhappy and afraid that such popular measures would strengthen the Communist Party's position among the masses of people.

Thus the unholy alliance of reaction and of the dominant leaderships of political parties to oust the Communist-led Ministry elected to power by popular vote was forged, in which all-India leaders of the Congress, including certain Central Ministers, were active participants from the very beginning.

It was the big planters who first raised the cry of lawlessness and insecurity, taken up immediately by the Congress and other Opposition leaders.

It was the Kayal Kings (big cultivators) of Kuttanad who first declared war on the Government by threatening to lay hundreds of thousands of acres of paddy fields owned by them uncultivated in 1957.

It was the Catholic hierarchy which first launched a mass campaign against the Communist Government and started organising a paramilitary private militia to fight it.

Within a few weeks of the formation of the Ministry, Congress leaders began talking about intervention by the Central Government.

But two years' experience clearly showed that the propertied classes on their own were helpless; all the Opposition parties even when combined could not fight the Government on political or popular demands; a movement rousing the religious sentiments of the Catholics by false propaganda by the church got isolated from other sections of people. The Central Government found it extremely difficult to intervene in any form.

It was then that Sri Mannath Padmanabhan was brought on the scene as the "leader" to

head the "war of liberation."

During the past two decades in the political life of Kerala State, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan has a long record of subserving the interests of landlords and other propertied classes by fusing Nair or Hindu communalism against the national and democratic movement. He is also notorious for changing sides and betraying his erstwhile associates without any qualms of conscience.

The Christian Church whom he had fought ferociously and slandered in the most abominable manner, the Congress whom he had sought to bury six fathoms deep, over whose Ministries he had overthrown and within which he had engineered communal dissensions, the PSP whose only Government in India he succeeded in overthrowing, the RSP whom he characterised recently as worse than even Communists—all joined hands to make this bane of Kerala politics the hero of the

* SEE PAGE 12



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ASP/LIC 45

COMMUNIST PARTY, THE VANGUARD

FOR DEFENCE OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Central intervention, long premeditated, has struck down the Communist Ministry in Kerala and inflicted grievous damage to the Indian Constitution. On August 3, all over India, a most massive protest was made against this outrage perpetrated by the Congress High Command, which controls the Central Government. One chapter of the story has ended and democrats of all parties and beliefs, including Congressmen, must now face up to the challenge of the new phase.

In order fully to meet this challenge, to respond to it completely prepared, it is necessary to make a brief survey of some of the most important lessons and implications of the great battle that raged—the most important development in our political life since the attainment of freedom.

One must begin with certain specific features of the agitation that was launched in Kerala. That agitation was no bolt from the blue, nor was it something unforeseen. Ever since the Communist-led Government assumed office, it has had to face one sort of agitation or another. The vested interests have not allowed themselves any rest. The Communist

Party of India was fully prepared for this. It had no illusions about the nature of our ruling class despite all the talk of "non-violence", "tolerance" and "democracy".

The National Council of the Communist Party of India which met at Madras in October 1958, had drawn pointed attention to this continuous offensive of reaction and had warned that its resistance would grow to the degree that the Kerala Ministry went ahead in the service of the people. This has now been fully corroborated. It had emphasised that the struggle for the defence of the Ministry in Kerala would be long-drawn out, necessitating a sustained and continuous campaign.

Formed 28 months ago, the Kerala Government took resolute measures within the framework of the Indian

Constitution to serve the cause of the people and extend democracy. The Education Act, the Agrarian Relations Bill, the new police policy, the master plan for irrigation, the Industrial Relations Bill, the upswing of Plan fulfilment, the bills to decentralise administration—these are only some of such measures. Thereby it came to be looked upon by the toiling people in Kerala as their own Government and won the love of democratic-minded people all over the country.

It was precisely this, especially the policy of agrarian reforms, that created apprehension in the minds of the leaders of the Congress—in Kerala as well as outside. Not only would the base of reaction in Kerala be seriously weakened but prospects would open up

for the formation of democratic governments in other States. Hence the "liberation war."

Features Of Recent Agitation

In the recent agitation, the first feature to be noted is that it took place against the background of the Communist Party and the Kerala Government having considerably strengthened their position. The mass support behind the Party and the Ministry had greatly increased, as borne out by the Devicolam bye-election and the panchayat and municipal election results and the huge crowds that flocked to our meetings and demonstrations.

Further, a bigger sweep forward was clearly visible since the stage had been reached of the implementation of important legislations, like the Agrarian Relations Bill, the Education Act, the Panchayats and District Councils Bill. It was precisely this that gave rise to frenzied opposition from reaction.

Second, the agitation this time was not started by the political parties. They had seen that none of their previous moves had been able to secure any mass backing. Their latest fiasco was the April 5, 1959, meetings planned as a "protest" against the Andhra Rice Deal.

Dismayed by their failure, they turned for support and leadership to the avowedly communal forces—the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. The Muslim League was drawn in. It was these forces that came to the forefront, that acted as the spearhead and behind whom the Congress, PSP and Muslim League leaders trailed. The danger of this portent, this surrender to the blackest reaction, needs no emphasising.

Third, it has to be brought out that this agitation had no specific demand to make, no particular objective to win. Their only demand was that the Communist Ministry should resign, that it should voluntarily liquidate itself. This too is something new in our political life and cuts right across the norms and content of the democratic system we have adopted. As a matter of fact, the opposition combine in Kerala was of such a heterogeneous character that this was the sole and single demand which could keep them united. This need overcame all considerations of abiding by the spirit of the Constitution and respecting the verdict of the people as expressed in the Second General Elections.

Fourth, their open and declared tactic broadcast in the press, from the pulpit and in hundreds of meetings was to paralyse the Government and on that basis secure Central intervention. The form of this "direct action" was to be the voluntary "closure" of private schools where possible and forcible closure where necessary. This was to be backed up by picketing of transport and of Government offices.

There was to be no attempt at mere demonstrations, or of persuading the people and the Government. A "liberation struggle" had to be launched, in which all forms of struggle were permissible. It was an open challenge to all the democratic forces in India and a clear declaration to the Central Government, which has the duty of protecting the Indian Constitution from violation, that they would shrink back from nothing.

The fifth, and final feature that has to be studied in this context is the open backing and active support given to this agitation by the Congress High Command.

Right from the beginning, it was clear that the Central Congress leadership was this time fully involved. All this has been mentioned by us—and by numerous Press commentators—many a time.

Nevertheless it must be repeated that the persons above all responsible for the highly unconstitutional movement and its shameful end, are the Central leaders of the Congress, including Pandit Nehru. Without the constant talk of Central intervention — not against the agitation but

action on an all-India scale against the Congress in all its seventy odd years of existence. We witnessed an unparalleled barrage of criticism of the Congress leadership and of Pandit Nehru, such as they have never before had to confront. The prestige of the Congress and the tallest of its leaders has suffered a most grievous blow.

This was strikingly manifested in the demonstrations of August 3. Whereas Congressmen held their heads down in shame and sharp criticism was heard in the very inner sanctums of the Congress Parliamentary Party's meetings, the Communist Party and the supporters of democracy, went in for massive and militant demonstrations which shook the entire country. As a result of this struggle not only has democratic opinion grown more conscious, more united and vigilant but the prestige and influence of the Communist Party of India has grown immensely.

The Communist Party was able to defeat the Congress game of trying to make the conflict as one between the Communists on the one hand and all who

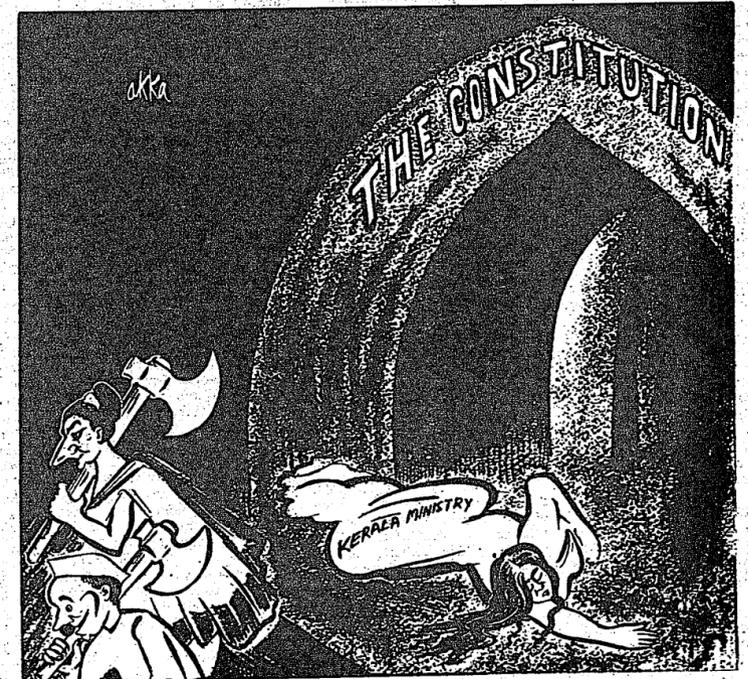
through this ordeal with credit.

Summing up the entire position, one must say that for the first time on an all-India scale, on the political and moral plane the working class of our country has inflicted a serious defeat on the Indian bourgeoisie. This is, indeed, a turning point in the history of modern India.

Forge Mass Unity To Defeat Post-Intervention Offensive

Elated with Central intervention, in several places attempts are now being made in Kerala to forcibly eject agricultural workers from their homesteads, violating the provisions of the Anti-Eviction law; attempts are being made by landlords to illegally harvest the crops standing in tenants' lands.

There are strong reasons to believe that these are not isolated acts but part of a plan to intimidate and terrorise the exploited masses with a view to keep up the tension and hamper free and fair



"Murder in the Cathedral"

AJOY GHOSH

ON SOME LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF KERALA

against the popularly elected Ministry threatened by it—and the guidance given from New Delhi, the movement would have fizzled out long ago.

No Victory For Congress

At the same time, it has to be noted that despite the fact that the Kerala Ministry has been dismissed, the victory in the struggle did not go to the Opposition in Kerala or to the Congress High Command. As a matter of fact, throughout the two months of June and July, the Congress leadership was morally and politically on the defensive. Pandit Nehru's repeated self-contradictions, his equivocation and prevarication were precisely a manifestation of this.

Never in all its long history has the Congress ever been defeated in this fashion. Many a time in the struggle for freedom it has had to retreat, to compromise, to lie low. But every time it emerged stronger, since the cause it served at that time corresponded to the aspirations of the people. But this time we witnessed the unprecedented isolation of the Congress from the people, from the various trends that go to make up the totality of the democratic forces in India. We witnessed the biggest mass upsurge and

did not agree with them on the other.

It was able to clarify the issues, to rouse the traditions and consciousness of the entire democratic movement, to show that the Opposition in Kerala, aided and abetted by the Congress High Command was above all launching an onslaught against secular politics, against education, against equality of treatment and the very Constitution itself. This was a very big factor leading to the political isolation of the Congress and its reactionary allies.

These two months saw the biggest campaign ever run by the Communist Party in its entire history. The extent and depth of the mass mobilisation, the conducting of a countrywide campaign around a single central slogan, the sustained and vigorous character of the mass movement—all this meant raising the struggle to a really high level, to a high national-political level.

Just as many Congressmen today are ashamed of the role that their party has played, all the members and friends of the Communist Party are proud of their Party, proud of its courage, its mobilising capacity and its political maturity. It is of the deepest significance and very good fortune for the democratic movement that the Communist Party of India was able to pass

elections. Simultaneously, reactionary forces have already started demanding modification and annulment of some of the progressive measures enacted by the Kerala Ministry.

To defeat these attempts, to preserve the gains achieved under the twenty-eight-month old Communist-led Ministry, to ensure that free and fair elections are held—these are tasks in conformity with the interest of workers, peasants and all sections of toiling masses, irrespective of their political loyalties and religious beliefs and of the stand they took in the recent struggle.

Forging of the broadest mass unity for these tasks, here and now, will alone defend the existing achievements, create conditions for the success of the democratic forces and ensure that the process of democratic reforms, interrupted by the imposition of President's rule is carried forward.

Bankruptcy Of Capitalist Path

The developments in Kerala were not an isolated event but rather the culmination of certain trends in the political evolution of our country after independence. The Kerala crisis was not simply a question of the Congress leader-

ship not being able to tolerate the existence of a progressive, non-Congress Government in even one of the 14 States of India. It was the expression of something far deeper and more fundamental.

This crisis took place, firstly, in the background of the failure of the economic policies by which the bourgeoisie had hoped to consolidate its position. The promise of the Second Five Year Plan has ended in failure, strikingly revealed in the sharp rise in prices of foodgrains, the slowing down of the rate of industrial growth, the ever-increasing problem of unemployment, the terrific fall in foreign exchange reserves, and above all, the amazing phenomenon of a drop in the national income for 1957-58.

The path of capitalist development has proved to be not merely the path of the impoverishment of the people but equally the path along which no significant development of the national economy can take place. Secondly, the mass discontent that this has been engendered has found a point of focus in the emergence, during the last 12 years, of the Party of the working class as the main challenge to the power and position of the bourgeois-led Congress. Not feudal, Right reaction but the forces of the resurgent Left, spearheaded by the Communist Party, have arrived on the Indian political scene as the real alternative.

This process was raised to a new level by the coming to office of the Kerala Ministry. This meant a big advance in the political status not merely of the democratic movement but, primarily, of the Party of the working class. Through

its legislation, its methods of work, its new approach to the problems of the people, the Kerala Ministry won the love of the masses throughout India. Here was fresh hope, new possibilities.

More and more prominently the question is being posed in the minds of the millions in our country: Who will lead? The task of achieving proletarian hegemony has been placed on the agenda. The tasks of the uncompleted democratic revolution can only be completed by the democratic forces under the leadership of the working class—this truth is coming increasingly to the fore.

It is obvious, then, a grave crisis begins for the bourgeoisie, both economically and politically. And this crisis manifests itself first and foremost as a crisis of bourgeois democracy. This particular manifestation of the crisis was inherent in the situation.

For some reasonable stability of the system of bourgeois democracy, there are two essential pre-requisites. Essential to this stability is some degree of economic prosperity, of some amount of economic development and on that basis of some improvement, however small and temporary, in the living standards of numerically large sections of the people.

Equally essential to this stability is the political requirement of at least two parties of the bourgeoisie or of a powerful social-democratic party. Then it would be possible to divert mass discontent along channels safe for capitalism and, thus, to maintain the institutions of bourgeois democracy.

Yet it is precisely both

these essential requirements that are absent in India today. Economically, the condition of the masses is deteriorating and politically it is the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, that is forging ahead as the real alternative. Hence the growing threat of a drive towards fascism which is now visibly taking shape in our country.

The dislodging of the Kerala Ministry and the nature of the campaign unleashed against it, is the opening of a furious onslaught against the institutions of bourgeois democracy by the bourgeoisie itself. We cannot afford to be complacent. It would be suicidal to imagine that the present drive against democracy is some aberration, some small conspiracy of a handful. This crisis is the product of the objective situation itself and ensues from the fear of the bourgeoisie that its leadership of the nation is itself seriously threatened.

The conclusion that must be drawn and assimilated is that we cannot take bourgeois-democracy for granted. All revisionist and reformist ideas have to be sternly combated as also all illusions that the path ahead is one of gradual and smooth advance. Many a time, particularly since the Amritsar Party Congress, the Party has warned against this kind of complacency. It had pointed out that the ruling class in India would not automatically accept the decisions of the ballot-box but would rise up against democracy itself if their interests were threatened. This has now been fully confirmed.

The second main conclusion

* SEE OVERLEAF

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DA 59/136

Czechoslovakia's many-sided help for

India's economic advance

India is one of the major countries of South-East Asia with which Czechoslovakia is successfully expanding her economic relations. The natural base of this mutually advantageous trade is the fact that the economic requirements of both countries supplement each other.

INDIAN products are finding in Czechoslovakia a long-term secure market which does not suffer from trade cycles and which offers the Indian economy the opportunity to obtain financial resources with which to purchase in the industrially advanced Czechoslovakia a wide variety of machinery and complete capital units essential for the bold targets of India's industrialisation drive.

These favourable pre-requisites have been reflected in a striking increase in the trade turnover between Czechoslovakia and India. While in 1954, the volume of trade amounted to Rs. 44.6 million,

in 1958 it reached more than double this figure—a total of Rs. 89.7 million. Last year does not, however, represent the maximum of the post-war turnover as seen from the following figures.

1954	44.6 million rupees
1955	42. -
1956	105. -
1957	99. -
1958	89.7

Compared with 1956 there has been a certain decline since trade had to conform to the altered structure of Indian imports in which a considerable restriction of imports of

almost all consumer goods had been undertaken. Czechoslovak foreign trade therefore concentrated largely on exports of such machine equipment which contributed to the implementation of the main targets of the Indian Five-Year Plan.

Recent Protocol

The results achieved in the first quarter of this year indicate that this year may bring about a further advance in the expansion of mutual trade. This is also illustrated by the content of the Protocol to the existing Czechoslovak-Indian Trade Agreement which was signed by Government delegations of Czechoslovakia and India in Prague on May 30.

The clauses of the Protocol which stipulate the payment

relations between both countries envisaged that there will be a lively development of trade in both directions. Mutual payments for deliveries of commodities will be met in Indian currency.

Czechoslovak exports mainly consist of machinery and equipment for complete plants while India is going to export her traditional commodities which have been exported to Czechoslovakia up to now, such as iron and manganese ore, mica, hides, spices, vegetable oils, jute, etc. The value of the commodities which are to be exchanged between both countries this year amounts to Rs. 257.9 million.

The Czechoslovak-Indian Agreement is an elastic instrument which enables both sides to take the initiative for further expanding of trade. The Agreement also provides for the maximum use of Indian vessels for transporting the exchanged commodities.

Trade with industrially advanced Czechoslovakia is for India a supply source for modern technical equipment. While in 1956, Czechoslovak exports of machinery and machine equipment represented 48.4 per cent of total Czechoslovak exports to India, in 1957 their share rose to 56.6 per cent and last year to 58.7 per cent.

In the deliveries of machine equipment the exports of complete plants take an increasing share. This is in harmony with the industrial development of India. In 1956 capital goods represented 17.2 per cent of total Czechoslovak exports of machinery and equipment, in 1957 this share increased to 21.7 per cent and last year to 22.8 per cent.

Before the Second World War Czechoslovak sugar mills, railway engines and wagons were particularly popular on the Indian market. This tradition has been maintained in the post-war period. In 1957, for instance, Czechoslovakia supplied India with fifty steam engines and 2,050 railway freight wagons. In the same year a cane sugar mill at Panipat in Punjab, equipped by Czechoslovakia started operations.

This was followed by a sugar mill in Dergaan in Assam last year and at the present time Czechoslovakia is supplying the machinery for another sugar mill under construction in Madras. Proof of the progress of India's industrialisation may be seen in the fact that several Indian engineering firms are making sub-deliveries of some equipment to the Czechoslovak deliveries of machinery for cane sugar mills.

Technical Experts

Czechoslovakia is making available to Indian firms technical experts and designers who are helping to introduce the manufacture of new machine equipment in India.

The Czechoslovak foreign trade corporation Technoexport is in this way cooperating with the Indian firm Walchandnagar Industries Private Ltd. in the State of Bombay where the machine equipment of cane sugar mills is being produced.

In the order of importance the electrification of India ranks second in India's Five-Year Plan following immediately the heavy engineering. Here again Czechoslovakia is making her contribution with important deliveries. In the course of the past three years Czechoslovak firms have secured two orders for the delivery of steam power plant, the second of which is now under construction in Utran (Bombay State). Its capacity is 3 x 15 Mw.

Heavy Engineering Plant

A highly important project is the building of a plant for heavy engineering in the State of Bihar which will enable India to speed up her industrialisation programme. Czechoslovakia will contribute to this scheme by cooperating in the erection and equipment of a foundry-forge plant whose ingots and castings up to the weight of 100 tons will cover the requirements of a heavy engineering plant with the capacity of 45,000 tons of engineering products which the Soviet Union is building in this area.

Czechoslovak industry will equip this plant by a heavy forge shop, a foundry for non-ferrous metals, a foundry for steel alloys, a foundry for grey alloys, timber processing shops, power plants and auxiliary workshops. The project will go into operation in several stages starting with 1961. Czechoslovakia will give India technical aid in assembling the plant and in starting operations there.

Cement works also occupy an important part in Czechoslovakia's exports to India. Last year Czechoslovak enterprises obtained orders for the delivery of machine equipment for a cement works of a capacity of 350 tons a day in Churk (Uttar Pradesh), and for another cement plant in Madras of a capacity of 800 tons a day with the possibility to expand this capacity by another 350 tons a day.

At present the Czechoslovak foreign trade corporation Technoexport is supplying the State of Bihar with the complete equipment for the production of high-tension insulators with a capacity of 2400 tons a year while Strojexport is delivering to Kashmir the equipment for a brick factory which similarly to the ceramics plant in Bihar will go into operation with the aid of Czechoslovak experts who are going to pass on their technical know-how to local engineers.

These are mostly large, or in certain cases, interesting deliveries of the most recent period. It would, however, not be possible to form a more complete picture of the many-sided Czechoslovak exports to India without naming at least some engineering products

* SEE PAGE 16

AUGUST 16, 1959

CEC Resolutions

VICTORY OF DECISIVE SIGNIFICANCE

Khrushchov-Eisenhower Exchange Of Visits

FOR RELEASE OF GREEK HERO

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India warmly welcomes the announcement of the proposed visits of Prime Minister Khrushchov and President Eisenhower to the USA and the USSR respectively. These visits will enable the Heads of Governments of the two countries to discuss at the highest level the most urgent problems threatening world peace and can contribute greatly to the relaxation of the cold war.

The announcement of the coming exchange of views between the Soviet and American statesmen is thus a victory of decisive significance for the forces of peace all over

the world and a tribute to the peace efforts of the Soviet Government which has consistently supported the popular demand for Summit negotiations.

The Communist Party joins peace-loving organisations in India and all over the world in expressing the confidence that the exchange of visits between the leaders will contribute to the lessening of tension and lead to a Summit Conference of the Great Powers, which can effectively turn the world away from the path of the cold war, towards international cooperation and peace.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all Indians to join wholeheartedly the world-wide campaign to ensure the convening and success of a Summit Conference as early as possible.

DANGER TO PEACE IN LAOS

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the virtual repudiation by the Government of Laos of the Geneva Agreements and its refusal to permit the resumption of activities of the International Supervisory Commission headed by India.

The Committee views with concern the pouring into Laos of armaments and military personnel in large numbers by the USA and repeated declarations by SEATO spokesmen that Laos is within the SEATO "protective sphere".

The suspension of the work of the Supervisory Commission for Laos helped the imperialists to commit these and other flagrant violations of the Geneva Agreement.

A civil war has been unleashed by the Laos Government, acting in collusion with American advisors against

the Pathet Lao forces. The Laotian Parliament is suspended, civil liberties have been completely crushed, leaders of the Pathet Lao and the Neo Lao Haksat Party arrested, again in violation of the Geneva Agreements.

Laotian armed forces are repeatedly violating the borders of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. A serious danger to the peace of Indo-China and entire South East Asia has been created by the interference of the U.S. imperialists who have all along been opposed to the Geneva Agreements.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India, which has a special role to play as Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, to insist on the resumption of work of the International Supervisory Commission and to demand the immediate removal of all U.S. advisors and military personnel from Laos and an end to all violations of the Geneva Agreements.

NUCLEAR TESTS IN SAHARA

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India congratulates the independent governments of Africa and all the African national movements and peoples for their firm, united protest against the nuclear tests proposed to be carried out by France in the Sahara.

The imperialists, racists as they are, have always looked upon the peoples of Asia and Africa as guinea pigs upon whom they may with impunity carry out their experiments in the most diabolical weapons of war. The Japanese people still bear the horrors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki massacres and the Pacific Ocean experiments. And now the French imperialists have turned towards Africa for an experimental ground for their nuclear weapons.

At a time when the whole

the world and a tribute to the peace efforts of the Soviet Government which has consistently supported the popular demand for Summit negotiations.

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this purpose by the nuclear Powers at Geneva, the de Gaulle Government's decision to pollute the African continent with the radio-activity necessarily resulting from test-explosions, can only be described as criminal and deserving of the severest condemnation.

The Communist Party pledges its full support to the African, and indeed world-wide, demand for the stopping of these tests. The proposed use of the Sahara by France for this ignoble purpose once again highlights the urgency of the demand for the national independence of all African peoples, particularly the people of Algeria.

The Communist Party demands that the Government of India should immediately interfere of the U.S. imperialism of the indignation of the Indian people against the proposed tests and take up the matter in the United Nations in a clear and forthright manner, in solidarity with the other Asian and African States.

MURDER OF ALGERIAN PATRIOT

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its abhorrence at

the news of the murder inside prison by the French authorities of the Algerian patriot, Aissat Idir, first General Secretary of the Algerian Federation of Labour.

The Committee condemns this savage crime and demands that an immediate international enquiry be instituted and the guilty French officers given the severest punishment.

The French imperialists, unable to break the heroic resistance of the Algerian freedom fighters, are resorting to the most savage and criminal methods. World-wide protests against such barbarism are being made.

The Communist Party appeals to all Indians to join this world-wide campaign against the atrocities of French imperialism and to intensify the movement of solidarity with the Algerian struggle for liberation.

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the illegal trial and sentence by a military tribunal of the Greek hero Manolis Glezos and demands the cancellation of the savage sentences imposed upon him and his immediate release.

The trial of Glezos—a gross violation of all human rights—has drawn the attention of all humanity to the terror imposed by the Greek Government, resulting in the imprisonment for long terms of thousands of patriots and resistance fighters.

The Communist Party demands an end to the Fascist laws being used by the Greek Government, a return to democracy in Greece and the release of all political prisoners.

Greetings to PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC KOREA ON THE 14TH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE

Pictures show a spring Dance of Korean youth and a demonstration demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.



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Hungary's Ten-Year Old Constitution Is First In Her History

The Constitution of the Hungarian people building socialism will be exactly ten years old this August 20.

In the past Hungary had no comprehensive written constitution. The government of Hungary, founded on wage labour, exploitation and semi-colonial conditions, ruled by means of laws enacted from time to time. This government was so onerous, and caused the people, essentially deprived of human rights, untold misery which culminated in a series of social struggles.

The fundamental importance of Hungary's Constitution lies in the fact that it expresses new relations of production. It declares that the Hungarian People's Republic is the state of the workers and working peasants. In other words, all power belongs to the working people within the state.

The new relations of production laid down in the Constitution have transformed society as a whole, not only as compared with the past, but also in absolute terms. Public ownership of the means of production guarantees that the representatives of State power and State administration will be persons elected by the working classes who may be recalled. Therefore in the legal sense of the word, Hungary has become a constitutional nation for the first time after centuries of a stormy history. A nation has to make a tremendous leap to move forward from a status of deprivation of rights and uncertainty, into a status of legal security and freedom from want. A series of irrefutable facts prove that this leap has actually taken place.

In present-day Hungary there is no unemployment. Every working man and woman is guaranteed a livelihood, those who are more

skilled, more thrifty, who invent or perform work of a higher quality, earn more money. In well-managed plants the employees share in the profits. Inventors receive high rewards as an incentive as well as royalties on their inventions. Every employee has the right to paid holidays. Each year large numbers of working people spend their holidays at health resorts.

Employees are entitled to State benefits in case of accident, illness or disability. Free hospitalization, medical care and medicines are supplied. Employees receive old age pension. Recently the pension system was extended to the co-operative farms as well.

Men and women, as well as peasants of all nationalities enjoy full and equal rights. Citizens are granted political rights at the age of 18, and they exercise them too. Freedom of religious worship is guaranteed. Separation of Church and State is an accomplished fact; the Church and clergy receive generous subsidies from the Government.

An extensive cultural revolution has taken place in the country, ending the cultural monopoly of the former privileged classes and social strata. A system of free and compulsory school attendance upto

the eighth grade exists in Hungary, while generous State scholarships encourage gifted youth to continue their studies at the secondary school, college and the university.

The State protects mothers children and the youth in a myriad of ways.

The Arts—literature, music, the fine arts, the theatre, cinema, radio and television—are geared to serve the millions of working people. Legality is guaranteed by stringent laws. Public sentiment and the outlook of the people are developing rapidly.

Thus the Constitution gives expression to all that the working people have sacrificed and shed their blood for.

Moreover, it expresses the fact that the former underdeveloped agrarian country has become an industrial nation moving towards greater industrialization. State farms and cooperative farms are working today the land of the former latifundia held by the Church and aristocracy on which extensive farming was practised under feudal conditions. And this year, the peasants are leaving their plots en masse to join the mechanized large-scale cooperative farms. The country is building new factories, towns, villages, roads and railways. One who has not visited Hungary for the past fifteen or twenty years, would not recognize the one-time land of three million paupers.

The question may be asked: if the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic was able to record such accomplishments in 1949, at the time it was promulgated, why



Nursery in a Hungarian village.

did the 1956 events occur, which shocked believers in the cause of Socialism everywhere? Well, it was not the laws governing the building of socialism which caused the harmful confusion, but rather the sectarian and dogmatic transgression of those laws. And to make matters worse, the former political leadership failed to take cognizance of the contradictions within the people in due time, while the forces aiming at restoration both at home and abroad took notice of this factor and rallying the revisionist traitors, exploited them for their own ends.

But the Hungarian people learned a lot in the autumn of 1956. Experience was acquired by the younger generation, too, which had no knowledge of social relations between capital and labour. That great historical lesson has focused attention again on

the Constitution which today possesses greater power than ever before. The Hungarian working people viewed their sincere friends, and their real enemies anew and much better. It was recognition of this fact which gave rise to the extensive economic, political and cultural consolidation following autumn 1956.

Proof positive that the country is marching ahead is provided by the successful outcome of the parliamentary and council elections, the labour emulation developing in the factories; the cooperative farm movement spreading like wild fire in the countryside; the extensive housing ards; the social insurance programme; the salary increase granted to the teachers, doctors and public health workers; the extension of family allowances; the drafting of a civil code, and many other facts of life.

Czechoslovakia From Page 14

tons. By 1957 iron ore imports from India had risen to 480,000 tons and last year to as much as 550,000 tons so

that Czechoslovakia is today the second largest buyer of Indian iron ore. The biggest importer is Japan.

Of the other mineral raw materials imported from India to Czechoslovakia, manganese and chrome ores are particularly important. Other imports are mica, raw hides, vegetable oils and oil cakes, spices—particularly pepper—and finally tea and tobacco. Czechoslovakia also imports cotton fabrics, products made of coconut fibre, as well as handicrafts.

The economic expansion of both countries is creating prerequisites for a further broadening and intensification of their mutual economic relations. This view was confirmed by the visit of the Minister of Industry of the Indian Central Government Mr. Manubhai Shah who was in Czechoslovakia from May 30 to June 3, 1959. He discussed the possibilities of expanding Czechoslovak deliveries of machine equipment to India and of increasing Czechoslovakia's participation in the industrialisation of India with the Minister of Foreign Trade, Frantisek Krajcik, and with the Minister of Heavy Engineering, J. Reitmaier. These talks resulted in new suggestions for deepening Czechoslovak-Indian trade relations, for mutually advantageous commodity and services exchange, and they also confirmed an identity of views on numerous basic issues. The visit, in fact, prepared the ground for further concrete forms of cooperation.

Never An Upsurge Like This Before

The mass upsurge remains the dominant impression of anyone who lived through, as I did, the Opposition's "liberation" struggle during June and July in Kerala.

The difference with Prime Minister Nehru is that while the "upsurge" he saw against the Kerala Government, the real upsurge during this period in the State was in defence of the Communist-led Government.

I HAD been in Kerala at the time of the general elections which put the Communist Party in office for the first time in any Indian State. The mass of people were happy that they had a Government of the Party of the toiling people, a Government of their own. There were spontaneous demonstrations of joy—quite huge demonstrations.

But what I saw during the two months of the Opposition's struggle surpassed everything that had happened at that time. The demonstrations this time were far bigger—and more noticeable was their extraordinary militancy. Beginning with the middle of May, these mobilisations had grown into a huge movement during the days of the struggle with one cry resounding from Parasala to Kasargode: "The toiling people have given their sweat and blood to make this Government they will defend it."

Not only were the rallies bigger and more militant than the demonstrations which ushered in the Communist Ministry; they were, in every case, bigger and more militant than the mobilisations which the leaders of "liberation" could muster.

To take the case of Trivandrum City itself, where both the seats in the Assembly just now dissolved were held by PSP members:

● On June 12, Deliverance Day, the struggle leaders held a meeting here. On June 16, the day after the two police firings in the Trivandrum suburbs, Comrade EMS addressed a rally in Trivandrum much bigger than the "liberation" rally, much bigger than anything seen in the capital till then.

● On June 20, on the eve of Prime Minister Nehru's arrival in Kerala, the "struggle" leaders again took out a demonstration. On June 24, when Sri Nehru was still in Trivandrum, the Communist Party took out a demonstration—double the size of the June 20 "liberation" demonstration.

● On July 15, there was another demonstration to display the strength of the "liberation struggle." It was announced that lakhs would flow into the city but only six to eight thousand people were in the demonstration despite the favourable weather. The next day, in pouring rains, the Communist Party brought out a demonstration estimated at at least one-and-a-half times the "liberation" procession.

Everywhere including in Kottayam, claimed as the storm-centre of "liberation", this same picture could be seen. I saw only one demonstration in Kottayam but it made me gasp, though by then I had become accustomed to the huge marches. Rows and rows of workers, agricultural labourers, peasants and middle-classes, a large number of women, responding to

every political slogan coming over the loud-speaker fitted to a van—this 25,000 strong demonstration would have impressed anyone who had not put on "liberation" blinkers. Alleppey, Quilon, Ernakulam, Trichur, Palghat, Kozhikode, Cannanore—everywhere it was the same.

But one other demonstration I saw needs mentioning—a demonstration which I was fortunate to come across by sheer accident. Travelling from Ernakulam by bus, when I reached Stherthallai, the bus slowed down behind a demonstration. There were about seven thousand women there marching and shouting slogans. The demonstration had not earlier been announced in the press. When I got off and enquired, it was to find out that the women had come together and decided to have an entirely women's demonstration in support of the Government—and they had just done it without announcement and publicity.

The Agrarian Relations Bill had been adopted by the Kerala Legislature on June 10. On June 11, the State Committee of the Party called for observance of June 14 to mark the passing of the Bill. The call reached the District Com-

mittedes on June 12 and they had just two days to organise the demonstrations.

On June 13 I was in Palghat and went with a comrade who was going to a village to bring the demonstration from there. We reached there in the night and immediately called a meeting of the activists. The comrade talked about the Land Bill, the Opposition struggle which had just been launched, the need to strengthen the hands of the Government so that it could implement the Land Bill, etc. Then there was a discussion as to how to organise the demonstration.

Next morning the activists went out to the fields where work was going on. Groups of agricultural workers were taken on the spot as to the minimum required to continue the work and who would stay behind. The rest would leave everything right there and go over to the next group. By the time we covered the whole area, the procession was already formed and the march to the town began—about eight miles in the scorching sun.

Mainly agricultural labourers, they were shouting slogans not only when they were passing villages. Even where on both sides there was no human being to hear, they continued to shout. It was as if they were telling themselves that they had to defend the Government which guaranteed them minimum wages, which had saved them from evictions, which had passed legislation to give them land.

When we reached the town, we found similar demonstrations from other places had already arrived—1,500 from one area, 700 from another, 500 from a third and so on. The main procession was about 10,000 strong and the rally 30,000 while the Taluk Committee which organised it was expecting 3,000. The Opposition's "Deliverance Day" demonstration here had been 300-strong and its rally 2,500.

This was the real upsurge for anyone who had eyes to see. And it was an upsurge which could not have been seen sitting in the Raj Bhavan and listening to deputations organised by the Opposition.

What of the "upsurge" which Prime Minister Nehru has been extolling? The communal-obscurantist Sri Mannath Padmanabhan was the Commander-in-Chief of this "upsurge". Its leaders were the leaders of the defeated political parties. Those who non-cooperated with the Government were the bankers who refused to subscribe to the public loan, the big cultivators of Kuttanad who refused to cultivate their nearly one-and-a-half lakh acres of land, the big contractors who refused to bid at timber auctions of the Forest Department. The members of the Vimochana Samara Samiti Committees were the big landlords—those who owned anything from 1,000 to 10,000 acres of land.

But they did have the volunteers to do the picketing and attack buses and schools, though even here the figures are exaggerated. Far more interesting to see is who these demonstrators were. Most of them were hired volunteers—their daily wages ranging from one rupee to four rupees.

In Trivandrum City, they were composed of the Catholic fishermen from the coastal areas who were unemployed because this is not the fishing season. They were the ones who marched in the processions, attacked schools and school children and even police parties.

Remaining for five minutes together in any of the many bus depots in the State, you cannot escape hearing, "If you want to make one or two rupees, why don't you go for the picketing instead of wasting time here." This is the usual bus depot crowd who pick up a few annas a day carrying luggage or bringing tea to the passengers etc. A person was brought from a village—I think it was in Kozhikode taluk—without being told for what and he was sent among the volunteers to the Collectorate. Unfortunately he was one of those who were convicted. When his people in the evening heard what had happened, they went to the local leader's house and offered satyagraha saying he was responsible for

sending their bread-winner to jail!

There have also been voluntary volunteers—lawyers, mainly, journalists, ladies from the upper classes, etc. They watched the struggle for a few days and saw that all they had to do to become leaders and prospective candidates in the coming elections was to picket a Government office. There was no risk involved since picketers were only being removed and let off.

In Kozhikode a batch of them went for picketing one morning. The journalists had told their offices that they would be back for night duty, the lawyers had instructed their homes that food had to be kept for them. They were shocked to find themselves being sentenced to one month in jail. Next day quite some announced for picketing did not turn up at all.

It was surprising to find among the picketers people who had given up for years all Congress activity either because they had not been given Congress tickets or for other reasons. They all jumped into the fray and went to jail. One of them was honest enough to admit, "If I don't go to jail, there is not the ghost of a chance for me. Now at least I can make a fight for the Congress ticket in the coming elections."

Then there were a number of Congress leaders who were against the struggle, who were in favour of the Education Act, but who still went to jail because "we have to keep our position in the Congress."

There are plenty of reports of money having come from abroad mainly in the name of charity funds through Church organisations.

rally the Catholic masses during the struggle which are to be rung in cases of extreme danger to the Church were this time rung to mobilise volunteers for picketing and attacks on buses and schools and police parties. And these bells have a peculiar hold over the Catholic masses. The moment the bells begin ringing, their hearts begin to flutter everybody within hearing rushes to the Church to listen to what the priest has to say.

Pastoral letters from Bishops have been read in every Church. The pulpits have been used for regular political campaigning and mobilisation. And lastly, the threat of excommunication is held over everybody who is suspected to be sympathetic to the Communist Party or its Government.

And the Church did succeed with all this to rouse passions and create a religious frenzy among the Catholic masses. Just one instance will convey the extent of this frenzy. After the meeting of the Party's National Council in Trivandrum, some of the comrades went to see the beach. There a number of fishermen, Catholics, were gambling with cards. There was a Congress flag stuck on a pole and even the children were shouting that the Congress had won. One of the comrades just asked, "What about the Communists?" The reply from a child was, "If any Communist comes here, we will eat him alive."

There are plenty of reports of money having come from abroad mainly in the name of charity funds through Church organisations. To give just one example, there was the report of the Vicar of a Catholic Church in Meenachil Taluk in Kottayam District cashing more than 5,000 dollars worth of cheques from a Kottayam bank. All the cheques were in the name of various charity funds. The first casualty of the Centre's action has been the prestige of the Prime Minister himself, it is at the lowest in Kerala today. Including veteran Congressmen I have heard, the ordinary people say, "We didn't expect Pandit Nehru to do this."

All this is not to say that there were no masses at all in the struggle. There were and they were mainly Catholics—even those sections whose class interests should have put them against the struggle.

In Travancore, you will find people saying, apropos of nothing, "Until the Church bells cease to toll, there is no salvation for this State." They don't mean it literally in the sense that they wished to see all the Churches abolished; they are not even against the Catholics as a community; they are not sympathisers of the Communist Party. All that they mean is that they are sick of the way the Catholic hierarchy has dominated and manipulated the politics of Kerala. State.

It is worth noting how the Church, mainly the Catholic Church, used all its authority and exerted all its pressure to

Two Stormy Months In Kerala

by RAMDASS

There are other things interesting about this "mass upsurge."

● The "upsurge" did not travel beyond the towns, the villages were quiet.

● The entire Muslim belt in the Malabar area was untouched by it. Even in the rest of Malabar it was only very mild.

● The "upsurge" was mainly in the Catholic-dominated areas.

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AITUC CALLS FOR JOINT ACTION TO BRING DOWN PRICES

The AITUC Working Committee met in Delhi on August 8-10, 1959 to review the developments since the Bangalore Session of the General Council in January 1959; to discuss the work done at the 17th Indian Labour Conference in Madras in July this year; and to take decisions to further consolidate and strengthen the organisation and position of the AITUC.

COMRADE S. A. Dange MP, General Secretary of the AITUC in his report drew the pointed attention of the Working Committee to the threat to democracy and the working class arising out of serious attempts to consolidate the forces of the Right, comprising foreign imperialist finance, as well as the landlords, big capitalists and bankers of our own country.

Quoting from the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin itself (June 1959), Comrade Dange said that foreign business investments (non-banking) had increased from Rs. 255.83 crores in 1948 to Rs. 555.57 crores in 1957.

Such is the shocking revelation. And such are the developments when the Congress claims to be developing an independent economy and working for a Socialist future.

What does this mean for the country and for the workers? Most of this "increase" in investments is from the exploitation of our workers and our resources. Even while remittance of profits abroad continues, part of these super-profits arising out of our workers' surplus labour are re-invested. Thus is foreign investment increasing. We work to create their profits which are then either exported or reinvested to further entrench the imperialists in our economy. This only underlines the need for nationalising foreign interests.

The Working Committee took note of the grim food crisis developing in the country. The alarming rise in prices if allowed to continue would lead to a disastrous breakdown of the economy, observed the Working Committee in a resolution on the subject.

According to the Government's own statistics the working class Food Price Index has risen between April 1958 and April 1959 (base 1949 = 100) from 131 to 134 in Bombay, from 107 to 127 in Ahmedabad, from 117 to 133 in Nagpur, from 116 to 128 in Madras city, from 127 to 138 in Bangalore, from 132 to 141 in Kolar, from 128 to 138 in Hyderabad, from 113 to 126 in Ernakulam, from 85 to 91 in Kanpur and from 109 to 124 in Delhi. In Ludhiana the rise is from 89 to 105 and in Bhopal from 91 to 106 during the same period. Plantation centres have faced a rise in this index from 107 in April 1958 to 121 in April 1959.

This phenomenon in the background of the Government claims of increase in food production only means "that the hoarders and speculative banking interests, helped by the landlords in the country-side, are engineering this crisis in order to defeat the proposals of land reforms and the proposal to check speculative interests in the food trade by State Trading in food grains" (Working Committee Resolution).

The Working Committee emphasised that even where the dearness allowance (DA) is linked with the cost of living index, the rise in prices could not be covered. The experience of the workers is that the rise in prices and the fall in the value of currency is so rapid that it could not be covered by mere DA and rise in wages.

That is why the Working Committee came to the conclusion that a "positive campaign for reduction in prices and for cheap supply of necessities" alone could save the working class and fixed income groups.

It, therefore, called upon the workers "to rally all sections of the people to force the Government to take effective steps for seizure of stocks, de-hoarding and for supplies through fair price shops at controlled prices."

The AITUC requested "all central organisations of the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other popular forces to meet together and plan out an effective campaign and action on an all-India scale to bring down the prices and secure cheap supplies of food and other necessities."

The proposals were so draconian in their very look that even the INTUC could not lend its support to them.

Hence, it might be said that the attempt to load the Conventions and the law against the unions of the Left though not completely defeated has been thwarted to a large extent.

As a result of protests from the workers and unions that many trade unions and their officials sign agreements without reference to the workers concerned and even their own executives (as was particularly seen in Jamshedpur), the Government had proposed that the agreements should be exhibited on the notice-boards of the factory and any objections raised by the workers should be given consideration. The AITUC held that all these agreements should be ratified by the workers. But all the other central organisations and, of course, the employers opposed even the modest proposals of the Government.

It is the declared policy of the AITUC that in the case of competing claims from the unions, the issue of which was of a representative character should be decided by a ballot. The Bill proposed by the EMS Ministry in Kerala had incorporated this principle.

The HMS which had all along opposed ballot now agreed with the AITUC for ballot among members of the unions concerned. But the INTUC opposed even this.

As regards recognition of trade unions the 17th Tripartite not only did not make any headway but it was amazing that the

The Working Committee noted that since the Delhi and Nainital Tripartites had undertaken the task of evolving general conventions and principles affecting such vital problems as rationalisation, minimum wages, closures, recognition of trade unions, the code of discipline, etc., it was but natural that the 17th Tripartite ought to have reviewed the actual working of these conventions.

But precisely this was not done in any satisfactory manner. The 17th Tripartite failed to nail down the essential fact that the employers refused to work the Code in the proper spirit, and that the recognition of trade unions and collective bargaining which are the foundation pillars of industrial relations had made little progress under the earlier Conventions.

It is evident that the main ideas of these Conventions in the matter of recognition, conciliation, appeals, quickness of decisions, verification, ballot, etc., had to be incorporated in the Industrial Relations Law in the country and where the practice or the law conflicted with the Convention, the practice and the law had to yield to the Convention adopted.

This was what the Madras Tripartite was called upon to do. But curiously enough what was attempted by the Government, was to put more curbs on the trade-union rights. The State Governments, particularly of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, were keen

official line of thought was how to withdraw recognition from "inconvenient" unions.

The 17th Tripartite noted the sharp contrast that while the Bill proposed by the EMS Ministry provided for ballot, recognition, approval of agreements by workers, speedy settlements, cash on litigation and enlargement of TU rights, the other State Governments were contemplating legislation after the notorious Bombay Industrial Relations Act and trying to curb trade unionism and curtail trade-union rights and liberties.

Though attempts in this direction were stoutly resisted by the AITUC and in the main defeated, the working class has to exercise vigilance on this question and rebuff all such attempts.

The AITUC statement submitted to the Madras Tripartite summed up the position briefly in the following words:

"The Labour Minister, Sri Nanda, has personally intervened in the coal disputes and in the banking dispute. But such interventions while securing temporary relief, do not make up for a policy as a whole. They become only benevolent exceptions to a bad labour policy, which does not allow urgent questions of the life of the workers to be resolved in their favour as a natural result of a correct policy."

"The promises made at Nainital and the perspectives held before the workers have been belied for the most part. Where small fulfillments have been shown, they had to be extracted by the prolonged suffering and struggles of the workers."

"This not only shows the labour policy of the Government in actual practice, it also shows that what is called 'planned development' has no plan unless all these retrenchments, closures, victimisations, and lock-outs are a part of the 'plan' of the Government and the employers for better development of the profits of the gentlemen of private enterprise."

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This was what the Madras Tripartite was called upon to do. But curiously enough what was attempted by the Government, was to put more curbs on the trade-union rights. The State Governments, particularly of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, were keen

to introduce laws and modify the rules so as to strengthen the Government-sponsored and employer-approved unions of the INTUC and disarm the workers in their struggle for a better life. The official proposals were for permitting the Government officials to interfere in the day-to-day running of the unions, and ban the formation or obstruct the growth of unions which were not to their liking.

Call To Kerala Workers

THE Working Committee heard a report from the Secretary of the Kerala State TUC and adopted a resolution on Kerala. The Working Committee has hailed the outgoing Ministers of Kerala for a clean record of 28-months' rule in the favour of the workers and peasants. The various measures adopted and the laws passed have undoubtedly raised the status of the working people and afforded them urgent relief.

The Working Committee denounced the foreign planters, the bankers, landlords, vested interests and forces of communal and Catholic reaction for their attempts at organising a "little Spain" in Kerala.

The Working Committee of the AITUC has called on Kerala's workers to defend the gains of the last 28-months against all attacks from the vested interests during President's Rule.

The Working Committee in its resolution has called upon "all those workers, peasants and middle-class people, Christians, Muslims and Hindus who honestly differed from us, to think over again and ask themselves the question whether they were right in falling into the trap of the vested interests and lining up against the only Government that stuck to its pledges and made laws curbing the power of landlords and capitalists, conferred rights on the exploited workers and peasants and gave relief to the harassed people, to the extent that was possible within the limited power that it had under the Constitution and the short time that it had at its disposal."

The Working Committee has appealed to all the democratic forces in Kerala and the other States to denounce this violation of democracy and the forcible overthrow of "the first workers and peasants' Government" enjoying the confidence of the legislature in Kerala.

—Raj Bahadur Gour.

Tea Garden Workers' Demand From Page 2

gal Labour Minister admitted that the revision of minimum wages was one of the most pressing demands of the workers, and that the Government would shortly fix minimum wages for the Terai and the Dooras regions. The Minister, however, requested for more time to consult the Central and the Assam Governments.

But as regards the Darjeeling gardens, he said that the MWRAC would complete its work in September next, and the Government would announce its decision by the first week of October.

Comrade Monoranjan Roy, representative of the AITUC at the tripartite meeting held in Calcutta on August 5, pointed out that the reasons given by the State Labour Minister for the Government's decision not to fix minimum wages for the Darjeeling gardens along with that in the Terai and the Dooras were wholly untenable.

The workers could not be made to suffer, he stressed, for the failure of the MWRAC to complete its work in four years. Secondly, the Government had adequate powers under the Minimum Wages Act to fix mini-

imum wages on its own. The Government did invoke these powers when it raised the wages in July, 1955.

Govt. Employees Demonstrate

OVER 10,000 employees of the Central Government in Calcutta came out in a demonstration on August 7, in response to the call of the Coordination Committee of the 48 unions of different categories of employees.

Later, a big meeting was held which adopted a resolution urging upon the Central Pay Commission to submit its report by the end of this month. The resolution referred to the steady rise in the prices of commodities which had resulted in deterioration of their financial condition.

The meeting strongly criticised "thoughtless retrenchment" of employees under Sections 4(a) & (b) & 5 of the Service Conduct Rules and demanded full trade union rights for the employees.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

first-year. It has now to tread warily in the field of investments. And yet, the bitter lesson does not seem to have been learnt, for even now it is not precluded from "certain buying and selling operations when circumstances so warrant". The sins of the past having been ascribed to individual errors of judgement, no danger is apprehended from this discretion given to the group of people in charge of the LIC's investment operations. The fact that these include leaders of Stock Exchanges does not deter Sri Desai from trusting them with people's hard-earned savings.

Hence, to save the LIC from repetition of scandals of the type associated with the Mundhra deal as well, the use of its funds requires to be exclusively earmarked for the development of schemes in the public sector. Not to do so in the name of loyalty to "mixed economy" only betrays Sri Desai's and his Government's unconcern for socialism to which they all claim to be committed.

PAMPERING SUGAR MAGNATES

THE Government of India's decision last week to license additional capacity in the sugar industry synchronised with the statement of the Food and Agriculture Minister that the industry in collusion with trade was "exploiting the fall in sugar production this year to push up prices". Ascribing this fall to a decline in sugarcane output he also indicted certain factories for "charging higher than the controlled prices, without re-

vealing them in their books".

Judging from what the Minister said the remedy his Ministry has decided upon to fill the gap between supply and demand is not likely to yield much result, for, how can the new factories, either be prevented from indulging in practices of the type the existing ones have perfected? Nor, on the Minister's own admission, can any legal action be taken against them for want of a documentary evidence.

How did the Government manage to place itself in such an unenviable position of helplessness and impotency where even sure knowledge of anti-social practices leaves it no option but to be a passive spectator?

Judging from the figures of production, which even after allowing for the decline, could not be less than 19.2 lakh tons—and also the carry forward of 331,000 tons from the previous year (making a total of 22.51 lakh tons)—it would not seem that such a crisis could be brewing in an industry which as late as last year could afford to fix an export quota of nearly 1 lakh tons. More so when the total consumption in the country is not expected to cross 21 lakh tons. And yet the initiative for all these months lay with the manufacturer and the trader who between themselves managed to

considerably rig up the prices.

The only explanation that we can gather from the Minister's self-righteous statement is the piece-meal character of his control measures.

First, only the ex-factory prices were prescribed, which as we have seen the factory owners could flout with impunity. Then the percentage of produce, which the Government could requisition, was enhanced from 25 to any higher level. Later, certain dealers were licensed and certain arrangements for distribution made by "some of the State Governments". These steps were taken in stages to "avoid undue disturbance of the distribution channel", says the Minister. The result, however, was to block the "channel" altogether unless the price asked for was paid.

Even now when the evil wrought by his policy of procrastination is known, he fights shy of a bolder action (as for example, full-fledged state trading) on the basis of the "reluctance of State governments". The fruit of a similar prevarication in the matter of state trading in foodgrains having already come home to roost, it will not be surprising if he fares no better in salvaging sugar out of the clutches of well-entrenched sugar magnates. ESSEN

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U. P. CONGRESS BUBBLE

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retort to the Chief Minister, was referring to the serious charges of corruption that had been levelled on the floor of the Assembly against the Home and Education Minister, Sri Kamla-pati Tripathi. During the last session of the Assembly, Sri Sampurnanand had promised to inquire into the charges made against the Home Minister and had actually constituted himself into a one-man Commission to do so. But in the current session when he was asked about the result of his inquiry, he said that since two cases had been filed against Sri Raj Narain Singh, Socialist leader, who had brought those charges before the House, in connection with the same matters, he could not proceed with the inquiry!

Everybody, including his friend Sri Triloki Singh, PSP leader, told him that the court cases could have no bearing on his inquiry, but the Chief Minister was stubborn in his refusal to do anything further in the matter.

Meanwhile, the Ministerial Congress group too was not lagging behind in its efforts to discredit and destroy its Congress opponents. A "charge-sheet" running into some fifty foolscap pages, was prepared against the Gupta group and Sri Chaturbhuj Sharma, President of the UPCC, and sent to the Congress High Command. The charge-sheet was signed, among others, by the entire cabinet, with the exception of the Chief Minister.

It was, however, made known that it had the "blessing of the Chief Minister" also. A deputy Minister, Sri H. N. Bahugana was deputed to carry the precious document to Smt. Indira Gandhi at Delhi.

Among the charges reported to have been listed against the Gupta group are accusations of enrolling bogus members, running the Congress organisation in a factional manner, organising opposition to the Congress Ministry, undermining the prestige and strength of the State Congress, and so on.

Perhaps, many of these things are true. But they are true for the other group also. Thus, things were already moving towards an open clash. The non-Ministerialists were becoming restive. The Congress office has lost charm for most Congressmen, Guptalites included. Either they would get back into Ministerial posts, or walk out of the Congress—this has been the mental attitude of quite a big chunk of Congressmen belonging to the non-Ministerial group. They were only biding their time and waiting for the most opportune moment.

The Ministry today is isolated as never before. The Congress itself is suffering from the worst crisis it has known. Everyone of its policies has failed. It is being assailed from all sides. Mass movements are looming on the political horizon. The Kerala episode, strange as it may seem to some, has deepened distrust and created lack of respect for the high profes-

sions of the Congress High Command, Sri Nehru included.

So far, in the name of stability of the Ministry, the Congress High Command had given a free hand to the Chief Minister. Problems inside the Congress, which not infrequently reflected the problems facing the people of the State, were sought to be solved by organisational methods. Congressmen were shut up in the name of discipline or under the threat of expulsion from the organisation.

At the moment of writing Lucknow is full of rumours. Sri Sampurnanand is threatening mass expulsions, but that may be neither possible for him nor may he be allowed to indulge in them by the Congress High Command. The numbers of rebels is too big. He is also reported to be turning over in his mind the question of creating a couple of more Ministerial posts to tempt some of the dissidents!

On the other side, the non-Ministerialists are girding up their loins for further fight. Maybe some of them had thought of their present moves as a lever to blackmail the group in power, as is the wont of the present-day Congressmen, and extract a few seats in the Ministry. Something like this may yet be attempted, either by them, or by the Ministerial group, or by the Congress High Command or by all of them together.

The "dissident" Congress MLAs are now functioning openly as a distinct group, holding separately their meetings and consultations. They are also reported to have formally elected Sri Charan Singh as their floor leader. It is being said that he will make a statement on his resignation from the Ministry on August 21, the day fixed up by the Speaker, and then the whole group will cross the floor. The Secretariat of the UP State Council of the Communist Party has demanded the resignation of the Sampurnanand Ministry. The PSP and the Socialist Party, too, have demanded the same. The Communist Party is going to represent to the Governor and ask him to dismiss the Ministry which has forfeited the confidence of the House. It is also going to give a call for a State-wide observance of a day to demand the dismissal of the Ministry. It is trying to negotiate with other Opposition parties to fix up a common day for this demand.

LIC FUNDS FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR

THE Lok Sabha debate last week on the Life Insurance Corporation's (LIC) annual report for 1956-57 provided yet another occasion to the principal Government spokesman to wax eloquent on his loyalty to the concept of "mixed economy". Regardless of the fact that his fidelity to private sector had not been doubted by any participant in the debate (on the contrary it had been vehemently attacked) he chose to stress it even further with a fervour which certainly deserved to be reserved for better causes.

The LIC was brought into being three years back to take over the life insurance business till then conducted by private companies. The irregularities—often bordering on outright fraud—committed by these companies had provided the main raison d'etre for taking over this business from them. Underlying the step, however, was the need to mobilise the people's savings "for planned development of the country." Obviously, the essence of this development being a progressive strengthening of the public sector, the utilisation of the funds accruing from spread of insurance too could be understood only in this sense.

Now, however, the Finance Minister has disdainfully turned down this un-

derstanding to justify his policy of feeding the private sector out of these funds, on the plea that the Government's policy being that of a "mixed economy", both the limbs of the economy deserved to be equitably treated.

In his support Sri Morarji Desai has also cited the "assurance" of the then Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, that the private sector will not be made to suffer as a result of nationalisation of life insurance. And judging from the performance of this sector during the intervening years on the basis of financial support provided by the Government through various Finance Corporations as well as guaranteeing loans granted to it by International agencies, it cannot be said that this assurance has not been more than honoured.

The public sector, on the contrary, has had to pass and is still passing through a gruelling experience of paucity of funds, both indigenous and foreign. Whose is the greater need in this context—private sector's which has money aplenty, or the public sector's, which is literally starving for resources? If it is the latter—and even Sri Desai's frequent perorations on the subject amply prove it—why should even Rs. 75 crores of the LIC's funds be handed over to the private enterprise?

LIC has had a bad start—with the Mundhra scourge striking it in its very

