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# CHARGES THE KPCC FORGOT

## Summary Had More Of Them !

"One cannot but sympathise with the plight of the President of the KPCC who has at last published a copy of the memorandum which he had presented to the President of India more than a week ago", says Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad in a statement issued on July 21 giving his first reaction to the publication of the Memorandum. The statement further reads:

HE and his colleagues, for several weeks, told us that they were preparing a "charge-sheet" against the Government of Kerala—a document which will be the basis of a State-wide campaign of Direct Action. The President of the All-India Congress Committee had assured us that this "charge-sheet" will contain only such charges as are "clear and unassailable". A High Power Committee had been appointed to prepare such a charge-sheet.

Since preparations of such a well documented "charge-sheet" would take some time and since actual launching of Direct Action could not wait till then, we were told, a

thirty-seven point "summary" of the "charge-sheet" was being prepared. This "summary" of the "charge-sheet" was published on June 7 under the auspices of the Joint Action Council (of the KPCC, Kerala PSP and Muslim League) for use on June 12—"Deliverance Day".

Day after day since then, various details of the "charge-sheet" were made available, which was then in the womb of the High Power Committee appointed by the KPCC. The same machinery of propaganda and publicity which announced the thirty-seven point "summary" of the Joint Action Council broadcast news that, on a particular day appointed for the purpose the

"charge-sheet" will be presented by the President of the KPCC to the President of the Indian Union, and to the Governor of the State by the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature.

Suddenly, however, we were told that what was first called a "charge-sheet" had been changed into a memorandum; that it would not be simultaneously presented to the President and Governor; and that it would not be presented to the Governor by the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature.

We would have understood if it were merely a change on the part of the Congress Party in the Legislature. We would have understood if it were merely a change of name from the original "charge-sheet" to the present memorandum. But we find that there are important variations between the thirty-seven point "summary" "charge-sheet" prepared by the Joint

# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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Action Council and the full text of the "memorandum" (now presented) published by the KPCC. The "summary" contains quite a few points which are absent in the full text!

For example,

1. Point 9 of the "summary" makes the assertion that the State treasury of Kerala is empty because of looting that had been resorted to by the present Government of Kerala. There is no such assertion in the full text which only says "it is widely believed," etc. etc. This is, of course, typical of these "clear and unassailable"

charges about which the Congress president boasted in one of her statements.

2. Point 2 of the "summary" stated that, because of the fact that the treasury is empty, the Five-Year Plan is not progressing and many of the amounts allotted in the Plan have lapsed. This is totally absent in the full text.

3. Point 22 of the "summary" had made the statement that the Government is making laws and regulations calculated to stop working of the private managements in educational institutions. This too is absent in the present full text.

4. Point 31 of the "summary" referred to the recruitment of Special Police by the Government. This too is absent in the full text.

The President of the KPCC and the other Congress leaders would be hard put to it to explain this metamorphosis of the original thirty-seven point "summary" of the Joint Action Council's "charge-sheet" into the KPCC's present thirty-three point "memorandum".

One may, however, ignore these discrepancies between the "summary" and "full text" and admit that they resemble each other. I had an occasion to remark about the "summary" when it was published, that it was a catalogue of oft-repeated statements. I am sorry to note that this applies to the now published full text as well.

In fact, anybody who compares the full text of the note submitted nearly a year ago by the then Congress President, Sri Dhebar, to the Congress Working Committee with the present "memorandum" of the KPCC to the Rashtrapati, will wonder why the High Power Committee of the KPCC took such a long time in preparing the present "charge-sheet" transformed into "memorandum". The major part of it is only a repetition of its twin sister, Sri Dhebar's note to the Working Committee. There is virtually nothing that is new in this "memorandum".

Most of the replies to the thirty-three point memorandum now published, can, therefore, be given by re-editing and collating replies which we had given previously. We propose to do it in a couple of days.

May I, in the meanwhile, ask the leaders of the KPCC and the AICC why they have not cared to give their rejoinder to replies which we had given to Sri Dhebar when he, in his note, had made more or less the same assertions that are made in the present "memorandum"?

## HOME CONSTITUENCY DISOWNS SRI DHEBAR

Upleta in Saurashtra had blessed its stars. Fortune had favoured it for had it not been given the singular honour of helping to elect Sri U. N. Dhebar to the Legislative Assembly?

He knew how to please and soon enough the Chief Ministership of Saurashtra was his. As was only to be expected his constituency was happy and in all sincerity Upleta municipality accorded him an address.

A Congress President had to be found and the Man from Upleta knew when and where to be around. His reward came. But alas! Under his stewardship the Congress registered its steepest decline. And the ultimate horror—Kerala slipped out of the net.

DHEBARBHAI rushed about and eventually got round to gathering "impressions" which he was able to foist on a none-too-reluctant Working Committee.

But recently the really sordid business began. The confabulations with the Kerala satraps, the drafting of instructions with understandable "mis-understandings" which led straight to violence.

Dhebarbhai had forgotten Upleta but not, unfortunately, Upleta him. Disgusted and distraught at what was going on in Kerala, its Municipality lashed out in an unanimously passed resolution on July 17.

It condemned the "un-constitutional and undemocratic agitation" in Kerala and called on Prime Minister Nehru and the High Command to see that

the Congress withdraw from it.

And then the Municipality turned its wrath on Dhebarbhai. Here are the words of anger, roused by a sense of outrage:

"Shri Dhebar has, in the name of High Command given a green signal to join direct action agitation which is not only anti-democratic and unconstitutional, but which is being led by communalists

and vested interests of Kerala. Kerala Congress leader Shri Chacko has owned publicly that Shri Dhebar has given them direction.

"Shri Dhebar's misleading direction has created not only tense and violent atmosphere in Kerala but has endangered the very political system of parliamentary democracy in our country.

"Shri Dhebar is known for his such underhand dealings in the political circles of Saurashtra, while he was Chief Minister of this State. With elevation to the upper hierarchy of Congress High Command, he is using his past experience of underhand dealings on a national plane.

"If he would not have given this direction, the unconstitutional, undemocratic agitation in Kerala would have fizzled out long back.

"If he would not have given a green signal to the direct action plan, Prime Minister Nehru would have asserted himself and openly condemned this agitation.

"Upleta Municipality considers that Shri Dhebar's shameful dealings is to a great extent responsible for the present situation in Kerala. And hence it becomes incumbent duty of the elected representatives of his past electorate to openly and publicly disapprove his role in Kerala agitation AND AS A MEASURE OF THEIR STRONG DISAPPROVAL, GENERAL BODY MEETING OF THE UPLETA MUNICIPALITY RESOLVES TO REMOVE FROM ITS OFFICE ADDRESS (मानपत्र) ACCORDED TO HIM BEFORE."

Alongside is the photostat of the letter the chairman of the municipality has written to New Age.

wa. om. 617



MUNICIPALITY OFFICE  
UPLETA Dt. 17-7-1959

To, The Editor, New Age Weekly,  
714, Asaf Ali Road, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed herewith copies of two resolutions passed by the Special General-Board meeting of Upleta Municipality.

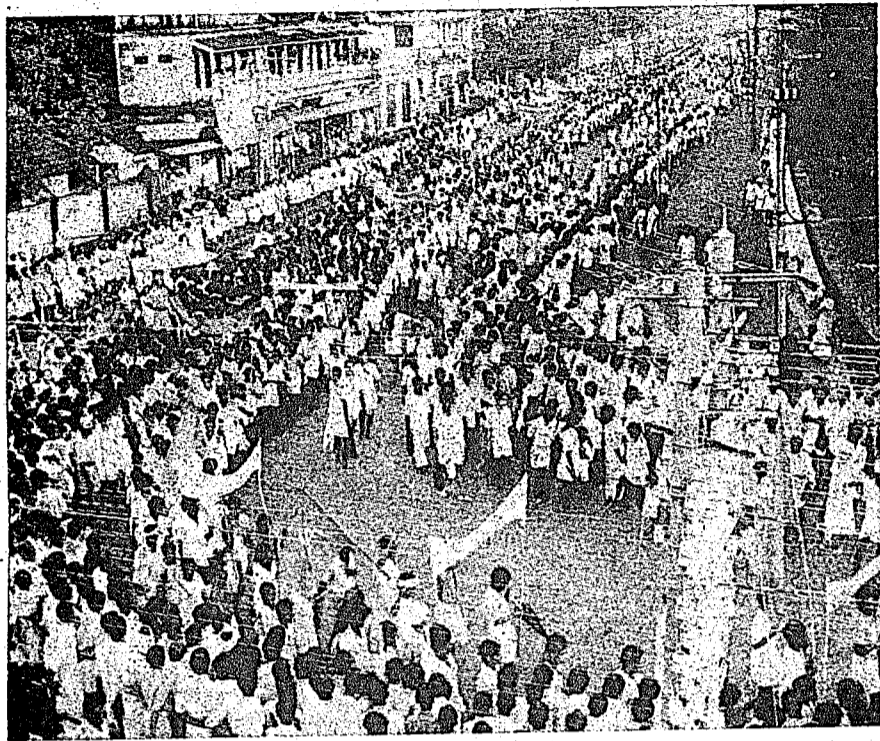
Upleta is the constituency of Shri Dhebar. He was elected to the Saurashtra Assembly from here. Now elected representatives of his home constituency not only rejects his policy but condemns his underhand dealings with Kerala Pradesh Congress, and has resolved to remove Address accorded to him in past.

These are important resolutions and we hope that you will give wide publicity in your press.

4181, 2/10/59  
President  
Municipality Upleta



# ERNAKULAM REFUSES GOONDA



Mammoth demonstration held on July 12 at Ernakulam to support Government.

## ★ From Our Correspondent

The "liberation" struggle in Ernakulam district has now become an utterly tame affair—excepting for stray cases of assault and intimidation. The dominant reality now is the big mass upsurge, in support of the Government.

THE "liberators" could mobilize only Catholics. Even from among them they were not able to mobilize all, despite whipping up religious feelings with the false propaganda of "the Church in danger" on the one hand and by openly displaying the threat of denial of holy sacraments to those who were not prepared to toe the line of the Church hierarchy. Having collected all the "faithful" they proceeded to arm them with sticks and knives. Open incitement to violence was carried on from the pulpit.

Several important figures in the Church hierarchy were recalled from their sojourn in the U.S. Rev. Fr. Sains, Principal of the Sacred Hearts College, Ernakulam, and Rev. Fr. Jerome of the Manjummel Monastery near Ernakulam are two of them. The Archbishop of Ernakulam, the Very Rev. Parakkattil had returned from Rome just before the agitation started. All the important priests who had some foreign connections had written to their friends abroad about the situation in Kerala, evidently to arouse sympathy and to garner funds for the agitation. (One such letter is given in a separate box on this page).

As a result of all these efforts they must have amassed a real fortune to be used in the agitation.

The gang of armed agitators the Church was able to let loose—subsequently given the name of "popular upsurge"—had a very bad effect on the course of the agitation itself. They began to indulge in acts of violence against other communities—the scheduled castes and other back-

ward communities and even Nairs were their victims. Here are a few instances of violence by the Church "army" against the common people in Ernakulam District:

Chellanam (Cochin taluk) on June 1. At noon a procession, was held by the armed band organized by the vicar of the St. Sebastian's church. The leaders were Kalapurakkal Cheeku, Antony, Kottiparambil Michal, Kootungal Mathai Bapputtu, all known rowdies. They all displayed sticks and knives and were drunk. On their way the processionists demolished the hedges of some compounds and the owners intervened. There was a clash resulting in minor injuries on both sides.

Chellanam (Cochin taluk) on June 2. Just before a procession started under the leadership of Sri B. M. Peter, Congress leader, industrialist and landlord, a Communist sympathiser Sri K. K. Kumaran who went that way was assaulted by one Kootungal Thoman Babu, a well known rowdy. Later the men who had collected including the above mentioned Babu lined up and went in a procession, all of them holding

sticks and knives and shouting provocative slogans. Edappally (Kanayanoor taluk) on June 5. About 250 fused electric bulbs were seized from a shop run by Sri P. V. Joseph, president of the local ward Congress Committee. Ankamali (Alwaye taluk) on June 5. Six of the accused in the case regarding stone throwing at Sri Kannan's wife and child were arrested. One Madassery Thoma, a rowdy of Mookkannoor Alwaye, threw stones at the police party travelling in a motor van after the arrest. He was also arrested. Immediately the bells of the churches in the locality began ringing and about 700 persons were thus collected, all armed with sticks and knives. The Churches where the bells rang are the following:— (1) Mookkannoor Orphanage Chapel, (2) Mookkannoor, (3) Karukutti, (4) Thuravoor, (5) Edakunni, (6) Ankamali. They marched to the Ankamali Police Station and demonstrated before it. The main slogan of the demonstrators was "the police is no match for us".

A gang entered the Karayamparambu toddy shop and smashed the bottles and glasses and assaulted the manager. He escaped with his life in a bus that came that way at the moment.

Kuttillanji (Muvattupuzha taluk) on June 6. Two blacksmiths manufacturing country guns were arrested with the parts of guns. On enquiry it was found that the guns were being made for one Mekamall Thoma Joseph.

Mattanchery Town on June 6. Members of the INTUC branch, Mattanchery, Mandan Ummer and Kshema Mohammed, both rowdies, entered the Purogama Samskarika Kala Samiti (Progressive Cultural Arts Club) office forcibly and destroyed the musical instruments there. They took out daggers and those in the office had to run for their lives.

Chathedamthuruth (Parur taluk) on June 10. Sarvasri Vellakkathoottu Raphael Thomas, Olatupurath Cheeku Kochu-Thomas and Panakkal Thomas Pallikutty were assaulted by the local Church gang under the leadership of one Chirayath Michael Saintslavos for the fault of publicly saying that the closure of schools will do no good to the poor Catholics. The first two of them were grievously hurt.

Muvattupuzha Town on June 12. A shop which refused to close down was attacked by picketers who were going about forcing a hartal under the leadership of a rowdy named Loth.

Chathedamthuruth (Parur taluk) on June 12. After the silent procession in connection with the hartal Sri Olatupurath Thomas George and Sri Konath Ousepukutty Pathrose were assaulted by a Church gang under the leadership of one Cheramanathuruth Ouseph Ittyerah.

On June 13, an armed crowd of about 5,000 attacked the Ankamali Police Station and the police had

to resort to firing in self-defence. A number of toddy shops owned by the Parur Taluk Toddy Tappers Cooperative Society were attacked and property worth Rs. 25,000 was destroyed. Sri Parayat Kuttan Menon, a prominent Nair of Kalady was attacked and brutally beaten on June 13 by the armed gang just before they launched their attack on the Ankamali Police Station.

After the police firing at Ankamali there was a lull in the sporadic acts of violence in this district, for a few weeks, in spite of the intensification of the agitation. Now that the agitation is petering out they are again resorting to violence. Just a few among scores of instances are given below.

On July 5 a number of individuals were attacked by a procession from the Vypeen Church and they had to be admitted into the hospital for treatment. The Church gang was trying to intimidate the fisherfolk and the harjans; so that they may not support the Government openly.

A gang of 30 INTUC members of Mattanchery on July 7 beat Sri K. K. Narayanan and he had to be admitted into the hospital.

Stones were thrown at a State Transport Bus near Ankamali on July 11. The driver was beaten and two passengers were injured by the stone throwing.

At Neeleswaram on July 12 a pan shop owned by Sri Kuttappan was attacked and destroyed by the local Church gang.

A gang of INTUC members entered the Thirumala Devaswam High School

# TO GET "LIBERATED" BY WARRIORS



Meeting of representatives of political, cultural and other mass organisations on July 6.

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on July 13 and destroyed school property worth Rs. 500.

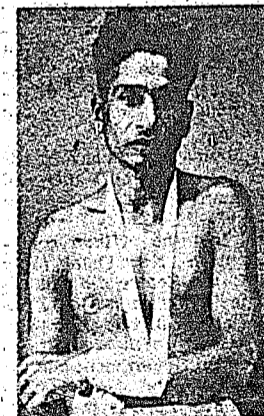
A Church gang under the leadership of one Antony attacked a Student Federation squad led by Sri Thahir on July 14.

A Church gang attacked a beedi worker of Mattanchery on July 15.

Throughout the period of the agitation the common people have expressed themselves in favour of the Kerala Government. This was evident on the day the agitation was formally inaugurated with a hartal, i.e. June 12. Most of the big shops closed. Most of the smaller ones which far outnumbered the bigger ones opened in spite of intimidation and threats. About 70 per cent of the shops and establishments were kept open. About 10 per cent more which closed in the morning as batches of volunteers came and made dire threats. They opened after the volunteers moved off.

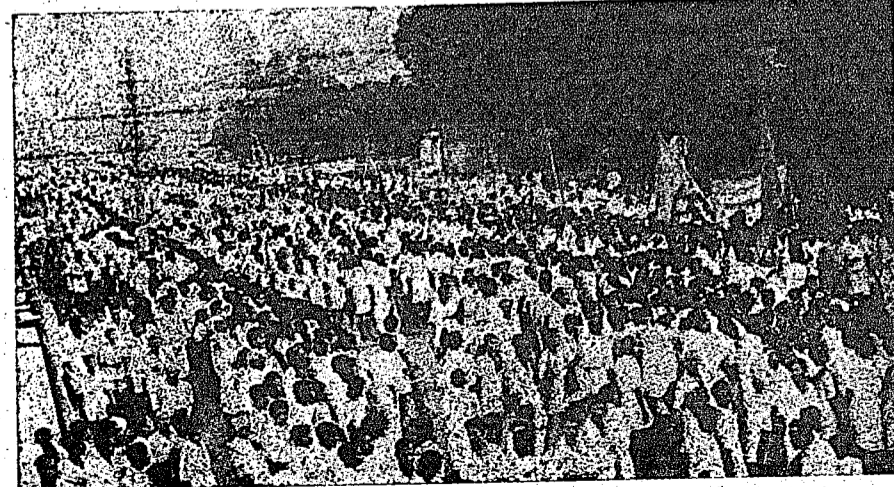
In the course of the agitation there were two attempts at a general strike of the workers. Both attempts failed miserably. The first was in conjunction with the hartal on June 12 and the number of strikers was very small. Figures relating to the second attempt on June 29, which was more concerted, are given below:

Factory or trade	Total workers	Striking workers
Coir yarn spinners	15,000	do
Coir rope workers	500	do
Handloom weavers	2,000	do
Beedi workers	3,000	do
Stevedore workers (Cochin Port)	7,000	1,800 not on strike but denied work
Port installations	1,300	Nil
Port canal workers	1,000	do
Railway good shed workers	600	50
Godown workers	2,300	230
Port lighter workers	2,000	Nil
Commercial employees	700	do
Coir factories	3,500	245 of these were locked out.
	73,586	2,466
Fertilizers & Chemicals	2,747	Nil
Indian Aluminium	1,000	do
Textile workers	1,850	do
Glass factory	316	36
Tile factories	1,073	40
Travancore Rayons	1,100	Nil
Tata Oil Mills	1,200	do
Petroleum Installation	1,080	do
Motor boat workers	400	do
Motor bus (private)	1,500	do
State Transport (bns)	800	do
Press workers	1,000	15
Municipal workers	1,100	Nil
Hotel & shop	10,000	do
Bamboo mat weavers	2,500	do
Rickshaw pullers	900	do
Saw Mills	2,100	do
Plantation workers	4,000	do



Sri A. K. Kumaran

Victims of Goonda war. Left to Right: Sarvasri K. Sreedharan; A. A. Vasu; P. V. Narayan; Smt. Koma; Sri A. R. Koladhari.



Another view of the demonstration of July 12.

## PADRE WRITES TO U. S. FRIEND

PAZ CHRISTI

J. M. J. T.

St. Teresa's Monastery, Bannerji Road, Ernakulam-1, S. India - 22-5-1959.

My dear Mrs. Cey,

Now I must tell you a very sad news about the Church in Kerala. As you know, the Communists have been trying to oppress us in various ways since the last 2 years. Now they have enacted laws based on their new Educational Bill, with the effect that private management of schools have been impossible unless we teach Communist doctrines and appoint Communist teachers in our schools.

Such being the case the Kerala Catholic bishops (3 Arch-bishops and 13 bishops) and other Christian bishops have decided not to open the schools next June 1st, after the mid-summer vacation. Throughout the country, there is only unrest and commotion about this. The Communist Government have already recruited thousands of Communist scoundrels who will stand against the opening the schools. You know this means persecution of a good number of Catholics as well as non-Catholics who are not Communist. All the parishes throughout the State have been busy in organizing Christopher volunteers to protect the schools at the cost of their life. This is such a crisis the Church in Kerala in its 1500 years of existence has never had to face. We are reasonably expecting a scene similar to that which happened in Hungary.

So you see we are already on the brim of danger which only the intervention of heaven can avert.

If I happen to be able to write to you, I will tell you all the details of the crisis; I mean if I am still alive.

You may send the letters to me, since the postal services is under the Union Government of India, we may get the letters etc. safely.

Please convey my love and regards to your husband, Richard, Maney Anne and particularly to my Chris.

To Mrs. Cecilia Cey, 11-44-44th Drive, Long Island City, NEW YORK.

64- Fr. Cyriac O.C.D., St. Teresa's Monastery, Bannerji Road, Ernakulam.



# ALL OVER AGAIN

THOSE who will not let the people of Kerala live and work in peace, under their duly elected Government, are back at Delhi with their old tricks and demands. Their moves and steps have a sinister sameness and their words louder and more vicious. They are the power-politicians at bay. They refuse to accept the verdict of their own people. They desperately demand New Delhi stage a rescue operation.

## Their Charge-Sheet

They had their say before but there was so little substance in their oft-repeated complaints that their "charge-sheet" had to be vetted, and rewritten over and over again for a whole week inside the AICC office under the very eyes of Shri Dhebarhai and Sadiq Ali Sahab, from whom they had drawn all their inspiration. It had further to be rechristened into a Memorandum before it could be presented to the Rashtrapati. The High Command hesitated before sanctioning its publication.

It has been published today and even a cursory glance at it will tell any careful newspaper reader that it is nothing new but only a rehash of the old report of Shri Dhebar. The statement of Kerala Chief Minister, highlights the birthpangs suffered by the KPCC. His last rejoinder kept Dhebarhai shut up for some months. We can assure our readers that Comrade Nambodiripad's coming rejoinder will be such as to teach the Dhebarhaibhai that it does not pay in the year 1959 to father falsehood and soil the political life of our country.

What is the worth of that chargesheet that was not published before starting the struggle? It is being brought out now only to keep it on its legs, not for the verdict of the people of Kerala who know its real worth but for propaganda outside and give New Delhi a plausible pretext to intervene?

## Not Wiser But Madder

LAST time they met the Prime Minister, other Cabinet Ministers and the President but drew a blank.

The Prime Minister had denounced their picketing, etc. but they know that Pandit Nehru is a man of words and not action and they could carry on as it suited them in Kerala.

They certainly knew what was common knowledge in New Delhi that the Union Law Ministry thought that they had failed to make a case for Central intervention.

They met the Rashtrapati and certainly knew what the Times of India (July 12) published that he was for avoiding "extreme measures" and for bringing about "peacefully an amicable settlement", thereby "ensuring cooperation between opposing creeds in the State".

Kerala's Chief Minister and Opposition leaders did their New Delhi round together. EMS found the situation "very good" (Hindustan Times, July 11) and concluded that "immediate intervention was not likely" (Times of India, July 12). KPCC chief Shanker shrieked that early Presidential intervention constituted "our hope" (Hindustan Times July 11) and next

day felt confident to state that it will come "in time" (Times, July 12). He and his mentors knew the soft spots inside the Congress High Command and its split mind and went about their devilish job with great urgency.

## Inside Kerala

COMRADE Nambodiripad has very realistically described the Congress tactics as a two-pronged offensive of intervention from above, and direct action from below. When Sankar & Co. found that the Congress High Command above hesitates to move, they put on the heat from below.

Inside Kerala, the week 9-15 July was organised as an "intensification of struggle" week. Despite all their efforts to draw contingents from all the ten districts of Kerala their 15th July rally held amidst all-clear weather was outmatched next day 16th July by the Communist rally held amidst pouring rains and with contingents drawn from one Trivandrum district alone.

On 15th July their much publicised convention of opposition MLAs and representatives of local bodies was held where they were to announce their resignations en masse but they got cold feet and demanded instead the resignation of the Communist Ministry!

The firm and principled resolution of the National Council of our Party sent the opposition leaders into jitters and their desperation grew and they have come to their present tactics of all-out efforts to intensify their struggle within Kerala and all-out bid to get Central intervention from Delhi.

Inside Kerala picketing of schools and buses has proved unpopular and so they are concentrating upon mass picketing of collectorates and Government offices. Hired volunteers supply the numbers and mostly Catholic and Nair women and children respectability and the need emotions. They have put their all in the present campaign of mass picketing.

Simultaneously violent attacks are being organised against Communists and Government supporters, Party offices and the like. Such incidents are daily increasing and are meant to create the impression of insecurity and the break-down of law and order. This part of the opposition operation is being covered up by the press campaign about the "goonda army" the Communist Party has let loose!

Kerala's opposition leaders are acting like political gangsters, real desperadoes. They are resorting not only to political hooliganism but also economic sabotage. The Financial Editor of the Times of India on July 15 reports that the Travancore Cochin Bankers Association has circularised all the local banks to boycott the Kerala Government loan for development purposes due to be floated next month under the Planning Commission's directions because Kerala's Debt Relief Act and Agrarian Relations Act "stifle" their operations!

Kuttanad is the rice bowl of Kerala. The Indian Express of July 16 reports that its landlords have refused to start agricultural operations to contribute their bit for the overthrow of the Government which dared to pass the Act of land to the tiller!

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

## Campaign Plan

THE Kerala opposition has inadvertently paid a big tribute to the all-India campaign organised by our Party against Central intervention and in defence of the Kerala Ministry. Then the KPCC decided to despatch about twelve opposition leaders to the four corners of the country.

Nair Chief Mannam openly said that the purpose of his propaganda tour was "to remove the false impression" of Communist propaganda. The countrywide press and eminent personalities protest against Central intervention and the Parliamentary Board's resolution was not the creation of Communist propaganda alone. It was inherent in the democratic tradition of our country. Our Party was defending the just cause of Indian democracy. Our Ministry was being threatened with an unconstitutional attack from above and was manfully and very humanely facing up to an illegal reactionary revolt from below. We won the good wishes of all good men for we are defending the good cause.

The Opposition can get nothing of the kind for they are defending reaction within Kerala and that too by violent and illegal methods and demanding an arbitrary coup from above in violation of the Indian Constitution.

It is no accident that ex-Chief Minister Panampilly was partnered by Ashok Mehta and one can easily imagine the response of Calcutta citizens to the couple. In New Delhi, the Nair grandee Mannath Padmanabhan was partnered by the arch-priest of all lost causes Acharya Kripalani.

## Munshi—The Mastermind

THE isolation of Kerala's Congress leaders from healthy Congress opinion is so great that when they learnt that the Union Law Ministry was not impressed by their case for Central intervention and their charge-sheet had failed to make a decisive hit they summoned Sri K. M. Munshi as Adviser. It may sound unbelievable but it is true. It is no Communist discovery but writ large on the front page of the Hindu, July 17.

Sri K. M. Munshi is the ex-Congress leader who as Union Food Minister became notorious as the Famine Minister. He was removed and installed as Governor of Uttar Pradesh where he operated in a manner as to become unpopular even with the Congress High Command. He inevitably found his way into the lap of the Swatantra Party, the political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise, in Pandit Nehru's words. How cursed are the Congress leaders of Kerala that they seek Sri Munshi's advice and guidance!

The Catholic Bishops paid for the three-man Kerala lawyers' delegation to New Delhi and Sri Munshi helped to draft their Memo to the President which is a crude example of anti-Communist demagoguery in none-too-clever legal jargon.

Shri Munshi may be a bad jurist but he is an influential and experienced reactionary politician of the blackest hue. His chief passion now-a-days

is anti-Communism. He gave new contacts and sinister advice to Kerala's opposition leaders in their anti-Communist crusade.

## New Allies—New Slant

LAW-breakers could not very well talk of the rule of law, violators of the Indian Constitution within Kerala could not very well appeal in the name of the same Constitution in New Delhi. Sri Munshi's contribution was to concentrate upon making it an issue of Communism vs. anti-Communism.

Sri Munshi glorified the Kerala opposition for organising a movement "more Gandhian than the one against the British Government in early thirties." He asserted that the Constitution was collapsing in Kerala and concluded that it was the duty of "every democratic citizen to resist the spread of Communism." (Hindu July 18)

The Kerala Lawyer's Memo has it in a louder tone "On the Kurukshetra of Kerala will be decided the issue of Communism vis-a-vis Bharat."

From Kerala Sri Munshi went with the Catholic KPCC Secretary to Bangalore and activated his old friend V. P. Menon who as the blue-eyed boy of Mountbatten claims to have persuaded Sardar Patel to accept partition and later became his favourite as the Secretary of the State Ministry. Speaking in Madras he "cautioned the Central Government that if the mass upsurge in the State was quelled and the Communists succeeded now it would forebode evil not only to Kerala but to the entire country." (Hindu, July 20)

Acharya Kripalana has charged the Union Home Minister with "dereliction of duty." (Times of India July 12)

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan is the clearest, "The Communists had no faith in caste, dharma or truth, they should be classified as lepers." And more, he asked "the Centre to take a lesson from the Kerala events and prohibit the Communists from contesting elections in other parts of India. In fact the Communist Party should be driven out of the country." (Times of India, July 20)

Every sane person knows that the issue in Kerala and the country is not Communism vs. anti-Communism. The real issue is whether a legal non-Congress Government should be smoked out by the ruling party organising an illegal movement from below and intervening unconstitutionally from above. It is just because this is the simple issue that the opposition movement and demand has been opposed by the bulk of the Indian nationalist press and by well-known public figures who are otherwise themselves opposed to Communism not only ideologically but politically as well.

The scare of anti-Communism is being deliberately raised to rally all reactionary opinion not only outside the Congress but also inside, against the Kerala Government and its right to rule as long as it commands a majority inside the legislature.

From Inside The High Command THIS reactionary pressure to violate the Indian Constitution is being aided from inside

the High Command. The Parliamentary Board's resolution proved so unpopular that few top Congress leaders dare come out to campaign for it. But Sri Dhebar and Morarji Desai are bolder.

Dhebarhai is an old sinner against Kerala and despite the notoriety his authorised and unauthorised doings regarding Kerala have won him, he continues to play his dirty game. At Gandhigram he said "mid-term elections were the only way out of the present situation in Kerala." (Indian Express, July 16). It is no wonder that KPCC President Sankar rushed to him as the fatherless child in distress run to his mother!

Sri Morarji is known as Dhebarhai's close partner. He has also opened out once at Bombay and again at Ahmedabad. "There was nothing undemocratic in holding a mid-term election... A party wedded to totalitarian principles was trying to dovetail them into a democratic framework. This anti-thesis was at the root of the Kerala upsurge... Only the Central Government could now help retrieve the Kerala situation." (Times of India, July 19)

Thanks to our national tradition and the vigilance of our people, the Dhebar-Morarji writ does not pass unchallenged. It would however be folly to ignore their words and the influence and weight they carry inside the Congress High Command.

## Pressure And Blackmail

THE Kerala opposition leaders are camping and campaigning at Delhi, lobbying the President, Prime Minister, Union Ministers and the press. The Madras Mail (July 19) carries the report "Non-Congress leaders of Kerala who are now in Delhi made it clear in talks with the press that the fate of the people of the State should not depend on and could not be made subservient to the constitutional hesitations of the President and the Cabinet. Also the people should not be condemned to suffer 'Communist misrule' for fear of repercussions in Congress-ruled States."

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan is being put up as the leader and spokesman of the "liberation struggle". He told the Hindu correspondent in New Delhi (July 18) "If the Centre did not intervene in Kerala not only the people of Kerala but also others in the country will lose faith in the Central Government and the Congress Party because they would have failed in their duty... If they failed to do so the Central Government's own position would be weakened and the menace of Communism would spread all over the country."

Earlier in Bombay he had stated "In spite of what was happening in Kerala the Central Government did not feel the necessity why should there be a Central Government at all?"

When Pandit Nehru went to Trivandrum, they pressurised him with the argument: If you pull the Congress out of the direct action movement, the Kerala Congress will go under.

\* ON PAGE 13

# "HANDS OFF KERALA"

## Resounds All Over W. Bengal

From Ajoy Das Gupta

While the "generals" of the "liberation struggle" are making anxious and hectic journeys to Delhi to plead for Central intervention, the people of West Bengal are surging forward to defeat the anti-democratic, anti-Constitutional attempts to overthrow the Communist-led Kerala Ministry.

THE "Hands Off Kerala" movement, which began with a bang in Calcutta, has now spread like wild fire throughout the State. All sections of the people are coming in the vortex of the movement, with the working class playing an ever more prominent role.

The high lights of the movement during this week were a two-thousand strong demonstration in South Calcutta, innumerable meetings in villages and mofussil areas, cross-country processions in the Hooghly District covering eleven municipalities, including the Corporation of Chandernagore in which the Mayor, Chairman and Councillors and Commissioners participated, and finally an appeal to the President of the Indian Union sent by 60 prominent citizens of Calcutta. This week also saw some attempts on the part of the anti-Communist front to come before the Calcutta people with their views.

## Another Projection Of Forum

THE PSP is taking the lead in this anti-Kerala Government campaign. Its mouth-piece "Lok Sevak" publishes all sorts of canards. A mushroom organisation by the name of "Kerala Socialist Democratic Front" (KSDF) has sprung up, which has put up a large number of posters and attempted to distribute leaflets containing blood-curdling stories. The key man of this organisation is Sri K. T. Kleetus, a Tata officer and one of the leaders of the Forum of

Free Enterprise, and Sri Joseph Cherumal, leader of the USIS-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom. While distributing leaflets the "members" of this KSDF were chased away by the people of South Calcutta. The PSP volunteers met a similar fate.

After all this hectic activity Sri Asoka Mehta and Sri Panampalli Govinda Menon came down to Calcutta and jointly held a meeting at the Maidan. A meagre crowd of four thousand or so attended. The speakers while trying to convince the Calcutta people that one and half crore Malayalees are against the Communist-led Ministry, expressed their regret and chagrin that people of Calcutta and West Bengal were being misled by the Communists!

Indeed their chagrin can be understood. The appeal to the Rashtrapati which was mentioned last week has been signed by hundreds of prominent citizens of West Bengal, from all walks of life — professors, engineers, scientists, jurists and lawyers, writers, film artistes, singers, physicians, journalists and others.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, D. L. eminent jurist; Sri Sachindra Nath Sen Gupta, member All-India Sangeet Natak Akademi, Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya of Calcutta University; Sri Satyajit Roy, the internationally famed film director; Sri Mihir Sen, the Channel swimmer; Sri Hemanta Mukherjee and Srimiti Suchitra Mitra, famed singers; Sri Sidhartha-Sankar Roy, MLA, ex-judicial Minister, Government of West Bengal; poets Ajit Dutt and Bimal Ghosh; barristers S. K. Acharya; Sadhan Gupta; Sri Maya Roy; physicians Dr. Nihar K. Munshi, Amiya Basu, and Congress Councillors of Calcutta Corporation Sri Dulal Dey, Sri Sudhangshu Seti; Dr. B. D. Nag Choudhury of Calcutta Science College and Dr. D. N. Ganguly of Paloo Institute — these are among some of the prominent personalities who have signed the appeal, besides those mentioned last week.

Meetings and demonstrations were held in Calcutta as well as remote districts like Coochbehar and Purulia, in which peasants and refugees, apart from town people from all walks of life, joined in. Working-class areas in and around Calcutta are also being rocked by huge demonstrations. In Khandah, an industrial town, 2,550 workers sent a petition to the President within six days.

Congressmen are also coming forward to protest against

the attitude of Congress High Command. Sri Amarendra Nath Mukherjee, President of the Uttarpara Congress Committee and other members sent an appeal to the President on their own. Former AICC member and prominent educationist Sri Rajkumar Chakrabarty issued a statement condemning the present movement against the Kerala Government.

The decision of the National Council of the Party to intensify and extend the "Hands Off Kerala" movement to defend democracy and the Constitution has further enthused the people and August 3 will see unprecedented mobilisation of the people of West Bengal.

## Anti-Strike Bill

SRI Abdul Sattar, the Labour Minister of West Bengal touched a veritable hornet's nest when he placed a draft of a Bill on the regulation of the employees of welfare institutions before the State Labour Advisory Committee. The Bill proposed banning of strikes in hospitals, schools, colleges and other public welfare institutions. It also sought to take the employees of such institutions out of the purview of the Indian Trade Union Act, 1926 and Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

As soon as the Labour Minister placed the draft Dr. Ranen Sen (AITUC) vigorously protested against its utterly undemocratic nature. He pointed out that the Bill sought to take away rights earned through long and hard struggles and demanded its unconditional withdrawal. Dr. Maitrejee Bose (INTUC), Sri Rajani Mukherjee (HMS) and Sri Jatin Chakravarty (UTUC) also vigorously protested against the measure.

This united opposition rebuffed the Minister, who told those who protested that their reaction would be placed before the Cabinet.

Quick reaction came from all sections concerned. The All Bengal Teachers' Association, the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, the Hospital Workers' Federation, the Hospital Workers' Union, the College and University Employees' Union—all have

protested against the proposed Bill and demanded its withdrawal. They also proposed to launch a campaign if the Bill is stuck to. The Swadhinata called it a fascist bill and generally all papers in Calcutta were of opinion that without having a proper guarantee for ensuring decent conditions of service and living wages and a suitable machinery to remedy all grievances of these categories of employees, no such measures, as envisaged in the Bill, should be brought forward. The Statesman sadly observed that banning of strikes would not deter these people from resorting to strikes, as has been proved by the strikes of the bank employees and tramwaymen.

In face of this united protest from labour the Minister had to retreat and to say that the Bill was published just to elicit public opinion and would not be brought if the people concerned objected to it. Finally, it is learnt that the Government has decided to drop the bill and no notice has been given for it in the forthcoming session of the

# MORE ABOUT BRIG. COX

Sir, Reading the news in New Age of July 12 of Brigadier M. H. Cox of ISCON resigning from the Directorship of Durgapur steel projects, I was reminded of the war days. Then he was the Director of Ordnance Factories. The British debacle in East and West had put India on the strategic map and it was planned to have a few big armament production factories in India. The biggest of them was to be at Khamaria, near Jubbulpore, and was to be the pride of the East. We were appointed for progress-watching. And we used to watch it, let me confess with disgust and a sense of shame. First came up the luxurious quarters for officers, dance-hall, cinema-hall, club-rooms and the like. A year later by 1943 crept up a few of the main production sheds. To our dismay most of them were washed away or became useless when one spell of monsoon flooded the site that year. But to the glory of the Cox brotherhood the officers-quarters and club-rooms remained unruined. And once again the cycle of specifications, tenders, contractors and millions of Indian taxpayers' money going down the drains and in some pockets got rolling. To cut the story short, the war ended, but Khamaria and almost all the proposed factories remained only mementos of war emergency. And all this was under the benign dispensation of this Brigadier M. H. Cox. The files of the Defence Ministry of that period can bear witness to the story. So the news that Durgapur plant is not being built according to specification and that the piles have already caved in is not surprising to me.

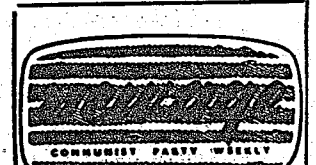
What I am surprised at is how this person and his like continue to guide the destinies of such important projects in the public sector? What tenderness our rulers have for this brotherhood, alien in thought and deed to our aspirations?

Calcutta 15th July, 1959 Yours faithfully, H. K. Chaturvedi

protested against the proposed Bill and demanded its withdrawal.

WEST Bengal has had the honour of leading off with many a campaign. The West Bengal Communist Party has now launched a Party Education campaign with a packed meeting of comrades from all districts at the University Institute Hall in Calcutta on July 19. Dr. Ranen Sen, member of the Party Secretariat, presided and delivered a stirring address. He emphasised the need for theory and ideological steeling, especially in view of the increasing responsibilities being placed on the Party.

A message of congratulation and exhortation from Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was read out. It has been decided to observe July 25 as Party Education Day throughout the State and to inaugurate a campaign, which would conclude in October. A review would then be held and further steps decided upon. This is a historic and unprecedented step and one which is rich in promise of big gains.



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# Commission Indicts Bombay Govt.

After very great popular pressure the Government of Bombay had been compelled to announce a judicial inquiry into the police firings in Ahmedabad during August 12 to 14, 1958. The people of Gujarat had their first taste of the "non-violence" of the Congress Raj in August 1956 through the generosity of the then Chief Minister of Bombay, Sri Morarji Desai. The bilingual State was imposed upon the people of Gujarat and Maharashtra and appropriately heralded by heavy police firings in Ahmedabad, Kalol and Nadiad. Some 26 young lives were laid low.

SINCE then the demand for judicial inquiry into the police firings had been gathering momentum. But the Congress Government continued to ignore it. Only after the second series of firings in August 1958 was it compelled to announce an inquiry on November 1, 1958.

## Report Not Accepted

The report of the inquiry was submitted to the Bombay Government by Justice Kotwal on April 28. The Government of Bombay published the report along with its own resolution on it on July 1, 1959. The statement in the

Government resolution that it had accepted the report, with a few exceptions, is sheer mockery of the truth. In fact, the Government has rejected most of the important findings of the Commission and only accepted a few of them in which certain of the police firings have been justified.

The following are the most important conclusions of the Commission as to the causes which led to the disturbances and the consequent firings:

1) The formation of the bilingual State of Bombay, the firing which took place in August 1956, and the refusal to order a judicial inquiry giving rise to sponta-

neous feelings among the people of Ahmedabad of hostility to the Congress party, the State Government and the local authorities.

2) The speeches delivered between July 8, 1958 and August 2, 1958, by the leaders of Maha Gujarat Janata, Parishad whereby they whipped up the already existing feelings against the Congress party, Government and the local authorities and turned them to their own political advantage.

3) The decision to permit the memorials to be erected, which was an error of judgment.

4) The decision to remove the memorials. When this decision was taken, the consequences and the depth and extent of public feeling were not correctly gauged and there was a miscalculation (See Report p. 43).

Three persons were killed during the firings during these three days. The Commission has declared as unjustified the police firing on August 13, in which two per-

sons were killed. The Report says:

"I am unable thus to see any justification for the firing resorted to under orders of P. I. Gohel. On both these occasions it appears to me that fire was opened against the two crowds when they were running away. The crowds were not defiant, determined not to disperse. The story that the police or police vehicles were in danger when this firing was resorted to is false. The number of rounds fired under orders of P. I. Gohel must have been many more than have been deposited to by him and as to which he alone could have given correct information. The place from which he ordered firing of the rounds admittedly fired has been incorrectly stated, the story improved upon and materially discrepant". (Page 83, para 214).

The Commission has considered a few other firings as justified as in its opinion the crowds were defiant.

The Commission strongly criticised the Government's refusal to file a statement before it and felt that its work was, as a result, considerably hindered and delayed.

The Parishad had filed a statement before the Commission. The Gujarat Pradesh Committee of the CPI had also filed a separate statement in which it substantially supported the Parishad's statement and adopted it. It also traced the history of events which led to the firings in 1956 and stated certain facts indicating the respective positions of the Congress and the Parishad before August 8, 1958.

## Suppressed Reports

The Commission has also found that reports of a few other firings particularly the one at Patasa Pole on August 13, and another at Manekchok on August 12, have been suppressed by the authority. It has added that "that there are several instances of persons having been injured by shot ammunition discharged from police fire-arms which remain unexplained both in the matter of the number of shots fired and the place where they were fired" ('Report', p. 99).

The Commission also criticised and held as illegal the modifications of the authorisation of the DIG, CID. The Commission found that the so-called humanitarian motive which was reported to have inspired this modification was not acceptable, but the actual motive was to make the firings more effective. In fact more persons were injured due to the use of this modified bullet than by the ordinary .410 bullets. The third person who was killed by the firing which the Commission regarded as justified was actually killed because of excessive bleeding due to the injuries received by this modified ammunition. The Commission has also held that the speeches delivered by the leaders of Parishad during July and August 1958 as indirectly responsible for the disturbances that followed the removal of the memorials.

## Yajnik's Statement

Sri Indulal Yajnik in a recent statement has regarded this finding as strange. He said that compared to the violent speeches which are being delivered today by the Congress leaders in Kerala, "our speeches of those days were mere entreaties to the Government, couched in mild language".

It should also be noted that there were absolutely no untoward incidents before the memorials were treacherously removed by the Government or since the Shahid Smarak Satyagraha was started by the Janta Parishad from August 17, 1958.

It is also strange that the Commission regarded the permission to erect the memorials as an error of judgment. It thought that the disturbances could have been avoided if preventive measures had been taken, such as detaining the leaders before the date of erection of the memorials. Actually since the Commission found the upsurge of popular feeling against the very formation of the bilingual Bombay State and in favour of the erection of the Martyrs' Memorial, it should have justified such erection and condemned the removal of those memorials, instead of recommending a different brand of repressive measures.

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—Dinkar Mehta

# FOR ROUND TABLE TALKS TO SOLVE ISSUES IN KERALA

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in Trivandrum from July 13 to 16, reviewed the recent developments in Kerala. The council also had the benefit of hearing the views of members of the Kerala State committee of the party, who participated in the discussions by invitation.

The Council noted that the recent direct action launched by opposition parties in Kerala was their most determined effort to remove the Communist-led Ministry from power by whatever means available to them. The organizers of the movement had not put forward any specific demand in the interest of the masses. They openly proclaimed that their sole objective was to oust the popular Government by paralysing the administration and seeking Central intervention.

The Council has come to the conclusion that the movement constitutes a challenge to the advance of Indian democracy.

## The Issue

The issue is whether a progressive Ministry enacting measures in the interests of the common man and expanding the content of democracy should be ousted from power because the vested interests, in collusion with reactionary communal forces and political parties, indulge in lawlessness in the State. The issue is whether the ruling party at the Centre can be allowed to encourage the lawlessness and use it as a pretext for intervention and dismissal of the Ministry.

It was not without significance that this offensive was launched precisely at a time when the Education Act was about to be enforced, the Agrarian Relations Bill had been passed by the State legislature, the Panchayats and District Councils Bill were in the select committee stage and the Industrial Relations Bill had been introduced in the State Assembly. All these measures, when implemented, would improve the economic conditions of the people and lead to a great extension of democracy on the one hand and weaken the power of vested interests on the other.

## Offensive Of Vested Interests

In reality, this offensive was directed by the vested interests. They have combined their forces against the Kerala Government because it has given unmistakable proof of its determination to redeem its pledges to the people and carry out vital and urgently-needed reforms. It is well-known that the Congress Party in Kerala never reconciled itself to its loss of power and has been ceaselessly struggling to oust the Communist-led Ministry ever since its installation in office by the verdict of the people. Unable to secure any following for its struggle on the basis of genuine demands of democracy and the economic demands of the people, the Congress Party has joined hands with reactionary communal forces and with their help has roused communal and caste passions. The bishops of the Catholic Church have raised the familiar reactionary cry of

"religion in danger" to rouse the religious passions of the Catholic masses.

The Council is firmly of opinion that this open intrusion of communal and religious forces into the political life of Kerala constitutes a menace to the democratic movement in Kerala and elsewhere and undermines the foundations of the secular State.

The communal and religious slogans these forces have raised in order to rouse anti-Communist hysteria among certain sections of the people are harmful to the unity of the people, based on healthy democratic and national principles.

The Council regrets that the opposition parties in Kerala in their blind anti-Communism have allied themselves with such reactionary forces. It is amazing that Sri Nehru and the Congress High Command should have shut their eyes to this dangerous combination. It is still more amazing that they should have sought to cover it up by giving it the name of a "people's upsurge".

## People See Through The Game

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the common people not only in Kerala but throughout the country realized the

The Council takes this opportunity to express its warm and sincere thanks to all those who have raised their voice of protest against these tactics of the Congress High Command and have thus played a significant part so far preventing the realization of its objective.

The Kerala Government had agreed, in deference to Sri Nehru's suggestion, to suspend the controversial clause of the Education Act, discuss all grievances of the opposition parties at a conference, and seek Sri Nehru's advice on questions that may remain unresolved. The Kerala Congress displays its fear of settlement and talks by rejecting this offer. Instead of persuading his own party to pursue this pattern of settlement through negotiations, Sri Nehru gave the slogan of a mid-term election.

## Mid-Term Elections

Ignoring all these, the Congress Parliamentary Board in its resolution of June 29 gave the official stamp and authority of the Congress to this slogan.

The Council is happy to note that our people were not taken in by this new manoeuvre of the Congress High Command. Democratic opinion throughout the country condemned this re-

solution of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India had, in its resolution of July 1, expressed its view on this resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board. The Council endorses the resolution of the Central Executive Committee.

As the Central Executive Committee correctly stated, the demand for mid-term elections was nothing but another way of Central intervention and an attempt to give it a democratic garb. It aimed at depriving the Kerala Government of the opportunity to implement its pledges to the electorate by denying it the time to carry through its progressive economic and social reforms. It was designed to make the Kerala Government surrender before the pressure of violent and anti-constitutional agitation directed by vested interests and the threat of Central intervention.

## Is It Permissible?

This call for mid-term elections was meant to perpetuate the atmosphere of administrative instability which has been the curse of Kerala under previous Congress and Praja-Socialist Governments. It is only the present Communist-led Ministry that holds out hope of relief for the first time for the Kerala people from this curse.

The Council, therefore, holds that the Congress High Command's call for a mid-term elec-

tion is unwarranted.

The call for mid-term elections flows from the partisan and discriminatory attitude of Congress leaders who are not prepared to tolerate a non-Congress progressive Government in even one out of the 14 States of India.

The real question is whether it is proper and permissible for the Congress Party, which is in power at the Centre but is in a minority in Kerala, to force the only non-Congress progressive Government through questionable and unconstitutional means to seek a fresh mandate from the electorate when it allows its own Government in other States to continue in office, even though they have clearly no support of the majority of the electorate in the respective States. No political party can be expected to accept such double standards.

The Council draws the attention of the people to the fact that the Kerala Congress and other political parties have been openly inciting people to violence and bloodshed. The Congress High Command, which swears by non-violence and is ever ready to condemn the peonage elsewhere for even the slightest breach of the law, has not only not dissociated from this campaign but has encouraged it. Congress and other political leaders have openly in-

cluded the police and other officials to desert their posts and threatened them with dire consequences if they carried out the lawful orders of the Government.

## Campaign Of Violence

Burning of school property in the name of picketing, assaults on school children and teachers, stoning of buses, causing serious injuries to peaceful citizens—these have been the methods and tactics pursued by the opposition parties. These are accompanied by murderous assaults on agricultural workers and other supporters of the Government on Party members and other citizens.

There has been no condemnation of this hoodliganism from the Congress High Command. Popular pressure compelled it to speak formally against school and bus picketing. The Prime Minister also had to disapprove it. Yet the local Congress continues to support this picketing and hoodliganism and associates with all those who are directly organizing it.

The Council appreciates the fact that the Kerala Government has displayed utmost restraint in dealing with the situation. Although a month has elapsed since the direct action was launched, the Government refrained from using the Preventive Detention Act. Section 144 was also not used except on very few occasions. Opponents of the Government have all along been enjoying full liberty of speech, assembly and press. The Council records its deep

sorrow at the loss of lives as a result of firing and conveys its sympathy to the members of the bereaved families. It notes that the Kerala Government has already stated that it will consider the question of holding a judicial inquiry into these firings as soon as peaceful conditions are restored. The Council would appeal to the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society, the Muslim League and their allies in the Congress and the PSP to desist from rousing hysteria, which is harmful for the healthy development of Kerala and its people. It desires to emphasize that no measure of the Kerala Government was intended to harm the religious interests of the Catholics, Muslims, Nairs or any caste or religion as such.

On the other hand, the Communist-led Government of Kerala, had by many of its administrative measures protected the interests of religious minorities as no other previous Government had done.

The Council also desires to assure the toiling peasants, workers, intellectuals or service cadres, to whatever caste or religion they may belong, that the Communist-led Government will not interfere in their religious matters. It further assures them that it will do its utmost to guard and further their legitimate interests as toiling masses.

The Council desires to commend the fact that the Kerala Government, without raising

# TEXT OF NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION

solution of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

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Outside Kerala, all democratic-minded sections of the people immediately saw that the direct action struggle launched by the opposition parties, blessed as it was by the Congress High Command, was an attack on the right of any non-Congress party to form its own Government in any State and especially a progressive Government which implements the pledges given to democratic toiling masses.

They also saw it as an attack on parliamentary institutions. Even sections of Congressmen came out against the tactics pursued by the opposition in Kerala as well as the encouragement given to them by the Congress High Command. It was this universal feeling of resentment at the undemocratic policies and practices pursued by the Congress High Command that has so far prevented it from carrying out their objective—dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and imposition of President's rule.

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formerly Professor of Chemistry,  
Bhagalpur College.



FIRST TIME IN DELHI—

# Vimochana Leaders' Unique Performance

★ From O. P. MEHROTRA

A meeting was organised in New Delhi at the Constitution Club by the "Delhi Citizens' Committee for Kerala Affairs" on Sunday July 19. The venerable leader of the Kerala Samara Samiti, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, Sri Thanu Pillai of the PSP, Sri C. H. Mohammed Koya of the Muslim League among others argued in more than usually violent language for Central intervention in Kerala.

It should be noted that the hall was reported to have been booked in the name of the Delhi Congress Committee. And Congress Seva Dal volunteers were busy rounding up people to join the meeting. So much for the so-called "non-Congress" character of the meeting.

The honour of presiding over this meeting went to Sri J. B. Kripalani, while on the dias were present the Congress General Secretary, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, Delhi Congress leaders and some other PSP leaders. More active and conspicuous, Jana Sangh volunteers were also on duty.

## Mushroom Growth

Before the arrival of these leaders from Kerala there was no such body as the Kerala Affairs Committee in the Capital. It is learnt that the Committee was formed with Sri Brij Mohan of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad of the PSP as the leading lights. Posters for the meeting were issued in the name of these two gentlemen—without any mention of this alleged committee. The "privilege" of garlanding the communal leaders and "liberation" stalwarts went to Sri Shyam Nathji, Congress party leader in the Delhi Corporation.

Acharya Kripalani said about himself that he was a 'non-violent and peaceful man and he was moved only when his

conscience pricked—for example by the plight of Tibetan "refugees." But at the moment he was being moved by the Kerala Affairs Committee and its far from non-violent guests of honour.

Sri Kripalani said that there were two questions that arose from the situation in Kerala: 1) whether civil disobedience had a place in a democracy and 2) whether the Kerala Government had violated the Constitution. His replies were, of course, in the affirmative. He read extensive quotations from Gandhiji's writings to prove his point.

He went on to compare the present agitation in Kerala with the protests of Socrates, Buddha and Gandhiji.

About the second point whether or not the Kerala Government had violated the constitution, Sri Kripalani's "feeling" was that the "spirit" of the Constitution had been violated. However, he did not bother to explain in what way. Acharya Kripalani said that the Home Minister should send a team to Kerala to find facts about this.

Then the PSP leader referred to the Kerala Government's policy vis a vis the workers. He read the following passage: "Workers constitute the citizens, their movement is people's movement; any action against them will be anti-people in character." He wondered how the workers could constitute the citizens and how their movement could be a people's movement? Obviously for the PSP

leader the workers movement is not a people's movement. Their definition of a people's movement includes, however, a movement of private enterprise or an armed uprising of feudal reactionaries.

Acharya Kripalani then called upon Sri Mannam to take the floor.

## Fuehrer Speaks

The 82-year old leader of zamindars and communalists said: "I have come travelling 2,000 miles from Kerala, because I could not stand the heat of the Communist administration." However, he did not explain how he was doing so before the Kerala Samara Samiti was formed.

He explained how the present ministry was formed: "Communists before the elections went round the villages saying that if the people of Kerala voted for them, then honey and milk would flow there. People in Kerala did not vote for Communists because they loved them." It happened, because "the people had some discontent".

Then he explained about himself: "I am one who opposed the Communist ideals, philosophy and their Government. I and my wife were the only two people who voted for Congress in the last general elections in my home."

He gave a real taste of language that he speaks, when he said about the Communists: "They have no faith in caste, dharma or truth. Sister, wife and mother are all equal for them. They are outcastes and should be classified as lepers". Sri Padmanabhan then described the present morale of the Communists in Kerala: "The Communists are no longer bold



Adorning the platform of the Delhi meeting are Congress and PSP leaders along with casteists and communalists—Sri Mannam at the mike with Sri Koya of the Muslim League (with cap on) behind him. —Photo: Saluja

## "OUTCASTES AND LEPERS, . . . SHOULD BE DRIVEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY"

—Sri Mannam On Communists

enough to hold meetings in Kerala. The Ministers are no longer bold enough to travel without police escorts". Sri Mannam is bold enough to tell lies, however.

And in the same breath he continued: "There is no peace, no justice, no law in Kerala. The people are no longer prepared to be under this sort of administration. Political murders are being committed there. . . . Police is carrying on propaganda for the Communist Party". Sri Mannam, obviously in his speech full of passion forgot to say who is committing these murders. Quite overcome by his own abuse he went to declare that Sri Thampi, the Speaker of the Kerala Assembly had committed murder, while Comrade E.M.S. had plunged his hands into the blood of two policemen murdered by Communists in front of his very eyes. Sri Mannam's remarks were not published — fear of defamation charges, or sheer disgust perhaps.

The Samiti leader continued for a long time in this vein. In his opinion, "it was wrong to have allowed Communists to stand as candidates in elections". He asked the Government to "prohibit the Communists from contesting elections in other parts of India."

And then his demand for Central intervention: "It is the duty of the Centre to drive out people who have no right to be in office."

Speaking about the Communist Ministry's offer for a Round Table Conference, as suggested by Pandit Nehru, he said: "Now they are talking about some compromise. Some of the Ministers are sending messages for a Round Table Conference. We have repeatedly declared that we do not want to have any Round Table talks with these unholly persons".

In no uncertain terms he declared: "What we want is that they (Communists) should be removed from office, whatever be the legal implications". He repeated: "If the Communist do not hold a fresh election it is the duty of the Centre to drive them out".

Sri Padmanabhan threatened that if he had a free hand, Ke-

erala Government could be wiped out in one-and-a-half hours' time. His speech was enough to show a rather shocking



ported the fiery speech of this leader, who warned in the old Razakar way: "Till now the movement has been peaceful but a situation had been created in which violence can also take place".

The meeting taught much. What the Kerala Government was up against was all that was noxious in our country, all that was decayed.

It was not only with the threat of violence that the meeting ended but with actual violence as the Statesman (July 20) reported next day.

"There was a scuffle outside. Constitution Club immediately after the meeting. A Government servant and a college student were beaten up.

The two later told the police that some people sitting close to them in the hall had asked them to stop talking. They had left the hall. Soon after the meeting dispersed, the same people met them outside. They had an argument and then the two were beaten up". Goonda acts in Delhi as a sample of the goonda war in Trivandrum!

# MISERABLE FAILURE OF TRIVINDRUM TAMASHA

★ From RAMDASS

That there is a mass upsurge in Kerala—not an upsurge against the Kerala Government, but in favour of it—became clear again when two demonstrations were held in Trivandrum, the Capital city of Kerala—one organised by the Vimochana Samara Samiti on July 15 and the other the next day by the Trivandrum District Council of the Communist Party of India.

THE Vimochana Samara Samiti demonstration had been planned on a big scale and was to be the culmination of the intensified week of struggle beginning from July 9. Lighted torches denoting the number of people who died in police firings had started from the places of firing and been carried to Trivandrum. On July 15, a Convention of Opposition members of the Assembly, Municipal Councils and other local bodies had been called in Trivandrum to consider the future course of the struggle including the question of the resignation of the Opposition members from the Assembly and the local bodies.

After the Convention, people who would have assembled from all over the State were to accompany the lighted torches in a procession to the Raj Bhuvan, submit a memorandum to the Governor and then parade through the main streets of the city. The finale would be a public meeting on the Pazhavangadi Maidan. The Samiti leaders had also announced their expectation of mass participation for the day—three to five lakhs of people from all over the State.

The weather was kind to the Samiti, the incessant rains stopped for the moment and a bright sun shone over the capital.

By midday, taxis and private cars loaded with people began streaming into the city, their registration plates showing they were coming from Kottayam and Quilon, Alleppey and Ernakulam, Trichur and even from Kozhikode.

Till the morning of July 15 nobody was sure whether the

Opposition Convention would be held. Reports were widespread that some differences had cropped up among the members of the Joint Action Council set up by the Congress, PSP and the League. However, the Convention was held, though with meagre attendance, and it could not come to any decision as to the future programme of struggle. All it could agree on was that the Communist Ministry should resign. Not a very auspicious beginning for the mammoth demonstration they were planning for the evening!

The demonstration started from the Mahatma Gandhi College, went to the Raj Bhuvan where the leaders met the Governor and submitted a memorandum and then proceeded to Pazhavangadi where the rally was held.

## Press Boost

Next morning KPCC President Sankar's Dinamani said five lakhs of people had accompanied the lighted torches, while the Malayala Manorama of Kottayam said they were four lakhs. The Times of India correspondent estimated it at one lakh, the Hindu said thousands while the Indian Express just said impressive and disciplined.

This is what the Press wrote but the ordinary people who saw the demonstration had their own estimate. I have talked to people who were not prepared to concede one more than six thousand in the procession. My own estimate was about eight thousand and I have yet to see anybody

prepared to put it beyond ten thousand. And remember it was an all-State mobilisation.

It is true that there were quite large crowds along the route of the demonstration but one could find that quite a large number of them had been attracted by sheer curiosity the, newspapers for days—together had been dining into their ears that something extraordinarily big was going to happen. We were waiting at Palayam Junction

where the demonstration was scheduled to reach at about 7 p.m. but did not reach till about an hour later. Moving in the crowd one could see quite some of them becoming impatient and leaving—not exactly a sign of sympathy for the struggle!

That was the finale of the much-trumpeted three to five-lakh demonstration! It was as much a dismal failure as the whole programme of intensification of the struggle during the week, July 9 to 15.

## DIGNIFIED, DETERMINED, BIGGER—People's Answer

NEXT day the weather was not so kind. It was a cloudy morning and in the forenoon rains began to pour heavily and never ceased throughout the day. The Press reported later that parts of Trivandrum city had been submerged by water—so heavy were the rains.

From the morning itself Communist Party leaders from the various States who were here for the National Council meeting began anxiously asking whether the demonstration would take place in such heavy rains.

By then, however, one could see small processions of three hundred and five hundred marching into the city—no taxis or motor cars for them. They had walked from various places in Trivandrum District and had arrived drenched to their skin, shouting militant slogans and singing.

All these small demonstrations came together at Museum Junction and the main demonstration of the day began from there. It was raining all the time and just a few minutes before the procession reached Palayam where the Communist Party's National Council members were waiting, there was a terrible wind which would have driven most people home to safety. But the crowd watching the procession, though smaller than the previous day's did not even try to move away.

And then in serried ranks came the supporters of the Communist Party, units of the Communist-led Government. The heavy downpour only added to their militancy. Dignified political slogans were being shouted, there were groups singing and other groups dancing.

One should have seen the excitement among the National Council members. Many of them wanted to leave the shelter of the umbrellas or take off their raincoats and join the demonstration. Dr. Adhikari with his camera and electronic flash, totally unmindful of the rain, was running here and there trying to get to vantage points to photograph this "memorable demonstration".

I opened the newspapers next morning hoping to see the Dinamani report at least seven-and-a-half lakhs in the demonstration, the Malayala Manorama six lakhs and

the Times of India at least one-and-a-half lakh. The demonstration, by all estimates, had been at least one-and-a-half times larger than the previous day's demonstration, but the "struggle" protagonists would never concede this. They want to ignore this real mass upsurge while creating a "paper upsurge" on their own side.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, addressing the meeting said there was a mass upsurge in Kerala. The Opposition, an upsurge in favour of the Government. Comrade Ghosh in his speech explained the decisions of the National Council of the Party. Among the other speakers at the rally were Comrades B. T. Ranavive and Jyoti Basu. Comrade A. K. Gopalan presided.

Innumerable other demonstrations have taken place during the week in support of the Kerala Government but space permits only the reporting of one of them.

## ERNAKULAM

The 25,000-strong demonstration in Ernakulam, much bigger than any demonstration the Samara Samiti has been able to organise there, was held under the auspices of the Communist Party and various mass and cultural organisations. Flags flew of the Communist Party, units of the SNDP, organisations of backward communities like the Pulayar Mahasabha and Panditar Mahajan as a b h a, trade unions, agricultural workers' organisations, cultural samitis, the Progressive Muslim League, the All-Kerala Catholic League, etc. Banners and streamers lent colour to the demonstration which began from Shammugham Road and went through Broadway and ended in the Darbar Grounds. People had poured into the town from all parts of the district braving the rains.

Comrade A. K. Gopalan, M.P., presiding over the rally said that the Communist Party was not afraid of the results of an election but the issue was whether elections should be held every time defeated parties burnt buses and threw stones at schools.

## NEW AGE Calls On Sri Pattom

THIS Correspondent had the good fortune of seeing Sri Pattom, Thanu Pillai—the ex-Chief Minister and ex-democrat of Kerala. It was a surprising meeting at 18, Windsor Place—the Central office of the PSP on Saturday evening when I had gone to find out whether they were holding any press conference or issuing any statement to the press.

One PSP leader who stays there introduced me to Sri Pattom. "Here is our Communist friend from the New Age". As I greeted him, Sri Pattom was good enough to ask me to sit down.

"People here in the capital are waiting to know the results of the talks you are having with Ministers, Rashtrapati and Prime Minister. Are you holding any Press Conference or issuing any statement to the Press?" I enquired.

"Not at present", was his reply.



than agreement among the Opposition Parties in Kerala".

I had not finished when he shot back, "These are your reports, Communist reports".

I tried to complete my sentence and added: "Only yesterday BSP leaders have said at a press Conference in Delhi that they do not want Central intervention but would 'coerce' the Communist Ministry to resign."

Sri Thanu Pillai was annoyed by my piper and said with the air of a prospective Chief Minister "I

met the President today. We want re-elections. This is all I can tell you".

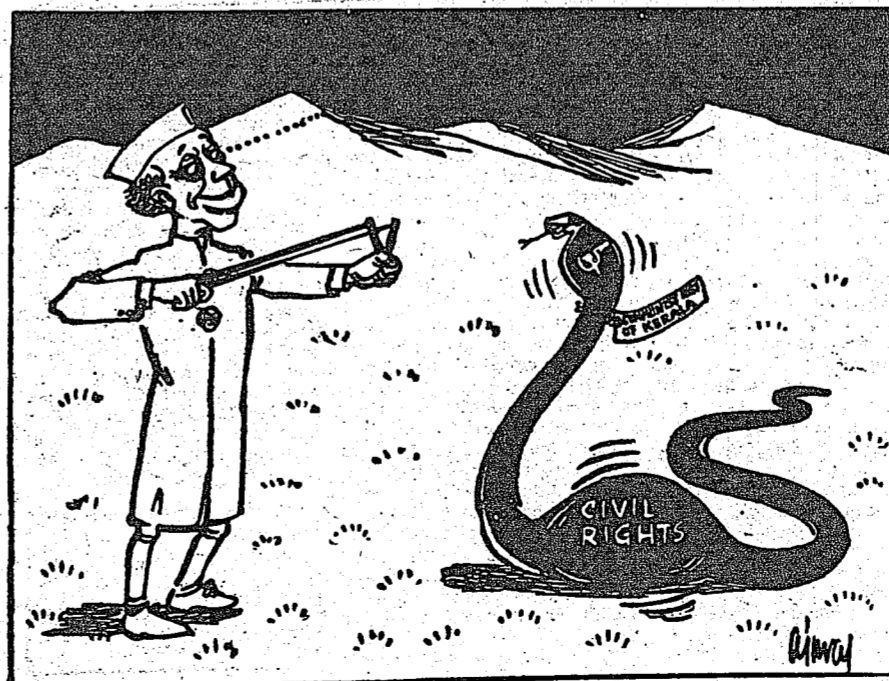
"But the Communist Party is not prepared to resign". I interjected, "Central intervention may mean President's Rule and suspension of democracy".

The Ex-Chief Minister was very much annoyed. He lost his temper and shouted: "Any rule—any rule but not the present Ministry".

I took the hint but before leaving I asked, "We have been reading in the newspapers about the decision of the PSP to ask its members to resign from the Assembly. Let us have by-elections and see the results".

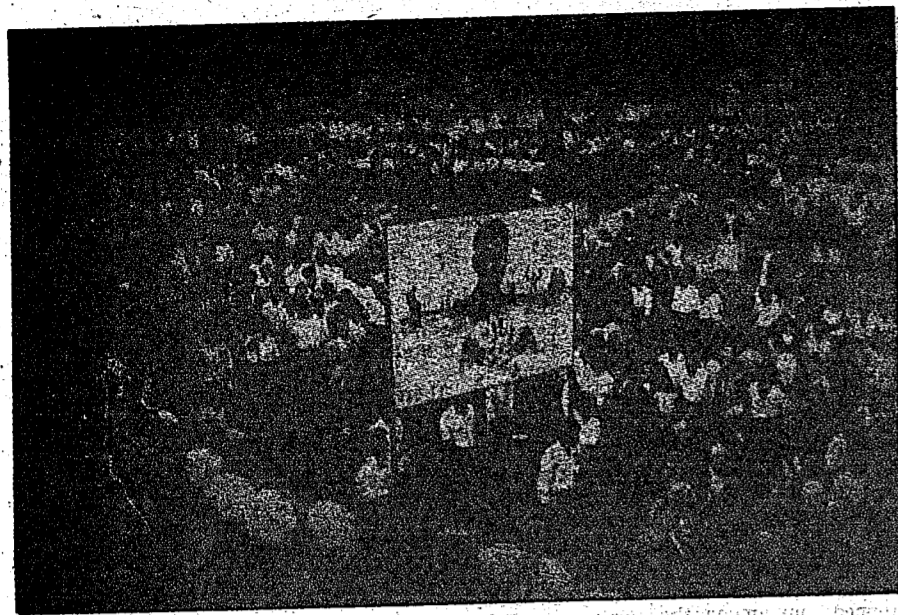
Pattom was furious and retorted, "It is for us to decide not you. Communist Ministry should resign first. All these questions I am not going to discuss with you. If we hold a press conference you can come there."

I thanked him and came out.



"The Brave One"—Karachi DAWN's view of Kerala.





Massive demonstration in Baghdad to greet Iraqi Democratic Youth Conference, June 1959.

# ONE YEAR OF THE IRAQI REPUBLIC

BY RAZA ALI

In the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates the dawn of July 14, 1958 was also the dawn of a new glorious period in the history of the Arab national liberation movement. With the rays of the rising sun, had marched into Baghdad, the 20th Brigade of the Iraqi Army led by Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassim, tearing down the reactionary despotic regime of Nuri Said and Faisal, undermining the imperialist powers' position in the Middle East.

THE ferocity of imperialism's reaction to the July 14 events in Iraq, was a measure of its frustration. On July 15, the US Marines landed in the Lebanon. On July 17, the British Government ordered its paratroops to be flown, in to Jordan. They had, however, to beat an ignominious retreat—the strength of the socialist camp, the powerful upsurge of sympathy from the peoples and governments of the new Asian States and of democratic opinion on the world over, no less than the unity of the Iraqi people made this inevitable. The victory of the revolution in Iraq had smashed one of the most important bulwarks of international reaction and imperialist aggression in West Asia.

Exactly one year has passed since then—a year in which the young Iraqi Republic has justified the jubilation of the Afro-Asian peoples on its foundation, as also the fears of the imperialist powers. Baghdad was lost to the Baghdad Pact.

The Iraqi Republic has abrogated three treaties which the former government had concluded with the United States. She has also abrogated the agreement with Britain on the Habaniya air field—Britain had to evacuate the airfield on June 1, and hand it over to the Iraqi Army.

While resisting imperialism's intrusions the Iraqi Government had been maintaining its relations with the Western countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. It has broken Iraq's isolation with the socialist countries by establishing diplomatic relations and by developing commercial and cultural relations with them. It has won for itself the sympathies of the Afro-Asian peoples by pursuing a firm policy of anti-colonialism, by showing its deep concern for

their national liberation movements. It was no accident that Iraq was one of the first countries to recognise the Provisional Algerian Government.

The foreign policy of the Iraqi Republic is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence embodied in the historic Bandung resolutions.

This foreign policy of the Iraqi Republic results from the fact that the birth of the Iraqi Republic was not simply a change of government or persons. It had a deep democratic content.

Speaking of the significance of the July 14 Revolution, Premier Abdul Karim Kassim had said: "The revolution, emanating from the will of the people, is a political and social revolution whose aim is to free the people from feudal domination, secure justice for the people and liberate them from poverty, ignorance and disease".

In its one year's existence, the Iraqi Republican Government has taken a number of measures towards this end.

Barely two weeks after the revolution the Iraqi Government took steps aimed at strengthening internal security. It decreed a law on the purge of embezzlers of public property, venal politicians, hired satraps and all other government and police officials and army officers who collaborated with the imperialists. Two hundred redundant British specialists were dismissed and the State confiscated the fortunes plundered by 85 leaders of the old regime, among them eight former premiers.

To root out corruption, the new Government enacted a law obliging all Government officials, Ministers included, to declare their incomes and property.

Among the early acts of the

new Iraqi Government was the amnesty granted to the political prisoners sentenced under the monarchy for opposing imperialism and the Baghdad Pact.

The monarchist constitution, drawn up by the British was replaced by a provisional one.

Among the first blows dealt by the new Government to the feudal order, was the abrogation of the so-called tribal law which gave the sheikhs the right to try their tribesmen.

The hardest blow to feudalism in the countryside came with the Agrarian Reform Law, promulgated on September 30, 1958.

Shortly after the July 14 Revolution, the Government had enacted a law prohibiting landowners from taking more than half of the harvest as rent. The Agrarian Reform Law, now forbids estates of more than 250 hectares of irrigated land or of more than 500 hectares of non-irrigated land. It also prohibits the land-owners from transferring any of their surplus land to relatives.

## Agrarian Reform

At the time of its promulgation, the implementation of this Reform was envisaged as follows: Compensation for the confiscated land was to be paid in instalments over twenty years. The land was to be sold to landless and poor peasants who were also given twenty years time in which to pay, with each family getting between 7.5 and 15 hectares of irrigated land. This redistribution of land was to be completed within a period of five years.

Together with such measures aimed at abolishing feudalism, the new government has also taken some steps with a view to industrializing the country. It has set up a development committee to direct the drafting and implementation of economic plans.

As an economically underdeveloped country, Iraq's chief problem in this field is the requisite capital for investment. Although the government regards private initiative as the basis of the country's economic development, since there is not enough private capital, it in-

tends to invest heavily itself. Its chief internal source is oil and, for the time being, the greater part of its revenue comes from the payments made by the foreign oil concessionaires. Today, these oil companies pay to the Iraqi government 50 per cent of the profits they make on the Iraqi oil. Iraq is undoubtedly entitled to much more.

Before the July 14 revolution, Iraq's economic relations were extremely one-sided—nearly 75 per cent of Iraq's foreign trade was with the West European countries and the United States. Today, for her economic development, Iraq is seeking new partners. Iraq's import plan for 1959 lays chief emphasis on machine tools and farm machinery. And Iraq's developing foreign trade with the Socialist countries can become a decisive factor for her economic development.

## No Smooth Sailing

While these are commendable and important achievements does it mean that since July 14, 1958, it has been and will continue to be one steady, smooth sailing for the people of Iraq? Far from it. Indeed, if anything, the periodic "discoveries" of the world bourgeois press, at times about the pro-Communism and at times about the anti-Communism of Premier Kassim's government, are indicative of the fact that, their wishful thinking and the intrigues of imperialism and foreign reaction apart, there are opposing forces at play in the political arena of today's Iraq.

It was the imperialist-feudalist oppression which had brought various, heterogeneous forces together in one national front prior to July 14 events.

After the victory of the revolution, the national Right wing, which was the weakest in the ranks of the old opposition from the point of view of popular support, had tried to grab and retain for itself the lion's share in the new revolutionary government. It wanted to impose its policies on the government.

Clash was inevitable. The Iraqi Cabinet was reshuffled in mid-February, 1959, following the resignation of six Ministers, who either did not support Premier Kassim's policy or were undecided about it. The Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party and the only Baath representative in the Cabinet, were among those who had resigned. And, while these two represen-

tatives of the Rightist Parties left the Cabinet, the more leftist bourgeois National Democratic Party were given four seats in it.

Last week, on the eve of the revolution anniversary, Premier Kassim has announced another reshuffle of his Cabinet. Three new Ministers have been brought in, enlarging the Cabinet from 12 to 15. From Press reports this reshuffle is aimed at strengthening the government's hands for the implementation of its progressive policies.

A distinctive feature of the present situation in Iraq is the exceptionally high political activity of the masses.

Recently, when the government issued its supplement to the Agrarian Reform Law, by which it has lowered the share of the peasant by 5 per cent and added it to the share of the landowner, a strong section of the Iraqi public opinion expressed itself against this "backward step in the agrarian reform" which came as "a blow to the peasant movement and the hopes of the peasants".

It is this political activity which the reaction inside as well as outside Iraq, fears most. For it was precisely this political consciousness of the masses and the unity of the national forces that succeeded in defeating the Mosul conspiracy—the biggest and the most dangerous which the Iraqi Republic had to face so far. It is this popular vigilance and mobilisation that enabled it to withstand the heavy pressure from Nasser and other Right-wing Arab nationalists.

Reaction's main game in Iraq today is to vilify the Communist Party of Iraq and to sow the seeds of discord between the national forces on the one hand, and to force the government to adopt "the policy of excessive leniency towards the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries" on the other.

The Communist Party of Iraq in a recent statement has issued a timely warning against the danger to the Iraqi Republic from these machinations of the reactionary forces.

The democratic forces in Iraq seek to meet this danger through the new United National Front. Its memorandum states that the Front will be "an active national apparatus capable of mobilising and uniting the ranks of the people".

The coming period, can see new victories for Iraq, overcoming all internal problems and beating back the intrigues and offensives of imperialism in West Asia.

## THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

\* FROM PAGE 7

government in holding to their democratic stand and behaviour and discharging their duty to the people and the country.

Freedom and democracy are not in danger at the hands of the Communist Party or its Government. They are in danger at the hands of those who are trying to overthrow the Government by terrorist violence, by rousing mass hysteria, with false slogans of "religion in danger", by trying to nullify the good legislative measures passed by the legislature in favour of the peasants, workers and toiling masses, by trying to mislead the loyal and hard pressed administrative services to paralyse the administration and by generally creating chaos and anarchy in which people suffer and gangsterism and anti-social forces gain an upper hand.

The Council hopes that all

sections of democratic public opinion, who had joined in the campaign against the tactics of the Congress and other opposition parties in Kerala would continue to carry on their campaign and exert pressure on the Prime Minister and the Congress High Command to see that the reasonable stand taken by the Kerala Government is accepted by the Congress and opposition parties. Their vigilance will finally end all hopes of Central intervention.

Such popular initiative today is called for in the larger interests of the healthy growth of parliamentary institutions and democracy in the country.

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# For Restoration And Renovation Of Democracy

## French Communists Call

On June 24 at Ivory-sur-Seine, a suburb of Paris, opened the 15th Congress of the French Communist Party. It was being convened under grave circumstances. The working class and other democratic forces had suffered a serious blow, while the republican system had been undermined by the monopolists and a presidential regime of capitalist dictatorship installed, which contained in itself the danger of fascism.

THE French Communist Party had all along been the main force of opposition to this savage offensive of reaction and the most reliable bulwark of democratic freedoms. The recent municipal elections had shown that the increased number of workers and honest democrats trusted the Party and looked to it for a way out of the crisis.

On the first day of the Congress, Comrade Maurice Thorez, the General Secretary of the French Party, delivered a report on behalf of the Central Committee on the "unity of the workers and republican forces in the struggle for the restoration and renovation of democracy".

Comrade Thorez said that the period since the 14th Congress had been marked by the disarming of democratic institutions and the establishment of a regime of personal power.

Analysing the accelerated concentration of capital and intensification of the exploitation of the working people under this regime, Comrade Thorez pointed out that the big monopolist organisations had strengthened their control over the state. Their profits were growing steadily by reducing the workers' wages and lowering the living standards of the peasants and small urban bourgeoisie.

Referring to the most acute and complicated problem confronting France today—the Algerian war, the "ulcer of France"—he said that this war had furthered racism and chauvinism. The troops now engaged in this dirty colo-

nial war would certainly become the tool of reaction in any civil war against the French people.

Demanding an immediate end to the war, Comrade Thorez said that the French Communist Party, faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, reaffirmed the right of the Algerian people to independence.

The policy of the de Gaulle regime, he continued, was aimed at maintaining and aggravating tension, since it needed the "cold war" to continue the Algerian war, to consolidate the reactionary regime in France and to oppose, in the interests of the monopolists, democracy and socialism in Europe and the world.

Comrade Thorez made a detailed analysis of the developments in the movement

## News from brother parties

against the de Gaulle regime and put forward a draft programme for the renovation of the republican system and life in the country.

Politically the French Communist Party advocated a genuinely democratic regime based on the principle that the supreme power in the Republic belonged to the directly elected representatives of the people, forming a single national assembly. The government would have to be formed with the approval of

mercant banks and insurance companies. At the same time democratic reforms have to be carried out in the administration of the large state-owned companies and enterprises.

Turning to the question of the transition to socialism, Comrade Thorez said that the working class was concerned to effect the socialist revolution through peaceful means, to avoid unsettled conditions and prevent disruption of the productive forces. The work-

ing people, he said, disliked the use of force, but whether or not force would be used would be determined by the extent of the resistance on the part of the exploiters against the popular will and by the means of struggle they

employed. The slogan of the French Communist Party, he said, was to exert all efforts for the formation of a republican group to oppose the capitalist reactionaries, militarists and clerical reactionaries, to enable the counter-offensive of democracy to grow into an irresistible force and to realise the united front of the working class and the unity of the working and middle classes.

This report of the Central Committee was discussed for the following three days. An important speech was made by Comrade Jacques Duclos.

Comrade Duclos pointed out explicitly that the programme of the French Communist Party was not meant "to restore the old state, because the old state was just the stepping stone to personal power. We not only want to restore democracy, but also to renovate democracy. What we want is democracy of such a type: to recognise the proper position of the working class in the government and the whole country".

On June 28 the Congress unanimously adopted the report of the Central Committee. In an appeal to the French people the Congress said that "the French Communist Party has proposed a programme of democratic renovation which can raise the standard of living of the workers, assure national independence and peace and restore and enlarge democratic rights and freedoms. The way to realise such a programme, as proposed by the French Communist Party, is

through the union of all the social and political forces conscious of French interests".

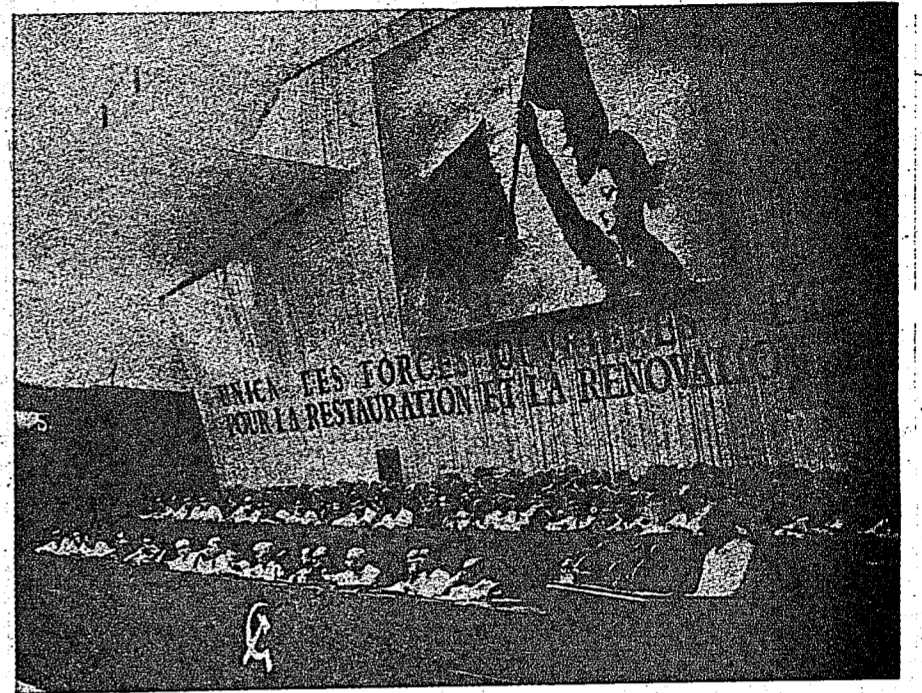
The appeal concluded by calling on the people to unite to compel the government to hold talks and realise peace in Algeria, to safeguard peace and assure a relaxation of international tension and to work for the election of a constituent assembly to restore and advance the democratic system.

The Party Congress received numerous messages of greetings from brother Parties. The greetings from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were delivered by Comrade M. A. Suslov, Secretary of its Central Committee.

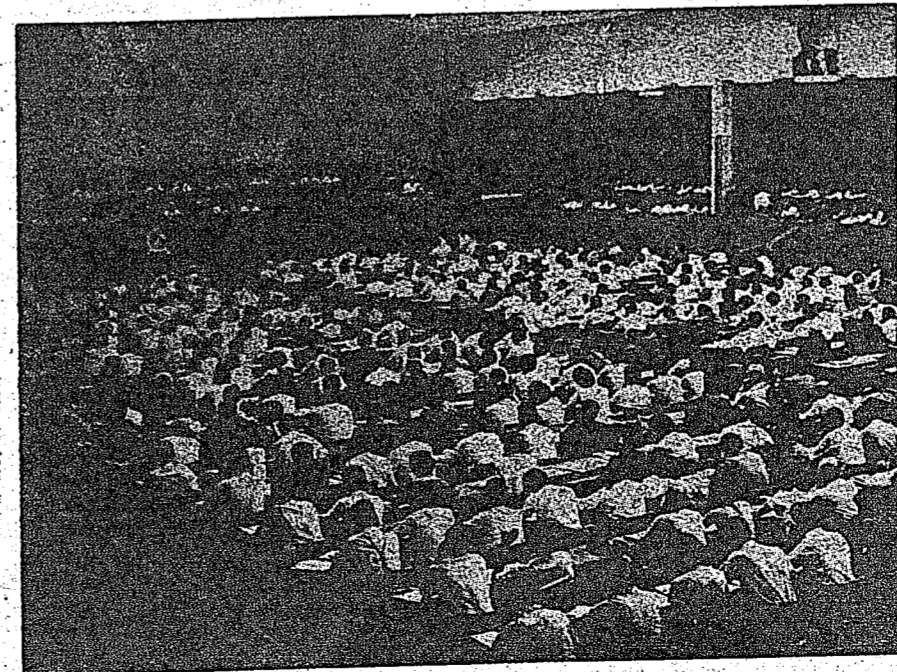
## Indian Greetings

The greetings sent by the Communist Party of India stated: "... Our Party has been watching with great interest and admiration the heroic struggle that you are waging in defence of democracy and the genuine national interests of France and the independence of Algeria. We are confident that the deliberations and decisions of this Congress will further consolidate the unity of the working people of France for democracy, national independence and progress of the French people towards Socialism. ..."

At its concluding session the Congress elected the Party's Central Committee, which then met and elected its Political Bureau and Secretariat. Comrades Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Francois Billaud, Laurent Casanova, Etienne Fajon, Leon Felix, Benoit Franchon, G. Frischmann, Raymond Guyot, Leon Mauvais, Marcel Servin, Waldeck Rochet and Jeanette Vermeersch were elected members of the Political Bureau. Comrade Maurice Thorez was re-elected General Secretary and Comrades Duclos, Rochet, Servin, Figures and Plissonnier were elected secretaries. The Congress unanimously approved the elections of the Central Committee.



Opening of the Congress on June 24. General Secretary Maurice Thorez at the mike. Sitting in front row on extreme right is Comrade Jacques Duclos.



A view of the Congress in Session.



# GREEK HERO MUST BE RELEASED

**MANOLIS** Glazos is a national hero of Greece. His very name has become a symbol of courage and heroism. The Greek people love and respect him as a veteran fighter for peace and national freedom of Greece, as a man who has dedicated his life to the advancement of mankind.

Manolis Glazos shot into fame in 1941 when he performed an act of unparalleled courage. In those dark days when the Greek people were suffering under Nazi tyranny, Glazos managed to enter the carefully guarded Acropolis, tore down the Nazi flag and hoisted the blue and white national flag of Greece. The night of May 31, 1941, will always be remembered in the struggle against the dark forces of Fascism.

Manolis Glazos, who was sentenced to death in absentia by the Nazi occupiers, did not cease his fight for the people's freedom and has looked death in the eye many times both before and after his country's liberation. The hardships of the struggle or his militancy.

That is why he has won the love and respect of progressive people in Greece and all over the world, and hatred and fear of the reactionaries.

Last December Glazos was imprisoned on a trumped-up charge under the notorious article 375 adopted in 1936 during the reactionary dictatorship of Metaxas. A verdict of guilty threatens Manolis Glazos with the death sentence, the same punishment to which he was condemned by the Nazis.

Progressives throughout the world strongly protest against the glaring high-handedness of the reactionaries in Greece. The absurdity of the accusation against Glazos is apparent to any unbiased person. This man who has an in-

finite love for his country, who has many times risked his life in the fight for her independence and freedom, a national hero of Greece, is accused of espionage! Indeed, the very accusation is ludicrous. In order to dispose off those who stand in the way, the lick-spittles of the dark forces of reaction are ready to do anything. To make the defence of Manolis Glazos more difficult he has been transferred to a remote prison on Crete.

However, nothing will break the will of this freedom-loving man, because truth is on his side. The pride of Greece stands in the dock not as the accused but as prosecutor of his people's enemies.

Leading Greek jurists, including former Minister of Justice Pappaspyrou, are on hand to rebuff the legal lies and distortions, which will be the main weapons of the Greek Government. Some fifty politicians and public figures of Greece, among them eight former ministers and 16 deputies representing all the opposition parties, have announced their intention to

Greece is astir as rarely before to save her stalwart son. A raging campaign has raged forward. Former ministers, deputies, jurists writers, civil servants have all swung in. The workers and peasants have uttered their wrath and their determination to give Glazos his life. The newspaper 'Avghi' said: "The whole of the Greek people rises in anger against the challenge to the nation and the world—the trial of Glazos."

Not the Greek people alone. From Finland the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Democratic Federation of the Finnish people and 50 members of the Finnish parliament have sent cables of protest to the Greek Prime Minister.



In Britain the movement has obtained mass proportions. 100,000 coal miners from Wales have asked for the release of Glazos. In a day's time they were joined by their Scottish comrades. The executive committees of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding, draughtsmen, branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Trades Councils of different cities have all protested.

## British MPs' Cable

47 prominent British MPs have cabled the Greek Premier asking that the case of Glazos be transferred to a civil court. A picket line has been formed in front of the Greek Embassy.

In Italy powerful voices have raised inside parliament asking that official action be taken—the debate still continues.

Indonesian cultural and art workers united in their People's Cultural League have sent a cable to the Greek King—similar to thousands sent earlier by organisations of workers and peasants. The leading Indonesian daily 'Harian Rakjat' has editorially asked for the release of Glazos.

Chinese jurists, the Venezuelan Journalists' Association, the Dutch Women's organisation, the Soviet Trade Union organisations, the Viet Nam Peace Council are among some of those who have joined the campaign.

An International Commission of Jurists has been set up to supervise the trial of Glazos.

All prominent public figures, mass organisations and political parties of India must now move fast if they are not to feel ashamed before world public opinion. The Government of India must be approached and asked to move in the matter. Time is precious and it is peerless Man who has to be rescued.

# Geneva Resumed

After a three-week recess, the Foreign Ministers' Conference resumed its deliberations at Geneva. The first encounters between the East and the West at the Conference table show that the Western Ministers have yet to move from the rigid positions they had earlier adopted.

**THE** points of departure for the second round were the June 16 proposals of the Western Powers and the June 19 proposals of the Soviet Union. And the interlude between the two rounds has shown the reaction of world opinion to these two sets of proposals. While the West's "package" was found to be a package of obstacles, the Soviet proposals have met with increasingly favourable response in large sections of the world press.

## Soviet Proposals

To recall, briefly the Soviet proposals are: The four Powers—the USSR, the USA, Britain and France should conclude an agreement on the interim status of West Berlin; this agreement should provide for reducing the armed forces and armaments of the three Western Powers in West Berlin down to token figures, stopping subversion and hostile propaganda from West Berlin against the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the other Socialist countries, and refraining from the deployment of atomic and rocket weapons there.

The Soviet proposals also envisage the formation of a committee of representatives of the Four Powers to supervise the enforcement of the commitments involved. And by stating categorically that should such an agreement be reached, the present system of using the lines of communications with West Berlin might be maintained, the Soviet Foreign Minister has knocked the bottom out of the West's mischievous propaganda to the effect that the Soviet Union was threatening to precipitate a shooting war by denying, through its proposals, the Western Powers the access to West Berlin.

To anyone, even in the least, familiar with the East-West negotiations, it is clear that the only practical way to ease international tension is to approach the problem gradually, step by step. The Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in his statement at the opening of the second round of talks at Geneva has amply demonstrated that this precisely is the Soviet approach, as manifested in the Soviet proposals at the Conference.

Finding a long-term solution of the intricate problem of West Berlin as very difficult to be realised, the Soviet Union has proposed an agreement on the interim status of West Berlin, which should operate long enough for an all-German Committee, or any other agency made up of representatives of East and West Germany and acceptable to the Germans, to consider and draft concrete measures for developing contacts between the two German States and examine the questions involved in the drafting and conclusion of a peace treaty and in the unification of Germany.

True, the Soviet Union has

asked for setting a time-limit for the interim agreement. Much is being made of this in the Western Press as if it were an "ultimatum". But is it so? Gromyko has said in his statement: "In the event of the two German States failing to reach agreement on the above matters within the framework of an all-German Committee or otherwise during this period of time, the countries represented at the 1959 Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference would have to take up the question of West Berlin again." Does this sound like an "ultimatum"?

Obviously, those who would want the Soviet Union to say nothing at all about the time-limit are harbouring the illusion of perpetuating the occupation of West Berlin.

Or take another proposal of the Soviet Union, the one about reducing foreign forces in West Berlin to token numbers and about storing no nuclear weapons and rockets there. Can anyone deny that if the above proposal is agreed upon, it would substantially relieve the tense situation not only in Berlin but in Europe as a whole, as well?

The only noteworthy factor in the speeches of the Western representatives so far has been the admission by the British Foreign Minister, Selwyn Lloyd, that there were concurrences between the two main proposals, i.e., the Western Powers' proposals of June 16 and the Soviet proposals of June 19, and that it was quite possible to examine disputed issues point by point without taking any document as a basis. The New York Times had reason to be unhappy: "The British are considerably more hopeful than the U. S." (July 12)

The proceedings of the present sessions, however, indicate that the primary and sole concern of the Western Powers is still to perpetuate the occupation regime in West Berlin. The U. S. delegate, Herter, had clearly stressed that the "freedom of West Berlin" must require "the protective presence of Western troops". And the U. S. delegate was supported by France and Britain.

The next thing about which the Western Foreign Ministers were most concerned when they came back to Geneva, was how to suppress the voice of the German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet Union responded by insisting that the two German States must take part in the private sessions, as well. The Western delegates looked at each other, at a loss as to what to do next. They could not eliminate GDR; so they decided to continue the discussion in plenary sessions!

As the Geneva talks proceed, pressure is being mounted by the Bonn Government to wreck the Conference. According to a France Press Agency report, Bonn has sent a note to Paris, London and Wash-

\* ON FACING PAGE

# ALL OUT FOR AID TO AFFLICTED KASHMIR!

Disaster has assumed the same shape in both the frontier States of our country. The devastation in Kashmir has been nothing short of calamitous. It descended so unexpectedly at a time when happy days seemed in store for the people of this land, surpassing fair.

**THE** sun shone, the crops ripened and the people expected a brief encounter with something better than the normal scarcity. Then some three weeks ago the skies fell apart and the face of the land was a sheet of water. The Jhelum Valley is shaped like a saucer and the unending rains found their receptacle—bringing something akin to catastrophe.

## Vast Areas Under Water

Vast areas on both sides of the Jhelum are under water. The road from Banihal to Srinagar which is Kashmir's link with the rest of India, has been submerged at several places. The Southern district of Anantnag lies covered all over by a swirling blanket of water.

Srinagar itself was in very great danger and for days together lay marooned, while many waited with bated breath to see if the city would be engulfed. It was suspense such as hardly anybody has experienced before, not even at the time of the raids.

Prime Minister Bakshi who was in Pahalgam at the time of the descent of the furies barely managed to reach the capital. The bridge he crossed collapsed a bare half-hour afterwards. Very many others—inhabitants and tourists—were not so lucky. They were quite literally stranded.

The extent of the downpour and the spate of the river Jhelum can be gauged from what happened to Wular Lake. This lake has a discharge rate of 28,000 cuses at Khadaniyar, its outlet, while the Jhelum alone poured into it 35,000 cuses. The result was a ghastly expansion—from the usual 64 square miles to 350 square miles!

Yet it would not have

been so bad if the Valley alone had been inundated. As far as anybody can recall it is the first time that both the territories of the State were affected. Rains and the swollen Chenab overran Jammu just when the Valley was literally reeling. It is not only the homes and fields that have been just washed away. The hydro-power stations at Mohura and Ganderbal—the source of Srinagar's power supply—were severely damaged. Many, many irrigation canals have been wiped out and at least 84 bridges washed away.

The Sonawari development block lies totally submerged—years of work have gone under. The State Government have announced that a large number of the Second Plan projects will just have to be started afresh, all over again from scratch due to the watery ravages.

On July 21 Premier Bakshi gave a grim account of the flood damage. According to reports received so far 139 lives have been lost—89 of them in the Valley. It is quite likely that this will turn out to be an underestimate. In the Valley alone 2 lakhs of acres of land have been submerged, and throughout the State more than 10,000 head of cattle have died, more than 8,000 houses collapsed. Valuable timber has been washed away to Pakistan.

## Ten-Crore Damage

The head of the Kashmir Government, was emphatic that the damage, at a rough estimate, would be to the tune of Rs. 10 crores. "There was no question of it being less. As communications go on being received, losses go on mounting", he said.

## GENEVA . . . . . From Facing Page

ington, bluntly stating that the Berlin question should not be discussed at the Geneva Conference. At the conference table, Grewe, the representative of the Bonn militarists, had refused to discuss the question of West Berlin, outside the framework of the notorious "package plan"—which even the Western Powers now prefer not to remember.

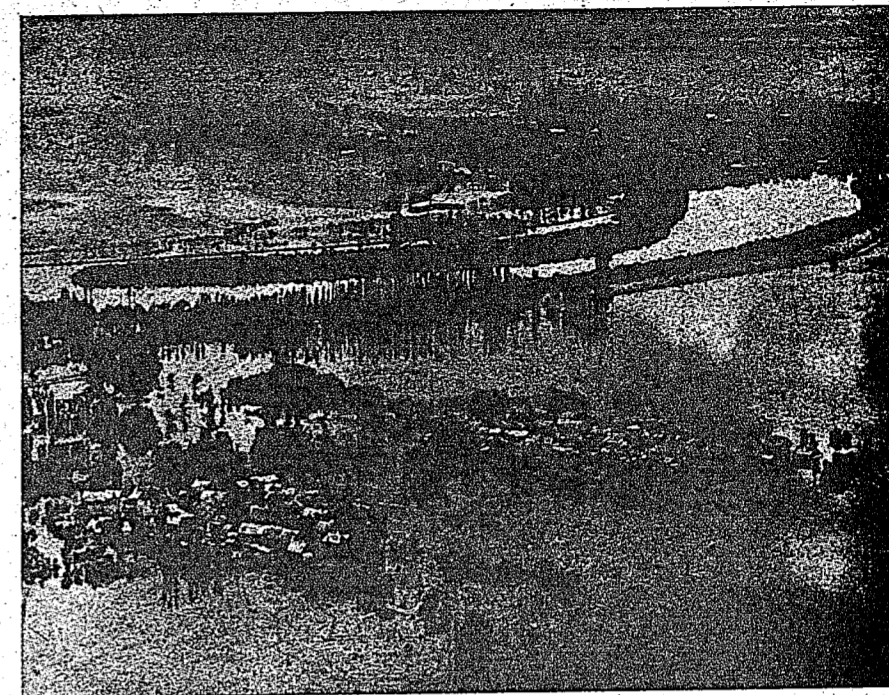
Attempts were also made at the Conference to provide a "legal" justification to the recent holding of the Presidential elections of FRG in West Berlin. But when the GDR representative, Foreign Minister Lothar Bolz, read out a number of documents in which the three Western Powers resolutely denied the right of the FRG to regard Berlin as its territory, there was significant silence on the part of the representatives of the three Western Powers.

As the Geneva talks proceed, the imperialist press is still trying to use the Summit meeting as a bargaining counter for wringing out concessions from the Soviet Union. It wants Western representatives to remain "tough" on the Berlin issue. The New York Times for instance, rapturously quotes President Eisenhower as saying that the U. S. determination to retain Western rights in Berlin is like "an immovable stone."

There is however mounting public opinion throughout the world that favours the path of negotiation. The New Statesman's Washington correspondent reports (July 18) "the present consensus in America is... probably more good than harm will come from a confrontation of the heads of States."

—RAZA ALI

(July 21)



The Valley submerged—the reign of the waters.

Contrary to expectations, the Jammu-Srinagar road could not be thrown open to traffic yesterday. It is hoped that by tomorrow the convoys would be able to resume their journeys.

During the days when the floods were at their height the people as ever showed their mettle. In several areas they banded together to arrange rescue or to save the very young and old. The Army also moved in and worked with a will.

But the disaster was so unexpected and so utterly swift that very little could be saved. The primary question, therefore, is now one of immediate relief. Premier Bakshi stated that 45 medical teams were at work, food had been rushed to the specially needed areas. Rupees 30 lakhs had been set aside for tacevi and interest-free loans would be given to those whose houses had collapsed.

He said that an ordinance would shortly be promulgated prohibiting the mortgage, lease or sale of land in rural areas. "That would prevent monied interests from taking undue advantage of the critical conditions of the peasants", he added.

Cash compensation according to a graded scale have been promised as also employment to the flood victims in such work as raising of bunds, repairing of canals and diversion of rivers and nullahs.

It would scarcely be safe or wise, however, to leave all this work of relief solely in Government hands. The Kashmir Government has earned notoriety for corruption and bungling and there is ample danger that these "qualities" would be exhibited in this relief work as well.

It was surely an amazing affair that just at this time the Government increased the subsidised food prices. And the hartal and demonstration of the Srinagar people were met by vicious police attacks. Quite naturally Sri G. M. Sadiq and other leaders of the Democratic National Conference, strongly protested against this wrong policy and repressive tactics.

One also wonders why the State Government has set its face against giving doles and opening relief camps. This would seem to be absolutely necessary, at least in the initial stages of giving aid to the victims.

It would be essential, therefore, that the Government seeks the cooperation of the Democratic National Conference and other popular organisations in the arduous task. Coordinating Committees at different levels need to be set up to ensure expeditious and equitable work.

Apart from the help that the Central Government has immediately to give, it is imperative that the rest of India comes to the succour of Kashmir. Already in Delhi, a Citizens' Committee for Kashmir Flood Sufferers' Relief has been set up under the Chairmanship of Srimati Aruna Asaf Ali.

This Committee held a public meeting on July 17. Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, who had just returned from an aerial tour of Kashmir, spoke movingly about the vast extent of the floods. "For miles

and miles," he said "not a blade of grass could be seen." Apart from appealing for relief, he hit out at the violent radio broadcasts that Pakistan continued to make in the midst of this tragedy. What is worse only 30 miles from Srinagar sabotage—an act of incardinarism—had been unearthed. Such were the vicious tactics of the Pak editors. All underlined the gravity of the situation and pointed out that while the major burden of relief would necessarily fall on the Government, private relief could also play a vital role. She called not only for cash donations but also for food, clothing and medicine. She appealed passionately to each and every citizen, no matter his beliefs or his status, to give to their capacity so that Kashmir could feel the warm embrace of the other members of the Indian family.

This is an appeal to which nobody dares to fail to respond. The utmost has to be done here and now, to lessen a little the bereavement of those whom the waters trapped.

## NOTES . . . . . From Page 4

They succeeded. They have come to New Delhi to repeat the performance on a bigger scale and their present plea is: If you don't pull down the Kerala Government, you yourself will go under!

The country is anxiously watching if the President, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and the Congress High Command has the guts to stand up to this unprecedented blackmail and by the sanctity of the Indian Constitution.

The Kerala crisis moves on to a new and decisive stage. The National Council of our Party has clearly and realistically pointed out the two alternative perspectives:

The way to restore peace in Kerala is not mid-term elections but to defeat the present reactionary offensive.

Central intervention, however clothed, will send Kerala up in flames, making mockery of the Indian Constitution, and darken the prospects of peaceful demo-

cratic advance. "Negotiate and settle", stated our General Secretary explaining the stand of our Party at Trivandrum.

Discuss and persuade, is the call of the Chief Minister of Kerala.

The people and Government of Kerala are getting the better of the hooliganism that is called the "liberation struggle" there.

Facing the inevitable debacle in Kerala they have rushed to New Delhi for aid. A Parliamentary debate and a resolution for mid-term elections is being canvassed.

The Parliament session opens on August 3 and on the same day our Party will hold countrywide demonstrations to stir the conscience of our country in defence of peace in Kerala, the inviolability of our Constitution and the triumph of democratic principles.

—P. C. JOSHI

(July 21)

PAGE THIRTEEN



Pasalidis, Chairman of the Left-wing Democratic Union of Greece (right) meets Glazos at the military tribunal.



# WAS WARNING IGNORED?

Flood waters in various parts of Assam have been receding. Excepting a few very low-lying areas, the waters in other parts have considerably receded. Though damaged roads and other means of communications are yet to be repaired, many of the areas which were unapproachable can now be reached, albeit with some difficulty.

**B**ELIEVING all earlier expectations, the Government could not, till the time of writing, come out with an assessment of the damage caused by this year's flood, which has been rightly called the greatest calamity in living memory. Though it has claimed that flood-relief work has been undertaken on a war-footing, one fails to understand why after more than a week of the flood waters ebbing even an approximate accurate assessment could not be made. In fact, one finds a stereo-typed, routine approach to the work, which has been proceeding at snail's pace.

Hardly have the people recovered from the first shock of the calamity when there comes the grim warning of the possibility of a second wave of floods very shortly. One dare not speculate about the possible repercussion of a second flood in such quick succession.

## Relief Urgently Needed

Just at the moment, relief remains the biggest problem here. There has hardly been any improvement in the situation since last week. The Communist Party's appeal for a joint flood relief committee with officials and non-officials seems to have fallen on deaf ears. At local levels, in some towns a few joint relief committees, no doubt, have been formed. But the authorities look upon these committees as mere fund collectors. It is the general feeling here that if all the available material resources are to be utilised in the best possible way, there should be a thorough coordination among all the agencies in the field.

This coordination could be achieved only if there were a central relief committee with representatives of all relief organisations and political parties, functioning in close contact with the official authorities. But the State Government either does not appreciate the need for it or does not want to function in cooperation with non-officials, for reasons best known to itself.

Such a committee could plan the deployment of resources in keeping with the needs of various areas and could also effectively check various malpractices and corruption in relief operations, allegations about which have been reported from various places. An instance is provided by a report from Silchar—one of the two most affected districts—where gratuitous relief distribution at Ramkrishnanagar was held up for six days as the officer concerned did not turn up.

People here have also been discussing certain other questions that have been posed very sharply by this year's floods. A flood warning, it is said, was re-

ceived by the State Government at least seven days before the devastation started. Why, then, was no step taken to meet the eventuality, why were not people warned about it, why was no step taken to remove people to safer places?

For some years now, floods have been a recurring menace in Assam. This did lead to the undertaking of some flood control works, such as construction of embankments, etc. It is now a patent fact, however, that much more money than was required flowed down the Brahmaputra in the name of flood control. Just one instance of this wastage of public money may be mentioned. A report is said to be practically finalised by the Anti-Corruption Branch after a probe into the affairs of the Dibrugarh embankment, which was constructed to save the town from the fury of the Brahmaputra.

After severe criticism from various quarters and persistent allegations about wastage of public money in connection with this embankment construction, an enquiry was undertaken by

It is alleged by reliable sources that the enquiry revealed that two contractors, the engineer in charge of

the construction (who incidentally was reported to have vast experience in the DVC Project and who has recently been awarded a Padmavibushan) are involved in this reported defalcation. This definitely would not be the only instance of its kind.

However, this year's flood has thoroughly exposed how vulnerable the embankments are. In one district alone, it is reported, there have been as many as 18 breaches. People naturally suspect that the construction of these embankments has been very defective. One wonders also if the location of the embankments was suitable.

## Food Situation

The food situation in Assam had been bad enough even before the flood, the Food Minister's tall claims notwithstanding. The myth of a "bumper crop" was blown up long before the flood occurred. With the onslaught of the flood, began another onslaught on the people by the hoarders, smugglers and black-marketiers of all sorts. Whatever stocks of food were available have immediately gone underground.

Wide-scale smuggling across the Indo-Pak border is also reported. Rice meant for fair-price shops to be sold at Rs. 20.25 per measure immediately finds its way to the black-market where it sells for anything between Rs. 28 to Rs. 30 if almost all the

places including the State capital, right under the noses of the Ministers. In Cachar, according to reports reaching here, rice has been selling between Rs. 36 to Rs. 40 a maund.

Commensurate with this prohibitive cost of rice, the prices of other daily necessities have also been rising. Sugar is selling in the State capital itself at Rs. 1.50 a seer. Just a few days back, a seer of rui fish sold here for Rs. 14. This naturally has hit the people no less than the flood itself.

The Chief Minister in the face of this woeful state of affairs only "regrets" that the traders did not cooperate with his Government. One may ask: who has ever heard of a black-marketier "changing his heart" in response to appeal by whomsoever it may be? Are the laws impotent where black marketeers are concerned?

Even Congress leaders report that the people in the rural areas have had their purchasing power so depleted that they cannot afford even to buy their allotted quota from the fair-price shops. Reports from Cachar indicate that a vast number of peasants and landless labourers have been living on jack-fruits and wild roots, etc. The Hindusthan Standards' Silchar correspondent reports: "The starvation death of Santosh Majhi, son of Nagendra Majhi of Silchar, was confirmed by... the vice-chairman Silchar Local Board who had been deputed by the District

Congress to investigate the case".

The same report relates how starving people were not allowed to purchase rice from fair-price shops until they had cleared their tax arrears. Needless to say many could not avail themselves of this "generous offer". Even the general secretary of the State Congress is reported to have "deplored that no relief had been given to Santosh Majhi's family till his death, though other members of Santosh's family as also some others of the locality were living on jack-fruits". (Hindusthan Standard, July 11).

Many here call it not just a case of starvation death, they call it murder, whatever may be the legal term. The starvation of people was seized upon for realisation of their tax arrears! Could callousness be more criminal?

## Ayub Khan's Gifts

When such is the internal situation, Ayub Khan's army has taken this as an opportune moment to start shooting with American bullets along the whole border of East Pakistan and Assam, from Cachar to the Khasi-Jaintia hills. As usual "strong protests" have been sent to the Pakistan Government. New Delhi, perhaps, has no time to think of poor Assam. Are they not very busy trying their best to bury Indian democracy in

# COMMUNIST BILLS TO HIGHLIGHT KERALA ISSUE

By K. P. Subramanya Menon

The forthcoming monsoon session of Parliament, though short, promises to be an important and exciting one. A number of issues of far-reaching significance are likely to come up for discussion and decision.

**T**HE echoes of the sombre events in Kerala during the last few months will undoubtedly reverberate in the august chambers of the Parliament House, shaking it perhaps, to its very foundations. The fact, that unlike the earlier occasions, this time the Government of India, in the person of the Prime Minister and a number of other Ministers, have already taken up publicly partisan positions on the issues posed in Kerala, will leave less room for idle speculations on the ambiguities in the posture of the majority Congress Party's attitudes.

The Communist Party on its part being acutely aware of the dangers threatening secular democracy and the system of Parliamentary Government in our country, is proposing to initiate a number of resolutions and bills with the object of protecting our democratic institutions and spotlighting the attention of the country on some of the other important economic and political problems facing the country.

## Stop Church Dabbling In Politics

The Communist Group in Parliament have given notice of 13 non-official resolutions: Some of these resolutions relate directly to problems arising out of the situation in Kerala. For example one of the resolutions reads:

"This House: (a) takes serious notice of the growing tendency among the Ecclesiastical Personnel of the Catholic Church and Foreign Missionaries to indulge in politics in the name of religion and faith; (b) considers that such participation in politics by religious leaders and foreign missionaries of the Catholic Church in their capacity as Ecclesiastics will evoke undesirable and sectarian reactions among other communities and religious groups, thus endangering the development of healthy secular democratic traditions in the country; (c) is therefore of the opinion that the Government of India should bring forward necessary legislation under Article 35(2) (a) of the Constitution to ban such participation in political activities by the Ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church and foreign missionaries."

A second resolution which directly deals with the agitation in Kerala reads: "The House views with great concern the recourse to tactics and methods, not provided for or envisaged in the Constitution for seeking a change

of the Government of a State as well as the use of threat of intervention from the Union Government, in furtherance of this end; and having taken into account the recent developments in Kerala the House is of the opinion that the Government should take all necessary steps for discouraging unconstitutional tactics and methods and for making it impossible for any one to use the threat of the intervention by the Union Government for the removal of a State Government".

Congressmen and Congress Ministers at the Centre and the States cry themselves hoarse about implementing Second Five Year Plan and preparing for Third. The section on teachers in the Chapter on Education in the 2nd Five Year Plan recommends that "each State may consider bringing elementary school teachers in the State into its own service in appropriate cadres. When the services of teachers are placed at the disposal of local bodies or private institutions according to the cadres to which they belong, their terms of appointment would be maintained. This would enable State Governments to extend to teachers adequate benefits of security, pension, provident fund contributions, promotion opportunities to qualify for higher grades and also provide the appropriate amenities" (p. 519, Second Five Year Plan).

## Implement Plan Provision For Teachers

The Kerala Education Act seeks to achieve precisely this recommendation of the Second Plan prepared by a Commission over which Prime Minister Nehru presides and of which a number of other Cabinet Ministers are members. One of the serious issues in conflict in Kerala is the Education Act, and Congress Party leader Sri P. T. Chacko has openly threatened that if the Congress comes back to office in Kerala, he will tear the Act into pieces.

The resolution given notice of by Communist Members of Parliament will, if it comes up for discussion, puts to test the loyalty of Congress to their own plans and proclaimed intentions. It reads:

"This House is of opinion that the Government of India should take immediate and effective steps to see that the provisions relating to the pay and service conditions of teachers contained in paragraphs 41, 42, 43 and 44 of Chapter XXIII (Education) of the Second Five Year Plan are implement-

ed by the State Governments and that the Government of India should extend to State Governments all constitutional, legal, financial and moral support in implementing the above provisions".

Along with these resolutions, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha and Comrade T. B. Vittal Rao in the Lok Sabha are tabling two non-official bills. One of them called "The Catholic Church Premises & Ecclesiastical Order (Restriction of Political Activity) Bill" seeks to impose certain "minimum restrictions" on the participation in politics by Church dignitaries in the name of religion.

Our country has been the victim of the tragic effect of the mixing up of religion with politics. All political parties in the country, perhaps with the exception of Jan Sangh, have proclaimed their faith in secular democracy, socialism etc. and have expressed vehement opposition to bring in religion into politics. Perhaps Prime Minister Nehru has been the most consistent and vehement champion of secularism in politics. Will these parties, if they are true to themselves, will Prime Minister Nehru if he is sincere in his declarations, support the Communist MP's Bill? Or will he trade principles for expediency?

## Introduce Right Of Recall

A second Bill, called "The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill" seeks to provide for "the disqualification of an elected member when two-thirds of the voters in his constituency have lost confidence in him, and express lack of confidence in a definite and unmistakable manner".

The Bill, it is understood, seeks to amend Part II, Chapter III of the Representation of People Act, 1951, by adding a new Section 7A, which reads:

"A person shall be disqualified for being a member of the House of the People or the Legislative Assembly of a State, if at any time after his election, a 2/3rd majority of the voters on the electoral rolls of the constituency from which he has been elected, demands, in such manner as may be prescribed by the Election Commission, in this behalf, the resignation of the member concerned; and after the expiry of 15 days of the notification of such valid demand in the appropriate Gazette, the person so disqualified shall cease to be a member of the House of the People or the Legislative Assembly of a State".

We hear today all the Opposition parties in Kerala, including Congress shouting that the Communist Government has lost the mandate of the people and therefore should resign and get out. If they are all so solicitous about the representative character of the Legislators, here is a chance for them to prove their

bona fides. Let them support this bill and they will stand vindicated before the people of this country. If not, they will be taken for what they are, mere charlatans and worse.

Similarly a resolution suggesting the introduction of the right of recall of Members of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies has also been given notice of.

## State Trading

Apart from these resolutions and bills which have directly or indirectly a bearing on the situation in Kerala, a number of other resolutions of economic and political importance have been given notice of. The policy of Government of India of scuttling the National Development Council's decision on State Trading in Food grains will be spotlighted if the resolution on that subject given notice of by Communist MPs gets the ballot. The resolution reads:

"The House is of the opinion that having regard to the failure of the Government to make State Trading in food grains effective and successful, a Committee of Parliament with ten members from Lok Sabha and five from Rajya Sabha be appointed to review the implementation of the State Trading Scheme in order to make the necessary recommendations to the Government for developing State Trading in food grains on a large scale all over the country".

The capitulation of the "socialist" Congress Government before the "mass upsurge" of the black-marketiers, hoarders and wholesale traders and the free-enterprise lobby and the almost scrapping of any effective scheme of State trading will surely be spotlighted if the chance for this comes. Of course, a lot of clap-trap about non-violence, democracy and "socialism without tears" will be trotted out to justify the surrender before the onslaught of vested interests.

Similarly, resolutions have been tabled on "conditions of life and work of the officers and ranks in the Armed Forces as well as the education and other facilities required for their children living in Military Camp areas"; on the "slow progress of cooperative movement"; on the implementation of the Minimum Wages Act in regard to agricultural labourers; on progress of land reclamation work and assignment of waste lands to cultivators and also on the working of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 with special reference to the "necessity for rapid industrialisation and to prevent the inroads of foreign private capital in collaboration with Indian interests or otherwise—into our national economy".

Communist Members of Parliament intend to give notices of different motions to discuss certain other important questions of immediate relevance to people's livelihood or welfare of the common people. Comrade

Renu Chakravarty has given notice of a motion to discuss the results of the working of the National Coal Development operation. Dr. Baj Bahadur Gour has given notice of a motion to discuss the large-scale closure of textile mills in the country. Comrade Chintaman Panigrahi has given notice of a motion to discuss the Second Annual Report of the State Trading Corporation of India Ltd.

Questions have been tabled on the food situation, floods, and a number of other important issues. These important matters may require in fact full-fledged discussions. And it is understood proper motions will be given notice of.

A number of questions relating to the Vivian Bose Board report on LIC-Mundhra deal, on the Dalai Lama's behaviour and activities, on the situation in Laos, Viet Nam etc. are also likely to be put for answer. Indo-Pakistan issues like the Canal Water Dispute, border incidents, etc., will also demand attention.

But whatever be the climate, Communist Members of Parliament will continue to defend the best interests of our people, to coordinate mass movement outside with our activity inside the Parliament and above all to champion the cause of our national traditions of democracy and socialism.

## PUNJAB KISANS

\* FROM FACING PAGE

would be in the interest of agricultural production in general and food production in particular if even no interest is charged on such project of national importance.

8) It will not be improper to demand from the Central Government that it bear a part of the burden of the Bhakra project, which is the first project of its kind from which the whole nation is going to be benefited.

If these suggestions are accepted not only can the whole amount be capitalised but even the basic debt can be paid in a number of years out of the income derived from the project.

Disclosing the contents of another resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab Kisan Sabha, the President announced that the Sabha has decided to send a jatha of veteran kisan leaders of the State under his own leadership to meet the Punjab Governor and the Chief Minister for a final bid for a negotiated settlement. Before reaching Chandigarh on August 10, this jatha will tour the State in order to propagate and explain the case of the Punjab kisans on the question of betterment levy and allied matters like forcible collection of advance payment and repression. The jatha will start from Jullundur on July 25.

A letter outlining the demands of the Kisan Sabha has been sent by Comrade Tapiala to the Governor and the Chief Minister of the Punjab.

# WITHDRAW THIS UNJUST LEVY

## Punjab Kisan Sabha Appeals Again

**C**OMRADE Dalip Singh Tapiala, President of the Punjab State Kisan Sabha has issued the following statement to the press:

In pursuance of the resolution on betterment levy passed by the State Kisan Conference held at Bilga on June 29 to July 1, 1959 the working committee of the Sabha has reiterated its earlier stand for a negotiated settlement on the question of betterment levy.

It is a well-known fact that the State Kisan Sabha had called off the anti-betterment levy satyagraha on March 22 in response to oft repeated appeals by the Governor, Irrigation Minister and the Speaker with the object of creating a cordial atmosphere for such a settlement. But the State Government instead of responding to this goodwill gesture continued to play with the question and resorted to coercive methods for the realization of the advance payment of the betterment levy without final settlement and intensified repression against the organised peasant movement. The Government even refused to discuss the question with the State Kisan Sabha, violating their previous assurances and in spite of the repeated requests.

The Kisan Sabha had made it clear that as a result of the glorious struggle of the Punjab peasantry and the broadest unity forged, it would not be possible for the Government to

keep the peasantry burdened with this unjust tax. As a result of this movement the Government had to come down from Rs. 123 crores to Rs. 33 crores and it cannot keep back the promise of further reduction.

When the Punjab peasants reiterated their stand through State-wide demonstrations on June 15 the Punjab Government was once again compelled to consider the question and examine all the memoranda and suggestions made by the Kisan Sabha and other parties and individuals.

Before the Government takes a final decision on the question the State Kisan Sabha again wants to put forward its proposals for completely wiping out the unjust and unbearable tax of the betterment levy. The proposals as put forth by the working committee are:

1) The total commanded area under the Bhakra canal system is 49 lakh acres. The Government calculates the matured area as 30 lakh acres, at the rate of 60 per cent of the commanded area. This calculation is being made on the basis of the 1943-44 average, whereas at present there is not a single canal in Punjab where the average irrigated area would fall below 70 per cent. Even if we calculate at the rate of 67 per cent, the total irrigated area would come to 35 lakh acres. It means that there will be an additional income from the water

rate and water advantage rate on 5 lakh acres.

2) The income from the water rate is calculated by the Government as Rs. 1.84 crores at the rate of Rs. 6 per acre average. This also is arbitrary. The water rate for various crops varies from Rs. 6 per acre on fodder to Rs. 16 per acre on sugar cane. The average rate would in no case fall below Rs. 7 per acre. This can be calculated on the basis of income derived from the existing canals. If this is accepted then there will be additional increase in income of Rs. 70 lakhs annually—Rs. 35 lakhs from the additional area irrigated and Rs. 35 lakhs from the calculation on the basis of Rs. 7 per acre.

3) The Government does not count the income from the local rate on water advantage rate in the income from the Eakhra Project on the plea that this is the income of the local bodies. Everybody knows that this income is solely due to the addition in the water advantage rate and this is an unearned income. Then, how can the local bodies use this income when the Bhakra irrigation project owes substantial debt burdens? If this item which is more than Rs. 50 lakhs annually is debited to the income of the Bhakra irrigation project it will help in substantially reducing the burden.

4) Though the Government at last has accepted the principle of dividing the cost of the dam half—half on irrigation

and half on electricity on the basis of internationally accepted practices it has not done justice to the irrigation part of the project. Whereas the cost of Bhakra dam has been equally divided into irrigation and electricity parts, the entire cost of the Nangal dam and hydel channel have been put on irrigation stems. Who does not know that the hydel channel has been constructed at the cost of Rs. 11 crores with the purpose of producing electricity from Ganguwal and Kotla? Then why should the irrigation item be burdened with this cost? At least half of this can be easily transferred to the electricity item, which nobody denies is productive.

5) The cost of certain bridges has been met from the Bhakra irrigation project sources but the income from toll is taken by the PWD funds. The income from toll could be diverted to the Bhakra irrigation project.

6) Some income can be derived from the sale of machinery used in the project and huge establishments which the irrigation department does not require now.

7) The Central Government should be asked to reduce the rate of interest to 3 per cent simple interest instead of 3½ to 4½ per cent compound interest. This alone will result in the reduction of Rs. 8 to Rs. 9 crores of betterment levy. In fact, it

last has accepted the principle of dividing the cost of the dam half—half on irrigation



July

# ANDHRA'S MIGHTY UPSURGE FOR KERALA

From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

The biggest event of the "Hands off Kerala Campaign" in the past few days has been the great challenge from Andhra. All Andhra had waited to give Pandit Nehru the stirring spectacle of mass warning. They had wanted him tangibly to witness how deep the message of Kerala has gone in this neighbouring State. Unfortunately, illness prevented the Prime Minister from encountering this health-giving upsurge.

**I**NCOMPLETE reports indicate that at the call of the Andhra State Council of the Communist Party of India and the Andhra Pradesh Trades Union Congress nearly a lakh of workers went on strike on July 21. From the rickshaw drivers, scattered all over, to the organised textile mill hands—all joined to add their strength to the Kerala Government.

It is a fact of momentous significance that for the first time since 1953—when a similar State-wide action had brought Andhra Pradesh into being—the workers had struck on a political issue.

Apart from the strike a complete hartal was observed in Nellore, Samalkot, Guntur, Eluru, Kalahasti and Rajahmundry. In Vijayawada over 1,000 cycles combined in a formidable demonstration which went through the

town, ward by ward, for four full hours. The town itself poured out to a gigantic mass meeting, where Comrade P. Sundarayya was the main speaker.

In addition to these mass actions, democratic opinion in Andhra has been asserting itself in a number of ways. Prominent doctors, lawyers and political figures from Bhimavaram, West Godavari district, have protested against the agitation in Kerala.

Presidents of 21 Panchayats in Gudivada taluq of Krishna district have warned against the dangers to democracy in the "liberation" campaign.

The Democratic Party Committee of Karimnagar, the Vice-Chairman of the Ongole Municipality as well as the convenor of the local Bharat Sevak Samaj, 29 advocates from Cuddapah, prominent citizens of Nizamabad and Khammam—these are a fraction of the veritable storm of wrath against the narrowly partisan stand of the Congress High Command.

the Congress Party when judging Congress-governed States and non-Congress-governed Kerala. He asserted that a dangerous trend was developing to concentrate power at the Centre. It contained the possibility of advancing from a highly centralised and monopolistic state to a dictatorship. Comrade Dange appealed in conclusion to the people to join the demonstration against Central intervention called by the Communist Party on August 3.

The Bombay branch of the All-India Association of Democratic Lawyers met, under the chairmanship of Sri Danial Latifi, and passed a resolution urging that the foundations of democracy needed to be well laid and the Kerala agitation precisely damaged these foundations.

## BANGALORE

In Bangalore, the capital of Karnatak, a packed gathering at the Town Hall on July 21 heard with rapt attention a two-hour speech by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. He pointed out that the slogan of mid-term elections—apart from its discriminatory character—would not help to solve the problems in Kerala. The only way forward was through a settlement arrived at by all the parties sitting together and negotiating.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party emphatically asserted that what had happened in Kerala was a most powerful demonstration of the correctness of the policy that the Communist Party had been following.

## SAURASHTRA

Sri Babubhai Vaidya, an ex-Congress MLA of the Bombay State Legislative Assembly and a prominent public worker of Saurashtra—Sri Dhebar's home region—has condemned the agitation of the Congress and other parties in Kerala. In course of his press statement Sri Vaidya has described the agitation to overthrow the democratically elected Government of Kerala as an open breach of the Indian Constitution and a denial of democracy. He says that the agitation will cause great

## DON'T DISCLOSE YOUR IDENTITY

**B**ELOW is the copy of a printed confidential circular issued by the Vimochana Samara Samiti asking picketers not to give their political affiliations when questioned by the police so that the Kerala Government may not be able to show that political workers are doing the picketing of schools and buses, etc.

This particular copy has been addressed to Sri V. O. Abraham of Kottayam and the Government are in possession of it, it is learnt.

Phone 2275

KERALA LIBERATION ACTION COMMITTEE

Publicity Office, Trivandrum-4 11th July, 1959

Dear friend,

It is understood that the volunteers taken to custody are being questioned in police lock-ups to ascertain their political party affiliations. This is done with a view to do propaganda

outside by the Communists that a good number of political workers have identified themselves with the forms of action like bus and school picketing which do not find favour with the High Command in Delhi. Hence instructions may be given to our volunteers who picket schools not to disclose their political affiliations when questioned.

The question of release after arrest has not been effectively tackled by us. Volunteers when once taken into custody should absolutely refuse to get out without production before a magistrate. If he is forcibly released he should file a petition before the magistrate stating that he was ill-treated by the police and cite as witnesses all people taken into custody in his company. Please pass on the instructions to the Taluq units.

Yours sincerely, Sd/ P. Sadasivan Pillai, Publicity Officer

(True copy)

## AUGUST 3

The National Council of the Communist Party of India which met in Trivandrum from July 13 to 16 has called upon all Party units to launch upon a campaign of wide mobilisation of public opinion in defence of the Kerala Government.

All Party units have been directed to observe August 3 as Defence of Kerala Day throughout the country by holding rallies and demonstrations with the broadest mobilisation in every place.

The National Council has directed that in the various State capitals and in New Delhi marches should be organised to the State legislatures and the Secretariats and before the Parliament on that day.

## BOMBAY

In Bombay on July 21, the City Committee of the Communist Party of India held a public meeting at the Sunderbai Hall, presided over by Com. S. S. Mirajkar. The hall packed to the capacity heard Comrade S. A. Dange bluntly state that the Opposition in Kerala was not prepared to negotiate because it did not know its own mind and did not know what exactly it wanted. He accused the Opposition of hatching a conspiracy to overthrow the Kerala Government because it knew it would never win the next elections on account of the sweeping reforms effected in that State in favour of the masses.

Comrade Dange assailed the double-standards of

Kerala Lamas came to Delhi last week—Two cartoons by Kuttu.

—Courtesy HINDUSTHAN STANDARD.

