

# DO NOT BUTCHER

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# DEMOCRACY

NEW AGE  
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

## TO SERVE NARROW PARTISAN ENDS

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The resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board will cause profound disappointment to all those who expected from it a clear and honest lead in restoring normal conditions in Kerala.

people and the further democratisation of their life.

Carrying forward this dishonesty, the Parliamentary Board is conveniently silent about the fact that the Congress is now in open alliance with the Catholic bishops, the Nair fanatics and the Muslim communalists. Where are the brave words uttered time and again against communalism and only very recently reiterated by the Congress Working Committee?

tion? Does he remember his own unequivocal condemnation of even the desire to change what had passed into law? This was his attitude to a demand which obviously had the backing of the entire Maharashtra people. Why has a reversal taken place on what is clearly a demand of a handful of vested interests in Kerala?

gress backers. Throughout Kerala there is a rapidly growing revulsion against picketing, against opposition hooliganism, particularly the stopping and damaging of buses. The strike call, preceded with such fanfare, ended in miserable failure. The entire opposition agitation had come close to ignominious failure.

It will deeply shock those who legitimately hoped it would uphold the Indian Constitution and insist upon adherence to the democratic practices enshrined therein. The Congress leaders have thereby dealt a heavy blow not only to the prestige of their own party, but to the parliamentary democracy by which it swears.

turned to the Opposition. Why does it refrain from referring to the Assembly by-election, the Panchayat and municipal elections where the Communist Party has clearly increased its

### Editorial

by AJOY GHOSH

There is not a word in the resolution against the violent activities aimed at bringing down the Ministry and creating complete chaos. Even picketing is not condemned outright and significant silence, practically amounting to approval, is maintained about picketing in front of the Collectorate and Government offices.

With twisted logic the Parliamentary Board while demanding that the Kerala Ministry do all this, has simultaneously asked it to resign and allow fresh elections! It is clear enough that its whole intention is somehow to topple the popular Government in Kerala—nothing else seems to matter. This is a grossly

Just at this time the Parliamentary Board has rushed forward in a desperate attempt to salvage the situation for its own narrow party ends. It has sought to give a fresh lease of life to the unconstitutional agitation. In a rather more subtle form, the resolution holds out the prospect of Central intervention—the last refuge of the

Utterly false is the claim of the Parliamentary Board that it has considered the situation not from the viewpoint of the Congress alone, but the larger interests of the country and its democratic structure.

lead? And what about Madras State, where the recent municipal elections saw the virtual rout of the Congress? Yet we heard not a whisper to the Congress Ministry to pay heed to the popular mood, let alone resign and order fresh elections.

The exact opposite is the truth. Our nation and our democratic system have been made the victims of the narrowly partisan interests of the Congress. As a matter of fact partisanship and prejudice could scarcely have been carried further.

Crudest of all is the feigned indignation displayed by the Parliamentary Board at, what it chooses to call the "frequent use of the coercive apparatus of the State" by the Kerala Ministry. Every impartial observer has been struck by the tolerance displayed by the Communist-led Government, by the extreme patience and restraint it has displayed. Meetings have not been banned, the Opposition leaders have not been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act, despite their flagrant calls to violence and their appeals to the officials to disobey orders and paralyse the administration. No other State Government can show a similar record in its dealings with the Opposition.

The Parliamentary Board claims that "the present deadlock" is a natural consequence of the spontaneous feelings of the Malayalee people; the result of a "mass upsurge". On the contrary, it is precisely the result of a cold blooded and premeditated attempt to paralyse the administration in Kerala. It is the logical outcome of the shameless alliance that the Congress has forged with the rabid communal forces to oust the democratically elected Ministry. Suppressing this basic fact the Parliamentary Board has given an alibi and green signal to the patently unconstitutional and violent "liberation war" that its local plenipotentiaries are now actively engaged in.

The Parliamentary Board, flouting all public opinion, has virtually endorsed both the alliances and the tactics of the Kerala Congress, which have already earned the censure of many throughout India who are far removed from the Communist Party.

partisan stand and utterly unworthy of the premier political organisation in the country. It is a stand which will stigmatise the Congress leaders as, above all, leaders in discrimination.

Kerala Congress, shunned by its own people and fearful of their advance.

The Parliamentary Board refers to the small majority that the Communist-led Ministry enjoys in the Assembly and to the fact that it received a minority of votes in the elections. In its mendacity it seems to have forgotten Orissa, where the Congress Ministry was kept in office despite a defeat in the legislature. It chooses to overlook the fact that only in Mysore has the Congress won a majority of votes. It seems to have forgotten what happened in Madras after the 1951-52 General Elections, when a Congress Ministry was installed despite the larger number of seats won by the Opposition. It scarcely lies in its mouth to talk of small majorities and minority votes.

Carried away by its own bias, the Parliamentary Board has asked for an enquiry into the police firings in Kerala. Does it imagine that the people of India have neither intelligence nor memory? Where was the Parliamentary Board when mass police butchery took place in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Punjab? Why did it not then direct its Ministries to immediately institute judicial enquiries? Are even the dead to be made the sport of discriminatory politics?

It is nothing short of amazing that the Parliamentary Board did not instruct its Kerala partymen to accept the extremely conciliatory offer of the Kerala Ministry made in response to the advice given by the Prime Minister. It passes normal understanding how the Board could remain silent over this offer, nothing even approaching which has ever been made by any Congress ministry to its opposition.

Putting a premium on violent activity, the Parliamentary Board, through its proposal for elections, has indulged in a crude manoeuvre to attempt to deceive public opinion, which was—and is—highly critical of the "Direct Action" and "Liberation War". This is nothing but an attempt to put a "democratic" garb over a totally reactionary and unconstitutional movement.

It is clear from the numerous press comments and other public reaction that this manoeuvre of the Parliamentary Board has not deceived anybody. Its calculations have been totally belied—democratic opinion is alert and angry.

Deliberately blind to realities the Parliamentary Board asserts that many who had supported the Kerala Government have now

The Parliamentary Board has shown rather conspicuously hypocritical concern for developmental activities, for planned economic advance. It is well known that the Congress in Kerala has taken the lead in refusing all co-operation to any and every activity of the Government. It is scarcely concealed from anybody that the present agitation is itself meant to prevent the Ministry from implementing its proposals to increase the wealth of the State, the well-being of its

The preposterous demand has been made by it that the entire Kerala Education Act be suspended. This is tantamount to the Congress leadership asking the Kerala Ministry to hand over the thousands upon thousands of school teachers to the tender mercies of the rapacious and revengeful managers, to abdicate from its responsibilities to this long-suffering section of people.

The Kerala Ministry has neither lost any by-elections nor suffered any defeat in the legislature. It has not committed any breach of the Constitution nor has it refused to discuss and compromise with the Opposition. It has even offered to accept the arbitration of the Prime Minister—the leader of the very party which violently opposes it. What right, then, has the Parliamentary Board to ask for its resignation and for mid-term elections? This pseudo-democratic demand will fool nobody.

In face of this fresh assault against democracy the masses throughout the country, all who are anxious that the Indian Constitution be preserved, must mobilise with unprecedented unity and rapidity. Their strength had compelled reaction to retreat and to manoeuvre. This same strength must now rebuff the new conspiracy, and totally upset the plans of the subverters of our parliamentary democracy.

It should be remembered that this Act received Presidential assent not only after it had been twice passed by the State legislature, but that the Supreme Court had also pronounced its verdict. And now this has to be scrapped.

The Parliamentary Board has passed its criminal resolution only because the efforts within Kerala to paralyse the administration have completely failed. The schools function normally—a woeful fiasco for the Catholic-Nair communalists and their Con-

The members and friends of the Communist Party have done a magnificent job. There can, however, be no resting for them now, no passivity in face of the new threat. The campaign has to race forward in every city and village. The Communist Party must go all out in the coming days to gather together the forces of democracy into an invincible phalanx. Every single person must be approached and diverse methods—meetings, processions, door-to-door canvassing—used to ensure that from all over our broad land and from all the hearts of our great people a single slogan reverberates—Hands off Kerala!

Full Text Of Central Executive Committee Resolution On Back Page





# THE REAL UPSURGE IN KERALA

The Congress, PSP and the rest of the "Liberation War" crowd both inside and outside Kerala have been tom-tomming everywhere that the Communist-led Government in Kerala has lost the "mandate" of the people to rule since it no longer enjoys the support of the people.

RI Mannom, however, quite crossed the limits of reality when he said during his interview with Prime Minister Nehru, that only about 200,000 Communists and their sympathisers stood with the Government and the rest of the 14.98 million people of Kerala were against the Government.

Kerala, however, during the last few weeks has seen an unprecedented mass upsurge in favour of the Government. This upsurge is not of the drawing-room crowd of wealthy lawyers, Nair Landlords or Catholic Bishops.

The upsurge today in Kerala is of the ordinary people, workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, fishermen, intelligentsia and the other sections of the toiling people—Harijans, Ezhavas, Nairs, Catholics. They have all one faith—faith in the Communist Party, faith in their Government, faith in democracy and faith in Socialism. They came with grim determination to defend the Government which they have put in office with their own sacrifices.

Unlike the odd rallies of the "Liberationists" held in big cities and towns, the rallies of the Communist Party and mass organisations have been spread throughout the length and breadth of the State.

Trivandrum city has never seen a bigger mass rally than the one held on June 24 to proclaim the people's support to the State Government. In the giant demonstration participated in by tens of thousands of people, slogans like "Kerala Government is not against the toiling Catholics", "Kerala Government is not against the toiling Nairs" etc., etc., rent the air. The procession and the grand rally was a fitting reply to those who say that the Communist Government has lost people's support.

The procession was led by Communist MPs: Eswara Iyer, M. K. Kumaran, and V. P. Nayar. In spite of pouring rains, the procession wound its way through the streets of Trivandrum for four miles before it reached the place of the public meeting. The audience—estimated at 125,000—was addressed among others by Comrade A. K. Gopalan.

On June 23, Alleppey saw one of the biggest mass rallies in the recent history of the town. Everywhere the emphasis was on the unity of the people, on the necessity to defend democracy against reaction and to defend the Communist Government and the gains of the people.

At Ollur on June 23, a huge rally was held under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, Karshaka Sangham, Students' Federation, Youth League etc. Ollur, reputed to be a place particularly susceptible to Church influence, had never seen such a vast gathering of people. A large number of people came from neighbouring areas which culminated in a meeting which

was addressed by K. K. Warrier, M.P.

On June 26, the trade unions of Kozhikode organised a vast demonstration of workers in and around the city to proclaim that the workers are not going to join the INTUC-called hartal on June 29 against the Kerala Government.

On June 22, the peasants of Feroke and surrounding areas joined together in a mighty demonstration of solidarity with the Kerala Government and to protest against the saboteurs. The meeting, one of the biggest held in this town, was addressed by Comrade P. R. Nambiar.

Punalur, a rather remote village, saw a historic meeting of 20,000 people on June 22 to protest against the Liberation-warmongers and the school-closure walls.

These are a few samples of the meetings after meetings, rallies after rallies, proces-

In fact, the headmasters of a private school in Vamanapuram of the Trivandrum district has opened the school despite the manager's instructions to the contrary.

Many tutorial institutions in Quilon and Kottayam districts are freely functioning, although the opening of the regular educational institutions in this area was officially put off to a later date.

Mention this by way to show the kind of fervour people here have for education. Of course, these tutorial institutes have nothing to do with the controversial Education Act.

In Pirappangodu of the Trivandrum district the Nair boys and girls together with the Ezhavas children happily pursue their studies. The teacher who showed them to me felt proud of the fact that they had no trouble in their place.

Equally noteworthy was the fact that on the very Ankamal Day which was put down for mourning by opposition parties the Communist leaders were able to draw attentive and interested audiences on the roadside in front of their party offices from where

they took a turn each in explaining the different facts of the present agitation against the Communist Ministry.

They also expressed grief at the death of ordinary people from police shooting which, however, they qualified was unfortunately necessitated by provocative acts of violence.

They had a mike and a loud-speaker to broadcast their talks and this happened in Muvattupuzha and two other places between that place and Ernakulam. The mourning black flags of the opposition parties were also seen raised on high posts particularly in front of such spots.

Impartial observers say that even now the situation can be remedied and it is quite in the hands of Mr. Nehru to do so. They suspect that the Kerala Congress leaders may not be enthusiastic to have Mr. Nehru here just now lest their opportunity should slip off their hand and the movement against the Ministry fizzle out.

K. P. S.

# Do Not Align With Forces Of Reaction

## Christian Leaders Call To Kerala Catholics

Twelve Christian leaders, prominent in public life in Bangalore have asked the Churches in Kerala seriously to consider their responsibility at the present time to give to the people the right lead so that by whatever action they take now, they will strengthen, and not in any way weaken, the democratic framework of our political life.

In a joint statement issued in their "personal capacity" here today on the Kerala situation, they said the situation that had developed in Kerala caused great anxiety to everyone concerned about preserving the democratic structure of the Constitution. The Christian leaders in Kerala had also made pronouncements committing themselves as supporters of the present agitation. "In joining with other communal and political groups", the statement said, "they have

not explained their methods or goals as in any way distinct from the other groups. This fact is a little disconcerting," it added.

The signatories include Mr. Samuel R. Ranganathan, President, Council of the Y.M.C.A.s of India and Ceylon, the Rev. Harry J. Daniel, General Secretary, Student Christian Movement of India, Bangalore, and Mr. K. Abraham, Secretary, Bangalore Christian Council.

The signatories asked the Christian leaders in Kerala

to make it clear that their "misgivings" were in regard to the educational policy of the State Government and that it was not at all their intention to resort to "unconstitutional" methods to overthrow the Government.

"More than all, the Christians will refuse to be party to any form of violent agitation which would lead to destruction of life and property and interfere with programmes of economic reconstruction; nor will they align themselves with the forces of reaction, communalism and class-hatred which would result in the break-up of that sense of national community and the Rule of Law that are still in the process of being established in the country," they said.

The Christian leadership in Kerala, they continued, had a great responsibility to end the present "impasse" and they suggested that as a first step it might well accept the Government's invitation to attend the Round Table Conference to thrash out the differences in relation to the educational policy of the Government.

The Government in their turn, would have to adopt a far more responsive attitude than they had shown so far, to meet the just demands of the voluntary agencies and ally their "legitimate fears". Failure of such parleys might necessitate exercise of the constitutional rights of the management on "strictly legal lines," they said.

They observed that as Christians, they were committed to uphold an order of society in which individual freedom and social justice were guaranteed by political institutions. The Constitution provided for a Government under law elected by the free exercise of the franchise of

### Bonus announcement

The Life Insurance Corporation has pleasure in announcing the results of the First Valuation of its Assets and Liabilities as at 31st December 1957. The valuation covers all policies issued by the Life Insurance Corporation as well as those issued by the erstwhile insurers whose assets and liabilities have vested in the Corporation. These comprise 56,83,414 policies assuring a sum of Rs. 1,472,81,31,684 including bonuses and 11,539 annuities for Rs. 72,80,120 per annum. The valuation discloses a gross profit of Rs. 33.04 crores.

The Life Insurance Corporation Act vests the Corporation with the power to classify policies for the purpose of declaring differential bonuses wherever necessary. The Corporation has formulated a provisional scheme of differential bonus and has grouped the policies issued by the different insurers into 7 Groups for the purpose of declaring differential rates of bonus according to the financial strength of the insurer concerned.

**PAYMENT OF BONUS:** Pending finalisation of the scheme of differential bonuses, bonus at the rates given in the table below would be payable only in respect of policies becoming claim by death or maturity after the date of valuation and before the final scheme of differential bonus is approved by Government. The Corporation hopes to work out this final scheme of differential bonus shortly and get Government's approval to the same. As soon as the scheme is finalised the Government's approval is obtained, bonus according to that scheme would vest in the policies. It is expected that the rates of differential bonus finally declared would not differ materially from the rates now declared on policies becoming claims by death or maturity.

The rates of bonus applicable to the various Groups are given in the following table:

GROUP	Rates of Bonus per annua per thousand sum Assured:	
	Endowment	Whole Life
	Rs.	Rs.
1. Special Group	16.80	21.00
2. Group I	14.00	17.50
3. Group II	11.20	14.00
4. Group III	8.40	10.50
5. Group IV	5.60	7.00
6. Group V	Nil	Nil

In addition, there is a Miscellaneous Group of policies which will be dealt with in a special manner in view of the different methods of distribution of profits adopted by the old insurers concerned. Detailed information giving names of the insurers included in each Group will appear in Leading Newspapers on June 20th, 21st and 22nd.



Life Insurance Corporation of India

### Work For Social Justice

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the very people who ought to be concerned about social justice had not sufficiently cooperated with the programmes for social and economic reforms initiated by the Government such as the Land Reforms Act and the Anti-Dowry Act, they pointed out.

The present situation in Kerala, they said, had been created by the "persistence" the Government had shown in the passing of the Education Act and the rules thereunder in "total disregard of the sentiments of large sections of the people."

"We recognise the State's responsibility in the field of Education, but this does not preclude the Church and other voluntary agencies from

### Preparing Way For Overthrow Of Democracy

#### —Palme Dutt's Warning

**DJAKARTA TELEGRAM TO CPI**

**THE** Indonesian Communists and working people are following with full interest the Kerala developments. We hope and are convinced that the situation will be mastered and the Communist Government be more consolidated in this State.—D. N. Aidit, General Secretary, Communist Party of Indonesia.

of the support of the people. "Where do Nehru and the All India Congress Government stand in relation to all this? At his Press Conference on June 10, Nehru declared that he was 'opposed to the use of unconstitutional means to overthrow the Government.' He was 'disturbed' at the introduction of communalism, with special reference to the Nair Service Society and Catholic organisations in Kerala; he was 'opposed to any picketing of schools.'

"But then came the characteristic facing-both-ways addition (just as over Tibet) that there seemed to be 'strong feeling' of large sections of the people. He made no attempt to deal with the tactics of the local Congress, or call on them to cease participation in the anti-democratic campaign.

"The attack on democracy in Kerala is of international concern. It is the counterpart, within Indian conditions, of the Algiers plot which placed de Gaulle in power in France, or the overthrow of democracy in Pakistan."

### Chief Minister's Statement At End Of Sri Nehru's Visit

**T**HE following is the text of the statement issued by the Kerala Chief Minister, on June 25 after the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit to the State.

"My colleagues in the Council of Ministers and myself had the opportunity of discussing with the Prime Minister the present situation in the State. At some stage or other of these discussions, he gave us his views on certain important problems with which various sections of the people of our State are concerned.

"We gave our anxious consideration to his views and the advice that he tendered to us. I would like to inform the people that according to us, the suggestions that he has made to us would pave the way for the solution of the problems which are facing us all.

"While he has made it unmistakably clear that he does not approve of the methods of Direct Action adopted by the Opposition in their 'liberation struggle' he was convinced that large sections of the people in this State entertain feelings of distrust and dissatisfaction towards the Government and he advised us to take measures to assuage these feelings. We assured him that we would do our best to meet all the reasonable and legitimate points that they have to make with regard to any problem and that we would try to redress all the legitimate grievances.

"The point, therefore, is that the specific problems that have given rise to this feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction should be examined and the justifiability or otherwise of this feeling properly assessed. He agreed with this and offered his suggestions with regard to the three major questions which are before the public today.

"The first major question is

### Chief Minister's Statement At End Of Sri Nehru's Visit

the Education Act. He advised us to have the seriously controversial provisions of the Act discussed with the leaders of the various Christian Churches, other managers of schools, and other interests. The aim of these discussions should be to evolve an agreed solution.

"But, if unfortunately, no such agreed solution is arrived at on one or other point, they may be referred to the Prime Minister who would advise all affected parties as to the proper course to be adopted. He further suggested that a proper atmosphere for such a discussion should be created if we temporarily suspend the operation of such controversial provisions.

"This is an approach which, according to us, is acceptable. We are, therefore, issuing invitations to Bishops, the NSS and other corporate managers and to the Managers' Association for a discussion. Since the points raised during the course of discussion with the managers are those in which the teachers organisations and organisations of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Communities are also interested, we would be having discussions with them as well. If the discussion with these three major interests affected by the Education Act reveal any difference in approach among them, we may have a joint discussion with their representatives in order to iron out these differences.

"We hope that these organisations would respond to our invitation, thereby facilitating the fulfilment of the desire expressed by the Prime Minister and fully shared by all those who are interested in finding a peaceful solution to the problem.

"I am sure that the Prime Minister's assurances to personally go into any issue that remains unresolved in the course of these discussions will guarantee that we would ultimately arrive at a solution that should satisfy all the interests involved.

"As regards the suspension of the implementation of the Education Act, we are prepared to suspend the most controversial of its provisions—Section 11. If there are any other provisions which are found, as a result of discussion, to require amendment or suspension, we would be prepared for the same.

"The second important question on which the Prime Minister gave his suggestion is the question of examining the various complaints that the Opposition has been making against the Government. These complaints have collectively come to be known as the 'Opposition charge-sheet'. We explained to the Prime Minister that we have always been prepared to have every complaint examined and explained to them or in any case in which there has been some remission on our part, to have it rectified.

"We pointed out to him that the catalogue of complaints passed on to us by Sri Dhebar last year was examined by us and a reply given. If it had been pointed out to us then that our reply was unsatisfactory, we would have been prepared to have it further examined. We are even now prepared to have these, or other complaints examined.

"The Prime Minister suggested that the various specific complaints that went to make up the 'charge-sheet' may be examined by the representatives of the Opposition and the Government, and that if after such an examination here, disagreement remained on any item, these may be referred to the Prime Minister for his examination and advice to all the parties concerned. Anxious as we are to remove any misapprehensions or doubts in the minds of our people and also with a view to rectify the mistakes,





Girl in national costume welcoming poet Rabindranath Tagore in Prague, 1921.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA PREPARING FOR TAGORE CENTENARY

Czechoslovakia is proud of her rich tradition of interest in the literary work of Rabindranath Tagore as well as of the long-standing tradition of Tagore research. It is, therefore, natural that the preparations for the Rabindranath Tagore centenary—due only two years' hence—are already in full swing in Czechoslovakia.

A special committee headed by Minister Zdenek Nejedly, President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, has been set up last year to organise the preparations for the centenary and ensure its dignified celebrations.

The focal point of the celebrations will be commemorative meetings in Prague and Bratislava devoted to the great Indian poet. Also other regional and district towns throughout the country intend to hold similar meetings to mark the memory of Tagore. Guests from India will be invited to participate in the centenary celebrations here.

Numerous cultural institutions—the Czechoslovak Radio, the television stations, the Theatre of Music in Prague and other theatres will mark the centenary by special programmes. Translators are already working on the Czech translations of Tagore's plays which are going to be performed by Czechoslovak theatres.

A one-year stipend for a Bengali writer or translator will be offered in the Tagore year for someone who would learn Czech in Czechoslovakia and would be willing through translating some of the best works of Czech literature into Bengali, to contribute to the strengthening of the friendship between the nations of Czechoslovakia and India.

Last year the first volume of the "Selected Works" of Rabindranath Tagore was published in Czech by the State Publishing House for Belle Lettres in Prague. This first volume contained 150 poems and two of Tagore's dramas in verse.

This year the second volume

with this novels "Gora" and "Two Sisters" will be published. Next year the third volume, containing a large selection of Tagore's stories, "Letters from Russia", articles, addresses and letters will be published.

In addition other Czechoslovak publishing houses are preparing new translations of Tagore's works, an information booklet on him and an original Czech monograph on his life and work.

The Czechoslovak Rabindranath Tagore Centenary

—DUSAN ZBAVITEL

## CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH INDIA

WITH the signing of the Indo-Czech cultural agreement, the cultural relations between our two friendly countries have been formalised.

There is a rich background to this agreement, especially since we won our freedom and the Czechs threw off Nazi oppression.

In 1954 Srimati Chandrasekhar, then deputy minister of Health in the Central Cabinet, led the first Indian cultural delegation to Czechoslovakia. In the same year Do Bigha Zamin won one of the main prizes at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival. In 1956 Devasdas was similarly awarded a prize while in 1957 Raj Kapur and last year Nargis carried off the awards for acting at the same Festival.

Exhibitions of our classical and modern paintings, visits by classical dance troupes as well as a delegation of Indian writers are among the how of our culture to Czechoslovakia.

A notable event was the visit of the second Indian cultural delegation, led by Central Deputy Minister, Sri Anil Chandra in 1956.

From Czechoslovakia a cultural delegation came in 1956 while a puppet theatre enthralled Indian audiences this year. In addition a folk dance troupe, the Smetana Quartet and virtuosos of the piano and violin have performed before large audiences in our major cities. The exhibition of Czech modern glass also drew wide attention.

It is impossible to enumerate all the translations of Indian literature into Czech and Czech works on India, to say nothing of the exchange of students and grants of scholarship.

With the signing of the agreement we may expect the cultural ties and interchanges between our two peoples to be further strengthened and enriched.

NEW AGE

## BOOK REVIEW

**POLICE IN A WELFARE STATE** by V. R. Krishna Iyer. Foreword by Sri N. C. Chatterjee. Asia Book Centre, 145/48 Chanakyapuri, New Delhi, Price 75 nP.

ALL the Communist-led government began to function, the 'rulers of our destiny' had gone on blithely unaware that a socialistic society needed a socialistic police policy. Law and order had conceptually, and in practice, remained all the familiar imperialist stench.

Determined to change this, intent on breaking new ground the Kerala Ministry was confronted with the difficulties that pioneering entails. All the fertile stresses of such pioneering are evident in this tentative yet conclusive brochure. Tentative as far as the solutions are concerned, conclusive when it comes to making the take-off to a new level of police-public relations—the dynamic Sri Krishna Iyer has done refreshing work.

Beginning with the new ideals set before our people by the Constitution and the declared national objectives, the author makes a powerful plea for a radical change in the laws—penal codes, etc.—under which we live.

Pointing to the many lacunae he states: "The gap in the law cannot be bridged by executive policy alone. The play of executive policy is limited by the law. If the rule of law were to prevail in a democracy, it is imperative that the law should not lag behind public opinion and should change with the changing needs of society."

Failure to make such changes puts certain well-nigh insuperable obstacles in the path of making of the police genuine servants of democracy—democracy, that is, of the 99 per cent.

Within the existing laws, however, changes in attitude accompanied by changes in operational techniques of the police are quite feasible and necessary. It is in the suggestions made in this connection that the seminal powers of the author's intellect are most in evidence.

The advances in the technique of detection, the new methods of handling crowds, the need for change in the system of recruitment—on all these topics a series of ideas are brought forward. Equally invigorating are the remarks made on juvenile delinquency and the problems presented by the women police.

Of outstanding importance, however, are the different directions pointed out for the democratisation of the police, if one may use that phrase. Suggestions are advanced for a local police directly under the panchayats, for the association of the people "with the functioning of the police at least in a loosely advisory role", for the need to "give the police, in a systematic way, frequent opportunities for establishing fellowship with the people" for a code of discipline and the "right of the police to organise themselves and the alternative of some machinery at various levels like Whitley Councils through which the policeman may ventilate his grievances."

It is of interest to note that both Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer

and Sri N. C. Chatterjee, in his terse and instructive foreword, have been deeply impressed by the system of procurator-generals obtaining in the Soviet Union which acts as "a safeguard against abuse of powers by executive officials, of violation of the law by citizens."

There are certain remarks on popular struggles and agitations which are likely to need critical revision in some future edition, but these are minor blemishes on an otherwise splendid presentation of one of the key problems confronting our young parliamentary democracy.

—Mohit Sen



**ABHIMANYU KI ATMA-HATYA**, by Rajendra Yadava. Vishva Sahitya, 5161, Rajmandi, Agra. Price Rs. 3/-.

NOT Premchand, not Bharatendu, not Kallidas even, but the Adi Kavi Valmiki himself will turn pale with envy (of course, in his grave) if he learnt of the great short story *Abhimanyu Ki Atma-hatya*, written by one of his descendants Sri Rajendra Yadava, wherein *Abhimanyu* of the Mahabharata has been resurrected and reborn—this time by the author himself. And why?

Thus speaks *Abhimanyu* to the Lord himself:

"While you gave me life, you gave me an 'ego' too, gave me the feeling of 'I am'. And my 'I' has the right to refuse to break open, enter and come out of my *chakrav-yuha*."

And further: "Why should I live? For whom? What has this life given me? Only unending struggles... Shattered illusions, treachery and humiliation."

And so *Abhimanyu* goes to jump into the ocean. But he returns, as Shiva did, carrying the corpse of Sati on his shoulders.

"And that was the corpse of my *atma*..." says *Abhimanyu*.

The story is not told so crudely. In fact it is told very artistically. But its substance can be thus summed up.

Frustration. Morbidity. Not even romantic idealism, but romantic defeatism, if you like. Such is the burden of this and the last story (*Khule Pankh: Tootie Daine*) of this collection. The heroine Meenal (of the last story) who stands up against her own blood relations for the defence of her self-respect her future dreams, succumbs to sexual frustration at the amorous appeals of a boob, eight years younger than her (strangely enough an M. A. student).

Of course, I do not claim that there is no frustration, no morbidity in our society today. It is there. And it is the birth-right of any and every professional artist to depict it as and when he likes. All great writers have used these elements to rouse, directly or indirectly, the popular wrath against such

\* SEE PAGE TWELVE

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# CHIAMBBA

## STORY OF A BEGGAR GIRL

BY SHAN CHAO

LHASA, City of Sunshine, is radiant throughout the year. On one such lovely Lhasa day I went to the Motor Repair and Assembly Plant in the outskirts, one of the industrial establishments which were built by the Central authorities, of which there are few owing to the obstruction of the reactionary former local government leaders. My purpose was to call on a Tibetan working woman who used to be a beggar.

Seeing the way she deftly and confidently handled her machine, it was difficult to imagine that this pair of hands had held a beggar's bowl and stick not long ago. She had been a beggar since childhood, and, therefore, was not attached to the land of serfowners like the majority of the serfs.

Chiamba stopped her machine when I asked her how she was getting on and picked up a steel nut which she had just made. "Two-thirds of the day's quota done before the noon break," she said.

It was time for lunch and I accepted her invitation to go to her home for the meal. Chiamba's mother was standing at the threshold waiting. Seeing there were guests, the old lady darted indoors after a hurried, warm greeting and began adding more mutton to the lunch tray.

No sooner were we seated at the table when she put the *tsamba* (parched barley meal) bowls and the butter-tea cups in front of us and asked me, "Are you used to *tsamba* yet? Perhaps I had better cook you some noodles?" "You seem to be stocked up like a restaurant!" I joked when we began eating, Tibetan style.

"As a matter of fact," rejoined the old lady who proved to be much more talkative than her daughter, "there are not many things at the department store nowadays that we haven't got in the house." She added, "Just as well you did not visit us in the old days. We could not even have offered you a cup of *tsamba* and water!"

"Ah, those miserable days!" The old lady could hardly keep back her tears, as though her own words had opened a flood of memories. "Her father was a blacksmith and so was considered among the lowest of the low! He was not even allowed to enter the gate of the well-to-do who summoned him to work. And poor Chiamba was born in a dog's stable!"

"Mamma, what's the use of repeating the miserable old tale over again now? Let the guests finish their meal in peace!" Chiamba remonstrated.

"How can I stop telling it. These are our true friends!" the old woman answered and immediately continued, turning to us, "Don't be taken in by her dressed-up finery. She hasn't always been so dainty. She grew up naked without a rag to her back till her early teens, till it grew obvious that she really wasn't fit to be seen like that. Her father, who died of starvation, and I then cut up some of our own rags and made

her a skirt.

"When the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet, she was seventeen. The local scoundrels and gangsters were always trying to insult her. And lackeys of the noble families came to me saying, 'Why not send Chiamba to a big house to be a servant? She'll be better off there than half-starving and snubbed all



Chiamba at work.

the time here! But I knew better than to send my own flesh and blood into the mouths of hungry wolves!

"When Chiamba first met members of the Liberation Army, it was as though she recognised her own kin. She began doing everything the way they did. She started working on a bit of waste waste land and sowed barley when the Liberation Army men began turning large tracts of virgin soil into food producing land.... Now, Chiamba, don't just sit there gorging yourself. Say something about how you felt to the guests."

Chiamba wiped her mouth and tried hard to express herself. "Now, how can I best describe it... it gave me strength just to see them around. How can I tell it... I just wanted to be with them..."

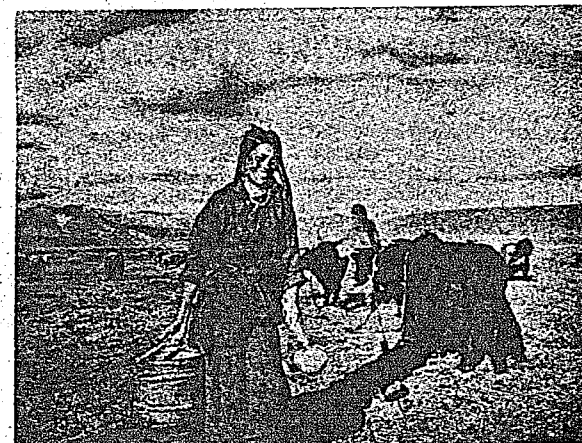
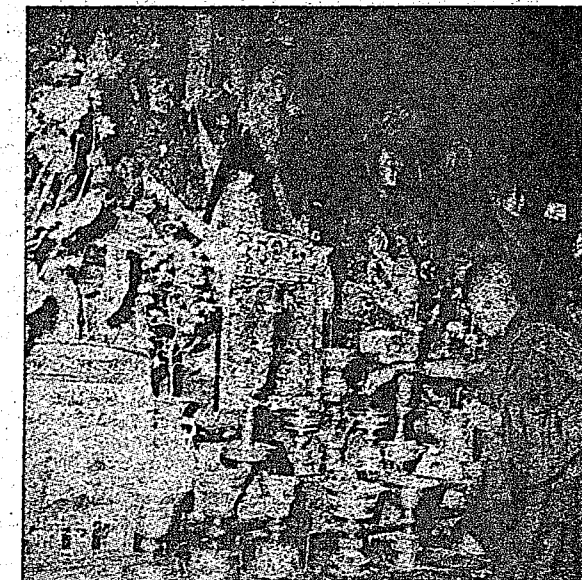
"Please excuse her for not talking!" interrupted her mother, "She's no good at saying what she feels. Let me tell you. Well, finally the day came when she could stand it no more. So she went to a Liberation Army officer and pleaded, 'Will you please take a woman soldier? I can work better than a man...'"

The officer looked at her and saw a poor girl in tears standing there, her bare feet rubbing one against the other, and scars on both her ankles.

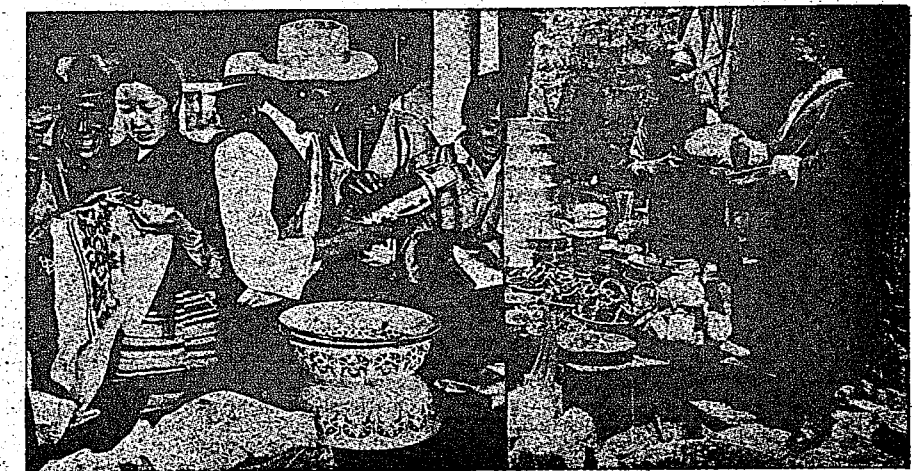
"The officer gave her a handkerchief to wipe her tears, which made her cry still more. At last the officer asked, 'Is your family willing to let you come?' She said, 'There is only my mother. She keeps alive by begging. My father starved to death long ago. The noblemen's lackeys pester me every day...'"

"The Liberation Army officer asked, 'How did you get so many scars on your legs?' She said, 'These are gifts from the rich people: they set their dogs on me when I went to their places begging.' "The officer himself shed a few tears when he heard about her wretched life. He then patted Chiamba on the shoulder and asked her where she lived. 'Til come for you

## TIBETAN LIFE TODAY



First picture above taken on June 4, 1959, shows Buddha images kept intact in the Daiping Monastery of Lhasa where lamps are lit night and day as usual. Second picture shows PLA man helping Tibetan peasants in harvest. Third is picture of a herdsman who has just milked the yak. Picture below shows Lhasa people shopping in their well-stocked market.



NEW AGE

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# SHAMELESS PROPOUNDING OF DOUBLE STANDARDS

The Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution at its meeting which concluded on June 30 in Trivandrum:

THE resolution adopted by the Congress Parliamentary Board on Kerala is, in the opinion of the Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, unworthy of the leadership of the party which is ruling at the Centre and in 13 out of the 14 States in the country.

The major demand which the resolution makes on the Government of Kerala is that fresh elections should be conducted to test whether the Government enjoys the confidence of the majority of the electorate. This demand is supported by arguments which the Board is not prepared to apply to the other 13 States of the country or to the Centre. The Board thus adopts one standard for the non-Congress-governed State of Kerala and another for Congress-governed States and the Centre.

The Board agrees that "normally a government continues to function for the full period of five years as laid down in the Constitution". A departure from this normal rule can be made only when "a situation has arisen in which the Government of a State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

If the Board's opinion is that such a situation has arisen in Kerala, then the obvious course for it is to advise the Central Government to act accordingly. The Board does not propose to have recourse to this step for the obvious reason that the situation in Kerala today is such that such provisions of the Constitution cannot be applied.

## New Arguments

The Parliamentary Board, therefore, advances a new argument. It argues that though the Government of Kerala enjoys the majority in the Assembly, it was elected on a minority vote; what is more, sections of people who had supported the Communist Party during the general elections have shifted their allegiance away from the Party and therefore the Party does not today enjoy even that much support which it did at the time of the general elections.

This would be a valid argument against any Government if it were to be uniformly applied to all of them as a general principle. The Parliamentary Board, however, did not discover this principle of democracy until it found it necessary to invent some argument against the continuance of the Communist-led Government of Kerala. Even today, it is not prepared to apply it to the Congress-governed states.

Let us remind the Parliamentary Board that the percentage of votes polled by the Congress in 1951-52 in the then Travancore-Cochin State was only 35.4, in Madras 35, in Orissa 37.4, in Hyderabad

38.01, in West Bengal 38.93, in Bihar 41.37, in Assam 43.9 etc. Yet the Congress had no hesitation in forming its Governments in these States on the ground that it is not the majority of votes polled, but the majority of seats secured that decides a party's competence to form a government. Even on this ground the Congress had no right to form its government in the then Madras and Travancore-Cochin States, yet the Congress manoeuvred itself into office without regard for any of the well-known principles of parliamentary democracy.

In the 1957 general elections too, the Congress secured only 38.21 per cent of the votes in Orissa, 41.90 per cent in Bihar, 42.40 per cent in Uttar Pradesh etc. Further in the State of Orissa the Congress could secure only a minority of seats (56 out of 140) in the Assembly and still it came forward to form the Ministry in the State.

As for "sections of the people shifting away," from their allegiance to the rul-

speaks of "the vast upsurge of public opinion and feelings against the present Government" and cites this as the main ground on which it demands fresh elections. It, however, does not and dare not, go into the nature and depth of the so-called mass upsurge.

All those who know about how the so-called "liberation movement" in Kerala developed know very well that the hard core of this movement consists of the Catholic Church. Though speaking in the name of large masses of the toiling people who are members of the community, the leaders of the Catholic Church have been up in arms against the Communist-led Government of Kerala because it has been implementing many social and economic reforms prejudicially affecting the landlord and capitalist classes.

The Education Act, the Land Reform Bill, the Panchayat and District Councils Bills—all these are measures which will strengthen the struggle of the toiling classes against their oppressors. That is why when leaders of the Catholic Church launched their movement against the Education Act, in the form of the school closure move-

Committee that if sufficient troubles were created, the Centre would intervene and dismiss the Ministry.

If the Pradesh Congress leaders had acted on their own and against the advice of the All-India leaders (as many well-meaning people originally thought) the Parliamentary Board could have sharply pulled them up for disobedience of instructions and for tarnishing the fair name of the Congress, with the record of such activities as directly or indirectly participating in and leading the picketing of schools, Government offices and transport buses. Not only does the Board fail to do this, but it even sanctions "peaceful token picketing".

Read in the background of the Pradesh leaders' talk of "further intensifying the struggle", and their publicly expressed hope of the Centre using clause 355 of the Constitution, it becomes clear that even at this stage the All-India leadership of the Congress would like the Pradesh Congress leaders to resort to such forms of direct action as would give a pretext for the Central Government to intervene.

It is regrettable that the Congress organisation in general and particularly Prime Minister

in the Congress will raise their voice of protest against this and demand that the leadership of the Congress reverse the position that has been taken in the Board's resolution.

## Writing Off Teachers' Gains

The CEC notes that even though the Parliamentary Board does not dare oppose the contents of the Education Act, it demands suspension of the entire Act. This would mean that all beneficial provisions of the Act such as direct payment of salaries to teachers, which has been a demand of the teachers for a long time, should be abandoned.

It should be pointed out that the Government has expressed its willingness to have the most controversial section of the Act—section 11—temporarily suspended with a view to discussing with the managers and other interests involved as to how a formula can be arrived at which would be satisfactory to all of them.

The Government has also expressed its willingness to make such amendments as are found to be necessary in course of discussion to other sections as well. This it will be admitted by all reasonable people should offer a fair basis for mutual discussion if the objective is to find a reasonable settlement. The Board's demand for suspending the entire Act is queering the pitch for the managers, who are determined to deny all that the teachers have been demanding for so long.

The Parliamentary Board's observation with regard to the "use of coercive apparatus" and its demand for judicial enquiry into frings would deceive nobody since the whole country is familiar with the record of the Congress Governments in the country.

The Board owes explanation to the whole country as to why it did not tender the same advice to the Government of Bombay which according to officially admitted statements shot down no less than 105 people in the city of Bombay in course of the anti-bilingual Bombay movement and has not to this date ordered any judicial enquiry and to several State Governments which did resort to frings, lathi-charges, preventive detention, wide-scale use of Section 144, etc. against normal trade union, kisan sabha and other mass agitations.

The CEC would like to point out to the Parliamentary Board and to the people of the country that it is this attitude of the Congress leadership and not the existence of the Communist-led Government in Kerala that hinders smooth implementation of developmental programmes in the country. The intolerance that the leadership of the Congress shows towards one non-Congress Government in the State of Kerala makes mockery of all its protestations regarding the need of national non-partisan approach to developmental activities. If the Board is earnest about removing impediments to developmental work in Kerala, its duty is to tell the Kerala Pradesh Congress leaders that it is their duty to cooperate with the Government of Kerala in all development work that it is doing.

## Communist Party Executive Shows Up Congress Game

ing party, this too has taken place in several Congress-governed States as can be seen from the results of innumerable bye-elections and local elections. Yet the argument now being advanced against the Government of Kerala was never advanced against the minority governments in Congress-governed States.

Moreover, there is no warrant for the assumption made by the Parliamentary Board that "a big change-over has taken place, among the people, and many of those who had supported the present majority party in the Kerala Assembly during the last elections have changed over and are opposing it." On the other hand, results of the only bye-election to the Assembly held during the last two years—that of Devikulam—and of several bye-elections to municipalities and panchayat boards show unmistakably that the political influence of the Communist Party in Kerala has increased rather than decreased. The mass campaigns organised by the Party are irrefutable proof to show that far bigger sections of the workers and peasants, agricultural labourers, middle classes, and so-called "backward communities" were more and more rallying themselves around the Communist Party than at the time of the last general election.

The Parliamentary Board

ment, they were joined by other sections of the vested interests represented by the Nair Service Society, who till then were stoutly opposed to the leaders of the Catholic Church. They were also joined by leaders of the Congress and other political parties who had successively received defeats at the hands of the electorate.

## Direct Encouragement

Even such a combination of communal organisations and defeated political parties would not have been able to build a movement of any considerable size had it not been for the fact that the All-India leadership of the Congress gave them direct encouragement.

The exchange of telegrams between some leaders of the All-India and the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committees shows that it was after the deliberations at Ooty among them that the Kerala Pradesh Congress leaders were encouraged to launch a campaign of direct action calculated to "paralyse the administration." It is now obvious that the Kerala Congress leaders declared their "Deliverance Day" and decided to start a campaign of picketing on the basis of hopes given by Sri Dhebar and other leaders of the All-India Congress

Nehru should have allowed themselves to be guided by narrow partisan interests and permitted such a conspiracy against the only State government which has taken the path of implementing those socio-economic programmes which the Congress has been asking its own State governments to implement.

It is regrettable that at the very time when the Government of Kerala successfully piloted the Agrarian Relations Bill and was on the point of finally passing the Panchayat Bill, Districts Councils Bill and Industrial Relations Bill—all of them measures which are heartily welcomed by wide sections of democratic public opinion—the Central leadership of the Congress should abet Pradesh Congress leaders in their efforts to remove that very Government whose continuance is the only guarantee that these measures will in fact be carried out.

It is further regrettable that in thus joining the conspiracy against the progressive government, the Congress organisation and the Prime Minister should ally themselves with avowedly communal groups like the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the Muslim League, many of whom make no secret of their determined opposition to agrarian reforms and other measures of social reform.

The Central Executive Committee, however, hopes that democratically-minded friends all over the country including those