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E. M. S. ANSWERS INDIRA GANDHI

AUG 3 1959
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In a lengthy rejoinder to the Congress President, Indira Gandhi, who had been quoted in the Press as having observed in New Delhi that the Communists in Kerala are "exploiting communalism to serve their Party ends," Chief Minister Namboodiripad declared in Trivandrum on May 12, "the story of developments in Kerala during the last few months will show that it is not we, Communists, but certain other people, including some leading members of Smt. Indira Gandhi's own party, who are trying to exploit communalism to serve party ends."

COMRADE Namboodiripad stated that he was "surprised" at what the Press had reported as Smt. Indira Gandhi's remarks.

Giving an account of the development of communal forces in Kerala State in recent times, Comrade Namboodiripad in his statement said:

"Kerala is notorious for the particularly rigorous system of caste distinctions which have, for centuries, kept non-caste Hindus under social oppression and backwardness. Muslims and Christians too have been subjected to this oppression since many of them are converts from non-caste Hindus and, therefore, carried their social stigma as non-caste Hindus into the fold of their newly adopted religions.

"One of the most obvious effects of this is that public services have been virtually the monopoly of caste Hindus and Syrian Christians. It was out of this reality that emerged the demand in the former States of Travancore and Cochin that there should be reservation for backward classes in Government services.

Accepted By Congress

"This was the principle which was accepted by the Congress movement in the former Travancore and Cochin States and endorsed by all political parties, as well as organisations of almost all the communities in the two States. Reservation of posts for backward communities thus became part of the national consciousness in Kerala. This, however, has been looked upon not as something which will and should continue for all time, but as something necessary to help the backward communities to catch up with the rest of the population. Everybody has accepted that, after a reasonable period of time, this will have to be given up and the principle of open competition applied to all cases of appointments to Government services."

The Chief Minister points out that on the question of when and under what conditions this reservation has to be reviewed

and modified also, all political parties in the State have expressed their opinion that the time has not yet come to make any such review of the system.

He then points out that it is this system of reservation for backward communities that is now "the butt of attack by leaders of the Nair Service Society." They couple this attack on the principle of reservation, with an attack on Section 11 of the Education Act which provides for the preparation by the Public Service Commission of the list of teachers from which appointments can be made by private managements and in Government schools.

The Chief Minister recalls in his statement how all par-

ty services, they had had to agree to the proposal of selection through the Public Service Commission."

The statement points out that the Nair Service Society, too, at that time had supported this provision but recently its leaders have changed their stand "for reasons best known to them" and combining with the Catholic church leaders they are attacking the very same provisions of the Education Act which they had formerly supported.

The Chief Minister's statement says, "Leaders of these two communal groups — the Nair Service Society and the Catholic church — have now joined hands in a crusade

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It Is The Congress In Kerala Which Plays With Communalism

ties in the legislature had supported this formula at the time of discussion of the Education Bill and how it was felt by all parties that this provision would "give sufficient elbow room for private managements to get persons of their choice," while "it would put reasonable restrictions on their whimsical choice of whomsoever they liked.

"The spearhead of the attack on the Education Bill, it is well known, was the powerful Catholic church which is the biggest corporate manager of private schools. They are interested in keeping to themselves all powers that they enjoyed in the matter of appointments. They, however, had the support of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League who looked upon this as an opportunity to whip up a political campaign against the Government. Nevertheless, since this is a question of enabling other communities — particularly backward communities — to get opportunities for getting reasonable share of Gov-

ernment services, they had had to agree to the proposal of selection through the Public Service Commission."

against the Education Act and the Government that is responsible for framing the Act. They recently convened a 'conference of communal leaders' which was attended by Nair and Christian leaders belonging to the Congress and certain other political parties. I may mention for the information of Smt. Gandhi and her friends that the participants in this avowedly communal conference included such Congressmen as Kalathil Velayudhan Nair (former Minister and a present member of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee Executive), P. S. George (Treasurer of the KPCC), K. M. Chandy (a former MLA), K. M. Kora (a former Minister), etc.

"Such an avowedly communal campaign naturally led to a counter-campaign too, in which certain very prominent leaders of the Congress like K. R. Narayanan (MLA and member of the Pradesh Congress Committee), have participated and are still participating."

Congress Divided

The Chief Minister points out that at the recent meeting of the KPCC Executive and the Congress Legislature Party, protagonists of both the communal groups tried to push their respective lines. "Yet, they seem to have worked out a common line of action which is to look upon the NSS-Catholic campaign

communities."

It appreciates the view that this may lead to a certain extent to appointment of less efficient candidates belonging to backward communities, but it is of the opinion that "lack of efficiency on the part of persons belonging to backward communities is the result of social oppression to which they have been subjected for centuries." They should be given time to catch up with the rest of the population.

A Few Questions

The Party thinks that this reservation to backward communities should continue for some more time. This principle is equally applicable to the appointment of teachers in private schools, the entire salary of these teachers being paid out of the Government treasury.

The Chief Minister says that he does not understand how this "clear stand" of his Party can be interpreted by Smt. Gandhi as an effort to exploit communalism. "May I, on the other hand, point out in all humility that the way the two groups of Congress leaders range themselves into opposite camps and the Congress organisation tries to bring them together on the plea of fighting the Communist Government is an example of that very despicable tactics of exploiting communalism to serve one's party ends which

fore, would observe the principle of reservation for backward communities?"

● Are they at one with the Nair Service Society in the matter of immediate scrapping of reservation?

● Are they at one with the Catholic church (now joined by NSS) in the matter of full freedom for school managements in appointments of teachers.

● Do they support the stand that the Communist Party is taking on this issue or are they with the NSS and Catholic church? In the former case, they should openly condemn before the public the campaign of the NSS and the Catholic church. In the latter case, the Chief Minister said, the Congress should tell where the Communist Party is wrong. The Communist Party would be certainly prepared to discuss with others their differences on this issue.

"Unfortunately, however, the Congress organisation is trying to have it both ways: it wants to whip up and support Nair-Catholic communal agitation against us; on the other hand, it does not want to displease the large mass of people belonging to backward communities. Is this a principled stand which Smt. Gandhi claims her organisation is taking or is it an opportunistic alliance with anybody who may be useful in attacking the Communists?" asks the Chief Minister concluding his statement.

C. E. C. MEETS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from May 9 to 12. The resolutions adopted by the C.E.C. at this session are on pages 2 and 13 of this issue.

Support Punjab Struggle Against Betterment Levy, Condemn Repression

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India greets the peasants, men and women of Punjab who, under the leadership of the Punjab Kisan Sabha, conducted a

heroic struggle to resist the unjust imposition of betterment levy. It congratulates them for the disciplined and peaceful manner in which they carried themselves defeating all attempts at provocation and meeting unheard of police repression with peaceful and determined resistance.

peasantry, by uniting all sections of the peasantry, exceeded in sweep and upsurge any other previous struggle and has done a lot to transform the consciousness of the Punjab peasant. Cutting across political affiliations, it gave a blow to communal consciousness in this border State.

The Central Executive Committee warmly congratulates our Party unit in Punjab, our ranks and the Provincial leadership for the effective way in which they helped the peasants and guided them to adopt correct tactics and policies.

The Central Executive Committee strongly condemns the reign of terror unleashed by the Kairon Government on the peaceful peasantry. The Central Executive Committee, basing itself on the first hand reports of Party M.P.s who had toured the villages of Punjab in the course of the struggle, has no hesitation in stating that the Government had instituted a regime of lawlessness

The struggle of the Punjab

Protest Against Attack On Press Freedom

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the Punjab Government for its wanton attack on freedom of the Press when under its order in March last the entire editorial and managerial staff of NAWAN ZAMANA including its Editor Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, a member of the Central Executive Committee, and others, were arrested and detained without trial in jail. The attack is reminiscent of the British days when freedom

of the Press was encroached on for the least excuse by the British Government. The Central Executive Committee congratulates the sympathisers and well-wishers who came forward to run the paper and foiled the Government effort to stifle the paper's voice.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of the journalists and Press organisations to the wanton attack on freedom of the Press and requests them to join in its protests to the Government.

Homage To Martyrs Of Punjab

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the martyrs who have fallen victims to police firings in the course of the heroic struggle of the Punjab peasantry against the iniquitous imposition of betterment levy.

The sacrifice of these sons and daughters of the Punjab peasants will not be in vain. It has already deepened the resolve of the Punjab peasantry to maintain their unity and solidarity till final victory.

The Central Executive Committee sends its sympathy to the families of the martyrs and assures them on behalf of the Communist Party of India that the Party will continue to fight for the cause for which they have laid down their lives.

of police raids on villages and destruction of his property proved how oppressive he considered the levy to be.

Having exhausted all the weapons of repression, slander and disruption against the movement, the Punjab Government's spokesmen, including the Irrigation Minister and the Governor, issued statements calling upon the Kisan Sabha to withdraw the movement and promising to settle the issue through negotiation. Chief Minister Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon himself made a statement in the Vidhan Sabha on March 20 that the quantum of levy would be substantially reduced and he would open negotiations for the settlement of this issue.

The Chief Minister repeated the assurance even when the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India met him at Chandigarh the next day.

In response to the advice of the All-India Kisan Sabha in view of these statements and assurances, the Punjab Kisan Sabha decided to withdraw the satyagraha so as to create a congenial atmosphere for a negotiated settlement of the issue.

During this struggle, it has been proved that the stand of the Punjab Government with regard to the betterment levy is wrong and unjustified. It had to shift its previous position, reduce the quantum of the levy to Rs. 33 crores from Rs. 104 crores and promise further substantial reduction in this amount as well. It had also promised to exempt the poorer peasants and the waterlogged areas.

But contrary to the popular expectations in the State, after this magnanimous act of withdrawal of the satyagraha, the State Government failed to fulfil its promises. A large number of satyagrahis were not released and repression has been further intensified. On top of all this, the Government has restarted the advance realisation of betterment levy fixed at an arbitrary rate, without finally settling the issue of betterment levy. Even during the harvest time, large police forces continue to raid the villages for forcible collections

of the levy. And in order to crush the resistance and disrupt the unity of the peasants, once again severe repression has been let loose in Punjab.

The Central Executive Committee condemns this repressive policy of the Punjab Government and declares its full support to the peasants and their demands.

The Central Executive Committee is of opinion that the State Government must give up its policy of repression and fulfil its promises. The Government must—

- Stop forcible collection of the levy till a final settlement is reached;
- Stop repression, withdraw all cases and refund fines realised;
- Immediately open negotiations with the Punjab Kisan Sabha in order to settle the issue of betterment levy in Punjab.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all Party units to mobilise the democratic public opinion throughout the country in support of the struggle of the peasants in Punjab and against the repressive policy of the Punjab Government.

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A NATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR YOUTH

The First Conference of the All-India Youth Federation (AIYF), inaugurated by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor of Delhi, concluded its six-day session on May 3. Two hundred and fifty delegates and observers, representing youth organisations of eleven States, assembled in New Delhi to take part in the Conference and the cultural festival held along with it. (See report on page 11)

BESIDES the delegates and observers, the Conference was attended by representatives of several fraternal organisations including those of the Bharat Yuva Samaj, the All-India Student's Federation, Federation of Indian Youth, All-India Rural Youth Association, and the Students' Union of the Calcutta University.

The General Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Christian Echard, and the First Secretary of the Pemuda Rakjat (People's Youth) of Indonesia were among the fraternal delegates from abroad.

Messages of greetings came from Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, from the Mayor of Bombay, from several personalities and youth organisations from India, from the All-China Federation of Youth, the Committee of Soviet Youth Organisations, from the Iraqi Youth League, from the British Youth Festival Committee and from the youth organisations of France, Italy and Jordan.

The Conference began on April 28 in the Constantia Hall where the delegates from all corners of India listened to the inspiring inaugural speech by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali and of Dr. Gyan Chand, the honoured guest to the Conference.

It inspired confidence in the delegates when they heard Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali declaring that so long as the young people had an instinctive comprehension of what they were doing and were rational in approach they need not be worried by labels.

Next day was another occasion for the delegates to listen to some leading personalities like Law Minister A. K. Sen, Prof. Hiren Mukherji and Sri Prasad Rao, M. P., who addressed the symposium, "Youth and the Nation", and told the delegates what society expected from the young generation of today.

The Conference settled down to business on the 29th morning. The discussion was initiated by a speech on behalf of the Convening Committee which was followed by reports from the States.

Reports From States

Delegates from different States narrated the situation of their respective movements, the rich experiences of their work and the problems confronting the movement. Reports of the West Bengal and Andhra delegates were particularly valuable contributions to the discussion. Their rich experiences of organising thousands of youth in varied forms of activities stood as examples for many of us.

Reporting by delegates about their respective move-

all-India youth centre, by breaking this isolation, will enable these organisations to pool their efforts and experiences to enrich one another, and to share the fruits of common activities and achievements.

"We want to unite because we want to broaden our movement in our States, because we want to make our activities more effective by the creation of an all-India coordinating mechanism, because we want to make our voice more powerful by the creation of a united all-India platform.

"An effective weapon in the fight against localism and provincialism, our organisation will inspire in us that confidence which springs from the realisation that we are a part of a mighty force that exists all over the country and

Delhi Conference Sets Up All-India Youth Federation

by SARDA HITRA
GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL-INDIA YOUTH FEDERATION

which said, "Although there are at present powerful youth organisations in some States, yet in a good number of other States, an organised youth movement is almost non-existent. A unified centre of an all-India Youth Movement can undoubtedly give decisive impetus to the development of the youth movement in States where it is already functioning and to the emergence of truly representative youth organisations in States where there are none at present."

"It will make a decisive contribution to the fulfilment of the tasks of uniting the vast masses of unorganised youth and of spreading the movement to new regions.

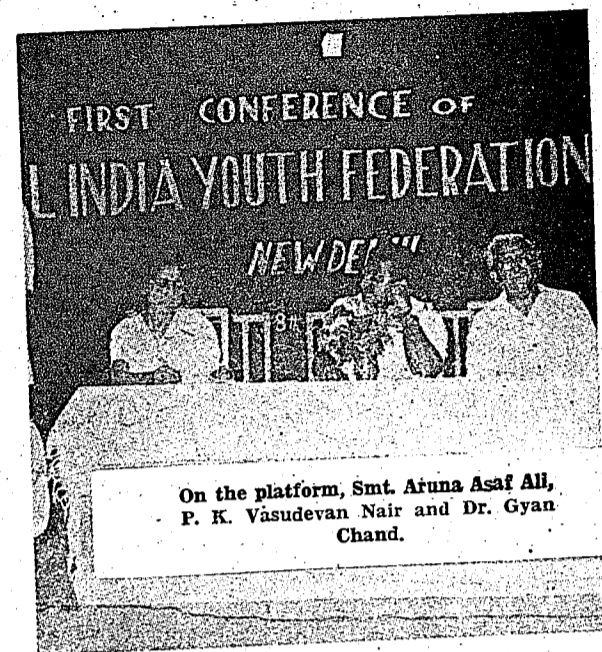
"Although there are at present powerful youth organisations in some States, yet they are more or less isolated. An

creating an all-India organisation.

A good debate took place on the objectives and character of the all-India organisation. The draft Policy Statement and the Constitution placed on the second and the third days evoked lively discussions. Fifty-five delegates spoke on these two documents and important amendments were moved. After three days of discussion these documents were unanimously adopted with certain amendments.

On the draft Policy Statement the discussion centred round mainly two points. First, whether propagation of Socialism should be one of the aims of the AIYF. Secondly, what should be its attitude towards general political questions and towards the political parties.

In fact the Conference was unanimous on the need for



On the first point, the delegates who spoke in favour emphasised that Socialism was the talk of the day and various parties and youth organisations had already put Socialism on their agenda.

The Government had also proclaimed its aim to build a Socialistic pattern of society. Hence they felt we would lag behind the consciousness of our youth if we did not put propagating the ideals of Socialism as our objective.

A lively and sharp debate took place on this point. At last it was held that though the broad ideas of Socialism were becoming popular among the people and youth of our country yet there existed differences on the concept of Socialism.

Besides the declared objective of the Government of India, there exists large sections of youth who believe in scientific Socialism, there are others who believe in Democratic Socialism and some even profess the idea of Hindu Socialism. In fact it was found out that except one State organisation, the Andhra Youth Federation, no other constituent organisation had put the propagation of Socialism as its objective and that there were differences on the concept of Socialism among the members of the organisations represented at the Conference.

Nonetheless, there was unanimity on the fact that some of the basic ideas of Socialism are clear to the masses of youth such as "equality of rights of all men and end to the division into privileged and unprivileged," etc. Finally it was decided that the propagation of these ideas should be incorporated in our aims.

On the second point, the discussion revealed that there was no tendency to make the All-India Youth Federation an organisation only of sports and culture. Though these two are important aspects of youth life, yet any organisa-

* SEE PAGE 14

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AICC : TALK IN THE AIR

AN AICC Session, after the Congress became the ruling party, has been associated with pomp and show. A break was made with the latest New Delhi session, it was planned to be a "business session." It was held in the very comfortable air-conditioned Sappu House. Plenty of airy speeches were made but no serious business done.

The main agenda was implementation of the Nagpur resolutions but nothing was done to give them practical and effective shape. In fact, enough has happened to point out the danger, that while tip service is paid to the Nagpur slogans, the Congress Governments continue to pursue the old policies. There has been no move forward, only marking time, and the elements working for a retreat are in active operation. This session ought to stir progressive Congressmen into action and cause them serious concern.

IMPLEMENTING NAGPUR

The Congress President opened with how in her tour of ten States she found the people enthusiastic about the Nagpur decisions. Pandit Nehru also stated, "The Congress had received everywhere a great fillip after the Nagpur resolutions. That was an interesting point because quite a number of Congressmen were apprehensive that these resolutions might have a bad reception from the peasantry. The reception on the whole had been good." (Hindustan Times, May 11). This is good as far as it goes but then what about implementing them?

Madras Minister C. Subramanian who initiated the discussion on the subject stated: "It was now four months since the Congress had passed the resolution but still no concrete steps had been taken to implement it." (Statesman, May 11)

The acceptance of the urgency of land reforms was the most important advance registered at Nagpur. Immediate imposition of ceilings was solemnly pledged. Sri Subramanian admitted in his speech that "the message of land reforms," as per the Nagpur mandate, had not been taken to the peasantry.

During this New Delhi session was any new mandate given to the Congress Governments? No! Any plan of action formulated to unleash peasant initiative? No! All that took place on the issue of land reforms was that the Congress President appealed to the vested interests to cooperate

"in their own enlightened self-interest" in carrying out the land reforms envisaged at Nagpur!

There is no effort to rally the peasantry to ensure land distribution. On the other hand, the landlords are being appealed to accept ceilings. Inside the Congress ruling circles, the upper limit of 40, 50 and even 100 acres is being talked about, with plenty of loopholes left for the landlords to make the Nagpur resolution acceptable to them!

Demagogic promises to the peasants and practical concessions to landlords. This is

the unfortunate shape the Nagpur resolution is assuming.

ON COOPERATIVES

Service co-ops were to lay the foundation for co-op farming and organised fast enough to cover the whole country in the next three years.

The AICC note on the membership of service co-ops stated "the target of 20 million at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan set by the National Development Council cannot be achieved without larger financial accommodation to village societies and non-official effort on a mass scale throughout the country." We know the financial position and policies of the Government enough to see that the needed funds would not be made available and we know the narrow partisan attitude of the Congress leadership to understand that it will not seek the active and honourable cooperation of other democratic elements to make a massive popular initiative possible.

West Bengal member Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha pointed out how the landlords and former landlords were using the co-ops for their selfish ends. "If these former landlords were able to have their own co-ops they would have the dominant voice in the whole area." He also stated, "The Nagpur resolution seemed to give wide latitude for all kinds of people to become members of the co-ops. The dominant voice in them should be of the tillers."

THE DANGER

The danger of land reforms and cooperatives from the landlords is real and this was pointed out in the AICC session by conscientious elements but no serious attention was paid to them. Good and constructive proposals were made by individual members. One suggested that the land released after the imposition of ceilings should not be owned by panchayats but distributed to individual landless workers. Another suggested that the landless wage-earner in co-op societies should have greater incentive than the mere earning of his wages, such as a greater share in the annual profits of societies.

These are healthy democratic voices but they are ineffective because of the reactionary persistent attempts of the Congress Governments to reconcile the landlords and big farmers, behind the facade of the Nagpur Resolution.

FOOD AND THE KHARIF CAMPAIGN

During the food debate Food Minister A. P. Jain admitted, what our Party had been emphatically asserting and he had had been consistently denying so far, that during the last 18 months our country had faced such a terrible food crisis that "the position was as bad as that of the Bengal famine days of 1943."

He also admitted that India had still a difficult period ahead so far as agricultural production was concerned. By the end of the Third Five-Year Plan i.e. after seven years, the minimum need was for 100-110 million tons of foodgrains i.e. a 40 per cent increase, while agricultural

NOTES OF THE WEEK

production has remained stagnant under Congress rule despite all the "campaigns" and "drives" and "yattras" of the Congress leaders.

Even Sri Dhebar realises the dangerous consequences of such a situation. He warned AICC members against "complacency" and stated that if agricultural production failed to increase in the next two years and additional resources did not become available, "the Third Plan, however big it was made, would become a paper plan."

The Communists have been giving the explanation, drawn from living experience, why food production has been failing to rise. The same was urged in a positive form by Giani Zial Singh when he said "The Government should ensure that the assistance provided by them reached the poor peasant. At present it reached only the big landlords."

The situation is so desperate that Sri Dhebar himself had to expose the well-known evil. He said that the Congressmen were represented on every block and district development committee but they were only "decorating" the seats. The PCCs were "falling in their essential duty" in this regard. Congressmen have been more than decorative, they have been actively interested in patronage and nepotism but not in production.

Even in face of such a grim situation, the AICC did not think it worthwhile to appeal for the cooperation of other democratic parties and popular organisations. The Congress President appealed for hundreds of workers to be in charge of one or more districts and supervise the food production drive.

When the AICC members complained that the number is insufficient, she bluntly asked them to stop "talking in the air" and volunteer their names. She had six names in her list already and she got two more out of the AICC! The Congress organisation is in such shape under present-day Congress policy, despite the Nagpur resolution that the Congress President cannot get 100 voluntary workers! The Kerala Government was slandered a lot inside the AICC. But Sri R. Shankar, President of the Kerala PCC, unwittingly paid a tribute to the work of the Kerala Government when he stated that he "knew of some Congress workers having gone over to the Communists since they have nothing to do in the Congress." (Times of India, May 12)

THE THIRD PLAN

Sri Dhebar submitted a note on the Third Plan, for "loud-thinking." It contained well-known and by now inane generalities. It was not even discussed by the AICC.

The opportunity was seized by Pandit Nehru to make one of his good speeches. He passionately pleaded for stepping up the pace of development and against any slowing down. He stated that India could not possibly go below the target of a six per cent increase in the annual national income during the Third Plan. The only choice open to it was

whether this rate might be increased up to seven per cent.

An annual two per cent increase was needed to remain where we were. Another two per cent will be required to give the people "some slight comfort." Still another two per cent was required as an "element of future progress." An investment of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 crores was required for increasing the annual income by one per cent.

"The basic point is that we must industrialise... We have to industrialise in a big way." He also stated that the basis of industrialisation was iron and steel, power, coal, atomic energy and most important of all, machine-making industry and trained man-power. All the gigantic work, he added, have to be done in the public sector — through planning. "Leaving all these things to private enterprise is not possible. They have no conception of planning, no conception of looking at things in an integrated way."

Pandit Nehru also said that "the great captains" of industry in India had not "terribly impressed him." "These captains of industry may do a job themselves and make good money out of it or not as the case may be. They get protection and come out as great captains." He referred to the "inherent weakness in the capitalist structure in India to develop fully."

The Prime Minister said amidst cheers that an Indian, given a chance could be a very good worker, a highly qualified engineer or manager. "They have been that, they are that and they will be that. So the quality is there."

The Prime Minister also gave the significant example of the State-owned machine tool industry at Bangalore. "So long as the factory was managed by the foreign experts it did not do anything good. But since the foreigners went away and some of our competent men took charge, it is making amazing progress."

The Prime Minister rightly showed up the pretensions of the private sector and answered back with justified pride its slanders against the public sector. But he went too far and indulged in uncritical glorification of our State enterprises. The bureaucratic evils they suffer from are writ large in the reports of Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. They need being frankly admitted and promptly corrected in the interest of the public sector itself, to stop the leakage of our national resources, and to show up the irredeemable evils of the private sector.

The Prime Minister's good speech on the Plan was marred by an unwarranted sting against China. Referring to the comparison often made with the progress made by China and India he said that it seemed to him "very odd" that on the one side the Chinese production had gone up on a tremendous scale, while on the other side rations have gone down. Pandit Nehru has himself been to China and every honest Indian including his own officials who have visited China could tell him

that the Chinese people do not look like those whose rations are going down but such whose standard of living has been systematically rising, who are a strong, healthy and happy people.

Pandit Nehru is unable to solve the contradiction of his own policy. He stands for a big Plan but is unable to break with and fight the vested interests — foreign and Indian — to get the resources for such a big Plan. He has, therefore, to appeal for "harder work and bigger sacrifice in the Third Plan period." A big Plan should mean better life for our people but because the Congress leadership headed by Pandit Nehru is unable to effect a breach with its pro-vested interest policy it has to appeal for bigger sacrifices to the common people. Because he has to sell such an unpopular policy, he wrongly states that the same is happening in China!

REACTIONARY ATTEMPTS

The airiness of the policy discussions on the Nagpur resolution and Plan is the background to active reconciliation with the vested interests in the practical affairs. How far the practical shift to the Right has gone was revealed by the discussion on Orissa and Kerala.

The AICC endorsed, with one solitary dissent, the policy of coalition with the Ganantra Parishad which the Congress itself has fought and denounced in the past as the party of princes and big landlords. The Congress majority has been reduced to one and the Congress leaders have sought to perpetuate and stabilise their rule by uniting with the feudals of Orissa. It will only make the Congress regime more unstable and hateful.

The Congress President mouthed the usual slanders against the Kerala Government and she has been factually answered by Kerala's Chief Minister (see page one). The Congress leaders from Kerala went so far as to state that our Party is making so much money out of the Ministry as not only to control Kerala but to subsidise municipal elections in Tamilnad and Party activities elsewhere.

All this is to cover up the Congress gang-up with the communal and caste reactionaries in a "mass resistance" campaign against the Kerala Government which they are desperately planning to illegally and undemocratically overthrow it.

It is noteworthy that the AICC was not allowed by the High Command to discuss Tibet. A non-official resolution was quietly dropped. The Working Committee's resolution which reiterated Pandit Nehru's Parliamentary statement of the policy of Panch-sheel, non-alignment and friendship with China was read out to the AICC. Good sense is slowly dawning though the PSP and other pro-American elements are desperately trying to keep the anti-Chinese campaign going in various ways.

—P. C. JOSHI

(May 13)

★ ★ ★ ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA SESSION ★ ★ ★

This year the annual session of the All-India Kisan Sabha had taken place in the background of an extremely critical situation in our agriculture. The salient features of the crisis were described in his illuminating Presidential Address by Comrade A. K. Gopalan in the following words:

"**A**GRICULTURAL production, especially of food-grains, has been more or less stagnant during the last three or four years." He further pointed out with incontrovertible facts and figures that "whatever increase in production we have achieved during the last few years has been fortuitous, that our agriculture has not been able to keep up a steady rise either in total production or in productivity, that in spite of all the money that has been spent on development of agricultural production, the results have been meagre."

Business-Like Session

Naturally, the question of land reform was dominant as never before and was being keenly felt as a national problem by the widest strata of the people and by all the major political parties.

It was, therefore, only natural that the most urgent and concrete problem of land reform became the central theme of the discussion during the five days of the Conference from April 29 to May 3 at Mayuram. This year, the All-India Kisan Sabha did not merely reiterate certain general resolutions adopted year after year. In this session, only those issues were taken up on which the Kisan Sabha had already faced concrete problems and which are being discussed in the entire country from varying points of view.

Two-Lakh Rally

The deliberations and decisions of the Conference were concluded on May 3, when two lakhs sons and daughters of agricultural workers and poor peasants marched out from the banks of the Cauvery and mustered strong in a colourfully decorated field in response to the call of the Conference.

Even before this climax was reached, the women's rally on the previous day had enriched the session with a new and unique experience. It was really an extraordinary event that several thousand women belonging to the families of agricultural workers and poor peasants gathered in the conference pandal to pledge their solidarity with their menfolk in the onward march of the Sangham (Kisan Sabha).

During all the five days of the Conference, the township of Mayuram on the banks of the Cauvery had donned a festive appearance, thousands of people being daily entertained with music, ballet and drama presented by progressive artists, in addition to an attractive industrial exhibition.

In the midst of this festivity and amusement, the

delegates carried on serious deliberations day and night for five days until they arrived at definite conclusions that could be straightaway translated into action. The jubilation of the great rally on May 3 indicated that the labour of the representatives of the 800,000 members of the All-India Kisan Sabha was really fruitful.

The resolution on Land Reform has categorically stated that "the AIKS and all its units shall take the initiative and join others in forming various types of mutual-aid societies, service cooperatives and even, where it is possible, to form cooperative farming

LAND REFORMS WAS CENTRAL THEME

resolutions on Land Reform. It was not simply a repetition of the earlier resolutions reiterating the slogan of land to the tiller. The resolution presented a concrete review of the measures adopted by the various State Governments and noted that "Only in the State of Kerala, under the present Ministry, steps towards correct agrarian reform have been taken." The resolution is a call for a nationwide campaign for the imposition of ceiling on landholdings and the distribution of surplus land to the tillers of the soil.

It expressed satisfaction that the Nagpur resolution of the Congress had taken a "welcome step" by directing its Ministries to pass legislations about ceiling within this year and had thereby given a rebuff to the reactionary landlord campaign conducted against any land reform. The resolution, at the same time, pointed out "many shortcomings" of the Nagpur resolutions in so far as the banning of 'mala fide' transfers and evictions was not proposed and the distribution of surplus land to the tillers of the soil was sought to be bypassed through various devices.

Attitude To Cooperatives

The Conference, however, expressed different attitudes

towards cooperative farming and other cooperatives. Regarding the former, the All-India Kisan Sabha warns against any undue optimism unless and until land reform breaks up land monopoly and land is distributed to the landless. Radical reorganisation of agrarian relations alone can create the foundation for an upsurge of cooperative farming. But the Sabha makes no such reservation with respect to cooperative credit, marketing and similar other societies.

With respect to the latter, the Conference has laid down threefold tasks:

FIRST, the organisation of and work in such cooperative societies in order that the toiling people obtain through

them some measure of relief from the exploitation of the vested interests;

SECONDLY, campaign for necessary changes in the laws and other measures dealing with cooperative societies in order that the domination of the vested interests is eliminated; and

THIRDLY, training of cadres for the purpose of this type of work in the rural areas.

Debt Relief

While dealing with cooperatives of different types, the session laid stress on the supreme importance of the redemption of debt with which the rural poor are excessively burdened; indebtedness to the

From Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Conference got a clear picture of the events that are taking place in Kerala and of the mischievous plans of the united front of reactionaries. A special resolution was adopted calling upon the people of India to remain vigilant and frustrate the efforts of the reactionaries. These reactionaries are alarmed at the far-reaching reforms, so they are desperately trying to pull down the Government of Kerala by unscrupulous methods in order to save the interests of big landlords and other reactionaries.

SECONDLY, Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyalpur, one of the Joint Secretaries of the AIKS, gave us a vivid account of the glorious struggle of the Punjab peasants to resist the imposition of an oppressive betterment levy. The entire conference was inspired by the account and it unanimously adopted a resolution greeting the heroic Punjab peasants, expressing its anger at the suppression of the movement by brutal methods and the betrayal of his assurances by Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kauron; and finally, the resolution pledged solidarity of the All-India Kisan Sabha with the Punjab kisans if and when a new round of struggle is decided upon by the State unit.

In this session, all the delegations assured that the resolutions would not remain on paper and their determination became evident when the enrolment of one-and-a-half million members for the All-India Kisan Sabha was produced.

Panchayats and on the Distribution of Government Waste Land was that the All-India Kisan Sabha must take the initiative to organise the peasant masses and agricultural workers on a scale bigger than ever before, for the enforcement of the resolutions of the Kisan Sabha.

Note Of Confidence

A note of self-confidence punctuated the proceedings of the Conference on account of two events of tremendous significance.

FIRST, the new Government of Kerala was actually implementing agrarian measures hitherto advocated by the All-India Kisan Sabha. Those days are over when the Kisan Sabha could only pass resolutions without being called upon to implement the same. Today, a member of the Central Kisan Council is the Chief Minister of Kerala and under his leadership, the Kerala Government is piloting a Bill for land reform; it contains provisions for agrarian changes which no other State in India has yet put forward.

In a separate resolution "On the Prices of Commercial Crops" the Kisan Sabha demanded, among other things, that "The principle of State trading at the wholesale level should be extended to all the major commercial crops."

The question of State trading was more concretely dealt with in the resolution on "Food Crisis and State Trading in Foodgrains." The Conference expressed its satisfaction that the Central Government had at last declared its intention to take up step by step the wholesale trade in

Call For Organisation

In this session, all the delegations assured that the resolutions would not remain on paper and their determination became evident when the enrolment of one-and-a-half million members for the All-India Kisan Sabha was produced.

* SEE PAGE 12

DECISIONS ARE A CALL TO ACTION

Nehru Answers Critics Of Foreign Policy, Defends Sino-Indian Ties

The Prime Minister replying to the Tibet debate in the Lok Sabha on May 8 lashed out against those who in the name of sympathy with Tibet would revise "the basic assumptions" of India's foreign policy.

ALTHOUGH he was referring directly to what a Jan Sangh spokesman had said, Sri Nehru's remarks were directed obviously against Acharya Kripalani also who too had stated most candidly his opposition to the basic assumptions.

It was a remarkable speech even for himself that Acharya Kripalani had made. He said in this speech that so far as he was concerned he was never prepared to believe in the bona fides of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Government of India Sri Kripalani said should never have accepted China's right to Tibet and should never have signed agreements accepting that position. He quoted his own 1954 speeches made in Parliament, in one of which he had said:

...(Tibet) had and has nothing to do with China. Tibet is culturally more akin to India than it is to China."

He said that he regarded Tibet as a buffer State between China and India, adding "England went to war with Germany not because Germany had invaded England, but because it had invaded Poland and Belgium."

Kripalani's Ravings

Proudly he recalled his words about Panchsheel: "This doctrine was born in sin....", opposed India supporting China's membership of the U.N. and declared "this nation will never be friendly to us."

He who had so proudly quoted his own earlier ravings and who in the present crisis too has been among the first to start howling in the market place—the first public meeting in Delhi in the Gandhi Grounds held on April 5 when the Chinese

were still keeping silent was presided over by none else than Sri Kripalani—accused the Chinese of howling in the public market. If ever there was a case of Uta Chor Kotwal ko Dante, it was here.

All this was replied to by the Prime Minister.

Sri Nehru started by saying that in course of the brief discussion so many basic facts and basic ideas had been challenged that it raised much wider issues than what had happened in Tibet.

for the hon. Member to suggest that we should allow him (the Dalai Lama) to do something which he has not himself suggested, that is making India the headquarters of some kind of a campaign and that we should allow the hon. Member (Sri Vajpayee) and his party to join in this campaign is something which seems so odd, so remarkable an utterance that I could not imagine how even he could have made it if he had thought about it, because it has no relation to facts, no relation to what is happening in the world, or in India, or in Tibet, or in China or anywhere."

Referring to the attack on the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement, Sri Nehru said:

by it and it is not correct even for him to say that that agreement has been broken. There is no question of that agreement having been broken. It lasts; it functions."

Sri Nehru said that many members who participated in the debate had very little idea of history and this background of Tibet, etc. He said that historically Tibet had been most intimately connected with China and Mongolia and the Chinese by the time of the Manchu dynasty, i.e., the beginning of the 20th century, held full sway over Tibet.

"In considering the present situation," he said, "we have to take things as they are and

said, "whether we should adopt that (the cold war) technique or not...."

"I think that neither that policy nor that way of expression which may be called the cold war expression is right for any country, certainly not for us, unless we want to change our policy completely.

"We do not want to change it. We think it would be harmful from every point of view to change this policy. We should pursue that policy.... We may be swept away now and then. It is a different matter. We are human beings. But if we think coolly we must adhere to that policy."

Harmful Move

Sri Nehru touched upon the the all-India Conference on Tibet that is proposed to be held in Calcutta "by a certain Mazumdar" and said "I think that whatever that convention appears to aim at or whatever it seems to represent, seem to be very wrong. It is a wrong approach, an approach which will do no good to anybody at all, and may do a good deal of harm if really it was the approach of any responsible people in India."

Again reverting to the process of change in Tibet and recognising its inevitability he suggested that it was being effected from above and by outsiders, and said: "The moment a good thing is done by imposition that good thing becomes a bad thing. It produces different reactions.

He proceeded to say: "I cannot judge of what is happening in Tibet. I do not have facts, neither does anybody in this House, except broadly some odd fact here and there."

He said those who talked of calling an international conference to do something about Tibet as had been suggested by Sri Vajpayee in the debate and by Sri Asoka Mehta in his public speeches, were adopting "a comic opera" approach which had no relation to reality.

"It is a basic fact that China is a great country and India is a great country, great in extent; great in background, great in many things...."

"Now looking at this subject from any long perspective or even in the short perspective it is a matter of considerable consequence that China and India should be friends, should be cooperative. It does not mean that they should go the same path, but they should not cross in each other's way; they should not be hostile to each other; it is neither good for India nor for China...."

"If China starts telling me what to do, I am likely to be irritated. If I go about telling China what to do China is likely to be irritated more than I am...."

"The question arises," he

Those Who Demand An International Conference To Do Something About Tibet Are Adopting A Comic Opera Approach

Sri Vajpayee, Sri Nehru went on, had said many things which challenged all the basic assumptions of our policy which have been accepted by the House and I think by the country as a whole with remarkable unanimity. "Nevertheless," said Sri Nehru, "he challenged all these basic assumptions."

The Prime Minister emphatically declared: "So far as the Government is concerned we are not going to follow the policy that he has suggested that we should follow. I should like to make that perfectly clear."

Referring to the Jan Sangh spokesman's demand for the Dalai Lama being given "freedom" to organise a so-called "liberation" struggle from the Indian soil, a demand which Sri Kripalani too had hinted at, Sri Nehru said "...."

"Again I do not understand what is meant by this — this kind of statement or this kind of viewpoint. What exactly he expects us to do is not clear except maybe perhaps to hold public meetings in Ramkila. That is not the way the foreign policy of a country is conducted.... We have to come up against not only basic policies and assumptions but hard facts in reference to foreign policy."

1954 Agreement

Defending the 1954 agreement, the Prime Minister said:

"I have no doubt in my mind that the agreement we made with China with regard to Tibet was a right agreement and we shall stand

Peaceful Solution

"I take it that we aim at, whatever problems may arise, first of all, a peaceful solution of those problems. Peaceful solutions are not brought about by warlike speeches or warlike approaches. It is obvious that if some people in China think that by threats and strong speeches they can frighten India, that is wrong. It is equally obvious that if some people in India think that by threats and warlike speeches they can frighten China, that is equally wrong. Obviously not. Great countries, India or China, are not pushed about in this way. They react in the opposite direction."

Asserting that China being intimately concerned with the world being divided into blocs to one of which China also belonged, Sri Nehru said that the Chinese had "got used to ways of expressing their opinions which, personally I find, is not the right way in international parlance."

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

Sordid Handling Of Economic Matters

LAST week we referred to the heavy weather that our export trade has been facing in the western capitalist markets. Now our misgivings about the inadequacy of governmental measures to promote exports have also been confirmed by the Reserve Bank.

In a study on "India's Balance of Payments during 1958," published last week, it ascribes whatever of improvement there has been in the external payment position to the "significant cut in commercial imports" (which were almost Rs. 200 crores below the level of the previous year), while the performance of exports, in its view, was "far from satisfactory considering the various promotional measures taken during the last two years."

About the decline in exports of individual commodities, it says, that in jute goods and cotton manufactures alone its quantum stood at Rs. 40 crores, while in the case of manganese ore it was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 11 crores.

Besides these staple items, even in lines like vegetable oils and olseeds the decline was substantial.

NEGATIVE REMEDY

The Government, and also the Reserve Bank, have been priding themselves on the success of an austere import policy, followed during the past two years. But this at best can be, and has been, only a negative remedy to seek an equilibrium at a lower level of total trade. It can, therefore, not be a substitute for a bold positive policy to step up exports to pay for increasing imports of items necessary for the country's development. Moreover, the scope for even curbing the imports being limited — since, beyond a certain limit it can not be stretched without injury to the nation's interests — it is basically only through promotion of exports that the country's industrial requirements can be met.

While these agreements, and others which might follow the visit of the Sandilya Mission and later of the Svaran Singh Delegation to the USSR and other Socialist countries, are welcome indications of the Government's recognition — though belated and as yet half-hearted — of the disadvantages of seeking business partners only in the capitalist world, its frequent forays into its own Industrial Policy Resolution to propitiate certain foreign vested interests are a reminder of the close links which it still maintains, and continues to develop, with that very world.

The latest of these violations concerns the sanction-

ing of the entry of an international metal combine, RIO TINTO, into the country in partnership with the Indian Metal Corporation. The deal, which includes Rio Tinto's participation to the extent of 40 per cent in the equity capital of the new project, has been concluded for expanding facilities for exploitation of zinc and lead deposits at Zawar in Rajasthan.

TRADE WITH SOCIALIST WORLD

It is in this context that we have been repeatedly pleading for closer trade relations with countries in the Socialist market. All of them offer tremendous possibilities for a mutually beneficial trade with us. It was in this connection also that we had suggested last week that the entire gamut of our economic relations with these countries should be studied at an expert level. And now that an experts' delegation under the leadership of the Managing Director of the State Trading Corporation has already reached Moscow en route to other East European countries, we hope its labour will mark the beginning of a real effort in this direction.

The readiness of the Socialist countries to exchange industrial goods for our exports was reiterated last week by the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade who was on a visit to our country. He also offered to give technical assistance for the development of our copper deposits on very favourable terms. The USSR, too, concluded an agreement with the Government last week to supply machinery and technical services for erection, and commissioning of a thermal power plant of 250,000 kw capacity as part of the multi-million Neyveli Lignite Project.

These are some of the questions which appertain to the more sordid side of the Government's handling of economic matters. And on the extent the occasions to raise them can be minimised will also depend of the success or failure of the Socialist pattern which it professedly seeks to build.

— ESSEN

HEAL THE WOUNDS!

S. A. DANGE ON INDIA-CHINA FRIENDSHIP

THE problem facing our country is not the problem of Tibet, but of our foreign policy," said S. A. Dange, leader of the Communist Parliamentary Group, speaking in the Lok Sabha debate on Tibet.

Besides answering the so-called questions posed by the slanderers of the Communist Party, S. A. Dange reiterated the Communist Party of India's general support to "the foreign policy of the Government of India as enunciated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru," and appealed for healing with friendship the crack that had taken place in India-China relations and in Panchsheel.

When somebody interrupted him to ask, "On which side do you stand?" a sharp came Dange's reply, "I stand here in the Parliament of India. So, when I am saying that I support the foreign policy of the Government of India and the Prime Minister particularly, I think you should know where I stand and where the Party stands."

Friendly Debate

Brushing aside the interruptions, he proceeded to state, "It is a friendly debate as far as India and China are concerned. That is what I read in the Press; and as far as the Prime Minister is concerned he has taken his stand on that."

"I do not think he has been accused of expansionism as a part of his policy, nor do we maintain that Prime Minister Nehru's policy is a policy of expansionism. We do not maintain it, we do not say it, we do not even think it," emphatically asserted Comrade S. A. Dange.

"But, the speech that was heard here," he proceeded referring to Acharya Kripalani's contribution, "and some other speeches, do they reflect expansionism or not? That is the point. Do not some of the political parties when they

make their statements, have some suggestions of expansionism?"

"But that suggestion is made rather culturally. Tibet and we have cultural links, therefore we and Tibet are culturally one, so culturally Tibet is ours, but politically Chinese. The Chinese have committed aggression against Tibet, therefore, we must defend it. That goes over slightly to expansionism. This is where that logic leads. It is not that Acharya Kripalani is capable of expansionism or anything at all, because to practise expansionism, two things are required: first, political guts, and secondly real, hard guns."

Acharya Kripalani interrupted to say: "The Chinese have got (those things)," and S. A. Dange proceeded to say: "Fortunately the PSP has not got either of them. So, I am not accusing them of expansionism though they may like to bask in the idea of being a greater party in the country and all that."

Dange said that he was concerned not with the PSP but with the position "as it has been stated by the Prime Minister that he has no ideas of expansionism. I agree with that."

"The question is: certain statements have been made by the Chinese side and certain statements of theirs have been denied by the Prime Minister, e.g. the Dalai Lama being held under duress. I do not think the first statement was that the duress was practised by the Government of India. The Dalai Lama escaped under duress by rebels, and in fact when the Prime Minister — he will excuse me — sometimes mentions that the Chinese do not observe the truth, may I ask him one question?"

"At one time it was suggested by him also that perhaps the Dalai Lama's letters were not his own at all. Later on the Dalai Lama himself acknowledged that the letters were his. Now, where was the propriety and the truth in this case?"

"Therefore, when the Prime

Minister says that he feels hurt, I am sure he will also admit that the other side will also feel hurt. Therefore the hurt is on either side and therefore it should be healed only by friendship...."

"Therefore the first part of the problem is like this. The Prime Minister and even many of his supporters in the Congress Party want this thing to be decided peacefully without any cold war being imported and by friendly discussions and talks."

On the Chinese side S. A. Dange said there was a difficulty which he explained thus:

"If Tibet is acknowledged to be an autonomous region of the Chinese Republic, then naturally, diplomatically or in terms of international politics, the question does not arise why we should discuss the Tibetan problem in India or anywhere else, in the U. N. or some other place. It is certainly the right of every country to decide the question of its own autonomous region. That is the only position and, that position also will be conceded by and by even by the Prime Minister, that the problem of the autonomous region should certainly be the responsibility of the Republic of China.

"But if we then try to tell them that they must do this and that, and if they consider that as an interference, then what is wrong?"

S. A. Dange opposed the idea of importing Buddhism and religion into the controversy and referring to the grant of asylum to refugees he said, "I do not challenge the honesty of the Government of India on that account.... I only want that these groups do not create new centres of friction between us and the Chinese...."

Keep Cold War Out

"So far as the Government of India is concerned, so far as words and they are concerned, they are taking up the attitude more or less of maintenance of Panchsheel, maintenance of friendliness and so on. I would plead that this bitterness and challenging each other's statement of facts should stop, because after all the Prime Minister himself the other day in the Rajya Sabha, dealing with the Dalai Lama's coming here and so on was not sure of his facts, because he cannot verify all the facts.... Therefore, he said: I believe it is so, I am not sure, etc. That is certainly correct to say."

"So I would say that the problem should be resolved on the basis of not importing cold war elements as far as the Prime Minister and his supporters are concerned."

Turning to some other questions asked by these political parties, PSP, etc., S. A. Dange referred to Acharya Kripalani's advice to the Chinese to direct their attention to Tai-

guiding ideas of the time

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THE REVOLUTION IN TIBET AND NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY

Following is the summary circulated by the 'Hsinhua' news-agency of an article entitled "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy" prepared by the Editorial Department of 'People's Daily' and published in Peking on May 6:

THE article (of the *People's Daily*) devoted to the discussion of Indian Prime Minister Nehru's statement of April 27 in the Lok Sabha dwells on the social origin and character of the rebellion in Tibet and the policy of the Chinese Government on the regional autonomy of Tibet. It also points to the facts of India's interference in China's Tibet and the importance of safeguarding Sino-Indian friendly relations.

Rebellion Quelled

The article says that the war of rebellion unleashed by the handful of traitors in Tibet has in the main been quelled. Now Tibet faces a peaceful revolution, that is, the democratic reforms in Tibet referred to in the resolution of the National People's Congress and which the broad masses of people in Tibet have long expected and urgently demanded. The revolution to be carried out immediately after the putting down of the rebellion will be a peaceful one, that is to say, a revolution without bloodshed.

The Tibetan people will pursue a policy of redemption towards those of the upper classes in Tibet who have not taken part in the rebellion—almost the same policy adopted in the Han areas towards the national bourgeoisie. Ample conditions exist for the Tibetan people to do so, because they are backed up by China's hundreds of millions of people, who have already completed democratic reform and the Socialist transformation.

Nehru did not explain, the article goes on, what kind of society in Tibet he referred to as a "static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform." But this is precisely the starting point of the whole question. Our discussion must begin here.

Tibetan Society

Tibetan society is a serf-society based on manorial estates, the article points out. In Tibet, the main means of production—all the land and most of the cattle belong to three kinds of feudal estate-holders or serf-owners, namely the officialdom (the feudal Government), the monasteries and the nobles. These three kinds of serfowners only account for approximately five per cent of the population, that is, about 60,000 of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet.

All the peasants have no land of their own and most of the herdsmen have no cattle of their own and only toil for the serf-owners. Together with their children, they have for generation after generation belonged to different

serf-owners. More than 70 per cent of the income obtained from the toll of the serfs goes into the pockets of the serf-owners through exploitation.

The serfs not only have no political rights, they do not even have ordinary freedom of movement. The nobles can use torture at will on serfs who run away and are recaptured or who are considered to have otherwise violated the law. Besides the commonest form, flogging, there are even such frightfully cruel tortures as gouging out the eyes, cutting off the nose and the hands, hamstringing and chopping off the kneecaps.

It is natural that, based on such a reactionary dark, cruel and barbarous serf system, the political and religious hub in Tibet was a tiny collection of the biggest serf-owners.

This society was indeed static in the past. Not only was the economy depressed and the culture backward, but even the population was unable to increase. However, the system of this society was not in the least 'moderate' or 'humane.' It is a thoroughly backward, reactionary, cruel and barbarous system, the article points out.

Sympathies—With Whom?

May we ask all those vociferous self-styled sympathisers of the Tibetan people, just who are the "Tibetan people" you sympathise with? Whose autonomy or independence is the autonomy or "independence" of Tibet you propagandise? Whose defeat is the defeat of the rebellion in Tibet which you weep and mourn over? It seems that many of the so-called "sympathisers" are only usurping the name of the Tibetan people, the name of Tibetan autonomy and the name of humanitarianism. It is not the Tibetan people they sympathise with, but those who for generations oppressed, exploited and slaughtered the Tibetan people, those chiefs of the cannibalistic system in Tibet.

Except for some who have misunderstood, those who uttered such cries are precisely the defenders of the most reactionary serfdom and the most barbarous big serf-owners, precisely the enemies of the freedom and liberation of the Tibetan people. And it is precisely for this reason that this counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of the Metternich type has bound together the U.S. State Department, British colonialists, the Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, Chiang Kai-shek of China and India's reactionary parties—the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh.

The article says that what surprises us is that the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, on the one hand ob-

viously has major contradictions with many disreputable characters in that alliance and understands their plots and tricks detrimental to India, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Nehru himself; on the other hand, he has involuntarily been pushed by that alliance into an important role in their so-called sympathy-with-Tibet movement, enabling them to look on with glee like someone watching tigers fight from a hill-top. We feel much distressed at being forced now to argue with Mr. Nehru in our comment.

In discussing Tibetan society, although Nehru does not oppose reforms and does not deny the part the vested interests played in the rebellion, still on the whole he not only fails to touch on its extremely cruel system of exploitation, but virtually lumps together the vast majority of the exploited with the tiny minority of the exploiters.

On this basis, he denies that a handful of upper strata reactionaries are responsible for the rebellion in

The article then describes the measures of the Chinese Government in handling the question of national minorities in the country, such as the establishment of national minority autonomous regions, the autonomous chous and autonomous counties, the training of cadres from among the minorities and the education against Han chauvinism among the Han cadres.

Tibet's Autonomy

If the Central People's Government, the article says, had not given the former Tibet Local Government any right of autonomy as alleged in the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama, then those reactionaries, whose treason had been established would have been arrested and punished long ago and the democratic reforms in Tibet would not have been put off up to the present.

Even after the outbreak of the rebellion in Lhasa, and after learning that the Dalai

who committed murder, arson and all other manner of evil as national oppression and national aggression? The article points out that it is possible that some Indian friends who bear China no ill-will misunderstood, for a time, China's position and policy owing to the long-time influence of biased propaganda, and to the fact that they have not seen the true conditions of life in Tibetan society and the activities of the People's Liberation Army first-hand, while their newspapers rarely publish full Chinese data.

However, facts speak louder than eloquence and the truth will prevail in the end. We are fully confident that those Indian friends who labour under misapprehensions for the time being and who still hesitate to believe us, will ultimately arrive at an objective conclusion. We hope that Mr. Nehru will be among them.

Prime Minister Nehru denies, the article continues, that India has interfered in Tibet. Nehru's remarks conform with reality in the sense and Indian Governments jointly declared that relations between their two countries should be guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Campaign Against China

After quoting some remarks made by Nehru on the Tibetan situation, the article points out that it may be asked: to describe China's putting down a rebellion in its own territory as "armed intervention", as "oppressing and suppressing" their "autonomy" and to say that "the assurances given to India" have not been kept—how can it be said that all this is not interference?

The Indian Government insists that the Dalai Lama is not held under duress by the rebels but is the head of the rebels. If this is so, did not the impressive welcome extended to the Dalai Lama by the Indian Government and the visit to Mussorie by Prime Minister Nehru himself mean giving a welcome to and holding a meeting with the leader of a rebellion in a friendly country?

After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet and even before, certain political figures and papers in India launched a smear campaign against China of a scope reminiscent of intervention by U.S. political and Press circles in the execution of counter-revolutionary criminals in Cuba. We must ask, applying such political pressure to the internal affairs of a friendly country—can this be considered conformable to the Five Principles?

Meaning Of Autonomy

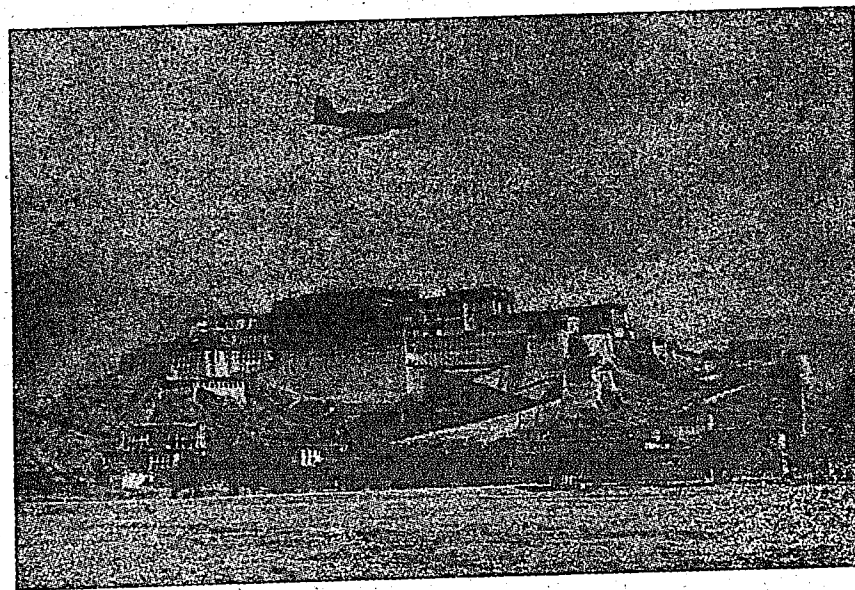
The article says that when India's interference in China's Tibet on these two occasions is taken into account, it is not difficult to see that although the Indian Government has no desire to occupy Tibet or make Tibet formally independent, it really strives to prevent China from exercising full sovereignty over its own territory of Tibet. In this respect certain political figures in India have followed the tradition of the British Government of the past—they only recognise China's "sovereignty" over Tibet, like India's "sovereignty" over Bhutan and Sikkim.

What they call "autonomy" for Tibet is different from national regional autonomy as laid down in clear terms in the Constitution of China; rather it is a kind of semi-independent status. True, Tibet is not a province but an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, with greater powers and functions than a province as laid down in the Constitution and by law; but it is definitely no

Diverse Forms Of Interference

However, interference by one country in the internal affairs of another may take diverse forms. To say that the Indian Government in the past and at present has not interfered in China's Tibet in any way does not sound convincing.

It may be recalled, the article points out, that the Indian Government intervened through diplomatic channels in October 1950 when the Chinese Government ordered its troops to enter Tibet. Unfortunately, such interference still continued in certain forms, such interference is all the more regrettable since it has taken place after the Chinese

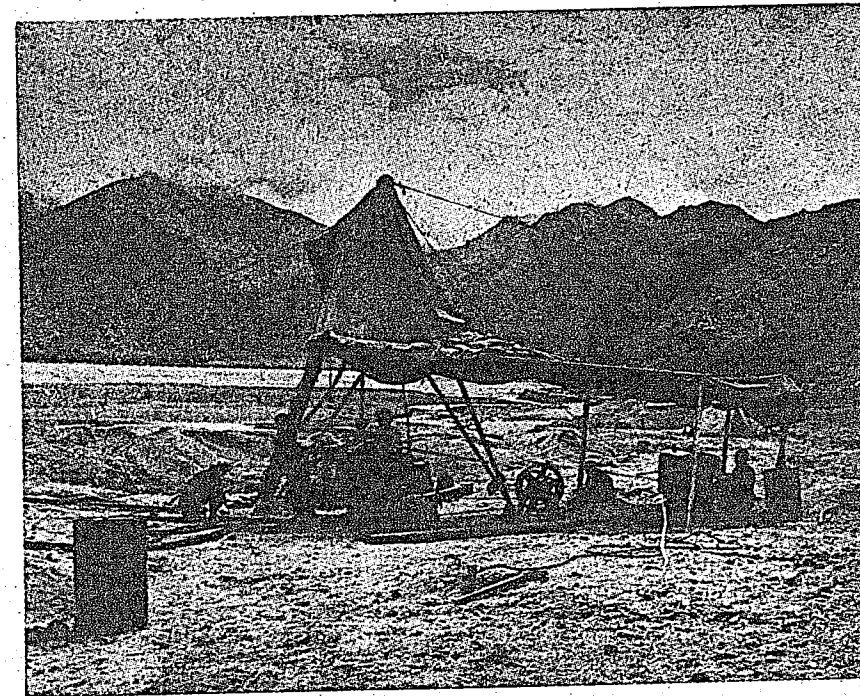


Plane over Lhasa. In the background is the Potala Palace. The first plane of the Peking-Lhasa air line landed at Lhasa on May 26, 1956.

Tibet, describes the just action of the Chinese people in putting down the rebellion as a "tragedy" and expresses sympathy for the rebellion. Thus, he commits a most deplorable error. As friends of India and as the people whose affairs Nehru is discussing, we deem it necessary to point out this error.

Minority Nationalities

Mr. Nehru said that the Tibetans are different from the Hans. The article says that is perfectly true, and that is not all: The Mongolians, the Uighurs, the Chuwangs, the Huis, the Miaos, the Koreans and many other minority nationalities of China are all different from the Hans. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese Government face the question of minority nationalities in the country. We have approached this question with extreme caution.



Drillers of a Tibet surveying team work on the site of a new hydro-electric power plant in Lhasa.

protectorate—neither a Chinese protectorate nor an Indian protectorate, nor a joint Chinese-Indian protectorate, nor a so-called buffer State between China and India. Consequently any question concerning Tibet can only be settled by China and in China, and not in any foreign country.

Dangerous Slogan

Any status of semi-independence for Tibet would be detrimental to the Tibetan people; to the Chinese people, to the Indian people, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Asian peace. It would only serve the interests of the traitorous, reactionary big serf-owners of Tibet and their foreign interventionist backers, as well as of the expansionists and imperialist schemers between China and India. In view of the statements by certain Indian figures who by no means hold irresponsible positions, we think it vital for the consolidation of Sino-Indian friendship to make this point absolutely clear.

The article says that we and Mr. Nehru may differ on this point or that, but there is not likely to be any difference of opinion on this: China has not interfered in India's internal affairs. It was only after a large volume of slanderous utterances had appeared in India that the Chinese people began to hit back. Prime Minister Nehru says that "the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China" are "regardless of truth and propriety" and "used the language of cold war." But China's charge of Indian interference is well-founded.

As to attaching importance to truth and propriety, we regret that much that was said by some political figures and publications in India, in the past month and more can

by no means be considered as showing regard for truth and propriety. Some Indian political figures and publications have slandered China as "a new and sinister form of imperialism" and "expansionist imperialism" and attacked China's putting down the rebellion in Tibet as "military intervention," "colonisation" and "banditry." Is not all this precisely the "language of cold war?"

Towards such "language of cold war," we for quite a long time, exercised forbearance and again, exercising the maximum self-restraint. Our papers maintained almost complete silence. It will be recalled that as late as April 18, Premier Chou En-lai issued an earnest appeal for upholding Sino-Indian friendship at the Second National People's Congress. But, sad to say, all it got in return was a great clamour about the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama and even more unbridled attacks on our Government and people.

Reason Getting Upper Hand

When it was impossible to retreat further, we had to rise and hit back. Some people try to use "freedom of speech" to justify India's slander campaign against China. But why do they not think for a moment: Cannot the Chinese people have freedom of speech, too? Tibet is our territory. The question of Tibet is our internal affair. If even foreigners can have so-called instinctive responses on this question, how could the people of our country, on the contrary, have no instinctive responses?

At present, it seems that the slander campaign against us in certain foreign lands is already ebbing, and reason is getting the upper hand; but there are still a tiny number of people trying to continue fanning the flames. We can tell these people plainly: So long as you do not end your anti-Chinese slander cam-

Minister Nehru's reproaches precisely because we are fully confident that differences can be reduced and the argument can be settled.

The argument may have been a bit sharp, because the vital interests of our motherland and the Tibetan people are involved. But we still hope that in substance, our argument will benefit the mutual understanding between our two peoples and the friendship between our two Governments. We are in full agreement with those friendly words to the Chinese people spoken so sincerely and seriously by Prime Minister Nehru.

India-China Friendship

Once the Indian side stops its words and deeds of interference in Tibet, the present argument will end. China has never interfered and will never interfere in India. We would like solemnly to assure all Indian patriots who are concerned for the security of India that a democratic and prosperous Tibetan autonomous region as a member of the big family of the people of various nationalities of China is bound to be a factor for consolidating and strengthening friendship between China and India. It certainly will not be, nor can it possibly be, any sort of "menace" to the Republic of India.

The peaceful, good neighbour policy of Socialist China is for ever unshakable and the friendship of the nearly 1,100 million people of our two countries is forever unshakable, just as the Himalayas are unshakable. Like the Chinese people, the great Indian people have always treasured Sino-Indian friendship. We are firmly convinced that the slanders poisoning Sino-Indian relations will be recognised as such and repudiated by the broad mass of the Indian people as the true facts become known and common efforts are made by all persons concerned in both countries.

China and India, and the peoples of the two countries, will continue their friendly cooperation in the cause of peaceful construction and will continue to join hands in their struggle for peace in Asia and the whole world.

Argument Can Be Settled

The article concludes by saying that a great many people in the world today are talking about the Tibet question, from a great many different stand-points. Prime Minister Nehru is different from many persons who obviously bear ill-will towards China. He disagrees somewhat with us on the Tibet question. But in general he advocates Sino-Indian friendship. Of this we have no doubts whatsoever. We have made such a detailed reply to Prime

The full text of the "People's Daily" article whose summary appears on this page is included in the pamphlet which is getting ready.

TIBET DOCUMENTS

Other documents in the pamphlet are Nehru's statements of April 27, May 4 and May 8 and the Resolution of China's National People's Congress.

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SCANDALOUS RECORD OF RAJASTHAN GOVT.

Growing Urge For Trade Union Unity Against Anti-Working Class Policies

When the workers of Rajasthan on this May Day held massive rallies and took out processions, one question on which the attention of the State Government was focused was the scandalous record of the State Government in respect of its so-called labour policy. Such feeling of resentment and condemnation was not confined to the Leftist trade unionists alone. It was a feeling, though not expressed in the same words by others, yet was shared by the trade union workers associated with the INTUC also. It was shared even by disinterested observers.

WHAT are the issues, what actions of the Government have led to such an amount of unanimity in trade union circles of all shades. It is not necessary to go into a long review, suffice it to recount some of the most outstanding questions of the recent past.

The textile industry is the biggest industry in the State. It employs about 12,000 out of the about 35,000 factory workers in this State. This industry has seen the most bitter and determined bid by the owners to force rationalisation and retrenchment on the workers.

The owners in Pali, for instance, have suddenly closed down the third shift creating

conditions of unemployment for hundreds of workers mostly baddi workers. The owners in Beawar have given notice of retrenchment to about 500 workers from this May Day. The intention behind this notice becomes obvious when it is seen that the whole question was postponed when the matter of "increased workload" was referred to the Tribunal. One mill in Bhilwara closes off and on. Two mills, Kishangarh and Vijnagar, have been closed for some years now.

In face of all this what has been the role of the State Government? It has either sat tight or acted in a manner that facilitates the moves of the employers.

In 1955, a committee was appointed by the State Government to study the conditions of work and wages in the textile industry. Sri S. R. Deshpande, from the Government of India, was specially called to preside over that committee. This committee gave its report to the Government in 1956, and the same was published in August 1956. The committee recommended a minimum wage of Rs. 65 for an unskilled worker in this industry. The present minimum generally is only Rs. 54.

Three years have elapsed since these recommendations have been made to the State Government. Three in this period State Government circles stated that a tripartite conference would be called on this question and if it failed the State Government would take legislative measures to get the recommendations of the committee implemented. But till this day, neither has such a meeting been properly called nor have any serious steps been taken to get the report implemented.

That is not all. The Minimum Wages Act was made applicable to the State in an

amended form in 1957. Some time in October 1957, the State Government published its own proposal for fixing minimum wages for about 14 industries, and called for objections within one month. The proposals of the State Government were generally for a minimum wage of just Rs. 1/8 per day. Normally the matter should have been considered and finalised by February or March 1958. But for one year the State Government just sat on these proposals and not a single notification was issued till March 1959.

When notifications were however issued, they too, were only for four or five industries. There is a story behind this also.

Amongst those industries for which notifications had been made to the press for publication, was mica also. Copies of these notifications were sent to the Minimum Wages Inspectors, too. The Secretary and the Minister had all signed them and the formality of printing them in the gazette was just on the way, when the mica-owners from Bhilwara rushed to Jaipur. They brought along with them an INTUC "stalwart", a Congress leader who works in the name of mica labour but attends to the interests of the mica mine-owners more than those of the workers. These gentlemen went and lobbied in Jaipur. They dug out a specious plea that since there was a so-called "agreement", an agreement signed between the mica mine-owners and the self-same INTUC stalwart on behalf of the workers, agreeing to a minimum wage of Rs. 1/5 the State Government should not fix a higher wage.

It is unbelievable but true, that a message was sent and the notifications were called back from the press. And then in the name of getting the matter legally scrutinised, the notification in respect of mica workers was surreptitiously amended. Instead of Rs. 1-8, the figure was reduced to Rs. 1/5. That this amendment is mala fide and illegal does not seem to bother the State Government. Such open and unashamed kowtowing to the interests of the owners, and such a shameful betrayal of the interests of the workers, would be difficult to meet with.

Even today minimum wages notifications have not been issued for more than four or five industries. More than sixteen months after the publication of its own proposals, the State Government is unable to make up its mind—such is the situation when the question involved is of fixing minimum wages for the workers.

Take the case of the Shop and Establishments Act. The shop assistants have for more than three years carried on an agitation for such an enactment. There was a law of this type in the Ajmer State before it merged with Rajasthan. The shop assistants demanded

FROM
H. K. VYAS

that the Ajmer law may for the time being be extended to the whole of Rajasthan. That was in November 1956. But the Government did not agree.

It took the stand that a comprehensive legislation would be brought for the whole State very soon. Finally in the budget session last year a law in respect of shops and establishments was passed. The date from which it was to come into force was left to the State Government. For months the Government delayed the matter saying that the rules were being finalised. Then finally the rules, too, were published. The State Government declared that it would enforce the law from April 1, 1959. April first came and the Government's assurance went the way of all April first jokes. The law was not enforced that day, till today it has not been enforced. It does not need much intelligence to judge what the cause is. Big Business has "approached" the Government, circles and has secured the non-enforcement of the law. Such is the flagrant violation of open declarations in respect of taking legal steps for the workers.

The attitude of the Government towards its own employees is no better. After a serious unrest and joint representations by a sort of confederation of all the employees of the Government, it granted an interim increase of Rs. five, and while doing so its own departments like the FWD have already issued a circular to introduce retrenchment.

The story of such muddles can be multiplied. Suffice it to say that these instances are typical. Rajasthan is the only State which has the unique distinction of not having a cost of living index of even one industrial centre, not even of its own capital, Jaipur, though the State has been in existence for ten years.

The State Government displayed its "efficiency" and "concern" for the interest of the workers by not taking a single step to properly reconstitute the Industrial Tribunal, even though the Act was amended in 1956, and the provisions of the amended Act came into force from March 10, 1957. The result was that on a writ petition, the High Court set aside the legal position of the tribunal. All the work done in these two years for the time being became without jurisdiction.

It is these and many similar actions which have created the universal feeling that serious steps need to be taken to beat back this policy. As a matter of fact, a feeling is growing in the trade unions all over the State that they must all unite irrespective of their flags or their central affiliation, and a State-wide movement should be taken in hand to set right this very serious situation that prevails in the matter of handling of labour matters by the State Government.

This was one of the most important themes in the May Day programmes, apart from the other important national and international problems. The celebrations on May Day may thus become the starting point of the development of such a united movement in the State.



THE three day Youth Festival at the Constitution Club, Delhi, is over and the time has come for stock-taking. On May 1, 2 and 3 the enormous lawn of the Club was filled with audiences that represented every section of the population. We had sturdy workers rubbing shoulders with stooping intellectuals and foreign diplomats surrounded by young truants from college.

The stage was rickety and the curtain and wings fluttered in the wind like rags but behind each bit is a story of sacrifice and hard labour and forced economy. In a corner was a stall with pieces of wooden sculpture that made many connoisseurs gasp with astonished delight; they gaped again when they were told that the sculptor was a boy of sixteen, Raman Patel, a domestic servant, who gambled with blocks of wood in spare time.

A MEMORABLE CULTURAL PROGRAMME

Lovers of classical music sat up and rubbed their eyes to make sure if the gorgeous Masitkhani gat in Puria-Dhanseri was really from the sarod of the twelve-year old slup of a boy who seemed lost in the big stage. It was Amjad Ali Khan, the son of Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan. The little ustad's control of laya in the Razakhani portion was little short of a miracle.

Bombay Youth Choir

The Bombay Youth Choir, directed by Saif Chowdhury and starring Manna De and Mukesh, gave us songs that Delhi will remember for a long time. And equally delightful was the irrepressible Prem Dhawan. On May 2, the lights suddenly went out, but the Bombay Youth Choir is not made of the stuff that deserts. Out of the darkness poured the unified call of

run to evolve into a fully expressive medium.

Also weak were the dances. There is something gone, something lacking, something stale and urbanised. How beautiful was the Konkani folk song on the misfortunes of Indurmama and how lifeless the folk-dance items!

Significant was the participation of Nriyaya Kala Niketan from Bombay, under the direction of Miss Engineer. A completely urban, sophisticated group seriously studying and performing folk dances is a sign of the times and a tribute to the earnestness of Misses Ruby and Mehro Engineer. Of course, no one expects rural abandon and spontaneity from a group such as this; but while we admire the colourful costume, we could not accept the accompanying music as anything near authentic.

Perhaps the most powerful folk number came from a group of Punjabi workers and peasants whose Boli on Kashmir and Bhangra sent so reserved a critic as that of

dience with breezy humour and haunting melody.

A delicate romantic Dogri folk song by Uma Mahe conjured up the picture of a lone-some wife on a distant hill weeping for her man who is gone.

Folk Ballet

The last item on the last night was Chaupal a boisterous folk ballet by the Agra IPTA and a tired audience was stirred into life again. The girl Shobha of this troupe was a delight to watch.

Some Delhi boys and girls put on a scene from Tagore's famous ballet, Chandalka. I regret, in spite of some remarkable patches, I failed to find the true Tagore spirit. Neither song nor dance had the Tagore touch—and there is such a thing as the Tagore touch, in spite of many protestations to the contrary.

Festival; they had arrived after five days of constant travelling. There they were, every muscle chiselled and shaped, smiling and welcoming with a southern politeness that made me feel a barbarian by contrast. And then I saw them on the stage, sweating, silent, every fibre concentrated on the combat. And I thought to myself—here is an army to defend our frontiers, these young gladiators!

As for drama, three plays were presented, one on each day. The Agra IPTA's farce, Youth Club, by Rajinder Singh, that confident master of improvisation and slapstick, delighted the audience with its fancy dialogue and fantastic situation. It, perhaps, lacked substance and purpose, but surely a youth festival must have time for hilarious nothing! The cast was led by Rajinderji himself and I have seldom seen a better and more restrained comedian! The rest of the cast somewhat untrained in the fundamentals of voice-production and movement, did its best.

Brilliant Acting

The Little Theatre Group from Calcutta presented two Bengali plays—the May Day scene from Gorky's Mother on May 1 and Neecher Mahal, Gorky's Lower Depths adapted by Umanath Bhattacharjee. The first seemed to go off well especially because of the exciting nature of the scene and its tempo and action.

But we faced the audience with a horrible attack of nerves on May 3. We would have to go through almost two hours of slow, tortuous plotting in a language unintelligible to a majority of the audience. But they forgave us and but for some slight disturbance towards the end, the bulk of the audience blessed us with its approval. We take it as a token of Delhi's appreciation of the new theatre movement of Bengal.

The next morning Times of India said, "One came out from the play with the feeling that one has made friends with the finest human beings on earth... The performance could not overwhelm a sensitive audience. They stood apart, broke, intermingled, all in restless continuing vitality. As a result in a play of many words, action always achieved startling excitement."

The Hindustan Times headlined its review "Brilliant Acting in Gorky Play" and spoke of "the finish and poise of professional efficiency. There was not a single weak characterisation and the coordination was exemplary."

It appears, therefore, that the language barrier was broken through and we were able to reach a patient, sympathetic audience.

That is the lesson we shall carry back to Calcutta—the fraternity of the various peoples of India, the essential unity of all the regional art forms, the diverse styles un-

* SEE OVERLEAF

Communists Are Not In The Habit Of Waiting For Foreign Armies

* FROM PAGE 7

wan, Hong Kong, etc., and said:

"May I ask a separate question? Why not ask the Government of India to invade Goa first? Advice is very simple. It is easier to liberate Goa than to liberate Tibet, if it is being enslaved by the Chinese. But you dare not offend American imperialism because it will intervene. You know that the Chinese will never go to war with India, whatever you do. Therefore, you have the guts to shout about it, but you have not the guts to fight for Goa."

For the PSP, Dange said, the question of Tibet was only a handle to fight the Communist Party. "They are not worried about Tibet at all. They are not worried about anybody. Their whole problem is, 'How can we fight the Communist Party?' Gentlemen, you can fight us. We are here in our country."

"I am told Acharya Kripalani made a statement and asked: 'If the Chinese armies invade India where will the Communists be? Will they be with us?'"

Acharya Kripalani: "I asked a question. Let him reply now."

S. A. Dange continued: "I will reply now. The Communist Party is not in the habit of waiting for foreign armies to liberate India. We know these gentlemen who were waiting for Hitler to come through Stalingrad

and to liberate them. We know that they were waiting for the Japanese army to enter Calcutta to liberate them. At the time it was already claimed that they were the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmas Gandhi never debated the question of the Germans or Japanese liberating us. But these gentlemen right in Yervada, next door to me, were discussing that question, not the Acharya himself. They were discussing what would happen when Hitler would break through Stalingrad..."

"These were the dreams. But we have not got the habit of waiting for foreign armies to do our job. We can either accomplish it or we can fail to accomplish it."

He proceeded to refer to the serf system subsisting in Tibet and said, "We as a progressive country, swearing by Socialism, trying to carry out land reforms, trying to liberate serfs—that type of serfdom does not exist here—we should sympathise with those Tibetans who are fighting to overthrow that system."

Dange discounted stories of shells being fired and missing the Dalai Lama's palace, "Because the Chinese guns were not manned by Acharya Kripalani."

"Therefore when we sympathise with Tibet, I will plead with the Prime Minister, please sympathise with the serfs first, with those who are

rising against the Lama system, next, with those who want to protect the serfs, that is the Chinese system of Government and its system of laws and Constitution and, if we have any quarrel with them with regard to certain accusations let us sit down and argue those accusations and settle them without bringing in the arguments of other political parties.

"Finally, I would appeal to the Prime Minister not to get under the pressure of certain political parties to hustle the question in such a way that the FANCORSEEL is more or less blown up in action. Though preserved in theory it may be blown up in practice. That is what I would plead with him.

"Certainly if there is a vendetta against the Communist Party let us fight it within the border; let us fight it out. But that is not the question. The question here is not of the Communist Party and other parties, the Communist Party of India or the PSP. The question here is of friendly relations between China and India.

"I am quite sure that the Acharya is dead set that the Chinese can never be friendly with us. But, I do not think that is the attitude either of the Government of India or of the whole of the Congress Government. Therefore, I would again plead, let sober thoughts prevail and let this bitterness not increase."

National Art Forms

Then the programme began. Tapas Sen's battery of lights flashed and what was a tattered, weather-beaten platform became now a Moghul darbar, now a street in Moscow and sometimes a magical void against which the artistes stood out like floating marionettes and when the Festival was over, the audience had been treated to a display of national art-forms with the characteristic colour and grace of each region, by artists mostly in their teens or just beyond.

The great masters sat in the auditorium and watched the future. Three old masters blessed the festival—Sri Bima Roy on the first night, Dr. Tara Chand on the second and the great Shambhu Maharaj on the third.

In the expression of youth and its joy of life there is a naivette and sincerity that disarm criticism. However, we must be objective and try to derive lessons.

Bharatya Kala Kendra's Kathak Through the Ages performed by the disciples of Shambhu Maharaj gave all artistes present an object lesson in depth and technique. Here was an example of how to adapt classical forms to the limitations of a modern programme and inspire the people with an interest profounder than the current fad for cheap stuff. We had a glimpse of the development of Kathak, our great heritage, from ancient times to the Moghul, with Naina Devi's melodious voice creating wonderful sound-patterns in Desh and Sarang.

A shorter item by the same group, War and Peace was a further example of modern theme for modern audiences set in classical form. The sur-render of War to the charm and graces of Peace was made memorable in terms of pure classical Kathak, and Guru Shambhu Maharaj's Bhav seems to have inspired his pupils to great heights in expressive gesture.



BHANGRA

Sketch by BANSI PARIMOO

forty boys and girls and the audience sat still and listened with reverence. These things make one so proud to be young; of such stuff is made a fighter, and the choir is a little army of fighters who wield their voices as weapons.

Some Numbers Disappoint

However, I was disappointed with some of Sall's numbers that relied so heavily on harmony and contrapuntal scales. And herein is the need to learn from our masters the grace and power of our own classical music. The beautiful lyrics of Janewalla sipahi-se puchho could, I am sure, be brought far nearer to our heart in such melancholy rags as Bham palas and Bagesri, than the recitative monotonous use that Sall made of the volets. However the experiments of this creative artist are so bold and fearless that they are sure in the long

run to evolve into a fully expressive medium.

Two other Punjabi items, Jugni and Jindwa, by a local group also delighted the au-

Some lively patriotic songs came from the Agra and Delhi IPTA.

An unusual and striking item was Kalarippayat, the great and ancient martial art of Kerala. A repertoire of fencing and dagger fight and a display of physical feats were presented by the sturdy boys of the Kerala Kalarippayat Association.

The spectacle of a little boy prostrate on the ground defending himself with a little baton against the wild swiping of a long staff by a hefty performer thrilled the audience. And there were nervous screams during the urumi item, when two fencers attacked each other with long steel whips sizzling through the air.

I remember visiting them at the dharamshala before the

BY UTPAL DUTT

ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA SESSION

★ FROM PAGE 5

mised for the next year and membership targets were also fixed State-wise. Utmost stress was laid on the improved functioning of the Central Kisan Council so that the weaker units may advance much faster.

Exchange of information by the delegates and the General Secretary's report made it abundantly clear that the solution of the central problem of the imposition of a ceiling on landholdings and the distribution of surplus land to the tillers was possible only through an organised and countrywide mass struggle of the kisans.

Government's Policy

The policy of the Government is to move in a way that keeps the basic problems unsolved.

In West Bengal, for instance, a ceiling has been statutorily fixed and yet the big landlords are allowed to evade the law. When the sharecroppers, after waiting for two years, had taken legitimate steps to see that the landlords were forced to hand over the surplus land to the Government, the Government adopted repressive measures to suppress the sharecroppers though the law was on the sharecroppers' side.

In most of the States the Bills that are now introduced have placed the ceiling at such a high level that land monopoly will not be seriously affected. No effective measures are being adopted to see that landlords are prevented from evading the provision of ceiling through transfers and partitions.

On top of all this, evictions

are taking place on a scale bigger than ever before.

Under such conditions, it is only the organised strength of the Kisan Sabha and the fighting unity of the entire peasantry that can enforce effective measures. It is this idea that permeated the entire deliberations of the Conference, and in the end the central message that stood out was—Organise, Organise all sections of the kisans faster, better and more widely than ever before, Organise the Kisan Sabha and agricultural workers' unions.

The Conference took note of the fact that even our leading organisers neglect the task of membership enrolment and this must end once and for all. For the next year, two rewards were announced: one for the highest enrolment of membership and the other for the best record in organisation.

Glory To Mayuram

Before concluding this review, I must pay our tributes to the poor peasants and agricultural workers of Mayuram. The organisation of the Conference in Tamilnad was a very difficult task, in view of the fact that the Kisan Sabha, particularly in the taluk, is not strong among the middle-classes.

Naturally, the Reception Committee had to rely almost entirely on agricultural workers and poor peasants, both for the mobilisation of resources and the organisation of volunteers. Under the capable leadership of Comrade Manali Kandaswamy, the Chairman

Make Panchayats Real Organs Of Self-Govt.

Resolution adopted by the 16th Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha:

THE All-India Kisan Sabha welcomes the fact that the institution of the village panchayat is increasingly becoming important and vital in the life of the kisans of our country. It is gratifying to note that the village panchayats which, in the past, were a phenomenon confined to certain States on a restricted scale, are now being extended to all States and every village without exception.

While welcoming this development, this Session regrets that in some of those States where the panchayats are in existence for several years, attempts are being made to curtail certain democratic features of the same and to increase the authority of the central State apparatus on

of the Reception Committee, and under the guidance of the State Kisan Sabha, both the above tasks were successfully fulfilled.

This was possible because in the Tanjore District, the Kisan Sabha is very popular among the masses of poor peasants and agricultural workers. This popularity has been earned by the Kisan Sabha through decades of struggle against slavery and serfdom. Through the experience of many struggles in the past against feudal oppression, the poor peasants and agricultural workers of Tanjore District have realised the need for radical social changes.

The running thread of all

these organs of local self-government.

The All-India Kisan Sabha further regrets that though steps are being taken to set up panchayats with the object of building them as the centres of developmental activity at the village level, there are yet many provisions and clauses in different State Panchayats Acts which are totally undemocratic. They consist of such measures as nomination in place of elections in certain cases, arbitrary powers for the executive officers and other administrative officials and so on. Left as they are, they adversely affect the very objective of the panchayats, cripple the local and popular initiative, burden the panchayats with unwanted bureaucratic officials and objectively aid the village reaction to convert them into their handmaids for

the resolutions adopted at the session and acclaimed by the masses who assembled on the last day, is the picture of a radical social change based upon land reform and with a perspective of cooperative development and productive upsurge. These demands when fulfilled will mean the complete abolition of all the vestiges of feudalism, substantial relief to the working peasants from the exploitation of capitalist monopolies and for laying the foundation of a cooperative economy. The central question of this social upheaval is the satisfaction of the toiling peasants in order to pave the way for rapid industrialisation and agricultural upsurge.

(May 9)

self-aggrandisement.

The All-India Kisan Sabha is proud to place on record its compliments to the thousands of kisan units and their workers all over the country, who by snatching the initiative from the clutches of local reaction, have put up selfless and exemplary work in running the panchayats and thus endeared themselves to the peasant masses. It calls upon all the units of the Kisan Sabha at different levels to take up the work at panchayat level with more vigour and perseverance, and build united democratic movements to build the panchayats and transform them into genuine centres and instruments of a truly popular local administration.

Hence the All-India Kisan Sabha demands that:

- (1) The Panchayat Acts in different States should be as far as possible uniform;
- (2) The elections of panchayats at all levels shall be conducted on the basis of adult franchise, direct elections and on the principle of secret ballot and not by show of hands. Panchayat courts must also be similarly elected.

- (3) The system of nominations on whatever pretext should be abolished.
- (4) Over-riding and arbitrary powers for executive officers and other administrative officials over the panchayat boards should be withdrawn and they be made subordinate to the elected panchayat;

- (5) All the developmental and nation-building activity at the village level has to be entrusted to panchayats without exception;
- (6) At least 50 per cent of the land revenue is to be compulsorily handed over to panchayats in each State and to supplement the resources of the panchayats with funds from other revenue resources of the State. No panchayats shall be compelled to levy any particular tax if that hits the people. The tax-structure of the panchayats must be so constructed as to put a progressive burden on the rich;

- (7) Supervision and control over the preparation of land records and collection of land taxes should be vested in the hands of panchayats;
- (8) At least one seat must be reserved for women and one seat to harijans if their number exceeds five per cent of the rural population of the panchayat area.

The Kisan Sabha is of the opinion that these alone constitute the minimum guarantee for the real and popular building up of the panchayats as the democratic levers of all developmental activity in the village and calls upon all the kisans and other rural masses to campaign and ensure their implementation.

The Kisan Sabha calls upon its State, District, and Taluk units to take energetic and timely steps to guide, educate and train the kisan cadres to successfully discharge their functions, overcome all the obstacles and build the panchayats as the popular instruments of all the developmental activities at the village level.

Resolutions Of The C. E. C.

STRENGTHEN SINO-INDIAN FRIENDSHIP

THE close friendship between India and China that has grown in recent years has been one of the greatest events of our time. It has played a major part in upholding peace and in the resurgence of the nations of Asia and Africa. It has served as a model of peaceful co-existence and cooperation between countries with different social systems.

This friendship has strengthened the independence and security of our two great countries and also Afro-Asian solidarity. It has stood as a bulwark of freedom and world peace against forces of colonialism and war. With the development of India-China friendship, imperialism has been progressively isolated and pushed back and Afro-Asian peoples have grown in dignity and stature. It was in this India-China friendship and understanding that the Panchsheel found its world-historic significance.

It has to be admitted, however, that following the events in Tibet, this friendship has to a certain extent been damaged and disturbed. It is necessary, therefore, that the real significance of these events is grasped.

What happened in the Tibetan region of the Chinese People's Republic was a rebellion organised by a handful of serf-owners and bigoted lamas in order to block all reforms and thus perpetuate brutal oppression and tyranny. They wanted to deny the Tibetan people the light of modern civilisation so that they would remain sunk in the bottomless pit of backwardness, servitude and indescribable misery. In their rebellion, these reactionary circles were encouraged and even materially helped by the imperialists. It is at their instigation and with their help that the former Local Government in Tibet became a cockpit of intrigue and abused the wide powers of autonomy and prepared for the present rebellion in violation of the 1951 agreement between the Central authorities of the Chinese People's Republic and the Local Government of its Tibetan region. It was no surprise, therefore, that not a moment was lost by the imperialists—the instigators of the U.S.-Pak bilateral Pact, SEATO and the like—in proclaiming the Tibetan rebellion as a new opportunity for advancing their intrigues and aggressive plans against India-China friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity.

The Central Executive Committee emphatically states that this rebellion had nothing to do with the interests of the Tibetan people. It was designed to serve only the interests of a handful of reactionary forces at home and imperialism abroad. To describe such a rebellion as a "national uprising" is incorrect, and highly misleading.

India's cultural ties with the Tibetan people will naturally be cherished by all Indian patriots but this cannot be done by showing sympathy towards the serf-owners and feudal oppressors. India of today can have no sympathy for the forces of serfdom and medieval oppression. India's cultural bonds with the Tibetan people can be developed only in the context of enlightenment and progress of mutual respect and mutual understanding between the co-

architects of the Panchsheel—India and China.

But the Central Executive Committee notes that the developments in Tibet are being distorted and exploited by some people in our country not only to disturb India-China relations but also for undermining the Panchsheel and India's foreign policy. They are openly advocating the independence of Tibet and instigating India's intervention in the internal affairs of the Chinese People's Republic in furtherance of this end. They demand that rebels who have fled their homeland and are now in India be given all freedom and opportunity to continue their political activities against the Chinese People's Republic. They demand that the instigators and organisers of the rebellion be allowed to function as the Government of Tibet from our soil and carry on what they call "the struggle for independence." Their speeches are accompanied by a hate-campaign against the Chinese People's Republic.

Foremost among these forces are the Praja Socialist Party, Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and other avowed opponents of the Panchsheel and India's foreign policy, including known pro-American elements. These parties have now joined hands in their vitriolic campaign to provoke India against China. They played no part whatsoever in the making of India's foreign policy. On the contrary, they have always greeted Prime Minister Nehru with derision and ridicule and have systematically worked to undermine the foreign policy pursued by him.

The Central Executive Committee warns the country against the insidious manoeuvres of these elements whose pretended sympathies for Tibet can never conceal their ulterior designs. They are guided not by any love or concern for the Tibetan people. They are guided by their hatred against Communists and fond dreams to see India's foreign policy weakened and wrecked. It is to be noted that even some prominent Congressmen also have joined hands with them and are striving to damage the cause which their leader Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has advocated.

Prime Minister Nehru has played an outstanding role in shaping and guiding India's foreign policy and in building India-China friendship. It is a matter of deep regret, therefore, that on several occasions in recent weeks, he should have permitted himself to take positions and make utterances which cannot be reconciled with his own foreign policy and its guiding principle, the Panchsheel, on whose basis alone India's relations with the People's Republic of China can be upheld and carried forward.

One of the fundamental principles of Panchsheel is the principle of non-interference. Tibet is an integral part of China. Developments in Tibet are, therefore, an internal affair of the Chinese People's Republic. Any tendency to forget this basic fact or minimise its significance cannot but create grave complications, give rise to misunderstanding and weaken the bond of friendship between India and China.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of the people to the fact that some

unfortunate and incorrect steps on the part of the Government of India are being assiduously exploited by the enemies of India's foreign policy, who would like to see it reversed. It will also be noted that the imperialists are working for a further deterioration of India-China relations and the collapse of the Bandung spirit. No doubt they and their friends will spare no efforts in the coming period to achieve this objective.

The Central Executive Committee fervently hopes that Prime Minister Nehru and all those who have been pursuing and supporting India's policy of peace and friendship among peace-loving nations will firmly oppose these efforts. The Committee is aware that the Government has been subjected to very powerful pressure from certain reactionary quarters which still dream of Tibet as a buffer State under their influence. But the Committee is confident that the supporters of India's foreign policy will know how to overcome this pressure.

The controversy which has arisen between the Government of India and the People's Republic of China has sometimes been marked by sharp words. But the Committee looks upon it as a controversy between friends and is confident that this controversy will be easily resolved by strict adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence as embodied in the historic Panchsheel.

In his speech in the Lok Sabha on May 8 Nehru has reiterated India's foreign policy on Panchsheel and non-alignment and categorically rejected the suggestion that that policy should be changed. The Central Executive Committee welcomes this declaration as a rebuff to the imperialists and to their allies and to the enemies of India's foreign policy. The Central Executive Committee welcomes the resolution passed at the National People's Congress of China which reemphasises friendly relations between the two countries.

The Central Executive Com-

RALLY FOR KERALA

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the situation that is developing in Kerala as the result of the tactics adopted by the Congress, the PSP and certain other parties in the State.

For the last two years, every effort has been made by these parties, in alliance with the forces of reaction, to discredit the Government, to make its normal functioning difficult by resort to lawlessness and violence and by open instigation to the officials to defy its orders, with a view to dislodge it from office. As is well-known, these efforts have failed.

The policies followed by the Ministry and the measures taken by it have won the approval of the broad masses in the State and consolidated the position of the Government among the people which is eloquently borne out by the results of a number of elections and the vast rallies which the Communist Party has been able to orga-

nise in all parts of the State in defence of the Government.

This has made these parties desperate. Moreover, they know that with the passing of a number of Bills which are pending before the Legislature, especially the Agrarian Relations Bill, the position of the Government will become still stronger among the masses.

They have, therefore, intensified their struggle against the Communist-led Government. They are openly preaching violence and organising provocative attacks on Ministers and on members of the Communist Party. Above all, they are raising religious frenzy and communal passion among the people with the familiar cry of religion in danger and the alleged danger to the interests of certain communities.

Such methods constitute a grave danger to peace and to communal harmony in the State.

The opponents of the Government have concentrated their attack on the Education Bill, which, after undergoing the scrutiny of the Supreme Court and receiving Presidential assent has become law. Instructions have been issued by the Catholic Bishops and the Nair Service Society that schools managed by them should not be reopened after the summer vacation. They have declared that they will not be satisfied with this alone. They want to picket all schools and colleges in the State with a view to closing them down. It has also been announced that all Government offices will be picketed and a "march" will be organised to Trivandrum to "capture" the Government Secretariat.

These tactics are calculated not merely to provoke disturbances. Above all, they pose a serious threat to education which is being attempted to be brought to a standstill in the name of struggle against the Government, thus seriously damaging the career of lakhs of students in the State. These attempts, if not defeated, will do serious harm to the cause of education, which is cherished by every-one no matter what his political views are.

It is to be deeply regretted that in their insane hatred against the Communist-led Ministry, the opponents of the Government have stooped to such methods.

The Central Executive Committee expects that such tactics will be condemned by all educationists in the country, by teachers and students, by every popular organisation and by all right-thinking persons. The Central Executive Committee is confident that the measures which the Kerala Government will be forced to take, if these tactics are not abandoned, will have the support of the entire people of Kerala and the whole country.

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Yet with all this, if the Government is anxious to let go Mathal, perhaps we can appreciate its misgivings about many of its skeletons being brought out of the cupboard if a thorough probe is made into this whole case. But certainly the Government cannot expect the public to accept its word about Mathal being above board. The last word has yet to be heard on this Mathal affair.

MATHAL

*FROM BACK PAGE

coming a paid trustee or employee or otherwise? Is it not rather unusual that with so many laudable objectives before it the Trust through all these years could spend only Rs. 25,000?

The Prime Minister has said in his note that the Rajkumar was "not prepared to make public the names of the donors." What the public would like to know—at least for Mathal's own sake—is, how much of these came from Big Business, particularly Brista's house in Tees January Marg? Is the Government absolutely sure that equally convincing material could not be found to show that it is far in excess of what the Superintending Surveyor has valued?

Apart from all this, is it not rather extraordinary that even by the Government's own admission over Rs. ten lakhs could come to this Memorial Trust, in the name of Mathal's mother, when no such amount could be collected in the memory of Tagore, Maulana Azad or Sarojini Naidu?

NEW AGE

DISTRIBUTE WASTE LANDS!

The following is the text of the resolution on Waste Lands, adopted by the 16th Annual Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha held in Mayuram from April 29 to May 3, 1959:

THERE is chronic and acute food crisis in India and large parts of the country are under its grip today as in previous years. Mass struggles for food were launched by the people on a wide scale in several States last year.

In view of this situation, it has become a vital national task to increase the production of foodgrains all over the country. One of the major steps that should be taken for the purpose is to bring under cultivation the millions of acres of cultivable waste lands which are in the possession of the Governments in different States.

The following official figures show the amount of land that may be available for cultivation in addition to what is already cultivated:

1. Uncultivated land excluding fallow land (in million acres) —	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
2. Fallow lands other than current fallow (in million acres) —	33.3	31.3	31.8

Responsible spokesmen of the Central and State Governments including many important Ministers often indulge in loud talk about increasing food production through land reform measures and cooperative farming. But no State Government led by the Congress has in all these twelve years anything to distribute its cultivable waste and fallow lands to evicted peasants, poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

This only expresses an attitude on the part of the Governments which is both deplorable and condemnable. What, however, is worse

is that in cases where some people have tried to cultivate such lands, they have only met with official obstacles in their way and

1. Uncultivated land excluding fallow land (in million acres) —	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
2. Fallow lands other than current fallow (in million acres) —	33.3	31.3	31.8

many have been evicted and punished after cultivating these lands for several years.

This 16th Annual Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha, while getting the Government of the Kerala State for giving the lead in the matter, demands that all other State Governments should take immediate steps for making their cultivable waste and fallow lands available for cultivation, distribution of these lands among poor peasants and agricultural labourers without any premium, as well as for giving them necessary facilities for cultivation. The distri-

bution of the lands should be made through popular committees.

The Sabha further demands that all peasants occupying waste lands in Government possession should be given pattas and that the lands assigned to or occupied by landlords should be taken away and distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The All-India Kisan Sabha at the same time calls upon all State and Provincial Kisan Sabhas and other units of the Sabha to seriously take up this question of distribution of waste and fallow lands in Government possession among agricultural labourers and poor peasants and campaign for it as one of its major immediate tasks. Broad masses of the rural folk and other people should be drawn into the campaign and struggles should be launched on as big a scale as possible for securing these lands and cultivating them.

The Kisan Sabha calls upon its State, District, and Taluk units to take energetic and timely steps to guide, educate and train the kisan cadres to successfully discharge their functions, overcome all the obstacles and build the panchayats as the popular instruments of all the developmental activities at the village level.

As East-West Foreign Ministers' Talks Open, The Demand Is

GENEVA MUST SUCCEED

THE long-due East-West talks have at last started with the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Britain, France and the USSR taking their seats at the Conference table in the world-famous Palais des Nations in Geneva on May 11, after granting the right to speak at the Conference to the delegates from the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

If anything, the rather jerky start of the Conference, reflects the utmost reluctance on the part of the Western Powers to accept the realities of the present situation.

Their attempt to restrict and even to preclude the participation of the representatives of the German people in the work of the Conference—manifested either in their more than ostrich-like insistence on not even listening to the voice of the German Democratic Republic or in their sudden passion for a square table or in whatever form yet to be revealed—are attempts to negate the reality that is the existence of the two German States with whom a peace treaty has to be negotiated in the interests of European security, in the interests of world peace.

By insisting on the right of the German delegates to speak at the conference, and by winning that right for them, the Soviet delegation showed its realistic approach and its earnestness of purpose.

The proceedings of the Conference are being closely followed throughout the world and its success is demanded by all except the inveterate adventurists.

At the Jubilee Session of the World Peace Council at Stockholm, the city whose name is linked with the world-famous call for the prohibition of atomic weapons, Geneva was on the lips of many a delegate from Europe, Asia and Africa. Andrea Andreen, a noted Swedish public figure, said: "I am an optimist and I want to believe like all the participants in our session, in the success of the Geneva talks, in the possibility of the positions of the great Powers being brought closer together."

Uakendawala, Saranankara, a well-known Ceylonese figure in the peace movement, gave expression to the feelings of all peoples in the words: "If the voice of the peoples is strong enough, it will be heard in Geneva. This voice—a loud voice in which the voices of the peoples of Europe and other continents will merge—demands an urgent solution to acute political problems and relaxation of tension in the relations between various States...."

From Goerlitz Zgorzelice—a town situated on the peace frontier on Oder and Neisse—has been addressed a memorandum to the Foreign Ministers' Conference

in Geneva. The memorandum comes from the conference of the representatives of 26 European countries—the Conference of Trade Unions and Workers of Europe for a peace treaty with Germany, disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons.

The memorandum demands the peaceful settlement of the German issue, that is the liquidation of German militarism and the danger it constitutes to the cause of peace in Europe, as the primary task of all efforts aimed at relaxing international tension and preserving peace in Europe.

In a message of European workers to the working people of the world, this Conference has called for launching a

one-month campaign for peace from May 15 to June 15, 1959. The message reads:

"During this month of struggle by trade unions and workers of Europe for a peace treaty with Germany, for disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons, you must multiply your efforts, send more delegations and resolutions to Geneva and arrange demonstrations with a view to ensuring the holding of a summit meeting and its success."

The antics of certain ruling circles in the West at thwarting the success of the Geneva Conference, hence are bound to be met with strong indignation on the part of the peoples of the entire world.

—RAZA ALI

CULTURAL FESTIVAL

FROM PAGE 11.

ned by a common hope, a common confidence in the future. We shall never forget the understanding and sympathy of the Punjab comrades, the humility of the Agra friends who never said a word about food or shelter, the inevitable Ruby Joshi who was serving us tea ten minutes before she went into dance the most complicated Kathak steps.

The show was over at about eleven and the workers swarmed round us clapping and an old, old maddoor, veteran of many struggles, patted Sova Sen on the back and said: "We understood every word you said, because we have been through the same struggle." Then he saluted the Red Flag that Sova was still holding in her hand and disappeared in the crowd.

We shall remember with gratitude the blessing of the old masters, who sat in the auditorium watching us perform, come behind the stage to pat us.

Most of all we shall remember the night of May Day, when, after playing May Day at the Festival, we scrambled

ence to elect a 37-member Executive Committee and office-bearers.

Sri Balraj Sahni, the eminent stage and film actor, was unanimously elected President of All-India Youth Federation.

The Vice-Presidents are P. K. Vasudevan Nair M. P. (Kerala) who is also Chairman of the Executive Committee, Chintaman Panigrahi M. P. (Orissa), Sukumar Gupta (West Bengal), Kishan Chandra Chaudhuri (Bihar) and Satyanarayana (Andhra). The Federation's General Secretary is Sarda Mitra and Secretaries—Sushil Chakravarty (Bombay), Ganesh Vidyarthi (Bihar), Desraj Goel (Delhi) and two seats to be filled up from Andhra and Bengal. The Delhi unit is to nominate the Treasurer.

The AIYF from the day of its creation represents more than two lakhs of young men and women of our country who are the members of its constituent units. There is no doubt that in the near future the AIYF will be the strongest organisation of our youth and prove to be the worthy inheritor of the best traditions of our people.

Youth Federation Will Strive For Unity

*FROM PAGE 3

tion which desires to champion the cause of our youth and effectively serve the nation cannot close its eyes towards such burning issues as the problem of unemployment, lack of facilities for training and recreation, health, illiteracy, question of safeguarding our sovereignty and national independence, strengthening of our democracy, and the sacred duty of the Indian youth to participate in the worldwide struggle against colonialism and in defence of world peace. Any youth organisation, conscious of its responsibility towards the young generation and towards our people cannot but take an active interest in all these issues.

It was made clear by several delegates that taking active interest in such questions and mobilising the youth of our country do not mean affiliation with any particular political party. For such issues not only concern the members of a particular political party, these are the issues which concern the vast majority of our youth, hence the broadest sections of them can be united in an independent organisation to play their due role in resolving these vital problems.

Considering the fact that building of unity of youth and cooperation between these organisations are important aspects for the fulfilment of the needs of the youth, the Conference declared, "The All-India Youth Federation will do all in its power at all times and on all issues to bring about the cooperation of all youth organisations in the country for common objectives. The Federation will give its cooperation to all youth organisations in any activity which agrees with its aims and will seek the cooperation in all its activities of all other youth organisations."

Besides these two important documents, the Conference adopted a programme of activities for the coming months which includes the observances of May 16 as Anti-U. S.-Pak Fact Day by holding meetings and demonstrations in different parts of the country;

While emphasising the independent character of this organisation, the delegates strongly pointed out that there should be no discrimination against the members and followers of any political party as long as they adhere to the aims and objects of this organisation and abide by its constitution. These opinions have been correctly reflected in the policy statement when

the campaign of solidarity with Algerian youth in the form of mass collection of clothes, medicine and money in different cities of India; preparing for the Seventh World Youth Festival by holding local and State Festivals and cooperating with other youth organisations for sending a representative delegation from our country; holding of regional seminars on education and sports, and bringing out of a monthly bulletin.

Resolutions were adopted by the Conference wishing success to the Geneva Conference, expressing solidarity with the colonial people, asking the Government of India to take steps to liberate Goa, demanding that serious thought should be given to the solution of the serious unemployment problem while framing the Third Five-Year Plan, etc.

Affiliation With WFDY

The Federation has decided to affiliate itself to the World Federation of Democratic Youth believing that the Indian youth movement has to be a part of the world movement of youth and has to work in coordination with it. It was decided to affiliate with the WFDY because the WFDY is the only international youth organisation which represents the youth of all parts of the world, because the WFDY alone realises the realities of the present-day situation and strives for cooperation of youth belonging to the different economic and political systems of the world and because the WFDY alone has been consistent in its fight against colonialism.

At its last session, the Conference elected a Council of 121 members which met immediately after the Confer-

ence to elect a 37-member Executive Committee and office-bearers.

Sri Balraj Sahni, the eminent stage and film actor, was unanimously elected President of All-India Youth Federation.

The Vice-Presidents are P. K. Vasudevan Nair M. P. (Kerala) who is also Chairman of the Executive Committee, Chintaman Panigrahi M. P. (Orissa), Sukumar Gupta (West Bengal), Kishan Chandra Chaudhuri (Bihar) and Satyanarayana (Andhra). The Federation's General Secretary is Sarda Mitra and Secretaries—Sushil Chakravarty (Bombay), Ganesh Vidyarthi (Bihar), Desraj Goel (Delhi) and two seats to be filled up from Andhra and Bengal. The Delhi unit is to nominate the Treasurer.

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KERALA COMMUNISTS' CALL TO PEOPLE

TRIVANDRUM, May 11.

The following communique has been issued from the office of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party:

THE Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party met here on 9 and 10 under the chairmanship of Comrade C. Achutha Menon. Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair gave a detailed report on the present situation in the State. He referred to the direct action programme planned by the Nair communal and Catholic church leaders beginning with the closing down of schools under private managements from the next academic year.

He said that this new agitation was not only aimed at the Education Act as such, but was an open challenge to all legislative measures, initiated by the Kerala Government and intended to bring about the peaceful transformation of society in a progressive direction through democratic methods.

From the history of the Education Act it is now clear to all that other measures like the Agrarian Relations Bill, Industrial Relations Bill, Pan-chayats Bill and District Councils Bill will also be passed and become law very soon.

Dangerous Portent

The fact that the leadership of "struggle" against the Kerala Government has been taken over by Nair communal leaders, backed by the Catholic Church and that the Opposition parties are unashamedly following behind these communal forces, is a dangerous portent.

The Nair and Christian communalists who are in the leadership of the present agitation have openly declared that they will resort to Statewide civil disobedience and to violent undemocratic methods to overthrow the Communist-led Government. It is clear that they are out to create a situation of lawlessness in the State. No democratic or patriotic-minded citizen can allow it to happen.

Aim Is Subversion

Hitherto the opponents of these progressive and democratic measures were hoping to prevent these legislations from being passed. They were under the false hope that the Communist-led Kerala Government would collapse very soon either through dissensions in the ranks of the Communist Party or by getting isolated from the people or by Central intervention and that the progressive measures initiated by the Government would never reach the stage of implementation. But that did not happen. Now they are desperate. They are bent upon resisting their implementation. Hence they are frantically seeking new ways

MOBILISE TO ISOLATE AND DEFEAT REACTION

and create lawlessness in the State.

The Committee in particular discussed the demand raised by the Nair communal leaders to abolish the reservation in recruitment to Government services. The Communist Party has always supported the principle of reservation for backward communities in Government services as a democratic principle which helps educationally and socially backward communities to come up to the level of other communities. The principle has been accepted by all political parties in the State. Of course, the Communist Party has always maintained that reservation alone will not remove the backwardness suffered by some communities. Only fundamental social and economic reforms will really pave the way for their advance.

Still the Communist Party is convinced that the demand to abolish reservation for backward communities is a wrong and reactionary demand under the present circumstances. The Party is firmly of the view that it should continue for some time more. The Committee adopted a separate resolution on the question of reservation.

PUNJAB PEASANT REMAINS UNBEATEN

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

WHEN Pratap Singh Kairon moved the resolution on service cooperatives at the Nagpur Session of the Congress, he would certainly not have imagined it possible that the kisans of his State would give a lead in the matter and in the way they actually did.

Aitiana and Sherpur are two villages in Ludhiana District which will be remembered along with the glorious struggle of the Punjab peasantry against the unjust betterment levy. It was in Aitiana that the first martyrs of the struggle fell when two women were killed by police bullets. It was from Sherpur that the police kept out Members of Parliament and Communist leaders while a huge police force held the village under siege.

Harvesting in the Punjab begins about April 10 and it is the main crop, wheat, that has to be brought in at this time. When the time for harvesting came about 120 peasants of Aitiana including some agricultural workers were still in jail and in Sherpur about 30. How was the harvesting of the crops of the peasants in jail to be done? That was the problem before the Kisan Sabha.

Conferences of Kisans were called in both the places—on April 5 in Aitiana and on the 9th in Sherpur. Kisan Sabha offices were opened in both the villages and a call was issued appealing to peasants of surrounding villages to go to Aitiana and Sherpur to help with the harvesting, to do the sowing work that remained to be done of the cotton crop and the crushing of sugar-cane.

Aitiana started its harvesting on the 11th and within about ten days, it was completed in about 350 acres. Every day, hundred to two hundred peasants from neighbouring villages came to Aitiana and they came with their own food

rations. They helped with the harvesting and then went back to their own villages. Sherpur also got through its harvesting in the same manner.

The district and police officials, who had during the struggle tried to cow down the peasants by terror now tried to demoralise them with obstruction and coercion to prevent the harvesting.

In Aitiana, ten kisans who had arrived from nearby villages to help with the harvesting were arrested. In Sherpur also ten to fifteen arrests were made. The Additional District Magistrate himself went to Sherpur on the 9th when the Conference there was being held and tried to prevent people from the surrounding areas from participating.

Despite all such obstructions, the peasants have completed their harvesting—all glory to them.

In Aitiana, there was also the problem of the families of the agricultural workers who were in jail. The Kisan Sabha solved their

problem by organising the supply of foodgrains to these families.

The Kisan Sabha has also been collecting funds to fight cases. Peasants are contributing cash to defend the peasants involved in these cases, to pay for their travelling, etc., and to get a number of leading lawyers to conduct the cases.

Bhagat Singh of village Bilga has sought permission from the Chief Secretary of the Punjab State Government to launch a prosecution against Chief Minister Kairon under Section 511 for the violent speeches he has made against the Communist Party. Permission is necessary under section 197 for launching a case against the Chief Minister.

Ratan Singh of village Narur has filed a case under Section 302 for murder against the police and Government officials responsible for the firing in the village in which five people were killed including a woman.

JUST PUBLISHED

S. B. MUKHERJI
Head of the Dept. of History,
Khalsa College, AMRITSAR.

**INDIAN MINORITY
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

RS. 10.00

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Whitewashing Mathai

The Mathai affair has come up again. And, once again, the Government's conduct has made it clear that it is fighting shy of facing facts and placing them before the public. It seems to be in a hurry to exonerate him without having the courage to make a thorough enquiry into all the serious charges made about the mysterious doings of M. O. Mathai.

THE documents placed by the Prime Minister before Parliament on May 7 make, to say the least, extraordinary reading. After nearly three months of the promise that an enquiry would be conducted by the Cabinet Secretary, the Prime Minister says: "The present report was not even a departmental enquiry; it was in the nature of an investigation to establish the facts."

And how were the "facts" established? No terms of reference were announced. While in the Rajya Sabha in February, the Home Minister promised that the matter would be investigated "in all its aspects", the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha—despite the plea of the Members—stated that the antecedents and considerable assets of Mathai when he joined him would not be gone into.

Even today, the Government has not clarified what Sri Vishnu Sahai did. When Prabhat Kar asked in the Lok Sabha whether Sri Vishnu Sahai "had the right of examining and cross-examining witnesses, and to ask for the production of documents," the Speaker intervened: "The honourable Prime Minister has said he (Vishnu Sahai) had no right." And the Prime Minister himself volunteered: "He had no right to do that, he could only request people, such people as he wanted to." Pandit Nehru also added that

"Sri Vishnu Sahai had no authority to compel people to come to him to give evidence."

No wonder that nobody from among those who brought the serious charges against Mathai were even requested by Sri Vishnu Sahai to come and give evidence, for obviously he had no powers to check up a single allegation, but only to paraphrase whatever Mathai himself had to say in the matter.

this, the Government fought shy of placing the Vishnu Sahai Report before Parliament. Only the Prime Minister's Note along with the comments of the Finance Minister and the Comptroller and Auditor General on Sri Vishnu Sahai's Report were released. No wonder that a newspaper has described it as a "Report on a Report."

Bhupesh Gupta exposed the patently absurd position: "If we are not given the original report of Sri Vishnu Sahai, then, how would we be able to judge the comments on the Report? We had not seen the terms of reference, we do not have the powers to call for the Report of Sri Vishnu Sahai; we have nothing."

documents make no mention of these "shares, debentures, etc., in well-known companies." In his note of May 6, Pandit Nehru writes: "Before this employment began he had a considerable sum of money with him..."

Sri Morarji Desai could find no other proof but to state that "Sri Mathai had told the Prime Minister at the beginning of his service with him, that he had in his possession about rupees two to three lakhs."

Sri S. M. Banerji enquired if Sri Vishnu Sahai had stated in his report that except for Mathai's own statement about this big sum—which incidentally has now gone up in the last papers to "Rs. 390,000" from the original "Rs. two to

as by his obtaining some American surpluses."

Sri Morarji Desai is more explicit: "We have been told that Sri Mathai's work was very much appreciated by the Red Cross authorities." Told by whom?

And then he adds: "It is stated that as a mark of their appreciation they gave him some part of the surplus stock which they were disposing of at the conclusion of the war."

Rather extraordinary for the American Red Cross to hand over more than Rs. three lakh worth of surplus stock to a stenotypist in their service. Has it been the common practice of the American Red Cross to squander away its stocks instead of giving them for useful purposes to the Indian Red Cross? And will the Government oblige the public by stating how this was verified?

Govt. Fights Shy Of Facts

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

CARICATURE OF A PROBE:

The Prime Minister has described Hiren Mukerji's demand for a proper investigation as an "odd request". But what could be more odd and fantastic than that the words of Mathai—the very person against whom the charges have been levelled—should be taken as the last word in such a caricature of an investigation. It is like asking the accused to draft the judgement in his own case.

What is more intriguing is the fact that even with all

ASTOUNDING EXCUSE: The Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha trotted out an excuse for withholding the Vishnu Sahai Report: "Evidence is often of fellow officers and others who would confidentially give their views about a subject, but who would hesitate probably to do so if they thought it was going to be published."

Rather an astounding excuse. For, even by leaving out the names, the Report could be published. And we would like to know—as the public would certainly like to know—what precisely was found by Sri Vishnu Sahai, and how far really he could probe into the multifarious activities of M.O. Mathai.

Even with all this rather indecent anxiety to conceal the facts, the documents that the Prime Minister placed before Parliament give away quite a few embarrassing details.

In the Rajya Sabha, on February 11 the Prime Minister stated: "When Mr. Mathai came to me about 1945-46—I think in 1945 I met him—he gave me an account of his assets which was very considerable."

SHARES AND DEBENTURES: When pressed for details about a life insurance policy of over Rs. two thousand that Mathai had when he joined Pandit Nehru's staff, the Prime Minister said: "How can I remember what happened eleven years ago? I have definite knowledge that he informed me of his investments which were considerable."

When Sri Dhage asked if the Prime Minister could give a rough idea of the extent of those assets, Pandit Nehru replied: "In fact, I have got them actually. I cannot repeat them from memory. He gave me in writing and I have got papers with me. Broadly speaking, I believe they were Rs. two to three lakhs invested in shares, debentures, etc., in well-known companies." Curiously enough, the latest

three lakhs"—no proof of the legal possession of this could be produced. No answer was forthcoming from the Government about this point.

Pressed by Smt. Renu Chakravarty, whether Mathai's written statement to the Prime Minister about his assets would be placed before Parliament, the Prime Minister said he did "not understand this approach to this question" and stated that Mathai's written statement was not given when he had joined him but subsequently—which is very much different from what he had stated in the Rajya Sabha in February, as quoted above.

Is it that Sri Vishnu Sahai had to rely solely on Mathai's own arithmetics about his assets at the beginning of his service under the Prime Minister and no other evidence could be found, not even the written statement that Mathai is supposed to have given the Prime Minister?

If he had his assets at the time in "shares and debentures, etc., in well-known companies", did Sri Vishnu Sahai get the details about them? If not, what proof is there to show that Mathai himself has not been concocting the story that he had this big amount in cash—inside his pillow or his waistband?—to explain away his rather unusually large financial transactions in later years?

DISPOSAL GIFT: Another interesting detail has cropped up which certainly deserves elucidation. In February, the Prime Minister told the Rajya Sabha that Mathai was "getting a very high salary—I do not remember exactly—from the American forces in Assam. Americans, especially in war time, pay very high salaries."

But now in the latest papers, a small detail has been quietly added to it and the Prime Minister says that Mathai's Rs. 390,000 came to him "as a result of his service with the American Red Cross on the Assam-Burma border as well

THIRD POLICY: In the Rajya Sabha, a specific charge was made by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad that Mathai in his letter of resignation had falsely stated that he had two insurance annuity policies, while actually he had a third one, which involved a lump payment of the considerable sum of Rs. 48,500 in 1957. The latest papers do not make any mention of this serious charge. Sri Morarji Desai found "nothing irregular" in them and goes a step further: "If he did not report his insurance policies, he did not do so because he had no idea that he had to do so."

How sweet of the Finance Minister to be so considerate to the little boy, Mathai, who was so innocent of it all! Would it be wrong to conclude that Mathai bragged in his letter of resignation about only two insurance policies, because he did not expect that his third policy would so soon be exposed to light?

PAYMENT BEFORE SALE: About that Kulu orchard, too, there is something fishy which needs explanation.

How is it that Mathai sold it to the Birlas' C & E Morton and Co. by a registered sale deed on May 23, 1953, while the money was paid to him six months before by a cheque of Rs. 125,000 on the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta (No. OZ/88-66592) dated November 14, 1952? Is it not rather extraordinary for a limited liability company to pay the entire amount for an orchard which was actually bought in the next financial year?

CHECHAMMA TRUST: As regards the Chechamma Memorial Trust, Mathai has been given a clean bill by both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister, though the latter adds that Mathai lending his mothers' name to it might be called "imprudent but cannot be called an abuse of official position or immoral in any sense."

A question which was raised in the Press and which has not yet been answered is: Has the Deed of the Chechamma Memorial Trust any provision by which M. O. Mathai at any future date cannot financially benefit from it by way of be-

* SEE PAGE 13

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