

460-4

SAL PER

JAN 27 1959  
ENCL COPY

# DHEBAR AND DEMOCRACY

**new age**  
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY  
VOL. VI NO. 10 SUNDAY, DEC. 7, 1958 25 nP.

IT is no accident that the publication of the Congress President's correspondence with Kerala's Chief Minister has synchronised with the Parliamentary debate on Kerala and the privilege motion. The Congress chief through the press and Minoo Masani from inside Parliament functioned together.

The Congress President supplied the "facts" and with his Gandhian accents also tried to create the atmosphere while the Parliamentary debate was meant to clinch the issue. The final result desired was to clear the path for Central intervention against the Kerala Government. This foul political game of reactionary anti-Communists from inside and outside the Congress has failed. The Communist Chief Minister of Kerala and the Communist M. P.s inside Parliament have successfully exposed the whole game: the anti-Communists refuse to accept the democratic verdict of the Kerala electorate and let their duly elected Government function normally and peacefully.

Sri Dhebar has cited several "incidents" but refused to take the responsibility to state that they had a "basis in truth" and instead insists on his "cumulative impression." No honest person can disagree with Comrade Nambudiripad when he wrote in reply: "I wonder if this is an approach worthy of one who is sincerely anxious to base himself on truth."

Sri Dhebar has loudly voiced his preconceived prejudices that the Communists because of their very principles could not be loyal to the Indian Constitution.

### NO RESPONSE

Comrade Nambudiripad rightly refused to discuss with such a personality the question of the "fundamentals of our or your picture of democracy" but expressed his eagerness to seriously discuss "the question of how to work parliamentary democracy as we have all jointly evolved and we all want to preserve and work." There was no positive response from the Congress President, for his sole purpose was anti-Communist smear campaign and not honestly thrash out ways and means of defending and strengthening Indian democracy.

There has also been no answer to Comrade Nambudiripad's straightforward question: "Is it a part of the Constitution, or is it not, that different political parties, at different times, be able to carry on the administration of the country." He hit the nail on the head when he cited the well-known instances in the post-1952 period when the Congress Party and the

Union Government under its leadership violated or stretched too far well-known and elementary constitutional conventions to prevent any non-Congress Government coming into power — for example, against the United Democratic Front in Madras, the way the non-Congress Government in Pepsu was bundled out, the manoeuvres to keep the Congress in power in the Travancore-Cochin State between 1952 and 1956 and latest in Orissa.

The real danger to Indian democracy comes from the Congress intolerance of other parties and the lust for the monopoly of power. The Congress could win over or break up its own dissidents or parties of the Right by its misuse of power and patronage but is now faced in Kerala with a Government that has the solid support of the majority of the people and a Party that cannot be bribed, nor browbeaten nor broken and hence the resort to wild attacks.

There is another, a very sinister aspect, to this whole game. The Congress leaders know that the people of Kerala cannot be mobilised against their Communist Government, they have tried it and failed. The Congress leaders know that it will be no walk-over for them if they used constitutional provisions to oust the first Communist Government, from power, for it is backed by a principled party which leads not only the majority of people of Kerala but has widespread influence in all the States and is the major opposition Party of the country. Besides, the mass of neutralists wish well of the Kerala Government and want it to succeed. The anti-Communists, therefore, hope that their anti-Kerala Government campaign will encourage the Kerala officials to defy the Communist Ministry and bring the administration to a standstill. Kerala's Chief Minister has highlighted this as a real danger.

Here is an issue that concerns not only the Communists but all Indian democrats. What will happen to Indian democracy if the bureaucracy is used against an elected Ministry, and if the administrative apparatus is subverted for petty partisan aims?

### THE CONSTITUTION

More, the Indian Constitution is not being respected but ignored when the Congress leaders seek to discuss the law and order situation in Kerala inside the Union Parliament when this subject is beyond its jurisdiction and when it is never permitted in the case of Congress Governments in the other States, despite much worse situations. It did not bring credit to our democratic institutions and practices when the majority of Congress M.P.s trooped into the lobby behind

Masani after discussing the privilege motion against the Kerala Chief Minister.

Political commentators have noted that a few Congress M.P.s voted with the Communists, the Cabinet Ministers remained neutral, that Pandit Nehru personally pleaded that the motion be not pressed. The real question is: how has it come to this that the majority of Congress M.P.s followed the lead

of a person like Masani, a confirmed spokesman of the American Lobby who has got into our Parliament under the Jharkhand banner and not their leader Pandit Nehru? Constant preaching and unprincipled practice of anti-Communism inevitably lead to such a shameful situation.

The Parliamentary debate and the Dhebar-Nambudiripad correspondence would

have done great good if they make all non-Communist democratic elements, and above all Congressmen, think anew and afresh. No tricks can oust the Kerala Government. No slanders will provoke our Party. We, Communists, will seek every opportunity to cooperate with all democratic elements to make a success of democracy in our country.

(December 3)

# IS MORARJI PROTECTING S. P. JAIN ?

From Our Correspondent

After Mundhra, Shanti Prasad Jain. The private sector crusaders are being badly let down by their patron saints. All of India's spiritualism leaves these profit warriors untouched. They seem rather to obey Marx and run almost too true to type.

P OOR Mundhra tried to disappear, but it seems. Santi Prasad is more fortunate — he is reported to be making his papers disappear. Dalmianagar seethed with activity no sooner was the lord of the place apprehended at Palam.

Wicked tongues from the town tell the tale of a truckload of papers and files that were immediately carted off to the paper factory. Unceremoniously they were dumped into the pulping machine and soon enough reduced to pulp! Rather strange raw-material! But we are sure there is nothing more to it than increasing paper production and saving the nation's foreign exchange.

More economy is reported to be practised in the offices of Santi's empire. Typists formerly typed three copies of each document — one for despatch, one for the office, and the last one for the personal file far removed from the office and its disloyal eyes.

Now in the interests of austerities only two copies are to be made — one for despatch, the other for the same inaccessible personal file. No documents are to be kept in the office reference file — we hope this won't lead to lay-off of redundant filing clerks. Even if we can believe that Sri Jain is keen on economy and is a wizard at savings and accounts we wonder if this story is not another slander against the innocent?

People are far too prone to draw parallels. They say that Mundhra seems to have had his TTK or per-

haps some other high dignity. They are crude enough to insist that Santi Prasad is also well-placed and begin to look closely at the Cabinet. Some even lack ordinary decorum and

stage-whisper that the pure and prim Morarjibhai contacted the Reserve Bank bosses and stopped their instructing the Punjab National Bank to remove Santibhai.

This is too much for us, we just can't believe this of a man who had the guts to tell an American that all Indians were cowards. But oddly enough, people go on talking.

## LAW & ORDER!

This Happened In Andhra



LOOK at this picture again. The man was not born blind. Till recently he could see the sun and the sky and the people around him. Now — now it is darkness, total darkness. Pins were driven into his eyes — one by one — till he was blinded. He was hit with stones and tortured.

This is no story of the ancient past nor did it happen in Communist-ruled Kerala.

The victim of this media-

eval atrocity is S. Lingiah Chetti, a merchant. The incident took place in the Pedaballi village in the Kadiri taluk of the Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh. The perpetrators of the crime were the goondas of a local landlord.

And this is not the first crime which they have committed. They are notorious for terrorising the villages in this area.

Just three or four months ago, a harijan hamlet in this area was deliberately set on fire by them. Members belonging to all parties raised this incident in the legislature. The Minister admitted that the event had taken place and said the Government was looking into the matter.

It was after this that the very same people have now perpetrated the present gruesome crime. Obviously the Government which promised in the Assembly stern measures dared not do anything against the powerful landlord.

# Total Failure As Morale Boosting Session

If the INTUC General Council's session at Jamshedpur, from November 21 to 23, was meant to be a demonstration of its strength and a counterblast to the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, it has proved a total failure.

ELABORATE arrangements had been made on the Bari Maidan, the traditional meeting place of the Jamshedpur working class. This simple-looking ground, flanked on one side by TISCO's blast furnace, wore a gala appearance with scores of neon lamps and the colourfully-decorated pandal. All the devices had been pressed into service to attract the attention of the people, only one thing was lacking — the response from the heart which every Indian worker breathes for everything that he considers his own.

The Staff Correspondent of the Indian Nation was frank enough to admit that "it made me inquisitive to know the reasons for such little response from the labour side." That was in connection with the preparations for the Council meeting.

The preparatory rally held the Sunday before the Session began, and addressed by Michael John, a former President of the INTUC and its leader in Jamshedpur, drew "hardly five hundred." When Press Correspondents asked for the reason, John explained, "the gathering was less because of many reasons, particularly due to the Chhath festival and a circus camping here."

Inadvertently perhaps John had shown some sense of humour. Chhath is a women's festival and the men had gone to the circus. And so the circus in the Mohubera Maidan, a mile away, was closed down for the three days of the General Council Session. Luckily for the Chhath festival, it escaped a ban order because it was already over.

If an inquisitive Correspondent had pressed the probe a little further, John would have found it difficult to provide an explanation after what happened on November 22.

## Two Rallies — The Difference

On that day the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union had called a meeting. In the working class area of Sakchi, neither the Bari Maidan nor the Mohubera Maidan (one occupied by the INTUC and the other by the Circus) was available for the meeting. So it had to be held in G Town, an upper middle class area far away from where the workers live. Yet about 10,000 workers flocked to this meeting addressed only by the local leaders while the INTUC rally on the 23rd at Bari Maidan, with many all-India celebrities on the dias, could attract only 5,000.

So much about the utter failure of the demonstrative aspect of the INTUC session. The principal objective of the session was to abuse and slander the Communists and

try such as in Sirpur Khagaznagar and Kothagadam in Andhra Pradesh, in the mining areas, especially in Orissa and in Bihar.

Was it that Sri Nanda did not have the courage to do some plain-talking to the INTUC? Or was it that he willingly set this tone as "one of the senior-most workers" of the INTUC?

## Goebbelsian Tactics

Repeat a lie as often as possible to pass it off as truth—the INTUC seems to have adopted this Goebbelsian tactic. Build up a campaign of lies and slanders that "others" are violating the "Code of Conduct" and organise "volunteer corps" to beat them down — this seems to be the INTUC's line.

But with all that, its sinking prestige must have brought the realisation even to the INTUC leaders that they can't

survive just on the basis of anti-Communism.

More than anything else they have seen the workers turn their faces away from the Congress and take to the path of struggle against Congress policies which attack even their meagre standard of living. Gone are the days, when the INTUC leaders could benefit by tom-tomming their affiliations with the Congress. That relationship today is becoming more of a liability than an asset. The very venue of the INTUC General Council Session, Jamshedpur, has been a significant example of the disillusionment of the working class masses with the Congress. Hence it was that at the session there was quite some talk about the separate identity of the INTUC.

President Ramanujam declared that the "INTUC was not a part of the Congress." And as far as the Government is concerned, especially as an employer, "it has proved by its conduct recently that it will understand only the

language of pressure, of strike or threat of strike." Hence "the INTUC in its approach will make no discrimination between private employers and the Government as an employer."

The real import of this declaration has to be sought in the present position of the INTUC in the State sector. In Bihar, for example, where the INTUC has lost heavily to the AITUC unions in the steel, engineering and coal industries, its position is perhaps the weakest in the State Sector. All this talk about being a body separate from the Congress and fighting the Government as employer is in an attempt to retrieve its position.

But here again sheer repetition will not prove that the INTUC is not controlled by the Congress. Even the Congressite Amrita Bazar Patrika has editorially called on the INTUC "to think whether the organisation's relations with the party in power are a source of strength or of weakness. Why is it that the membership of the INTUC has remained as Mr. Ramanujam said, 'more or less stable for the last few years?'" The situation is, in fact, more serious because unlike what Sri Ramanujam said, the membership has been falling substantially.

Even while trying to appear as the defenders of working class interests, the INTUC need not be expected to change any of its methods. What is going on just now in Jamshedpur is an instance.

The INTUC there is in the midst of negotiations with the TISCO management for dearness allowance increment. It is said that the Tatas have turned down the demand. But neither the fact that negotiations are going on nor that there has been a breakdown has been made public. If the negotiations succeed the INTUC leaders will come before the workers parading the increased dearness allowance. If there is a breakdown they will go in for conciliation. In either case the INTUC leaders will not allow any mass pressure to be built up by the workers.

Any mass pressure or mobilisation to be effective has to be a united mobilisation. But this is precisely what the INTUC has set its face against.

## Against T. U. Unity

Sri Ramanujam made the wonderful observation that no unity is possible between the INTUC and AITUC because the "objectives and methods" of the INTUC were "in complete harmony with the traditions, culture and aspirations of the Indian people" while those of the AITUC were "alien to India."

It was only left to this philosopher to tell us that the growth of such monopoly houses as those of the Tatas and Birlas and the continued existence of British economic interests and the denial of any struggle against them are also "in complete harmony with the traditions, culture and aspirations of the Indian people."

Sri Ramanujam was origi-

\* SEE PAGE 13

# U. S. Arms Aid To Pakistan

If there has ever been a single act of any foreign Power constituting a positive threat to India's security, it is unquestionably the U. S. military aid to Pakistan. That threat has grown with every new shipment of U. S. arms to Pakistan and now, with an unbridled military dictatorship in saddle across our borders, we face a serious situation. Prime Minister Nehru is right when he calls for "vigilance". But then, something more than vigilance is needed.

FOR one thing with the abandonment in Pakistan of even pretences to a normal constitutional Government, complete suppression of all political parties, all checks and restraints in the way of military adventurism are gone. The decision of peace and war now rests with one man — General Ayub Khan. No wonder that General Ayub Khan did not pause even for a moment, in his Karachi Press Conference of October 31, to declare that if necessary he would certainly go to war with India. He thus gave us a foretaste of the utterly irresponsible and reckless ways in which dictatorships function. However, let there be no mistake that it was really the U. S. arms that spoke through General Ayub Khan's words.

In every sense of the term Ayub Khan's regime is largely a creation of the U. S. arms aid to Pakistan. It is the result of years of American interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The U. S. Journal, New Republic, made a confession that is noteworthy. In its issue of November 10, 1958, the journal wrote: "FOUR YEARS OF U. S. MILITARY AID HAVE ALREADY INCREASED HIS (AYUB KHAN'S — B. G.) POWER AND THAT OF HIS ARMED FORCES." So, it is precisely U. S. arms which we have to reckon with. But for this U. S. arms backing and American interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, the entire course of Indo-Pak relations would have perhaps shaped differently.

## We Warn Again

When the signing of the U. S.-Pak Military Pact was known four years ago, we Communists emphatically pointed to the dangers the Pact spelled out for India—as also for Pakistan's own future. Again we warn: only at India's peril can we underestimate the enormously enhanced menace of U. S. arms in Pakistan. The entire striking power of General Ayub Khan and his adventurism both stem precisely from the U. S. arms built-up in the country over which he is today riding rough-shod.

The quantum of arms and military equipments that has come to Pakistan is not officially disclosed. But it is an open secret that the most modern weapons of all types have been gifted to Pakistan. Much of the sabre-rattling that goes on in Pakistan is, of course, mere braggadoocio. Nevertheless, there is some considerable basis for it and we have to take serious note of what Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League in USA, informs us through the New York Herald Tribune.

In a letter to that paper of November 11, 1958, Mr. Singh says: "It is unofficially re-

ported that the USA poured more than half a billion dollars worth of military hardware into Pakistan." Half a billion dollars are equivalent to Rs. 225 crores! Besides, we have the Note of the Soviet Government which speaks of massive military constructions in Pakistan including large airfields and even missile ramps. For reasons best known to himself, Prime Minister Nehru has chosen to ignore the Soviet Note and, oddly enough, quotes Karachi in support of his inexplicable attitude.

The Soviet Note apart, the United States is, in broad daylight, equipping every country within its orbit with heavy armaments including nuclear warheads and missile bases. South Korea and Taiwan have already been geared for nuclear warfare. Indeed such preparations are today an integral part of the grand strategy of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO. It is

People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries. India is confronted with tightening aggressive alignments, inspired, organised and equipped by the American and British imperialists — particularly the Americans.

India has yet to adequately and effectively meet this challenge. Mere reiteration of India's opposition to the U.S. arms aid to Pakistan or the Baghdad Pact and SEATO are not enough. Actions, both at the Government level and

and said: "The U. S. Government has assured the Government of India that their discussions now being held with the Pakistan Government do not envisage any military treaty..." So, our people are advised to take comfort in what the U. S. authorities have been pleased to tell New Delhi.

Our External Affairs Ministry did not seem to be much perturbed even when it was reported that the U. S. Defence Secretary, Mr. MacElory, was engaged in secret talks

public opinion. Secondly, the impact will also be felt in the United States itself where popular discontent with the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of "positions of strength" is growing as the recent American elections have indicated. Thirdly, such a firm and active line on the part of India against U. S. aid to Pakistan will immensely strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the latter country, the forces that seek friendship and accord with India. Needless to say, this question of military aid and all aggressive U. S. designs must be persistently raised in the United Nations. India's representatives in the world organisation more often than not omit to do this. The same can be said of the Indian legations abroad. This creates a serious gap in India's foreign policy.

Another form—and that is extremely important—through which India must answer the U. S. machinations is by constantly strengthening Afro-Asian Solidarity as well as India's friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries. The great constructive force of this line in international affairs has in the recent period already been amply displayed

by  
**BHUPESH GUPTA**

otherwise, are urgently called for.

Unfortunately, Prime Minister Nehru would not see the significance and efficacy of such actions at this juncture. He would not go beyond general denunciations and opposition—although the other side is moving in desperate frenzy.

For example, when he was asked at his New Delhi Press Conference of November 7, as to whether he was going to take up the question of military aid to Pakistan with the

in Karachi for forging a military pact between his country and Pakistan. Incidentally, these confabulations went on in the background of joint exercises of the U. S., British, and Pakistani navies in the Arabian Sea. Now the report has come in Pakistan papers themselves that the Pact will be concluded by the end of July.

This surely is not how a nation prepares to face adversities or a threat. All these years of sweet reasonableness, occasionally no doubt punctu-

# Threat To Our Freedom And Security

**BUILD UNITED NATIONAL MOBILISATION TO MEET THE MENACE!**

absurd to imagine that Pakistan is an exception.

On the contrary, after the fiascos the Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine has met with in Asia, the USA is giving special attention to Pakistan. At the London meeting of the Baghdad Pact Council in last July, attended by Foster Dulles, it was decided to "strengthen their defences," as the official communique of the Council announced. Dulles signed the declaration together with Pakistan's Prime Minister (now deposed) and others of the same gang.

## Directed Against Us

The point India must always remember is that the Baghdad Pact and SEATO are, in the first place, directed against Indonesia, India and the United Arab Republic among the uncommitted countries of the Afro-Asian region. India is a particular target of the Baghdad Pact. These two pacts are instruments of political intimidation and aggression. This was demonstrated when the U. S. imperialists rushed to help the traitorous rebels against the Indonesian Republic. This was again exhibited in the invasion of Jordan and the Lebanon.

Let it not be supposed that India is safe and that SEATO and the Baghdad Pact are poised only against the

U. S. Government, the Prime Minister remarked: "I did not think it necessary to take that question up in that form... it becomes sometimes unbecoming for us to go on repeating the same thing in a formal way."

## Surprising Statements

Nobody asks the Prime Minister to do anything unbecoming. But what, then, prevents him from warning Washington that India considers the continued military assistance to Pakistan as an unfriendly, if not hostile, act by the USA towards India. The Prime Minister seems to think that such a course is not known to international law. In point of fact, however, international law is replete with such precedents.

What is even more surprising is that when the Prime Minister was asked in the Rajya Sabha as to whether the Government was aware of continued and increased U. S. military assistance to Pakistan, his Deputy Minister simply replied: "Such information as we have received is to the effect that the assistance being given is a continuation of the previous agreements."

When her attention was drawn to the reported talks about a bilateral military treaty between the USA and Pakistan, the Deputy Minister went to the absurd length of citing American assurances,

ated with resentful accents, should have at least convinced Prime Minister Nehru and his Government that his soft-spoken, mellowed diplomacy does not at all work with Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles. They have brushed India completely aside and go on with their arms supplies to Pakistan, as with their aggressive military alignments in our part of the world.

## A National Necessity

An effective and vigorous expression of India's attitude, diplomatic and otherwise, has today more than ever become a national necessity. This should have logically followed even from Prime Minister Nehru's general foreign policy. But it appears that certain inhibitions, visible and invisible, come in the way. India's growing reliance on U. S. economic assistance plus the pull of powerful pro-American elements over the Government would perhaps explain this half-hearted and halting attitude. It looks as though the dollars have begun to do their trick.

It is essential to take a bold stand against the USA for its arms aid to Pakistan for a number of reasons. In the first place, such a stand of formally declaring U. S. actions as unfriendly will focus the world's attention on this issue and thus enable us to rouse the world

—in the Suez crisis, for example.

It is a matter of deep disappointment that the country's biggest and ruling party—the Congress—does not consider it necessary to rouse the masses against the U. S. military aid and other aggressive moves of imperialism. It remains, at best, an onlooker leaving such matters entirely to the Government and this inaction on the part of the Congress as an organisation greatly limits mass actions. Yet the U. S. military aid to Pakistan is one issue over which, happily there exists unanimity of the entire nation. But this national unanimity has yet to be matched by equally united mass actions.

## Organise Protests

What, therefore, is of supreme importance today is to bring about the broadest possible united national mass mobilisation against the U. S. arms aid to Pakistan. All political and popular forces need to join their hands in organising countrywide protests not only against the U. S. arms deliveries to Pakistan but also against every move of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO. The interests of India's independence and security pose before the nation this great and sublime task.

December 2, 1958

# SCRAP - BOOK

## BROOMSTICKS

I WAS heartened by the Prime Minister's thunderings last Sunday in Calcutta against the "so-called protagonists of private enterprise" whom he warned that in the path towards the alluring Socialist pattern, "we will brook no obstacles and if there are any, we will sweep them out with broomsticks."

And the same day I read in a copy of the American journal, Business Week dated November 15, a special article entitled "India Makes Bid for U.S. Capital." It talks about "signs of a brighter investment climate in India."

As an example of this saubrious climate, it says: "Even New Delhi's nationalised Life Insurance Corp. has emerged as a major financier of new private companies and expansions of existing plant. For one thing, it underwrote \$ 1.2 million of the \$ 2 million plus stock issue of Calcutta's National Carbon Co., the highly successful affiliate of Union Carbide."

Apart from what the article calls "the recent 'sobering up' in economic planning," it talks about "the shock effect of recent events in other Asian countries."

And so it gives its own analysis of the Indian scene: "The eclipse of the Socialist parties, the decline in power of Nehru's Congress Party, the Indian voter faced with the unpleasant choice of growing Communist control or, as

in Burma and Pakistan, an army take-over. Thus, they look favourably on signs of a 'Right-wing' political movement, primarily sponsored by business."

Business Week no doubt has benefited a lot by Morarjibhai's voyage of discovery. Sandwiched as he was during his trip by Birlaji on one side and Shantiprasad Jain on the other, Morarjibhai must have inspired Wall Street with enchanting visions.

So, however much Pandit Nehru may talk of sweeping out with broomsticks, his own Socialist pattern is in danger of being snuffed out by such movements "primarily sponsored by business" both Swadeshi and foreign.

## ROLL OF HONOUR

WHILE both houses of Parliament got excited over poor Shantiprasad's hard-earned foreign exchange deposits (wasn't he doing a national service bringing in more foreign exchange than he took out?), Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta tried to de-bag another Press baron — Sri Ramnath Goenka, the Indian Express proprietor, whose son and daughter-in-law got entangled in some other foreign exchange scandal.

The monthly average of foreign-exchange racketeers, according to the Government's own figures, comes to 49. I wonder what an impressive galaxy will be in view if their names are publicised, as Sri Mahavir Tyagi has

suggested. Such a roll of honour will no doubt spur us on in the race for the Socialist pattern.

The beauty of it all is that if you want a passport to visit the Soviet Union or People's China, there will be no end to the police investigations and harassments, and at the end of it all, you may get one which is valid for one trip and that too to be completed in two months. But have you ever heard of Shantiprasad Jain's passport being seized? How inscrutable are the vagaries of this Socialist pattern!

## TATAS' TURN

QUITE a stir is created in the newspaper world by the report of negotiations between the British firm of Andrew Yule and the Tatas for the sale of India's only British-owned daily, The Statesman.

It is no doubt time for the Tatas to own a daily. From blast furnaces to washing soaps, the empire of the Tatas needs an organ of its own and no doubt the Statesman will fit into the role very well.

The free Press that we have in this country provides free play for big money. The Dalmia-Jains, the Goenkas, the Birlas and now — if the deal comes through — the Tatas will dictate the nation's voice.

Do they fear, at all the Prime Minister's broomstick? I wonder.

—DIARIST

## AND NOW S. P. JAIN

DALMA and Mundhra are facing trial for misusing their positions and resources as leaders of business and industry. They were no isolated cases. Our Party has been pleading and proving over and over again that the uncontrolled capitalist set-up cannot but produce more and more criminals of the same breed.

On November 27, the Hindustan Times broke the news that Dalmia's son-in-law, S.P. Jain, has been ordered by the Reserve Bank to quit his place as the Chairman of the powerful Punjab National Bank, that the offence was violation of foreign exchange regulations and the amount involved about half-a-crore of rupees, which was illegally maintained in foreign banks outside the country.

The shocking scandal was taken up in Parliament and Feroze Gandhi along with 13 M.P.s of various parties pursued the matter with relentless vigour.

Parliament was told that Jain had not been asked to quit the Punjab National Bank. Everybody in the Lobby and outside commented that Jain was being protected by a powerful personality inside the Cabinet. New facts, however, came out. They are the following and they tell their own tale.

The Reserve Bank had sanctioned him only \$ 1,400 but on his person were found cheques worth \$ 2,800. He tried to snatch and destroy his papers which the officials had seized.

Sri Gandhi suggested that the amount involved was Rs. 50 lakhs, deposited partly in the USA and partly in West Germany. Under the law, Sri Jain owed an income-tax of Rs. 40 lakhs and should further pay a penalty of Rs. 60 lakhs.

Sri Morarji Desai, however, stated that no direct investigation with foreign banks or businessmen will lead to any results nor the attempt to find out the truth through diplomatic channels is likely to succeed. The Government went on parroting that the matter was under investigation and the right thing would be done.

Interpellations also revealed that during 1956-57 there were 1,319 such cases and during 1957-58, 1,556. Congress woman M.P., Mafida Ahmad was informed that the Government had no proposal to prevent people who indulge in such anti-national activities from being invited to State functions at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

S.P. Jain has been caught

red-handed. He cannot escape. The point now is to first get at all the links he has built up to swindle the country and above all to get at the throat of his political patron and protector. Mundhra is in jail and T.T.K. out of the Cabinet. Indian public opinion has to ensure that S.P. Jain is made to answer for his crimes and his political patrons also meet their well-deserved fate.

## THE FORMER RAILWAY CHIEF

ON December 1, Parliament was rocked again by another scandal. The famous Calcutta firm of Bird and Co. received a contract of Rs. 11 to 12 lakhs from the Railway Board and on the same day he retired from Government Service, the Chairman of the Railway Board joined duty in a fat-salaried big job with Bird & Co. itself.

How could the officer have joined the firm on the very same day he retired from Government service? Was he negotiating with this firm while in Government employ? Was it proper for the Government to allow its senior officers to join business firms which had direct or indirect dealings with it? Why was special leave given to this former Railway chief to join the firm which had received good orders from the Railway Board itself? These were the questions that worried M.P.s of all parties.

The answers of the Railway Minister did not satisfy anyone including the Speaker and he has fixed another hour for further discussion.

Ex-Defence Minister Mahavir Tyagi exclaimed: "This is a matter of great importance. I am afraid that the administration is becoming too slack. We are doomed!"

The incident has dramatically pointed to where the Congress policy of greater and greater concessions to the private sector is leading — the private firms are corrupting the public services more and more, even the tallest of the officials under the Congress dispensation are unable to resist the temptation. Such is the set-up and such are the example that are being set. The righteous indignation of public opinion must compel a proper probe into the affairs of the Railway Ministry and its leading officials who have inevitably to deal with the big construction orders.

## notes of the week

### UNDER THE COMPANY LAW

PARLIAMENT has rejected the non-official resolution to limit the contributions of business firms to political parties to Rs. 5,000. The Congress benches tried to justify such contribution. The mover advanced the argument that the Government had advanced Rs. ten crores each as loan to TISCO and the Indian Iron and Steel Company free of interest, because they frequently contributed to Congress Party funds, while 6½ per cent was charged from poor peasants on taccavi loans. The debate, however, won an assurance from the Government that it would itself sponsor the legislation to make all company contributions to the funds of political parties public.

During this week, the annual report on the administration of the Companies Act was discussed. Both Congress and Opposition M.P.s complained of the "lenient attitude" of the Company Law Department. Members felt that the new Act had not substantially improved the management of companies. Public companies were converted into private companies, the funds of one company were being recklessly invested in other concerns, textile mills were closing because of mismanagement, there were companies that failed to submit their profit and loss accounts and balance-sheets regularly and properly.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri was compelled to agree that his department had not been "stern" with such companies and promised to deal with them "more strictly."

The irregularities disclosed in the working of the Company Law administration are enough to necessitate a thorough parliamentary probe but the Congress Government on its own will never propose one unless it is compelled to do so. It is under such conditions that the Dalmas, Mundhras and S.P. Jains are bred and fattened. A thorough investigation into the affairs of Indian business concerns will help to bring the private sector to some account at least.

### INSIDE THE CONGRESS

ON November 27, Acharya Jugad Kishore from U.P. came to meet the Congress President to seek permission from the Congress High Command to move a vote of no confidence within the party against Dr. Sampurnanand or for a directive to him to seek such a vote himself.

On November 30, the U.P. Chief Minister announced that within a week or ten days, he would seek the verdict of the Congress Party on a vote of confidence in his leadership.

Both sides claim that they are battling for principles and not for self and power. The way the raging and tearing

campaign among the MLAs is being carried on by both sides, tells the opposite tale. The Congress crack in U.P. that began with the food agitation has grown and its results are yet unpredictable.

In Punjab, Master Tara Singh threatens to mount a morcha for the Punjabi Sooba and has denounced the Akali-Congress alliance, he has even threatened to go to the U.N. From the other side, the Arya Samaj has been talking of a "Gurumukhi bookburning" campaign. The Congress organisation stands paralysed, pulled by the Sikh communalists on one side and Hindu communalists on the other. The Communist Party, however, is valiantly fighting them both and for the way-out. (See page 6).

The biggest news this week, however, is from Andhra, where the Congress dissidents headed by four ex-Ministers have launched a big campaign against the ruling group of Sanjeeva Reddy and threatened to join the Opposition parties.

In their recent meeting the dissidents passed a lengthy resolution criticising the Congress organisation and administration in Andhra and deciding to organise Congress workers' conventions at taluqa and district levels and mobilise "public support and voice their genuine complaints and feelings." They have decided to take up both inside the party and on the floor of the Legislature "people's problems and find solutions for them, and thus make supreme efforts to save democracy which is in serious danger today."

These developments in U.P., Punjab and Andhra have rattled the High Command.

### IN KERALA

KERALA'S Minister for Law and Order disclosed in the State Assembly from which side the real danger to democracy was coming. The Christians, the Christian volunteers, were being trained in the use of sticks and other weapons. Certain communal bodies were also organising similar volunteer bands. It was widely reported that weapons were being imported in the State through the Cochin Harbour and by train.

The Congress leaders' passion against the Kerala Government is well-known. But whom do they seek to defend in Kerala? This was revealed by Kerala's Chief Minister when he stated that the Union Government had advised against the nationalisation of foreign-owned plantations. He also disclosed that the British planters were, however, not interested now in developing the industry in Kerala as they were concentrating in Africa and exporting all their profits, etc. The Kerala Government is looking into the matter and we all will hear about it more.

The Kerala Panchayats Bill was published this week. It provides for a unified and decentralised system of administration of village affairs through the Panchayats. It enables them to function effectively as units of local

self-Government embracing all aspects of village life including agricultural, economic and social service activities, collection of land revenue, maintenance of revenue records, and formulation and implementation of Community Development programmes.

No other State has given the panchayats such powers. No other Ministry is prepared to trust the common people, at the grass root level, so much. Were the Congress leaders out to defend or resist democracy when their spokesmen in Kerala declared their opposition to such a Panchayat Bill?

More. The Congress has entered into an alliance with the PSP and is trying to rope in the Muslim League as well to contest the coming panchayat as also all other electoral contests to defeat such progressive legislation.

### WHITHER P. S. P.?

SRI Mukut Bihari Lal, presiding over the U.P. Praja Socialist Conference echoed the Masani-Dhebar line on Kerala when he accused our Party of "interference in the work of the judiciary, political murders, improper utilisation of the resources of the State," as "some of the undemocratic methods which are being used by the Communist rulers to strengthen their Party in Kerala."

His concluding peroration was that the PSP "will alone have to shoulder the responsibility of upholding democracy in the country." This was for the U.P. audience but in Kerala the PSP lines up with the Congress and the Muslim League and everybody else against the duly elected Government of the State.

New light has been shed upon the PSP conception of democracy by Sri Asoka Mehta who, after his latest West European tour, discovered that General de Gaulle was trying his "desperate best" to improve the progressive forces in France. It would be wrong to write him off as a reactionary, according to Mr. Mehta, as reported in the Hindustan Times (November 29). He also went on to say that India was far too obsessed by programmes and schemes, and that what we really lacked was public morale. "We are living in a cradle of crisis."

Asoka Mehta and his party will have to wait till doom-day. The Indian people are wise enough not to make him their de Gaulle to improve the national morale. All his new discoveries will only help to confuse and divide his party more and more and honest Socialists will find their way to cooperate with the Communists more and more in defence of Indian democracy. We have no doubt that the more our PSP friends discuss the new formulations of Asoka Mehta, the more they will find them repellent.

— P. C. JOSHI

December 3, 1958

## DID THE VALUABLES SEIZED FROM THE MAHANT BELONG TO THE TEMPLE?

The powerful Mahant of the Nathdwara temple was speeding towards Delhi when the motorcade was stopped at Amber, five miles from Jaipur. The Criminal Investigation Department men who had signalled the cars to stop made a thorough search. And in the cars were gold and jewellery worth Rs. 15 lakhs. An inventory was made on the spot and jewellers are now making a valuation of the find.

The CID action touched off a couple of events in quick succession.

Two days after the seizure, the Managing Committee of the temple made a telegraphic request that it wants to see the articles before they are handed back to the Mahant. (Later they said part of it belonged to the temple.)

The Rajasthan Cabinet thought it necessary to hold an informal meeting after the report of the seizure became known.

There is a background to this incident to make it so important an event. When *New Age* printed in March last year the story of the treasure find in the Nathdwara temple it created a sensation.

The Nathdwara temple is perhaps one of the biggest temples in the country, a specially sacred place for the devotees of the Vaishnavite faith, many of whom come from the very affluent top layer of society. For years, nay for generations, they have been giving bountiful offerings to the deity of Sreenath at this temple.

As a result, the temple today owns estates and "valuables" worth crores and crores of rupees. The temple trust holds many buildings in Bombay which fetch rent. It owns huge tracts of land in the Udaipur Division, which give rent and revenue. Besides, the daily offerings themselves came to thousands of rupees.

When the former Mahant died, the present Mahant was only a child and so the whole estate went to a court of wards and the Udaipur State Government which existed then appointed a committee of management.

Two members of this committee, it seems, placed a lot of valuables in a room about seven feet by seven and the almirahs and the room itself were sealed by them in 1935.

When the present Mahant came to age he began to assert his rights. Rumours began to be heard then about the hidden treasure and that the Mahant whose pursuits are said to be more materialistic than spiritual—a reputation which extends even to far-off places like Bombay, wanted to lay his hands on it.

### Extraordinary Events

Then in December last year an extraordinary series of events took place.

The Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Sri Mohanlal Sukhadia, went to Nathdwara on a non-scheduled visit "to meet his mother" as he explained later in the Assembly when the question was raised there. And he also admitted that during this visit he "naturally called on the Mahant on a courtesy call."

Next day, the Administrator of the Temple who is appointed by the Management Com-

mittee with the approval of the State Government, visited the temple along with the Mahant. There the seal of the room was broken and all the valuables found there were allowed to be removed to the residence of the Mahant.

Not even an inventory was made of these valuables when

## Crores & Crores Spent On Relief, While 1 Crore Would Have Wiped Out Famine A Case Of Govt.'s Short-Sighted Irrigation Policy

BY N. PRASADA RAO

GENERAL SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA

"WORDS cross, even forts, but feet do not cross the doorsteps" — thus runs a Telugu proverb. And it adequately describes the Central Government's irrigation policy.

Andhra is one of the States which has immense irrigation potential. But the manner in which work is going on shows the niggardly way this irrigation potential is being developed.

### Irrigated Area Reduced

Sri Khosla, when he was the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission, made his proposals for utilising the Krishna waters. The proposal was for a reservoir with a 590-foot high dam, to be constructed at Nandikonda, which would irrigate more than four million acres of un-irrigated land in Andhra. The Nagarjunasagar, ultimately sanctioned and now under construction, will irrigate only half of this area in Andhra and Telengana put together.

The Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1870, needed remodelling. Remodelled for a discharge of 6000 cusecs, it could have irrigated about 600,000 acres of land. But, it was remodelled with a lesser capacity, and now will enable only 300,000 acres to be irrigated.

The latest instance of this short-sighted policy is the Tungbhadra High-Level Canal.

During the years 1902-1905, Mr. A.T. Mackenzie, Superintending Engineer, prepared a scheme for harnessing the waters of the Tungbhadra River and irrigating parts of the Rayalaseema, the home of famines. This scheme was for the construction of a reservoir across the Tungbhadra and the main canal, 132 miles long

## NATHDWARA TREASURE MYSTERY DEEPENS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

they were being taken away. Fifteen days afterwards the Mahant is supposed to have given a list of the things removed. Highly suspicious—said the Press and public very sharply, demanding a thorough enquiry.

Such an enquiry has not so far been held, either by the Special Police Establishment, or even by the Chief Justice of the High Court who was appointed for the purpose but about which some legal difficulties were raised by the Mahant.

Against this background, the present seizure from the Ma-

hant's cars throws a lot of light of the situation. It is generally being said that among the things seized were gold utensils, rare curios, besides other valuables.

From where did all these things come into the possession of the Mahant? Is it part of the treasure which was removed from the temple to the Mahant's place for which no inventory was made? Was the list submitted by the Mahant a false one excluding many of the valuables? All the answers point only to one direction.

Anyway, there is no doubt that all is not well with this Mahant and the treasure which has come into his possession.

A proper investigation at least now is called for. And such an investigation should reopen the question of the find of the treasure in the temple room in December last year and the way the Administrator acted in allowing the Mahant to take away the treasure, the day following the Chief Minister's visit to the place. The investigation should lead to a clean-up of the affairs of the temple.

and drawing 11,500 cusecs of water.

The scheme was later accepted and the reservoir constructed, almost on the lines suggested by Mr. Mackenzie. But the canal termed the High-Level Canal, recommended by Mackenzie, disappeared: all that remained of that canal are the sluices in the dam, big gaping vents. Instead of this High-Level Canal, a low-level canal has appeared, supposed to irrigate about 700,000 acres in the present States of Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. But hardly 60,000 acres are irrigated.

It is common talk that all this is the result of the regional politics and self-interest of some Ministers who hold large tracts of land that are commanded by the low-level canal.

### Campaign In Rayalaseema

The people of Andhra, particularly of Rayalaseema, carried on a continuous and vigorous campaign for the High-Level Canal which alone can serve the worst famine regions. The Government made a show of taking it up and investigations went on. The original plan of Mr. Mackenzie was slightly modified by the suggestions which kisans put forward. Mr. Mackenzie's calculation was that after irrigating the commanded area, the High-Level Canal would discharge about 5090 cusecs of water into the Penna River. The modified scheme was for the construction of a reservoir, called the Gandikota Project, on Penna River so that the water can also be utilised for irrigation of additional areas in the Cuddapah District. The total area that would be irrigated by the High-Level Canal and the Gandikota Project would be about 500,000 acres.

Congressmen, Communists, Kisan Sabhas, Rayalaseema Mahasabha and all other organisations have agitated for more than a decade for the construction of the High-Level Canal together with the Gandikota Project. In fact, no other movement in Rayalaseema in the recent period, was as widespread and broad as this one. The future of Rayalaseema itself was linked with this irrigation project.

In the event, the Gandikota Project has disappeared and the High-Level Canal has shrunk, just to irrigate about 180,000 acres of land. The Central Government says that this is the first stage of the canal but everybody knows that first stage in the language of the Central Government often means the whole stage. Famine-ravaged Rayalaseema will get little comfort from the project as it is, because the huge waters of the Tung-

bhadra River, impounded in the reservoir, even after its completion, will not be fully available to them.

With this experience, when Pandit Nehru says, "let us think of the mighty resources of India which, if harnessed, and utilised for common good, can change the face of India and make her great and prosperous. To this great task let us address ourselves with all the strength in us," it falls flat.

Sir S.V. Ramamurthy said a few years ago that if ten million rupees had been spent in the last century for constructing the Tungbhadra Project, thousands of millions of rupees lost in failure of crops and spent in famine relief and in land revenue remissions would have been saved. This the British did not do but the wisdom of constructing protective works does not seem to dawn even on our Congress Government.

## NEW AGE

Political Monthly of the Communist Party of India  
EDITOR: B. T. RANADIVE

December Issue contains:

- Ajoy Ghosh: Coup in Pakistan
- B. T. Ranadive: Bank-Fund Imperialism
- Sanzo Nosaka: The Japanese Situation
- S. V. Parulekar: Indian Shipping and the Merchant Shipping Act

Plus Book Review and

INDEX FOR 1958

Single Copy: 50 Naye Paise

Manager,  
New Age Monthly,  
5 Jhandewallan Estate,  
M. M. Road,  
New Delhi-1

## CORRECTION

IN the report on the granting of ad hoc licences to Messrs. Fedco Private Ltd. in our issue of November 9, a serious error has crept in. A correspondent has informed us that Finance Minister Morarji Desai's son to whom reference is made in the report is not connected with Fedco Private Ltd., as a Director. But the gross irregularities-violating existing rules and regulations mentioned in connection with the granting of these licences are correct and we would still request the Government of India to place all the facts about this before Parliament which is in session now. We sincerely regret the error that crept into our original report.

EDITORIAL BOARD AND PUBLISHER, NEW AGE  
December 3, 1958

# TARA SINGH'S POLITICS

After his defeat in the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhak Committee (SGPC) elections, Master Tara Singh seems to have lost whatever balance of mind he ever had. He is threatening all and sundry with dire consequences, he threatens to make some great sacrifice to rescue the Panth from the Congress Government's domination. He declares now that he wants politics to be subsidiary to religion while the Congress wants to make religion subservient to politics.

His Press, the Akali and long as the Akali Party had a majority on it, Masterji was not interested in its democratisation. But as soon as the Akali Party ceased to have a majority on it and the Kairon-Rarewala group manoeuvred a majority through nominations, Masterji started the cry of official interference.

## Reasons For Defeat

Is Masterji's defeat the result of any official interference? Is it the result of any conspiracy, as he is trying to make out? Have the Gurudwaras now been handed over to the enemies of the Panth? Is the talk of no-confidence aimed at strengthening the Panth?

These are a few questions which need to be answered. The Committee which has removed Masterji from Presidency is the same in which the Akali Party had a big majority. Many leading figures of the Akali Party, albeit they are now dubbed traitors, are members of that Committee. To say that the results of these elections are the consequence of any official interference can, therefore, hardly be given any credence.

As for the charge of conspiracy, everyone knows that the group of Desh Bhagat Sikhs had opposed Master Tara Singh even at the previous elections. They have always opposed Masterji utilising the Gurudwaras and their resources for spreading the poison of communalism. They have always striven to see that the Gurudwaras are not used for preaching the Akali Dal's politics.

It was only recently that the Desh Bhagat Group moved a resolution in the executive of the SGPC that the SGPC should be prevented from indulging in political propaganda. It was Masterji who then refused to admit that resolution.

Masterji has been striving hard to get the Gurudwara Act amended in a reactionary direction and in such a manner that even if the great victories of the Akali movement might be lost, his own monopolist control over the Gurudwaras would be perpetuated. The non-official Bill which was brought in the Punjab Assembly with his consent suggested raising the minimum age for a voter from 21 to 25 and for a candidate to 35. It suggested that other Gurudwara Committees need not be elected as under the Gurudwara Act now but should be nominated by the SGPC. If the Punjab Assembly accepts the Bill, that would not constitute official interference in the eyes of Masterji because it is to his benefit.

Or take the question of the Gurudwara Interim Board. So long as the Akali Party had a majority on it, Masterji was not interested in its democratisation. But as soon as the Akali Party ceased to have a majority on it and the Kairon-Rarewala group manoeuvred a majority through nominations, Masterji started the cry of official interference.

Masterji's charge that the Gurudwaras have passed into the hands of the enemies of the Panth is totally baseless. The Gurudwaras are still controlled by the SGPC—a body elected by the votes of all adult Sikhs. This is the very Committee which elected Masterji its President last year and has

unrest among the masses caused by this opportunist politics was bound to affect the Akali Party too, and raise the tempo of opposi-

to toe the line of Masterji for that would have meant weakening their own position in the Congress.

## Punjabi Sooba Once Again!

On the other side, Masterji seeing his influence on the Sikhs waning, decided to go back on his agreement with the Congress and he once again raised the slogan of Punjabi Sooba. Raising this slogan in today's condition is to rouse Hindu-Sikh tension. Vast numbers of Sikhs are totally fed up with communalism. Masterji's communal politics has revealed to them that it is only his whims that sometimes make the Punjabi Sooba the panacea for all their ills and at other times, the regional formula the solution of all problems.

Unrest among the masses caused by this opportunist politics was bound to affect the Akali Party too, and raise the tempo of opposi-

effect that the Dal would refrain from taking part in politics.

After the Akalis joined the Congress, when Masterji found his hold weakening, he started the cry that the Congress and Kairon wanted to finish him. When the Akalis were reduced to a minority in the PEPFU Gurudwara Interim Board he considered it an attack on the Panth.

Always trying to find new dangers to the "Panth", Masterji has now discovered the danger of Hindu domination and again raised the Punjabi Sooba slogan. He has proclaimed this to be the most opportune moment to save the "Panth" declaring that "we had never completely accepted" the Regional Formula.

The truth is that Masterji's base has been badly shaken. The Akalis who have joined the Congress and secured a share in power are no longer prepared to lose it on Masterji's bidding. Today the leadership of the Sikhs is shifting

ence. They know that discontent among the people against the Congress is growing. Master Tara Singh wants to lead this discontent into the channels of communalism and thus maintain his influence. That is why he takes the cover of the Punjabi Sooba.

If it is the question of unity and mass sympathy, then Masterji's slogan neither unites Hindus and Sikhs, nor does it move all the Sikhs today as an immediate practical slogan.

As for Punjab being a border State needing unity, this has become all the more true today.

## Dangerous Consequences

The consequences of any adventurism on the Punjabi Sooba can be dangerous. If conditions have changed in the last two-and-a-half years they have certainly changed in a direction which belies

# And The Akali Crisis

election of Sardar Prem Singh this year. In religious matters this is the most representative body of Sikhs. And if this Committee cannot represent the Sikhs, one might as well ask Masterji from where he got the right to do so.

According to Master Tara Singh one would think that the Panth is Masterji and Masterji is the Panth. The fact is that nobody is a greater enemy of the Panth than Masterji himself, because he separates the Sikhs from the Hindus and even among the Sikhs he seeks to create a barrier between the so-called friends and enemies of the Panth.

## Expression Of Deepening Crisis

The SGPC Presidential election result is really an expression of the Akali Party's crisis, a crisis which has been further deepened by Masterji's politics.

Masterji had first started the "Jap Tap Samagam" in Anandpur in July in preparation for his morcha. But when the "Jap Tap Samagam" instead of becoming the forerunner of any morcha became the beginning of the crisis of the Akali Party, Masterji had to postpone the Akali Dal session which he had called, afraid that he might lose his leadership. Already he had started branding people "traitors". That crisis was for the moment averted by the intervention of Sardar Baldev Singh.

But for how long? The Akalis who had entered the Congress found it impossible

tion to Masterji's policies inside the party itself. His defeat in the SGPC elections is but a reflection of this development.

Masterji makes the SGPC elections a question of the Panth's honour. He draws parallels between the present situation and the persecution of Hindus and Sikhs under the Moghuls. But Masterji's antics cannot turn back the wheels of history. Neither can today's conditions be compared with conditions under Moghuls nor can Masterji claim the exalted position of the Gurus. True, he has always relied on the surviving backwardness among the Sikh masses, he is trying to do the same again.

He is crying at the top of his voice that the Panth is in danger, but the Sikhs do not seem to hear him. For, if they heard him, Masterji would not have had to cry so hard. The fact is that Masterji has used the Panth-in-Danger slogan so much that it has ceased to have very much effect. The Akalis too have learnt something from their experience. Take only the last three years.

At the beginning of 1956, Masterji declared that unless the Punjabi Sooba was formed, the Panth would be nowhere. Very soon, however, he accepted the Regional Formula.

For years he had cursed the Congress and called it the enemy of the Panth. But for some 22 or 23 seats in the Assembly and a share in the Ministry, he decided to join the Congress. Pressured by the Congress High Command, he even amended the constitution of the "Panthic" organisation, the Akali Dal, to the

from Amritsar (Masterji) to Chandigarh. The way out of this helplessness is neither sacrifice nor any of the other desperate remedies which Masterji is putting forward. The only way out is to give up communal politics and take to the path of Hindu-Sikh unity—the path which would strengthen our independence and our democracy. This is the desire of ordinary Sikhs.

## Situation Is The Same

Two-and-a-half years ago, when the question of the Punjabi Sooba was at its height, Masterji had suddenly dropped it. "For the welfare of the Panth" he had then decided to give up that demand and accept the Regional Formula instead. The arguments he had advanced were: first, unity and popular sympathy are necessary for launching a struggle; secondly, Punjab being a border State, it was necessary to see that there was no lawlessness.

Today when Masterji has given up the Regional Formula and again wields the club of Punjabi Sooba, one might as well ask whether the conditions have changed during these two-and-a-half years. Is there more unity and more support for Punjabi Sooba today than before? Is lawlessness in a border State less dangerous now? Has the Regional Formula for whose sake even the constitution of the Akali Dal had been amended become impracticable?

These questions divide the ranks of the Akalis themselves today.

While those who are sharing in power have no wish to go back on the Regional Formula under Masterji's leadership, there are those Akalis who have no hope of getting any share in power but want to retain their declining influ-

Master Tara Singh's arguments.

Why is Masterji going back on the Regional Formula? Not because the Government has given less powers to the Regional Committees. Nor because by giving them their present status it has not been properly implementing the Regional Formula. If this had been the Master's complaint he would have received support from all democrats.

What Masterji is actually angry about is that the High Command has refused to comply with his demand for changing the Judge on the judicial commission of Gurudwaras and that by increasing the representation of the Kairon and Rarewala Groups on the PEPFU Gurudwara Interim Board, the Akali Party's grip over it has been broken. More than this, he is angry because the High Command did not help to keep him in power. All these grievances have nothing to do with the Regional Formula. They have everything to do with control of Gurudwaras.

## Untenable Comparisons

If the Master had talked of struggle for full implementation of the Regional Formula, that could have been understood. Instead he says: now is the time to strike for Punjabi Sooba. He refers to the growing movement for the unwilling States of Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat.

There is no comparison between the two situations.

While in Maharashtra and Gujarat, all sections belonging to all shades of opinions are united and have even agreed on the question of Bombay and this growing unity is reflected in the smashing defeat of the Congress in bye-elections, in Punjab the slogan of

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# FOREIGN EXCHANGE WASTED, WHILE

One wonders when Congress Ministers talk so much about the foreign exchange crisis whether they have given any thought at all to the hundred and one things that are in their power to do to conserve foreign exchange.

# OUR OWN LEAD & ZINC ARE NOT EXPLOITED

FOREIGN exchange worth Rs. five crores is being spent annually to import about 50,000 tons of lead and zinc which we need—and this figure is bound to shoot up when the three steel plants go into operation, while just 25 miles away from Udaipur in the Aravallis of Rajasthan is the Jawar mines with lead and zinc—and plenty of both. Right up to its summit, the mountain has good ore deposits—but they lie unexploited because of the Government's negligence.

## Leased Out To Private Firm

The Jawar mines were prospected by the Geological Survey of India which discovered its potentialities and even started the initial extraction work. But then some time in 1951 or so, the area was given on lease to the Metal Corporation of India, a private firm.

In the initial stages work was very slow but during the last three years some new machinery was installed like the crushing and washing mill with a capacity of about 500 tons of ore per day and since then work has picked up to some extent.

Total production of lead from this mine now is about 6,000 tons annually—15 per cent of the needs of the country, and of zinc about 7,000 tons a year—20 per cent of our needs.

It cannot be said that the mine is not being exploited because the ore is of poor quality—it is perhaps the richest such known deposit in the world. The Jawar ore has four per cent lead and five per cent zinc as against the figure of 0.48 and 1.5 in Japan, one of the biggest sources of zinc and lead.

The lead after being taken out as concentrate from the washing mill is now sent to Bihar where the Metal Corporation has its smelter plant. There it is converted into pure lead—giving incidentally a

by-product of silver—about 25 oz. per ton.

But in the case of zinc it is a different story. There is no zinc smelter plant in our country and so the zinc concentrates have to be taken to Japan where it is smelted and then it is brought back and sold here. This transport cost alone—from Jawar to either the Bombay or Kandla Port and then to Japan and back—works to Rs. 200 per ton.

We also lose in the process an important by-product Cadmium—to the value of about Rs. 40,000 a month.

If we set up our own zinc smelter plant, we will save about Rs. 25 lakhs a year, including the price of Cadmium, apart from all the savings on foreign exchange. Also we will get Sulphuric Acid as a by-product which can be converted into super-sulphates. If a proper shaft is sunk, machinery installed and a zinc smelting plant set up, ore extraction and processing work can be increased more than four-fold.

Why is this rich wealth not being exploited in the country's interest?

The Metal Corporation of

India which holds the lease is very reluctant to invest a lot of funds. Even the spurt in activity during the last three years was due to the high world prices which were prevailing—Rs. 1,400 to Rs. 1,600 for lead and Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 for zinc. During the year, there has been a decline of about 40 per cent in these prices. This price-decline is behind the Metal Corporation's unwillingness to invest more money in the mines.

## Government's Attitude

But what is the Government of India doing? In essence its attitude is one of refusal to look at the mines as something of great importance for the proper development of our heavy industries. That is why the Government has left it in the hands of a private Corporation which for various reasons is not inclined to raise production.

In the Second Plan, there was a mention of setting up a zinc smelting plant for the Jawar mines. Three years of the Plan are over but not one

step has been taken in this direction.

Instead, the report is that the Government was trying to persuade one of the partner firms in the managing agency of the Metal Corporation to set up the plant. This firm said it would set up the plant in Calcutta. Negotiations went on for a joint venture—Rs. one crore to be contributed by this firm, Rs. one crore by the Rajasthan Government and a third crore to be raised by selling shares. This agreement also seems to have broken down.

Meanwhile, the Corporation had appointed two firms—one Japanese and another American—as consultants for drawing up a project report on the smelter plant. Though this report was promised by May, it is still not ready. The consultants' advice is said to be against the setting up of such a plant.

The attitude of the Government can also be seen in the special privilege it has allowed the Tatas—who are the main

FROM H. K. VIAS

purchaser of the zinc used in the production of a special type of steel.

## Tatas Gain

While calculating the retention price of steel, the price of zinc has been put at Rs. 1,000 to 1,200. But the Tatas have been actually buying zinc from the Metal Corporation at about Rs. 850 per ton. The State Government itself had brought this to the notice of the Government of India but neither has it reduced the retention price of steel nor have the Tatas been forced to pay the same price which is calculated in fixing the retention price.

This is the sorry state of affairs that exists. The only remedy is to take the whole mine in the public sector, set up a zinc smelter plant and give protection to the industry. Otherwise we will have to pay heavily in foreign exchange when the new steel plants go into operation.

# The Crisis Of The Akalis

\* FROM PAGE 6

Punjabi Sooba instead of uniting the people, only divides them today. Here the situation is that the majority of Punjabis refuse to consider themselves as one nationally and the question of Punjabi language, too, has been made a controversial one.

The Congress leadership has its own share of responsibility for the situation. Even the Congress High Command does not want the Regional Committees to flourish and develop. Instead of giving these committees the rights of State Assemblies in relation to the 14 points and keeping their proceedings open, it has given these committees the status of other ordinary committees of the Assembly and has decided that their proceedings should be held in camera.

## Responsibility —Tara Singh's

The greatest share of responsibility for this state of affairs is Masterji's own. Masterji's purpose in demanding Punjabi Sooba is to "liberate" the Sikhs from their Hindu brothers. Masterji's conception of a Punjabi Sooba has nothing to do with race, language, tradition, geography or economics.

His only worry is that Sikhs should constitute 55 per cent of the population in the proposed State, which means that the demand is dictated by communalism. That is why he presents it as the Panth's salvation. By characterising his communal demand as the demand for Punjabi Sooba, he discredits the Punjabi Sooba itself. And this is bound to have an adverse reaction on the Hindu masses.

## Implement The Formula

It is necessary to see that the Regional Formula is seriously and properly implemented. It is true that it suffers from a number of shortcomings—for instance, Kangra has been included in Hariana in an unprincipled manner; the language question instead of being solved has been made an issue of conflict.

On the language issue, the Communist stand has always been that Punjab is a bilingual

State of people speaking two different languages and residing in two distinct parts of the State. As the language of the Union and also as the language of an important part of the State Hindi should have an important place in the Punjab. Punjabi in its region should have the full status of the people's mother-tongue. On the State level both Hindi and Punjabi should flourish together.

## The Language Question

It would be wrong to impose Punjabi on the Hindi region because it is neither their national language nor the language of the Union. Nevertheless to strengthen the mutual relations of the two regions and with a view to facilitate administration people should not object to learning Punjabi. Only on this basis can the language question be properly solved. A big enough price has already been paid for communalism, it should not be allowed to raise its ugly head any higher.

## Beat Back Communalism

Great opportunities as well as grave dangers face the Punjabi people today. The biggest obstacle in their path of advance is Masterji and his counterparts among the Hindu communalists. It is necessary, and it is possible, for patriotic Sikhs and patriotic Hindus to join hands and give a crushing blow to communalism in Punjab.

Masterji is only too willing to wield any weapon in order to keep communal politics alive: He has abandoned the Regional Formula and taken up the slogan of Punjabi Sooba only because the Regional Formula cannot be made into a platform for playing up communalism. The Regional Formula enjoys today the support of the majority of the people in Punjab. When the Maha Punjab Samiti had launched a campaign against it, it was given a decisive rebuff.

Today the Sikh masses are disgusted with Masterji's communal politics. Even the Akalis are fed up. Out of the 22 MLAs, 17 have refused to enrol themselves in the Akali Dal. Hundreds of leading Akali Dal workers have either refused to fill in their membership forms or have sent in their resignations. Even those who still remain with Masterji have lost the blind faith they earlier had in him. In PEPFU both the Akali groups are opposed to Masterji.



Editorial Board  
AJAY GHOSH  
BHUPESH GUPTA  
P. C. JOSHI (Editor)  
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, Delhi.  
Phone: 25794  
Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI  
SUBSCRIPTION RATE  
INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;  
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.  
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;  
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.  
All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

DECEMBER 7, 1956

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

by  
**HARKISHEN SINGH SURJIT**

NEW AGE

DECEMBER 7, 1956

# DHEBAR'S "FACTS"

CONGRESS President Dhebar's letter to E.M.S. Namboodiripad contained also a note from him listing the numerous incidents that had been narrated to him. This was to substantiate his conclusions. In his reply, the Kerala Chief Minister has made his own notes on these points. Due to reasons of space, we cannot print the whole of this. But some extracts are reproduced here just to show the type of facts on which Sri Dhebar relies for his conclusions.

## COMMUTATION OF SENTENCES AND WITHDRAWAL OF CASES

Regarding commutation of sentences and withdrawal of cases, you also are of the view that the law does vest the State Government with the power to withdraw cases, remit sentences and reduce or return fines imposed by courts. This power was and is being used freely in all countries and in all States in our own country.

The only point that can arise in this connection is how this power has been exercised by the State Government; whether properly or improperly, whether bona fide or mala fide. Withdrawals operate only if the court approves and thus in all cases where courts have given leave there is the additional feature of judicial scrutiny and satisfaction.

After this Government came into power, on two occasions, viz. (i) on the assumption of office by this Ministry, and (ii) on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of India's First War of Independence, this Government (the latter at the instance of the Government of India) granted general amnesty for prisoners.

The details of the terms of the amnesty are given in Appendix I. On this basis, 425 prisoners were released on the former and 526 on the latter occasion.

Outside this, the State Government decided, as a matter of policy, that cases arising from trade, industrial and agrarian disputes should, after the settlement of the disputes, be withdrawn if that would help in the restoration of a harmonious atmosphere. On this basis, during the period from April 1, 1957 to September 30, 1958, a total number of 688 cases have been withdrawn and sentences (including fines) have been remitted in 1,094 cases.

The party-wise break-up of the cases withdrawn (including those in which sentences have been remitted) is shown below: Congress — 143; PSP — 29; RSP — 10; Muslim League — 4; Congress and PSP — 722 (including 618 cases connected with the Sitaram Mills workers' agitation); PSP and Muslim League — 49; Congress, PSP and other Opposition Parties — 284 (students' agitation); Congress and RSP — 48; Communists — 236; Non-Party — 257. Total 1,782.

A check-up in the Home Department showed that withdrawal of cases for which representations were made in respect of 63 cases in which the accused or applicants were either Communists or Communist sympathisers was refused by the Government.

## PLANTERS' ALLEGATION OF LAWLESSNESS

You have repeated the old story of lawlessness which the Association of Planters of Kerala and the Central Travancore Planters' Association raised in October of 1957 and brought to the notice of Sri G.L. Nanda, Union Minister for Labour and Planning. Of the 84 cases which were brought to the notice of Sri Nanda, 51 pertain to Kottayam District and the rest to some other districts in the State.

It was even then pointed out that no report at all was made to the police in as many as 29 cases and yet they were cited by the Association as proof of alleged inaction by the police. Obviously, if the Association wished that action should be taken in respect of these cases, these should have been brought to the notice of the local authorities.

Of the 22 cases in which reports were made to the police, 16 cases were charged in courts, in four cases charge-sheets were not filed either because differences between the management and labour were settled or because the managements were not willing to give the statements necessary to facilitate prosecution or there was no substance in the allegation.

The 33 cases which pertain to other districts were enquired into and appropriate action taken.

I want to state once again that there is no case that was brought to the notice of the police on which action was not taken.

## ENCROACHMENT AND SQUATTING ON GOVERNMENT LAND BY COMMUNISTS AND SYMPATHISERS

Regarding encroachment and squatting on Government land by Communists and sympathisers, I am challenging anybody to substantiate this allegation. There is not a single instance in which the Communists have encroached upon Government lands since this Ministry came into existence. On the other hand, long before and till the date of coming into office of this Ministry, large-scale encroachments were made on Government lands by persons who were already in possession of extensive lands. Attempts made by the previous Governments to prevent such encroachments had not proved effective and during the time of the Congress Ministry there was even confidential instructions issued to Revenue Officers not to resort to coercive steps for eviction.

\* SEE COLUMNS 9 & 10

# E. M. S. Namboodiripad Replies To The Congress President

The following is the text of the reply sent by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad to Congress President Dhebar. The letter dated Trivandrum, November 25, 1958, is in reply to the Congress President's letter of September 20, 1958.

MY dear Dhebarbhai, I am sorry for the delay in sending you my comments on the note which you had submitted to the Working Committee and of which you were kind enough to enclose a copy with your letter of September 20.

Two months have passed since I received your letter and the enclosed note. The reason for this delay was that we were examining the material which the Speaker of the Lok Sabha had sent us through the Home Minister on the two motions that came up in the Lok Sabha—those of Sri Asoka Mehta and of Dr. K. B. Menon—and preparing detailed comments on them.

Since your note covered the same ground and in several places the two notes are similar and in some places are identical, I thought it better to prepare my comments on your note only after the above-mentioned notes on Sri Mehta and Dr. Menon's notes were ready. This material could be got ready only a week ago when it was sent to the Home Minister.

The enclosed note, making comments on the various points in your note to the Working Committee, is actually a re-hashed and summarised version of certain parts of the note sent to the Home Ministry. I would, in this letter confine myself to the general points made in your letter of September 20.

The first point I have to make is against the approach and procedure adopted by you. It is strange for you to try to find out the truth about certain allegations and at the same time to deliver your judgment on them. In this very letter, you admit that it is not possible for you to say "that every incident narrated to you, has a basis in truth."

Since you make such an admission, is it not your duty to suspend judgment till you hear the other side, and if necessary, to make a further investigation to check up the correctness or otherwise of the two versions?

You did not do so; on the other hand, you got a resolution adopted by the Working Committee on the basis of the series of incidents narrated to you on the ground that, regardless of the truth or otherwise of the individual incidents narrated to you, "the cumulative effect can leave no other impression than the one which has been left on my mind."

## Unworthy Approach

This theory of the "cumulative effect" may be always advanced against anybody if only there are certain people who are prepared to narrate to you a series of what are called "incidents" which have no "basis in truth." You may then say that, even if most of those "incidents" have no "basis in truth," their narration to you has left on you a "cumulative impression." I wonder if this is an approach which is worthy of one who is sincerely anxious to base himself on truth.

Secondly, I am surprised at the way in which you have posed the problem of parliamentary democracy and our approach to it. You make certain assertions which amount to saying

that our party in the whole country and our Government in Kerala are opposed to parliamentary democracy. You speak of "known conventions bearing upon the functioning of parliamentary democracy" which we are supposed to be violating. You then advise us to "approach Parliament for modifications of the Constitution."

## Parliamentary Democracy

May I point out to you that the problem here is neither your fundamental approach to parliamentary democracy nor ours? There are, undoubtedly, differences between the Congress and the Communist approaches to democracy. We are certainly working for certain basic changes in the Constitution. But that is not the point at issue. For, both you and we are agreed that we should all function on the basis of the

Governments formed by one party in some States and others in other States while the Centre is administered by either one of these parties or a combination of them?

If this is the position—and I am sure that you would agree, at least in words, that this is the position—is it not necessary for the successful working of parliamentary democracy that every political party in the country takes a stand which helps this process? Can you honestly claim that your party has taken such a stand in situations in which, in one or other State another party was on the point of forming its own Government?

The record of your party, and the Central Government under your party's leadership, in the post-1952 years loudly proclaims your rejection in practice of the principle of the possibility of different parties forming their Governments in different States. The specious arguments on the basis of which the UDF's demand to the Governor of Madras in 1952 was rejected and the Governor's action in allowing the Congress to form its Govern-

ment to raise the so-called "law and order problem in Kerala," "break-down of the Constitution in Kerala," etc. I have gone through the material on the basis of which two such motions were sought to be made in the Lok Sabha—those of Sri Asoka Mehta and Dr. K. B. Menon.

We have given detailed facts with regard to them. But on going through their material, I was worried about the very question which you have posed in your letter by way of an accusation against us—the question of the Constitution, the conventions bearing upon the working of the Constitution, etc.

## What Really Worries Dhebar

I wish you had tried to solve the problems of how to work parliamentary democracy in the concrete conditions of today when the problem of different parties forming Governments in different States has been posed in a very realistic man-

ner. I am sorry that far from doing this, you are just making abstract statements about parliamentary democracy in general and making wild attacks against us.

I hope you would reconsider your position and try to find practical solutions for the problems of Centre-State relationship, the problem of relations between political parties in a set-up in which a party which is in opposition in the country as a whole is in office in a State and vice versa.

Our Party is anxious to find satisfactory solutions to these problems. But here is your Working Committee and, following it, the All-India Congress Committee which, far from taking up this practical job in consultation with other political parties, particularly with us who have had some practical experience in this respect, have taken upon themselves the task of carrying on a nationwide campaign against our Party and our Government.

It would appear that it is far more important for you to see us out of power as quickly as possible than to tackle this problem of the practical working of parliamentary democracy.

# Dhebar Is Not Sure His Facts Are True, Yet Goes Into Battle

## WILD ATTACKS ONLY SHOW: CONGRESS NOT RECONCILED TO ANOTHER PARTY FORMING A STATE GOVT.

present Constitution of India and the various rules and regulations framed under it.

Our Party is convinced that they form a basis for the working people of the country to fight for and secure those changes in the socio-economic structure of the country which alone will usher in a Socialist system. Your Party, for its part, is not opposed to any of those changes in the socio-economic structure, provided they are brought about within the framework of this Constitution and the rules and regulations framed under them.

Let us, therefore, not start a discussion on the fundamentals of our or your picture of democracy. Let us confine ourselves to the question of how to work parliamentary democracy as we have all jointly evolved and we all want to preserve and work out.

## Congress Is Guilty

Looking at the problem from this angle, I want to ask you: Is it a part of the Constitution, or is it not, that different political parties may, at different times, be able to carry on the administration of the country? Is it not inherent in the Constitution that, while one party secures majority and therefore forms its Government in one State today, another party may do so in the same State five years hence; and that there may be

fields of activity as come purely under the State list. I wonder whether the Chief Ministers of the Congress-administered provinces or the Central Government will allow the type of statements to be made in Parliament with regard to their own States which have been sought to be made in relation to Kerala by Sri Mehta and Dr. Menon. I am sure that they would not permit such an infringement on the rights and powers of State Governments.

Our Party is anxious to find satisfactory solutions to these problems. But here is your Working Committee and, following it, the All-India Congress Committee which, far from taking up this practical job in consultation with other political parties, particularly with us who have had some practical experience in this respect, have taken upon themselves the task of carrying on a nationwide campaign against our Party and our Government.

## Against Spirit Of Constitution

It was only because our Party secured an absolute majority in Kerala in 1956 that no such constitutional manoeuvres became possible. We were, therefore, allowed to form our Government. But even here, your party's position at the Centre and through it its hold on the Governor enabled you to artificially raise your party's strength in the Legislature. I am referring to the nomination of an Anglo-Indian representative to the Legislature after the last General Elections while the normal procedure for such nominations is to have prior consultations with the majority party in the Legislature.

The result, as you know, is that, while the Opposition could secure through the verdict of the electorate only 61 seats as against our 65, it has today got a strength of 62, thanks to the

Incitement Of Officials

Apart from this constitutional right and authority of the Central Parliament to debate on purely State subjects, there is a question of the propriety of raising such questions on the floor of the House from another angle. Many of these are questions which relate to such administrative actions of the Government as transfers and postings, disciplinary actions, etc. For everyone of these administrative actions, the State Government has its own reasons.

## Violation Of State's Rights

May I, in this connection, draw your attention to the efforts that are being repeatedly made on the floor of Parlia-

ment to raise the so-called "law and order problem in Kerala," "break-down of the Constitution in Kerala," etc. I have gone through the material on the basis of which two such motions were sought to be made in the Lok Sabha—those of Sri Asoka Mehta and Dr. K. B. Menon.

## Re-examine Your Impressions

AT THE SAME TIME, I ALSO WANT TO REPEAT WHAT I TOLD YOU EARLIER, i.e. "THAT IT WOULD NOT BE PROPER FOR YOU AND OTHER CONGRESS LEADERS TO TALK VAGUELY ABOUT 'IMPRESSIONS' WITHOUT CARING TO EXAMINE WHETHER THEY ARE JUSTIFIED BY FACTS." I HOPE THAT THE ENCLOSED COMMENTS ON YOUR NOTE WILL HELP YOU TO EXAMINE WHETHER OR NOT YOUR 'IMPRESSIONS' ARE 'JUSTIFIED BY FACTS'.

AT THE SAME TIME, I ALSO WANT TO REPEAT WHAT I TOLD YOU EARLIER, i.e. "THAT IT WOULD NOT BE PROPER FOR YOU AND OTHER CONGRESS LEADERS TO TALK VAGUELY ABOUT 'IMPRESSIONS' WITHOUT CARING TO EXAMINE WHETHER THEY ARE JUSTIFIED BY FACTS." I HOPE THAT THE ENCLOSED COMMENTS ON YOUR NOTE WILL HELP YOU TO EXAMINE WHETHER OR NOT YOUR 'IMPRESSIONS' ARE 'JUSTIFIED BY FACTS'.

# ... AND HIS IMPRESSIONS

But during the Adviser's regime strict instructions were issued to evict all encroachers, but that too was not effectively carried out due to impediments for reasons obviously known. So far as the rich encroachers were concerned, it was a question of expanding their already extensive possessions while to the poor it was a problem of securing a shelter for them to lay their heads. The whole thing presented a complicated issue. After this Government assumed office on April 5, 1957, the question was taken up for consideration.

The Government thought it proper to issue an order to stay all steps taken under the Land Conservancy Act against unauthorised squatters, pending a comprehensive study on assignment of available Government lands, reserving the lands acquired for Government purposes. To facilitate matters, Government also felt it necessary to stop further encroachments with a firm hand. Accordingly orders were issued staying all steps taken against encroachments made prior to April 26, 1957, strictly prohibiting unauthorised entry on Government lands subsequent to the above date. This was with the best intention that Government must be able to reserve all available lands for distribution when the policy of assignment of Government lands to the homeless and the indigent is finalised.

But it is very regrettable to note that the parties in opposition began to put all obstacles in the way of the Government in the implementation of this policy. Of the many instances of the despicable attempts made by the parties in opposition mention may be made of the forcible occupation overnight of 65 persons with the active connivance of the RSP on May 8, 1957, in S.N. 132 of Chavara village reserved for future mining purposes of the Travancore Minerals, Chavara. The RSP and the Congress held on three dates protest meetings against the action taken by the Government in evicting the above encroachments. Fifty-seven persons were convicted by the Executive First-Class Magistrate, Quilon, on July 30, 1958, in the case charge-sheeted by the police for the above encroachment.

## ROLE OF THE POLICE

On going through the para in your note in which you make reference to my statement in relation to the role of the police in labour-management and landlord-tenant disputes I am constrained to ask: Are you of the opinion that the acceptance by the nation of the goal of a Welfare State, further clarified as Socialist Society, does not mean any corresponding change in the role of the police? Are they to act in the same old way in which they were made to act by the imperialists and would be made to act by the vested interests if they are allowed to have their way?

Even conceding that firing, lathi-charges, prohibitory orders, etc., cannot be totally excluded, can a democratic Government working towards a Socialist society refuse to bestow attention to the problem of avoiding them in all possible ways? Again, even conceding that strikes and agrarian struggles should be sought to be minimised in the interests of national production, can a democratic Government working towards a Socialist society refuse the right of the workers and peasants to collectively bargain with the employers and landlords and, if need be, to resort to direct action?

Can such a Government afford to allow the police machinery and the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code be used against these rights of the workers and peasants for collective bargaining and direct action?

I concede that the working out of such a code of behaviour for the police in a welfare State is, by no means, easy. But if any Government is sincere in its claim for being a democratic Government working for a Socialist society should it not make a serious effort to work it out? This is what our Government tried to do through my policy statement. I am sorry that, instead of welcoming our initiative in this respect, your party attacked us for taking this initiative, as if it is your party's task to see that the police still act in the way in which it was made to act before the goal of Welfare State and Socialist society was accepted by the nation.

## COMMUNISTS USING COOPERATIVES TO "MONOPOOLISE THE STRINGS OF RURAL ECONOMY"

The para on "different kinds of cooperatives" is an instance of wild and irresponsible attacks against the Kerala Government and Communist Party and you seem to be singularly innocent of all facts with regard to the Cooperative Movement.

The different types of Cooperative Societies that have been mentioned by you are those envisaged in the various documents of the All-India Cooperative Movement. Many of them had been functioning in this State even before we assumed office. "The Joint Director of Industries in charge to look into the Cooperatives", referred to by you, is an office which existed long before the formation of our Government—actually there were, and are, two such Joint Directors, one in charge of Handloom Cooperatives and the other of Coir Cooperatives. It is strange that you have been made to believe that we created these posts as part of a deliberate plan to "monopolise the strings of rural economy."

If the formation of cooperatives is such a sinful action on the part of our Government, I wonder what you have to say about the recent decision of the National Development

\* SEE PAGE 12

## NEWS FROM BROTHER PARTIES

### Japanese Communist Party's Congress

THE Japanese Communist Party held its Seventh Congress from July 21 to August 1 of this year. Its bulletin *Akahata* (Red Flag) of September 1 has just reached us.

The Congress adopted a Political Resolution, drew up a Programme of Action, approved the Moscow Declarations and a new Party Constitution. It elected a new Central Committee of 31 members with Comrade Sanzo Nosaka as Chairman.

At the Congress, Comrade Nosaka presented an extremely important political report which not only outlined the tasks of the day but summed up the long inner-Party struggle which had gone on for some years.

Comrade Nosaka pointed out that under the semi-occupation regime of the USA, the Japanese monopolists had revived to a great extent. As a reflection of this process, the country had the Kishi Cabinet, the most reactionary Government in post-war Japan, which fell in with the plans of American imperialism, adopted a hostile attitude to People's China and made reactionary onslaughts against the Constitution.

#### Party's Basic Task

Comrade Nosaka said: "Our Party must show the people the way to fight for peace, independence, democracy and a better life in opposition to the rule and policy of American imperialism, the Kishi Cabinet and the Liberal Democratic Party. Our Party must show the people's forces the immediate task of uniting in the struggle against subordination to the U.S. and revival of militarism. This is the most basic task of our Party."

In order to strengthen this

fight the Japanese Party has decided to place emphasis on strengthening mass organisations and on unity of the masses in action, to strengthen the mass links of the Party, to build a united front "decisively important in which is the realisation of cooperative relations between the Socialist and Communist Parties."

#### Correction Of Mistakes

Much attention was devoted to the problems of the Party, particularly to the mistakes in policy and the serious ideological-organisational errors of the past period.

The conclusions drawn from this were:

(1) Defence of the Leninist unity of the Central Committee is, in all circumstances, the primary duty.

(2) To preserve the unity of the Party, it is necessary to convene Congresses and Party meetings strictly in conformity with the Rules and constantly observe principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership.

(3) The unity of the Party is ensured by unity in the Central Committee and its close contact with branches.

(4) Inner-Party matters should not be discussed outside the Party and in all circumstances we must try to solve them inside the Party.

(5) The split which took place in the Party became possible because the political and ideological level of the membership was low; theory was neglected and ideological work not given close attention... the most important task facing the Party, above all the Central Committee, is to arrange for a

profound study of Marxism-Leninism and to raise the political and theoretical level of the members."

In connection with the last point the Party Congress opened heavy fire on revisionist tendencies which had intensified since 1955. Dogmatic approach to reality and an attitude ruling out any co-operation with intellectuals was also sharply criticised.

The problem of cadres and the central organs of the Party was examined in great detail. A call was made to pay sufficient attention to the defence of the Party which is now under severe attack, both by the Government machinery as also ideologically. Attention was directed to renewed Trotskyite activity.

Comrade Nosaka concluded with the rousing words: "Let us win a solid unity of the whole Party and push straight forward to carry out the historic tasks assigned to the Party."

### AMERICAN COMMUNISTS PREPARE THEIR PROGRAMME

AFTER decisively defeating the revisionist group headed by John Gates, American Communists have been busy discussing the many concrete practical and theoretical problems facing them. Of particular interest is the discussion recently started on the Programme of the Party.

The method is interesting. Apart from discussion in the National Executive Committee and the setting up of a Draft Programme Committee, the American Party leadership has also issued a detailed set of questions on economic, political and mass-organisational topics. They want all comrades to send in their answers and thus make even the draft of the Programme a genuine collective product.

#### International Experience

To help the process of discussion, Comrade James S. Allen, who is in charge of the Programme preparation, has written a fundamental article entitled "Some Key Elements of Party Programme" which highlights some of the main problems.

Comrade Allen begins with a detailed examination of the international Communist experience, especially the historic 12 Parties' Declaration of November 1957.

On the basis of this document he defines Socialism as a system of society which would include: a Government led by the working class which is guided by a Marxist-Leninist Party; public ownership of the basic

means of production; social planning; development of fullest democracy while safeguarding Socialism; abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination; working-class internationalism.

The second main topic tackled is the concept of peaceful transition, which is defined as "dynamic, a concept of class struggles and strategic alliances aimed at monopoly... Peaceful transition is a revolutionary process that requires revolutionary Marxist leadership, and a fine fighting mettle on the part of all anti-monopoly forces."

#### Preliminary Conclusions

Four preliminary conclusions are drawn:

● The parliamentary road is a road of mass struggle, led by the working class against monopoly, which starts from the present struggle against unemployment, reaction and the danger of war...

● To the extent that we advance this struggle building up the necessary alliances... to that extent will we approach the establishment of the pre-requisites for a peaceful parliamentary road.

● The struggle may go through a number of stages, with corresponding political formations.

● To realise these objectives an ever stronger, wiser, mass Marxist-Leninist Party is required.

The third topic is the idea of a People's Government which "would not be a Socialist Government but would open the way to a working class Government." Such a Government should be viewed "as a high point in the political struggle against monopoly capitalism, and not as a stage of society."

#### Role Of The Working Class

To realise this perspective great stress is placed on the independent political role of the working class in present-day America. In this connection, "it seems to me that we need to revive the traditional farmer-labour party perspective, but in accordance with the internal changes which are having the effect of more rapidly turning the country into a nation of wage-earners, placing the Negro people in the position of the most important ally of labour, reducing the relative national political role of the farmers, although it still remains very important, and bringing other large middle strata into conflict with the growing monopoly power."

Finally, tentative points are raised regarding the control of monopoly capital in the period prior to the achieving of Socialism.



### Glowing Tributes To Late Baba Budh Singh

AT a largely attended mourning gathering at the Bhog ceremony of Baba Budh Singh in Santhiala on November 23, glowing tributes were paid to him by the various political parties, social, educational and religious organisations. Many messages of homage to the departed soul were received from all over India as well as from abroad.

Messages from abroad indicated that there was a hartal in the capital of Malaya to mourn Babaji's death.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, veteran revolutionary, paid homage to Babaji and said that the National College, Santhiala, which he founded was the living symbol of his personality, his ideals of peace, national unity and solidarity and rural reconstruction.

Sardar Gopal Singhji of the Nandhari Panth said that Babaji would always be remembered for his work to spread higher education in villages.

#### GREAT PATRIOT

Harkishan Singh Surjit, Secretary of the Punjab Committee of the Communist Party, said that Babaji was a great patriot in the real sense because he always supported the right cause that aimed at serving the people of India, no matter from where it was initiated.

Jagjit Singh Anand, Secretary of the Punjab Peace Council, said that Babaji was a pillar of the peace movement in Punjab.

Sohan Singh Josh, veteran Communist leader of Punjab, dwelt on the sacrifices of Babaji in Malaya in support of the Indian Freedom movement.

Among others who paid tributes to Babaji was the representative of the Siromani Gurudwara Prabhadhak Committee.

It was decided by the meeting to raise a fund so that a befitting memorial can be erected in the memory of Babaji in the National College in Santhiala.

## JAGDISH CHANDRA BOSE

Honouring the memory of Jagdish Chandra Bose is really a growth in stature of ourselves. We can no longer proffer our homage directly to the man, and as to the memory of him it is what we will make of it. So one has to learn to be worthy of even paying our respects to a man and a scientist who did that great thing—'increase the sum of human knowledge and bring recognition and pride to the land of his birth.

BORN just a year after the Great Rebellion of 1857, Bose turned early to science, which in itself was quite remarkable enough. Pushed on by the zeal for science he worked hard at mastering its approach and the basic elements of its system in England for some five years. On his return he took up the post of Assistant Professor of Physics in the Presidency College, Calcutta. He worked at this post for some twenty years.

This is scarcely the place to outline his scientific discoveries. Suffice it to say that to begin with he worked on the subject of the properties of electric waves, devised a micro electromagnetic wave generator with his own hands as early as 1894—the forerunner of researches that led to the spectacular developments of radar and micro-spectrography.

Turning to biology he displayed his genius for designing delicate and sensitive instruments which almost literally made the plants write. Behind this was his response to the fact of the similarity of response of the living and non-living organisms to stimuli.

Jagdish Bose was able to prove that the higher plants are as sensitive as animals though their organisational properties disable them from manifesting such sensitiveness. It has been said that the Acharya's study of the problem of response to stimuli on the part of inorganic matter—including metals—was the stepping stone to the whole field of cybernetics, which today amazes the world.

What distinguished the great man was, however, his concept of what being a scientist entailed. Not only was he versatile in many fields, so much so that many have called him the father of the radio and Bernard Shaw wrote to him as "the greatest living biologist" but he never allowed his research to shut out the world.

He lived in the world, sensitive to its problems and to the call of the times. He was as a teacher loved to reverence and as a friend cherished even by the great—one has only to remember his correspondence with Rabindranath Tagore. Many who knew him have spoken of his sensitivity to literature, his grasp of philosophy.

It is also a fitting tribute to the Acharya to say that as early as the first decade of this century he saw that science would grow not as the work of "lonely genius" but as the product of the collective marshalling of talent. Hence in November 1917—a significant month for the world—came the Bose Institute, now the pride of India, of which he was the Director till his death on November 23, 1937.

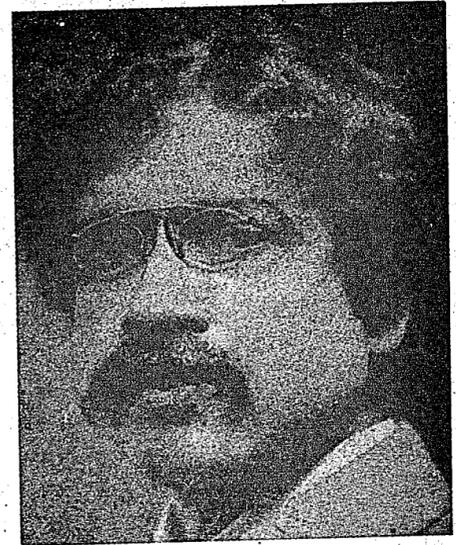
When the Institute was inaugurated Jagdish Bose spoke in words that will ring through history and we can do no better than to close with a few extracts. Since we are unworthy, let the man's own words commemorate him.

"The ideal of giving, of enriching, in fine, of self-renunciation in response to the highest call of humanity is the other and complementary ideal. The motive power for this is to be found not in personal ambition but in the effacement of all littleness, and in the uprooting of that ignorance which regards anything as gain which is to be pursued at another's loss. This I know, that no vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of distraction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest. And for my disciples I call on those very few who will devote their whole life with strengthened character and

determined purpose to take part in that infinite struggle to win knowledge for its own sake and see Truth face to face....

"The outlook is endless, for the goal is infinity. The full realisation cannot be through one life or one fortune, but through the cooperation of many lives and many fortunes. The possibility of a fuller expansion will depend on very large endowments. But a begetting must be made, and this is the genesis of the foundation of this Institute. I came with nothing and shall return as I came; if something be accomplished in the interval, that will indeed have been a privilege. What I have, I will offer; and one who had shared with me the struggles and hardships that have had to be faced has wished to bequeath all that is hers for the same object.

"The excessive specialisation in modern science has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science, which includes all the branches of knowledge. How chaotic appear the happenings in Nature! Is Nature a Cosmos in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequ-



ence, order, and law? India peculiarly fitted to realise the idea of unity, and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe. "It was this trend of thought that led me unconsciously to the frontiers of different sciences and shaped the course of my work in its constant alternation between the theoretical and the practical, from

the investigation of the inorganic world to that of organised life and its multifarious activities of growth, of movement, and even of sensation. Thus the lines of physics, of physiology, and of psychology converge and meet. And here will assemble those who would seek oneness amidst the manifold."

—MOHIT SEN



A scene from *The Prodigal Son*: The discredited former M.L.A. Sastri (extreme right—Thoppil Krishna Pillai), in the garb of a Harijan reformist, makes advances to the Harijan girl Chellamma (second from left—Sulochana) while her father Chathan (extreme left—Gopinathan), the Prodigal Son (Centre—Madhavaram) and Vasu (second from right—K. S. George) look on.

THE Kerala People's Art Club (KPAC), famous for its *You Made Me A Communist*, *Prodigal Son* and other plays, was in Bombay City for about ten days in the middle of November.

As a cultural organisation affiliated to the Indian People's Theatre Association, the KPAC has been contributing its share in remodelling the socio-cultural life of the people of Kerala. KPAC's *You Made Me A Communist* had been staged about 1,007 times and it created history when it was banned by the then Congress Government in Travancore-Cochin. This ban order raised such an uproar in Kerala that its echo could be heard even in the Legislative Assembly. The High Court quashed the ban order and the play was again allowed to be staged.

The people of Bombay were eager to see this play and KPAC's later and equally successful production, *Prodigal Son*. There were two stagings of each of these plays and a gathering of about 5,000 people. A section of intellectuals generally hold the belief that

KPAC is merely a propaganda wing of the Communist Party. People from all walks of life in Bombay with differing political ideologies, however, equally appreciated and enjoyed the plays.

In the words of Sri Balraj Sahni, whether you made me



The poor debt-ridden head of the family (O. Madhavaram) in *You Made Me A Communist*, a bit of tobacco for chewing, but for the moment is finding pleasure in ruminating about the feudalistic past his ancestors enjoyed.

### KERALA DRAMA FESTIVAL "You Made Me A Communist" Staged In Bombay

A "Communist" or "Congress", the actual question confronting the audience was whether the factors that made one a Communist as portrayed through this drama, were a true depiction of the actual situation. So far as this aspect was concerned, no one could deny the existence of such factors in Kerala, which finally led the old man in *You Made Me A Communist* to become a Communist.

Another great success of the KPAC's plays like *You Made Me A Communist* and *Prodigal Son* lies in the fact that they have succeeded in portraying most effectively people from the lowest strata of society as heroes and heroines.

While the themes of the two plays—*Prodigal Son* and *Survey Mark*—have a predominantly social content, *You Made Me A Communist* can be classed as a really political one. In the former we come across the inevitable, evil consequences of a time-worn feudalistic set-up, whereas in the latter, we witness the rising class-consciousness among the toiling masses and their mighty organised fight against their exploiters.

Sri K. A. Abbas who inaugurated the Drama Festival observed that Kerala had created history in more than one way. Kerala showed that two political systems could coexist in this country. In the field of dramas, Kerala created history in producing a drama which had been staged successfully more than a thousand times.

Sri Balraj Sahni, who was the chief guest on the final day of the Drama Festival,

observed: "I hail from Punjab which has produced famous artists and actors like Prithviraj, Raj Kapoor, Dilip Kumar, Nargis, Gita Bali and Dev Anand, and today I bow my head in salute to these artists from Kerala, who have shown me what real acting looks like. In fact, I should say that they do not act, but they really live on the stage, in their particular roles."

Dr. Fryd, chief of the Czechoslovak puppet show, who was the chief guest on the second day of the Drama Festival, wished KPAC every success.

The same week, Bombay witnessed another Malayalee cultural programme of Kerala's traditional Kathakali. The Kathakali programme was organised by the so-called Kerala Democratic Front and was politically aimed against the Kerala Government and the Communist Party. This was made very clear in their own publicity literature and souvenir.

And the response of the city to the two programmes was interesting. Whereas the KPAC programme at the G.S. Medical College Grounds was drawing about 5,000 people each day, the Kathakali performance, just about two furlongs away at the Parsi Gymkhana Grounds, was struggling to get even three hundred a day. Their attempts to slander the Kerala Government through the Kathakali performance in Bombay was an utter failure, financially, politically and culturally in spite of the fact that Congress and PSP leaders like Sri Dhebar, Asoka Mehta as well as Minoo Masani were patrons of the show.

PAGE ELEVEN

### What Should Be The Basic Approach?

P. Yudin replies to Pandit Nehru (The basic approach by Pandit Nehru in the A. I. C. C. Economic Review) through the columns of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (December issue)

Single copy: Re. 1.00  
Annual subscription: Rs. 12.00

Reserve your copy

Subscribe to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW and keep abreast of the ideological controversies of the world.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE PRIVATE LTD.  
Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi-1.

# AN UNSATISFACTORY BILL

THE Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, was last amended in 1946. And it was universally felt that the requirements of the working class had outgrown the provisions of the Act and it was to be radically amended.

The growing industrialisation and the accompanying mechanisation had increased the number of accidents and enhanced the scope of occupational diseases. The problems of industrial safety and hygiene had also grown in magnitude.

It was in May 1953 that the Government of India circulated certain amendments to the various State Governments to elicit their opinion. A memorandum of suggested amendments was again circulated in September, 1956.

And the present amending Bill is an outcome of these discussions and consultations.

Twelve years after the last amendment, five years of consultation and discussion created the impression that the amendments proposed would be thorough and far-reaching and would meet most of the vital requirements of industrialisation. But it is not so.

The best that the Government has done is to reduce the waiting period of seven days in the principal Act. Even here it proposed to reduce it only to five days. After a lot of fight put up by the Communist M. P.s in particular, the Government has now reduced it to three days.

The other major amendment is to Schedule I where the earlier irrational percentages of disability in various in-

# LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.

juries have been revised and enhanced. Schedule II specifying certain occupational diseases has been improved. The employer is now liable to notify not only fatal accidents but also those involving "serious bodily injury". If the compensation is not paid within a reasonable time after it becomes due, the employer is now liable to be charged interest and fine to be remitted to the workmen or his department, as the case may be. The fine that could be levied on any employer for non-compliance of the provisions of the Act has been doubled. Amounts spent on the treatment shall not be deducted from the compensation.

But the Bill falls far short of the requirements, most particularly in the following respects:

- 1. The rates of compensation are the same old irrational rates. They are not increased.
- 2. The suggestion that the compensation paid should be more in the case of young workers because of the longer period for which they would have earned normally has been turned down.
- 3. Many occupational diseases such as "writers' cramp", miners' nystagmus, cellulitis and burgitis (peculiar to miners) have all not been included.
- 4. Cardamom plantations are not covered and clerks continue to be excluded.
- 5. The suggestion that in the case of mining, in view of the hazards involved, all the

employees should be covered has not been accepted.

- 6. The wage ceiling remains at Rs. 400, it has not been increased to Rs. 500.
- 7. The suggestion that employer's contribution to provident fund should be included in the wage definition has not been accepted.
- 8. The demand that not only fatal accidents and those involving serious injury but all the accidents should be notified has been turned down.
- 9. The proposal that even in case of an accident due to negligence on the part of the worker, compensation should be paid not only in case of death as is provided in the existing Act, but also in the case of "serious and permanent disablement" as is provided for in the British Act has been rejected.
- 10. The demand that it should be made obligatory on the part of the employers to provide treatment to the injured worker at its expense and also supply artificial limbs or aids has not been accepted.
- 11. The suggestion that the definition of employment should be so enlarged as to include not only workers working on any premises but also those working outside but in connection with the manufacturing process or the business and trade has not been accepted.

Such are the serious lags in the present amending Bill. But all this is evidently a lame excuse and a trick to postpone the question, which has been under consideration for the last five years. In December 1955, when Communist M. P. Renu Chakravarty moved a non-official Bill, a "comprehensive Bill" was promised. Subsequently when Communist M.P. T. B. Vittal Rao raised a half-hour discussion, the same promise was repeated. And this is the result. The trade union movement will have to make its pressure felt to achieve tangible results.

Such are the serious lags in the present amending Bill. But all this is evidently a lame excuse and a trick to postpone the question, which has been under consideration for the last five years. In December 1955, when Communist M. P. Renu Chakravarty moved a non-official Bill, a "comprehensive Bill" was promised. Subsequently when Communist M.P. T. B. Vittal Rao raised a half-hour discussion, the same promise was repeated. And this is the result. The trade union movement will have to make its pressure felt to achieve tangible results.

## AFTER DOLLARS, NOW STERLING

QUICK in succession to the offer by an American union of dollars to fight Communism among steel workers of India has come the British decision to offer sterling for the same purpose. Hindustan Times (November 28, 1958) has reported a decision of the British Trade Union Congress to intensify its efforts in British colonies and certain Commonwealth countries through the Special Commonwealth Fund. The same report adds, that a British TUC spokesman had said that they were "keenly interested in the Indian Trade Union movement" and the "Communist infiltration peril". So now both dollars and sterling will be made available. One is tempted to ask Sri Ramanujam whether this is "in complete harmony with the traditions, culture and aspirations of the Indian people?"

CONTINUED FROM BACK PAGE

Ministries in various States can be overturned. "We have tried to overthrow one by legal means and we have succeeded. Why should there be anything against that? If you want to overthrow it, do it in the same way as we have done. That, you try to do things in a good way, and meet the demands of the people and society yourself. But, no they want to create an atmosphere as if this Government is not liked by the people and there is violence and insecurity in the land."

He concluded by saying that he did not want the impression to be created among the people that no elected Government will have any value because anything will be done to overthrow it. "Therefore, in this tactic of overthrowing the Kerala Government this privilege motion is not allowed."

A. K. Gopalan speaking towards the end of the discussion read out the second telegram of the Kerala Chief Minister, saying that the first one was meant only for the Home Minister. He said in the telegram that he never intended to cast aspersions or reflections on any Member of Parliament or his conduct or proceedings of the House.

The context made it clear, the telegram said, that if the State Government was not allowed to present correct facts, a one-sided version may appear as slander on Kerala Government and the impression would be damaging for that Government. Comrade Gopalan said in order to restore the dignity—and privilege of the House the matter should be ended.

"The Prime Minister asked my Party and others to be careful in our speeches and writings. I accept it. I would only re-

quest him to see that as far as the Congress members in Kerala are concerned, they might also be careful in their open speeches and writings so that with carefulness on both sides, such things may not recur and there may be harmony all round."

Among other speakers, Mr. Frank Anthony lent powerful support to Mr. Masani's motion, repeatedly suggesting that even if it was an instance in which the Prime Minister was involved a similar motion should be brought against him.

Sri Khadilkar asking Mr. Masani to drop the motion said that it was the duty of Parliament to be equally vigilant about the decorum and dignity of the Chief Ministers in the States.

Referring to Sri Asoka Mehta quoting the Congress Working Committee resolution, he said Sri Mehta had exposed himself to the charge that he was arguing his case, getting support from a particular party which feels rather afraid to act and at the same time, through some utterances sometimes creates an atmosphere that this is a Government which is not desired by the major party ruling the country.

Despite the Prime Minister saying he would have preferred if this motion had not been brought, the motion was adopted by the Lok Sabha. A number of Congress members including Secretary of the Parliamentary Party Dr. Ram Subhag Singh voted against the motion. The Home Minister whom some participants in the debate had suggested as being charged with the task of defending the Kerala Government neither spoke nor was he present in the House at the time of voting.

\* FROM PAGE 2

nal in other directions, too. He said:

"In parliamentary democracy there is need for a healthy opposition. Perhaps there can be no harm in there being two trade union organisations, one functioning as a healthy opposition to the other, in trade union democracy also." His only fear is that the Communists will not play the game according to his rules.

Since Ramanujam's brand of parliamentary democracy can only mean a two-party system, he has advised the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the United Trade Union Congress to merge themselves in either of the two all-India organisations — hastily assuring that the INTUC is "a distinct and separate organisation."

What Sri Ramanujam rejects by propounding his two-party system is the generally-accepted principle of one union in one industry. It is not difficult to discern in this the lurking fear that once this democratic principle of one union in one industry is accepted, the workers' consciousness will not leave very much room for the INTUC with its present policies and practices.

But those who want to continue to exist on the basis of the disunity of the working class cannot build a united organisation. The INTUC today is a house divided against itself — the only unity that exists in its leadership is the unity against the Communists.

It was none other than Bihar's Congress Chief Minis-

ter Sri Srikrishna Sinha, in his inaugural address to the General Council session read out by the State's Labour Minister Binodananda Jha, who referred to "cases of split in the INTUC at certain places due to group rivalry."

It was given to Sri Vasavda to openly join issue with the Chief Minister next day by denying that "there was any dissension among the INTUC workers as mentioned in the inaugural speech of the Chief Minister." But how long does he think he can keep the reality covered by such denials?

The INTUC leaders have met, discussed and declared themselves against trade union unity and mobilisation of the workers in defence of their interests. Now it is for the INTUC ranks to discuss and decide this question.

# DHEBAR'S FACTS

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

Council which called for a "massive expansion" of the co-operative movement. Probably you would say that that decision is all right for all the 13 States of India, but if that is implemented in our State, it becomes a wily manoeuvre on the part of the Communist Party to monopolise the strings of rural economy! Perhaps you want this monopoly over the strings of rural economy to be held by your party!

## TRANSFERS OF OFFICERS

The figure of 854 transfers of police officers quoted does not represent transfers made by Government alone, but includes transfers ordered among police officers of all ranks, consisting of about twelve thousand persons during the period of over a year. There is nothing extraordinary in this.

The following broad principle underlines such transfers. Whenever allegations against police officers are made to the Government or to departmental officers, and it is considered by either of them that immediate transfers are called for, pending enquiry into such allegations, transfers are ordered.

(1) It is true that Sub-Inspector Mohandas was placed under suspension by Government pending enquiry by the District Collector, Trivandrum, into allegations against him. It is also true that the allegation that he had misused his authority on the basis of personal animosity was made by Sri Kosala Ramadas, City Councillor. The enquiry against the Sub-Inspector has not yet been completed by the District Collector. A meeting of the Trivandrum City Corporation passed a resolution demanding that action should be taken against the officer for misconduct.

(2) Sri K.M. Varghese, Sub-Inspector of Police, was not transferred from Kuthiathode on the report of the R.D.O. He was transferred to the District Intelligence Bureau, Trivandrum, because he had been specially trained in D.I.B. work. The enquiry into the allegations against the Sub-Inspector was an independent matter, which is being disposed of according to merits and rules.

(3) Sub-Inspector of Police, Sri K.V. Gopalan Nair, was transferred from Thiruvella on the recommendation of the District Collector, Alleppey, who was enquiring into an allegation of high-handed action by the Sub-Inspector. There was no party issue in this.

(4) Sri M. Parameswaran, Sub-Inspector, was transferred from Payyannur in 10/57, and not in 8/57, as stated. This was not done because he failed to prevent a black-flag demonstration against the Finance Minister, but because there were several allegations against the Sub-Inspector which were under enquiry by the Collector of the District. It was considered necessary by Government that the Sub-Inspector should be transferred out of the place to facilitate proper enquiry.

(5) No Sub-Inspector has been transferred from the Nattika Police Station, because he treated as suicide a case suspected as murder.

(6) It is true that Sri C.S. Thankappan, Sub-Inspector, was transferred from Kazhakkuttam when there were certain allegations against him. They were the subject matter of enquiry by the Inspector-General of Police who found the more serious allegations against him not proved. But local circumstances made it expedient to transfer him and hence he was transferred.

(7) Sri N. Ramabhadran, Sub-Inspector, was transferred from Vidura to Kazhakkuttam as a consequence of the transfer of Sri Thankappan from Kazhakkuttam. Had Sri Ramabhadran been transferred because of his action against local Communists, Kazhakkuttam would not have been the place to transfer him to, since, according to the earlier allegation, the transfer of the Sub-Inspector from Kazhakkuttam had also the purpose of replacing an inconvenient incumbent by

a more amenable one.

(8) Sri K. Madhava Menon, Sub-Inspector of Changancherry was transferred to a distant place due to the fact that in enquiries conducted by the Anti-Corruption Department, prima facie charges were established against him and his transfer was considered necessary for the proper prosecution of further enquiries by the Anti-Corruption Department. The allegation that the opinion of the local Cell Committee prevailed in the matter is not true.

Sri V.K. Sankara Menon, Sub-Inspector, was transferred from Vellathuval Station (not Chithirapuram) on relief there by Sri K. Madhava Menon, transferred from Changancherry Police Station as stated above. It may be noted that the transfers of Sub-Inspectors Sri Madhava Menon and Sri Sankara Menon, were mutual and if the allegation is that they were transferred because of their antagonism to Communists, such a mutual transfer could not have materially served the alleged purpose.

## PACKING OF POLICE WITH MEN OF COMMUNIST PERSUASION

This matter has been discussed by me with you. I made it clear to you that after our Government came to power, our State Government put an end to the discriminatory policy adopted by Central and other State Governments re: employment of those who held Communist views. Those who hold Communist views or are related to prominent Communists have not been employed in Government service in other States or the Centre. Our State Government has examined cases where men were dismissed from service on charges of Communist sympathies and we have reinstated them in a few such cases. And Communist views will be no bar to employment in Government service. This is the general policy.

Re: the specific cases you have pointed out, the following are the observations I desire to make:

Re. Ex-Captain Kerala Varma: He had applied for re-employment but no decision has so far been taken about the case.

Re. Ex-P.C. Vijayan of Punalur: He was discharged from service because his "character and antecedents were not satisfactory" but on a scrutiny, it was found that this vague charge could not be a ground for discharge and, therefore, he was ordered to be reinstated.

Re. T.K. Krishnan: Sri T.K. Krishnan has been appointed in the Trade School on the advice of the Public Service Commission. No information regarding his background as a dismissed Police Constable is readily available.

Re. Reinstatement of 600 discharged persons of the M.S.P. in the Armed Reserve and the other inferior service in the Secretariat: The facts of the case are that following a strike in the M.S.P. in 1946, the guiding force of which was Sri K.A. Damodara Menon, now President, KPCC (according to the records, his association with the strike was, at that time, frankly admitted by Sri Damodara Menon) 646 persons were discharged, dismissed or removed from service. This includes also 220 persons who resigned from service. In July 1957, a representation was made by the Ex-MSP Association to Government requesting for reinstatement in service. Because the strike which led to the discharge of those persons was a move to increase emoluments and against insecurity of tenure for the temporary hands, and there was no other blemish on these persons, Government decided that:

(i) Fifty per cent of the vacancies arising in future in the Armed Reserve Unit should be filled up from amongst these persons under the age of 40, subject to their being medically fit; and

(ii) Those above 40 years should be given some preference for absorption as peons in future vacancies in the various District offices subject to the concurrence of the Public Service Commission.

# INTUC'S JAMSHEDPUR SESSION

## YOU and the METRIC SYSTEM

Whether you are a buyer or a seller, you will find that the Metric System of Weights and Measures makes calculations easier.

A single system of weights and measures for the entire country will not only help trade but also promote national integration.

Use of Metric Weights has become legal in selected areas of the States and industries from October 1, 1958. The reform will be gradually extended to other areas.

| Commercial weights are of the following denominations |      |                      |          |                         |      |      |    |   |
|---|------|----------------------|----------|-------------------------|------|------|----|---|
| Cast Iron Weights                                     |      | Brass/Bronze Weights |          |                         |      |      |    |   |
| Kilogram  | Gram | Bullion only         |          | Commodities and Bullion |      |      |    |   |
|   |      | Kilogram             | Kilogram | Gram                    | Gram | Gram |    |   |
| 50  | 5    | 500                  | 20       | 5                       | 1    | 500  | 50 | 5 |
| 20  | 2    | 200                  | 10       | 2                       |      | 200  | 20 | 2 |
| 10  | 1    | 100                  |          |                         |      | 100  | 10 | 1 |

1 KILOGRAM=1,000 GRAMS=86 TOLAS

METRIC SYSTEM for simplicity and uniformity

ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

# PEACE AND FREEDOM

by RAZA ALI

## THE FRENCH ELECTION

IN the traditional land of bourgeois democracy, we witness the tragedy of its approaching demise. Unable to rule by normal methods, French reaction has preferred an open dictatorship by a clique of the biggest monopolies in the country.

With the elections for the new National Assembly ends the prologue which introduces a dark chapter in French history — the Fifth Republic of French dishonour — that began with the military putsch in Algeria on May 13.

Not only for the French people, but for all peace-loving peoples, it was a matter of grave concern when the monster of fascism raised its head in France — a great European and world Power — with the war cry: Algeria Français. The referendum of September 28, gave this monster a constitutional garb, the present elections have provided it with 'Republican' ornamentation.

The UNR, the organisation of the Soustelles and Massus, the colons of Algeria who are out for a naked military dictatorship, has captured as many as 138 seats in the 265-member National Assembly.

### Communist Vote

The biggest political party in the country, the French Communist Party, although it polled ALMOST THREE TIMES AS MUCH VOTES as the MRP (Catholics) has got FIVE TIMES LESS SEATS than that organisation of reaction.

While awaiting for a detailed evaluation of the election results some facts may be immediately noted.

Indeed, the events preceding these elections had already predetermined their results. The first attack of fascism always falls on the forces that represent the genuine interests of the working people, above all the Communist Parties.

De Gaulle's new constitution curtailed the rights of the new National Assembly to the maximum, while the electoral law was solely aimed at reducing the number of deputies representing France's working people — the Communist Deputies — to the minimum.

Electoral constituencies were redivided with a view to splitting up the electorate supporting the Communists and amalgamating them with neighbouring electorates controlled by reactionary parties.

The system of two stage voting on top of the small constituencies was adopted — the same system which in the 1928 elections, had given the French Communist Party only 14 seats while securing for the Right-wing "Republican and Democratic Union" 142 seats, although the French Communist Party had polled much more than twice the number of votes.

And when, despite these

fraudulent laws, the French Communist Party emerged after the first round, still leading with the largest percentage of votes, many hasty unholy alliances were entered into between the Rightist parties and the Socialist Party, to keep the Communist candidates out. But the Socialist Party under Guy Mollet which, betraying the interests of the French workers, had jumped into the de Gaulle band-wagon in the hope of romping home through the elections, finished by itself being rolled under.

### No. Stable Govt. Possible

An Assembly, thus elected cannot provide a stable Government, cannot maintain illusions for any length of time. The big bubble of de Gaulle, the arbiter "above all parties" will soon be pricked for all the French people to see. The Soustelles and Massus who now dominate the Assembly will dominate the French Government — will dominate de Gaulle himself. And soon the French people will see de Gaulle as the tool of the French fascists.

The Press has already noted the lack of interest and the apathy of the French people in these elections. Voting was remarkably poor. Press Correspondents wrote: "The deserted polling stations presented a sad sight." And, when in the first round only 40 of the 465 contests were decided, even the AFP complained that it was an unprecedented situation for France.

The last six months indicate to the French people what is to follow. The colonial war in Algeria continues to sap the French economy. Le Monde had reported that during the past four years France spent both directly and indirectly, one thousand million U.S. dollars of foreign exchange on the Algerian war. The sum of 800,000 million francs, that is now being spent is estimated to increase further next year. The economic situation of the country is, therefore, worsening. Even de Gaulle's Finance Minister, Antoine Pinay, had to admit, hardly a week before these very elections: "We are confronted with the threats of inflation and unemployment."

### French-German Axis

And on top of this comes the news of an "entente Cordiale" between the French chauvinists and the Bonn militarists — alarming not only for the French people, but equally for the other European peoples.

In this situation the world is thankful that there exists a staunch and powerful fighter against this trend of fascism — the valiant Communist Party of France.

Its Polit Bureau succinctly stated after the first round of

voting: "...an outrageous reactionary and fascist putsch is manifesting itself. The Communist Party of France demonstrates itself to be a powerful force in opposition to the reactionaries and the war. It has always been the principal bastion of democracy.

"The anti-Communist attitude of the Socialist leaders has once again played a role against the interests of the working class, democracy and France.

"The most important task for the immediate future is to unite all the working and republican forces to block the danger of fascism...."

## SOVIET PROPOSAL ON BERLIN

THE new Soviet proposals on Berlin — meant in the words of Khrushchov to be a step "aimed at eliminating a hotbed of tension, at assuring a world détente, providing normal conditions for peaceful coexistence and competition" — now occupy the centre of the world political stage.

The imperialist aggressive circles are furious and the U.S. brasshats have started sabre-rattling. Bit large sections of the world Press, including the Western Press, reflecting the fact that the earnestness of the Soviet initiative is making itself felt, the world over.

### Western Arguments

However, the main argument brought against the Soviet proposal is the Potsdam Agreement. But even the Conservative Daily Express (November 26) is forced to admit: "...the whole conception on which the Four-Power occupation of Berlin was based no longer exists — if it ever existed at all."

The fact is that behind this argument lies not any high regard for principles, but the fond hope that the status quo can be continued till the German Democratic Republic, renouncing her Socialist path, joins the Federal Republic in the NATO fold. Qualifying such hopes as "fantastic", Khrushchov in his Press Conference had asked whether this was not as much wishful thinking as believing that Adenauer and his Government could be persuaded to adopt a Socialist trend in their political activity.

The Soviet proposal, by making Berlin a free city, is actually suggesting a realistic step so "that people residing in West Berlin and possessing different views and convictions should not be forced to

## GEORGI DAMIANOV

GEORGI DAMIANOV, President of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Member of the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, passed away after prolonged illness in Sofia on November 27 last.



Georgi Damianov worked for many years under the close guidance of the great leader of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, and belonged to the old tempered guard of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Having passed with unbreakable firmness and valour through the fire of the epic September Uprising of 1923 Georgi Damianov unfolded an intensive activity of a fearless worker of the Comintern during the years of fascism and war.

After the victory of September 9, 1944, he devoted all his energy to

the building up of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, its armed forces, to the rallying of the Bulgarian working people under the banner of the Fatherland Front and to the strengthening of the moral-political unity of the people.

True to the great principles of Marxism-Leninism Georgi Damianov was a tireless fighter for the purity and iron unity of the Party ranks, a fiery patriot, and internationalist.

accept against their will a system which they do not like." (Khrushchov at the Press Conference)

At the same time it is suggesting a concrete step to break the deadlock on the German problem.

As Walter Ulbricht has pointed out in an interview to the British Daily Mail (November 24): "If foreign troops were withdrawn it would be possible to neutralise Berlin, and this would also be a help in preparing a peace treaty. The withdrawal of foreign troops from Berlin would also provide an example for the whole of Germany as to how a nearer approach and better understanding between the two German States could be made easier. This would certainly help towards reunification through a German league of States."

The Soviet proposals have made the attitude of Western Powers appear even more grotesque. Even The Observer (London) came out editorially, warning that the Western Powers "must recognise that if they persist in their present policy, which tacitly accepts the permanent division of Germany, they will find it increasingly hard to maintain their position in Berlin without risking war."

### Step Towards Peace Treaty

And Walter Lippman (in Washington Post, November 25) sarcastically commented: "Lacking a policy of our own for the unification of Germany, we have become hysterically attached to the status quo. It often looks as if we were not quite sure of the distinction between hardening of will and hardening of arteries."

Another argument that is

being brought against the Soviet proposal is that it contains an ultimatum.

Khrushchov answered this in his Press Conference: "We put this question not in the way of an ultimatum but suggest a six months' time limit for a comprehensive discussion thereof, to discuss the Soviet Government's proposals if the Western Powers display readiness to discuss this question."

### Ultimatum — From The West

Ultimatums have been made — but not by the Soviet Union. They have been made by U.S. spokesmen who have threatened that 'they would hold Berlin with force of arms if necessary.

The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to meet the representatives of the Western Powers and has considered the need "to specify and discuss" the proposals as not only "permissible" but "even necessary."

The realistic approach of the Soviet Government may be seen from the fact that, in its note, it has also expressed its willingness, on behalf of the Four Powers, to enter into official contact on this question with the Government of the GDR, not forcing thereby the issue of immediate recognition of the GDR by the Western Powers.

Obviously some time limit had to be fixed for the period of negotiations. Objection to this comes from the imperialist circles because, the Soviet proposals "threaten" to remove a principal focus of cold war tension from the world scene.

(December 2, 1958)

DECEMBER 7, 1958

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

THE Rajya Sabha debate last week on Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour's resolution on the necessity of a parliamentary probe into the operations of the monopolistic concerns in the country, though in itself, inasmuch as it failed to invoke a responsive chord in the mind of the Minister for Industry, was, nevertheless indicative of quite a few useful trends.

For one it brought to the fore the Congress Government's fondness for these concerns — a fact which it seeks to hide behind refusal to recognise their very existence. For another it served to spotlight the near unanimity of views among members of almost all the parties in respect of the dangers which the continuance of monopolies holds out for the national economy.

### THE ISSUES

What were the issues involved in the debate? The contention of the mover of the resolution, and other Communist speakers who followed him, was that a prima facie case existed for a parliamentary probe into the operations of such concerns, because of the unmistakable trends towards monopolisation which they have been showing in the past. Even today — when the new Company Law has been in operation for a couple of years — the basic pattern of their ownership and management has not altered much.

Basing their case on a wealth of information, appertaining to jute, tea, tobacco, lac and other industries, they, at the same time, cautioned against the increasing tie-ups between the local and foreign capitalists, which have introduced a new element into the situation. For, besides perpetuating the monopolies in industries where they take place, they contribute to the emergence of a new type of native capitalist whose interests are closely interwoven with those of the capitalists in other countries. They might not be like the comprador bourgeoisie of the Kuomintang pattern in all respects, but their emergence, in whatever form, is ominous, nevertheless.

### PRICE-DICTION

Citing facts, they said that in tea, jute, tobacco and other industries, a few foreign firms, owning the majority of concerns, also make arrangements among themselves to minimise competition. Thus, they are able, on the one hand, to close the doors of the industry to new entrants, and on the other, to assume sufficient economic power to dictate prices to the Government as well as to the consumers.

In tea, for instance, a few sterling companies, with investments of Rs. 72 crores out of a total investment of Rs. 100 crores in

the industry, also own about 5.32 lakh acres out of a total 6.34 lakh acres of tea plantations in the country. In its marketing also two companies, Lipton and Brooke Bond, control about 85 per cent of the internal distribution, while four houses of brokers — three foreign and one mixed — handle the entire export trade.

### PROFITS EXPORTED

The continuance of the stranglehold of these foreign firms has another sinister implication also. Instead of reinvesting their profits, which on an average amounts to about 20 per cent of the invested capital annually, on replanting of the obsolescent plants, they transfer them to the African continent, where they hope to continue their exploitation for a longer period.

Thus, through the fruit of Indian labour and industry the foreign owners are building a competitor to the Indian product in foreign markets, a fact whose significance our neighbours in Ceylon have understandably not failed to observe.

The Government, however, has chosen to ignore all these developments. To them tea is too specialised an industry to be interfered with lightly. It cannot even countenance any suggestion for its nationalisation; for, where in that event, they ever, will there be available a specialised cadre to handle its operations?

## THE MONOPOLY DEBATE

Similarly, in respect of tobacco, Comrade Narasimham from Andhra Pradesh, a State which accounts for about 93 per cent of the entire Virginia tobacco produced in the country, cited the case of the Imperial Tobacco Co. which controls nearly all cigarette factories in the country. This company, through its subsidiary, the ILTD Co. buys almost all the leaf tobacco produced in Andhra. Together with it are a few others also, like the BIT and the National Tobacco Companies, which determine the price at which alone they are willing to buy the leaf from the peasant who grows it.

Now this Imperial Tobacco Co. which is a part of a world monopoly, also controls the production of the commodity. This it does through the encouragement of a certain type of farming known as master farming — a mechanism which, through the fixing of certain difficult grades and other norms, fleeces the smaller peasant in the interests of the bigger farmers.

### INTERLOCKING

Examples of such lopsided patterns of ownership and restrictionist practices in trade on the part of the owners themselves can be multiplied manifold, and that is what the Communist spokesmen had done in support of their demand for parliamentary probe into their operations. They had shown how, through the ingenuity of a managing agency system, a few scores of dignitaries in finance and commerce, had succeeded in gaining control over hun-

dreds of companies. This they could do through the interlocking of companies, and now increasingly as revealed by the Mundhra enquiry, through the interlocking of assets.

Moreover, now that the financial institutions are also increasingly coming under the control of these monopolists — with the various Houses of Managing Agents vying with each other in buying up or floating the existing or new banks and insurance agencies, the trend towards the tie-up of industrial and financial capital seems to have already gathered sufficient momentum.

### THE REPLY

Against this formidable case of the Communist members, supported by the PSP spokesman Rohit Dave and at least morally upheld even by a Congress member, Sri P. N. Sapru, all that the Minister for Industry Sri Manubhai Shah could offer was a set of homilies on the impossibility of any monopolistic tendencies emerging in a country whose very genius was against them.

No doubt, as Dr. Gour said in his reply to the debate, the Indian people, abhor concentration of wealth, as did the peoples of many other countries where today monopolies reign supreme. Equally, it is true that the past pronouncements of the Indian National Congress, as well as the Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution enjoined that such tendencies should be shown a short shrift. That did not, however, prevent their gaining ground in a country whose leaders have proved to be

pastmasters in ignoring their own resolutions.

In support of his supposed awareness of the dangers of monopoly, the Minister cited the promulgation of the New Companies Act which forbids any managing agency from controlling more than ten companies. He did not, however, disclose as to how many of them have already succeeded in circumventing the Act by dividing the companies among various brothers.

In the matter of pricing also, increasingly the various marketing bodies like the ACC and the Sugar Syndicate have assumed a decisive position. Even when the prices are technically decided by the Government, as in the case of steel retention prices, it is more often the will of the companies which finally prevails.

Thus, howsoever great be the Government's pretended ignorance of the existence of monopolies or at least monopolistic trends in the economy of our country, and whatever be its own bloated idea about the worth of its legislation in curbing their activities, their strength continues to grow relentlessly. In face of Government's refusal to check this growth, however, it has become incumbent upon the democratic elements in the country to keep a watch on developments in this direction and intervene over and over again to defeat the nefarious activities of the monopolies.

—ESSEN

December 2, 1958.

EXPORTS: CEMENT-MILLS, ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS.

ICE AND REFRIGERATING PLANTS.

MACHINES FOR FLOUR MILLS, MACHINES FOR THE FOOD-STUFF-INDUSTRY.

RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK, VESSELS, SHIPS REPAIRS.

HOUSEHOLD SEWING MACHINES.

MASINIMPORT

State Company for Foreign Trade, Bucharest-3, Rumania.  
Str. Mihail Eminescu Nr. 10

MASINIMPORT

PARLIAMENT "COLD WAR" AGAINST KERALA GOVERNMENT

THIS WEEK

ZIAUL HAQ

Mr. M. R. Masani's motion for reference to a Committee of Privileges the alleged breach of privilege committed by Kerala's Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad was adopted by the Lok Sabha on November 27 by 138 votes to 32, with 24 members including the Prime Minister abstaining.

THE adoption of the motion is considered in informed circles as the culmination of one stage of the moves in Parliament over Kerala which started on the first day of the last session with Sri Asoka Mehta and Dr. K. B. Menon's motion calling for Central intervention in the name of putting a stop to the alleged lawlessness in that State.

The Prime Minister speaking in the debate on Mr. Masani's motion expressed his distress over the turn the debate had taken. The sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister were welcomed by the Deputy Leader of the Communist group who spoke later in the debate.

But the tone of the debate had been set by the speeches of Dr. K. B. Menon and Sri Asoka Mehta whose points naturally received the sharp reply they deserved from Leader of the Communist group S. A. Dange. For Hon'ble Members of Parliament like Dr. Menon and Sri Asoka Mehta the debate was a continuation of the general debate which they had sought to initiate on Kerala.

Dr. Menon speaking on the

motion on the alleged breach of privilege of the House tried to recall the "violence" that had been "let loose", "discriminations" that had been made and the "general denial of Fundamental Rights" that was supposed to be taking place in Kerala. He read out a telegram from an Ad Hoc Congress Committee in Kerala.

Sri Asoka Mehta as he himself said in the very opening sentences of his speech wanted to take advantage of the occasion "to bring to a common focus the developments that led to this motion being brought before this House." He recalled Dr. Menon's motion at the very beginning of the last session through which he had sought the situation in Kerala to be considered by Parliament "because," said Sri Asoka Mehta, "he felt, and many of us felt that the conditions there were such as were denying the people the Fundamental Rights."

He considered the discussion of the Privilege Motion a suitable occasion to dilate on this while Mr. Masani in his closing speech sought to present his motion as a "non-contentious one which seeks to investigate and get at the

truth." ("It does not seek to sit on judgement over Sri Namboodiripad or anyone else, and it avoids any question of bringing in any extraneous issues," said Mr. Masani).

Sri Asoka Mehta was recalling and trying to read out the Congress Working Committee resolution on "insecurity" in the State and the Kerala Government's policies which were described in that resolution as "discriminatory" and "not in accordance with the rule of law," when Communist member Nagi Reddy called the attention of the Chair to the fact that it was the Privilege Motion and not the Congress Working Committee's resolution or the situation in Kerala that was being discussed in the House.

The Hon'ble Mr. Speaker told him that it was he, the Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, who was

read an extract from New Age describing the Hon'ble Member, Sri M. R. Masani as a Tata employee he would protest. Since he did not protest, I thought, being a Tata employee, he had not a very dignified position."

Mr. Masani whose close friend Sri Asoka Mehta had just dubbed the Communist one-tenth of Parliament elected by workers' and peasants' votes as "not representing vital elements of the country" interrupted to declare that he considered it a great honour to have served the Tatas for 16 years, although he had ceased to be their employee since he got elected to Parliament. The former Tata employee Mr. Masani said he would not contradict anything appearing in New Age because he considered it "a habitually lying newspaper."

Since the newspaper was

taking another angle, that is the angle as is provided by Sri Asoka Mehta. He thinks the Communists are very fond of the word 'slander'. Well, if it is slander, it is slander.

"For example, if I were to discuss it politically, I would say, my friend Sri Asoka Mehta is a standing slander against Socialism. He deserted to know capitalism and naturally he hates Communism, and when he hates Communism then he thinks every minute of his life is an opportunity to damn the Communists. Therefore we are bound to say it is a question of slander."

There was a sharp exchange when Sri Asoka Mehta objected to being called a slanderer. Dange saying to (Mehta) was a slander against his own Socialism which he had betrayed. Sri Mehta claimed that his was the Socialism that was the accepted policy of the

THE PRIVILEGE MOTION DEBATE

judge of what was relevant and what was otherwise and Sri Mehta proceeded to expound on the basis of quotations from New Age and a 1956 publication by A. K. Gopalan and Hiren Mukerjee, Communists in Parliament, that using the term "slander" was a "part and parcel of Communist strategy" saying that it was "the recognised tactics of the Communists in Kerala to intimidate the people." He developed the theme of Communist "tactics", "techniques" and "strategy" as he has come to understand these, trying to pit "nine-tenths of the House" against "the one-tenth" which according to him calls them "slanderers".

This one-tenth, namely the Communists, Sri Mehta very authoritatively declared, "does not represent the vital elements of the country," leaving unsaid but obvious what he would like to be done to cast aside this one-tenth, who and consequently whose 12 million electors, peasants and workers, do not represent "the vital elements of the country."

Speaking next Comrade Dange dealt with the motion in the wider context in which Sri Asoka Mehta had placed it. He said he would prefer "to take a lesson from my Hon'ble friend Sri Asoka Mehta, and ask a question. Why has this thing arisen? From where does it proceed?" and saying that it had nothing to do with privilege, characterised it as proceeding from a well-planned conspiracy and a cold war to overthrow the Communist Government in Kerala.

When he referred to "the dignity of these gentlemen who have made speeches" saying "we know what dignity they have", on being interrupted by the Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, he explained:

"I said that because I thought when Sri Asoka Mehta

not a member of the House the Hon'ble Mr. Speaker ruled out of order T. B. Vithal Rao's protests. The Hon'ble Member Mr. Masani was later to come out as a champion of the Press demanding that there should be equality before law for a Chief Minister and a newspaper editor.

Comrade Dange submitted, "We should pay attention to the implications of this motion. Even if it were held to be a correct motion and even if it were passed, it would do damage to the political development in this country."

Asking for the question of privilege not to be pushed too far he traced how the concept of privilege had arisen in the struggle of the House of Commons against autocratic monarchs, how now even in the U. K. there was a protest from the public that the Members carried this privilege too far—"in fact they are setting themselves as super-gods who cannot at all be questioned or against whom a remark will not be tolerated from members of the public."

Stretching the concept of privilege Dange said "would bring the dignity and privilege of the House in conflict with the general sentiments of the people who would like to criticise even Hon'ble Members, may be in not very polite words."

In the present case, Dange said there was "still greater reason why we should have restraint, because," has the Chief Minister, as member of another legislature, not his own privilege? That also should be a question which we will have to look into."

He pointed out that the U.K. did not have a federal constitution, as we in India have. "As yet, I do not think we have come to any balance between the privilege rights of Parliament and the privilege rights of State legislatures.

"Instead of taking that way politically the whole debate is

whole House on which Dange said: "You are a slanderer and a betrayer," adding "when passions are sought to be roused we shall not be short of it."

Following a series of interruptions Dange explained: "I am not calling him a slanderer against me or against Sri E. M. S. Namboodiripad or anybody. What have I said? I mean slanderer against his own philosophy. It is not an imputation on his personal character."

Proceeding he submitted that the consideration of the whole question was being vitiated by considerations of party propaganda. "I would like to know later on from the declarations which would be made from all sides, whether such considerations should be imported into the discussion."

Repeating his earlier contention that it was all being got up as a cold war he said, "Let me assure my Hon'ble friends that cold war has never frightened us, of whatever kind either here or elsewhere. Therefore if it is imported in this House then it will only lead to bad results for all of us."

"What is happening? An elected Ministry—an elected legislature is there and it has put the Ministry into power—is being tried to be overthrown by all sorts of means, and means which are not very constitutional means. If that lesson were to go to the country that a Parliament with a majority party and the so-called Socialists and all combined, in order to overthrow a Ministry which they did not like... which is carrying out certain measures which had a place in the programme of all these parties but were not carried out by them... the masses would draw very peculiar conclusions regarding the development of democracy in this country and in which the landlord-capitalist Governments run by various Congress

Advertisement for tea featuring a large tea cup and the text: 'it does not matter if we win or lose so long as tea is there to cheer us up! I am Tea I serve those who play and those who watch'