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# NEW AGE

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## AYUB IS BACK AT IT

★ by P. C. JOSHI

After the Canal Waters Agreement and the Nehru-Ayub talks a big press build-up was organised for peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute as well and ever-growing Indo-Pak amity and unity but the real aim was something else. The New Age had warned against nursing any illusions with U.S. imperialists bossing the show on the Pak side. Our warning has come true, all too soon.

Addressing a rally of ex-soldiers on October 8 at Rawalkot, President Ayub said: "Some people in India think that as the Kashmir issue has been hanging fire for 13 years, people will forget it and Pakistan will accept a solution such as India wishes. That is far from the truth."

## WHO IS PRODDING HIM? WHY?

The political correspondent of the Hindustan Times, October 11, reveals the two alternative proposals which Ayub offered Nehru for a settlement of the Kashmir question. The Pak dictator's first choice was a joint Indo-Pakistan administration for the whole State more or less on the basis of Mr. Jinnah's well-known condominium proposal. This is the same old scheme which Pak pressed, with U. S. and Western help, for some years through the U. N. but failed to achieve.

His second alternative was to merge Jammu with India and Azad Kashmir with Pakistan and "an independent Valley with equal rights to trade, commerce and passage for the two countries." This again is nothing new but the old one that the U. S. diplomats sought to achieve through the ill-fated Sheikh Abdullah.

### Military Action Threat

Both proposals amount to liquidating Indian sovereignty over Kashmir and handing it over to U. S. control under one cover or the other, exactly what the U. S. imperialists have been plotting and conspiring to achieve for a long time, ever since the "birth" of this problem. Pak President did not leave the matter for further thou-

ght and peaceful talks after making the above proposals to Premier Nehru. Within two weeks of Nehru's departure from Pakistan, he proclaimed at Muzaffarabad: "The Pakistan Army can never afford to leave the Kashmir issue unsolved for an indefinite time." (Times of India, October 8)

Commenting on the above amazingly provocative speech, PTI reports: "Political observers said in Karachi that this was the first direct threat of military action to settle the Kashmir issue since President Ayub assumed power in October 1958."

### Words Of A Puppet

So Ayub has at last said what he had not said before. Ayub, the plain soldier, earnestly wanting peace with India? What do the faces now look like of the reactionary Indian politicians who did all they could to paint this picture of Ayub—the JPs, Masanis, Dr. Raghuviras and the like? How far do the hands of the scribes of the Times of India, Hindustan Times, Indian Express etc. shake now, when in the past they did all they could to popularise Ayub as a man of peace.

Are these words of neighbourly amity and of a leader seeking peace or the outrageously affected posture of war, of a puppet, with strings in somebody else's hands?

The American correspondents rushed up to Pandit Nehru in New York for his comments and he gave it back to them, calm, cool and polite: "It is comparatively difficult to live in unrealistic atmosphere and talk about things which have no relation to the present situation. The moment you touch it is like reopening Pandora's box. Things will come out all over, upset things everywhere and lead to migrations and so on." (Hindu, October 10)

It is only the very naive or the really crooked who will find Ayub's wordy somersault very difficult to understand. The first big thing to note is that Ayub is not his own master.

### Part Of U. S. Diplomacy

The second that U. S. diplomacy is all one piece, crude and clumsy on all counts, global and openly aggressive in the last resort. What happened in Indo-Pak relations recently is only a part of the big piece of what happened at New York in the U. N. General Assembly and at Washington in the World Bank Conference.

Let us note the dates of the bellicose speeches of the Pak dictator. They followed close upon Prime Minister Nehru's

## IMPERIALIST PROVOCATEURS' CAMPAIGN

## "NAGAS ON WAR PATH"

TAYA ZINKIN, the Indian Correspondent of the GUARDIAN, has won quite a deal of notoriety through her stories about our borders.

She has figured before, both in the Indian Press and Parliament. She goes all over the border areas and claims to know the persons who matter. She either manufactures or popularises just the stories that suit her masters. She goes wherever there is trouble only to create more trouble for India, maligns our foreign policy and flings mud at the Prime Minister and all the rest.

She is back at the job, again, the latest being her October 4 despatch in the Guardian, where she writes, "The Nagas are on war path again. Last month there was a series of raids on the Nagas who negotiated with the Indian Government for Nagaland."

### GUARDIAN DESPATCH

She quotes her doubles of the Times of India News Service to say that the underground Nagas have been killing Naga People's Convention members. She herself discovered that the Angami Nagas held "two public meetings challenging the competence of the Naga Peoples' Convention to speak for the Nagas with Delhi."

She holds Prime Minister Nehru responsible for "creating a vicious circle." By not proclaiming, that "elections would be held first to ascertain as to which Nagas should negotiate with Delhi, he created trouble."

### PLEA FOR PHIZO

Her further plea is, "It is enough to listen to Phizo, the nationalist even if terrorist, to realise that no solution is possible unless all the Nagas are associated with it." And she wants this done in a manner that her Phizo should emerge as the boss of Nagaland.

This is made abundantly clear by her demand that the Naga elections should be held "in an atmosphere of complete amnesty" and much more.

"Phizo should be allowed to canvass in person since

nothing else will convince the Nagas that Delhi is serious. There is still one British expert on elections in the Indian Civil Service; his presence would go a long way to make the Nagas feel that the voting is fair."

### FIVE-ACT PLAY

The September issue of the Eastern World, London, supplies the tail-piece. Commenting on the whereabouts and the hosts of Phizo in London, it writes, "his movements were better known to the U. S. Baptist Mission than even to Michael Scott."

The various scenes of the imperialist drama which they seek to enact in Nagaland are cleverly conceived and not merely on paper. The actual rehearsal is on.

SCENE ONE: Phizo men do the shooting and prevent peace and democracy come to Nagaland.

SCENE TWO: Phizo in London is given necessary training in the U. S. Baptist Mission not in practising piety but in running politics by Allen Dulles' boys masquerading as U. S. Baptist Missionaries.

SCENE THREE: Phizo comes back to Nagaland as the national hero and goes all out to run the election campaign. He does not lack U. S. dollars and British pounds in his pockets.

SCENE FOUR: A British civilian supervises the Naga elections and is given the cover of the Election Commission of India, in the same way as Dag Hammarskjold had the U. N. cover for operations in Congo.

SCENE FIVE: Not yet written but everybody can imagine it.

We have a very simple question to ask our Information Ministry, the Home Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry: Why should Taya Zinkin be allowed one day more the hospitality of India? She should be sent back home by the first available plane. She misuses the freedom of the Press in India to attack the freedom and integrity of India. She is an imperialist provocateur and no honest journalist.

















# DR. A. R. MENON

★ by E. H. S. NAHBOODIRIPAD ★

**D**R. A. R. MENON, Independent nationalist, who joined the Communist-led Ministry of Kerala and an Opposition MLA since February 1959, breathed his last in the afternoon of Sunday, October 9.

He had come to Trivandrum to attend the current sittings of the Legislature in which the Communist Opposition is fighting a determined battle against the attempts of the Congress and its allies in Kerala to reduce to a minimum the benefits which the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill confers on the landless and poor peasantry of the States.

## All-Party Tributes

His colleagues of the present Opposition in the legislature, his personal friends and political opponents in the ruling party, non-party people—all joined together in paying tributes to his honesty, integrity, fearlessness, non-partisan spirit and hatred for all that is unjust.

Warm references to his selfless services to the people were made in the Legislative Assembly in the morning of the 9th and the Assembly adjourned for the day as a mark of respect for his memory. Government offices were also closed for the day.

While tributes were thus being paid to his memory by prominent personalities in the public life of the State, his dead body was being taken from Trivandrum to Palghat, where he and his family have been living for the last several years, and from there to Chittoor where the ancestral family house of the late Doctor is situated. The body is to be cremated in the compound of the ancestral family house—a privilege allowed by the local Municipal Council to the eldest member of the Ambat family to which the Doctor belonged and of which he became the eldest member a few years ago (other citizens of the town are to be cremated in the public burial place).

## Lovable Old Man

I had the honour and privilege to go from Trivandrum to Palghat and from thence to Chittoor in the pilot car which went ahead of the ambulance van carrying the dead body of our departed elder statesman.

I was witness to several scenes at wayside places at which men, women and children were waiting for hours together to have their last glimpse of the great man. I was also witness to the final leave-taking ceremony at his ancestral house at which members of his family, relatives and local citizens gathered to witness the traditional rites being performed within the sacred precincts of the family house and at the crematorium.

Having seen both, I do not know which was more affectionate—the sense of fondness which the common people of Kerala have towards the sturdy fighter for democracy and for decent norms of behaviour in

public life; or the affectionate regard with which members of his family (a good number of whom have had sharp political differences with him and who even issued a joint statement dissociating themselves from his politics at the time of the last mid-term elections) have for their Karanavar (eldest member of the family) in whom they found, despite political differences, a lovable old man.

## People's Homage

The ambulance van carrying the dead body and the accompanying vehicles (including the car in which his wife and daughter were travelling) were to have started from Trivandrum at about 6 o'clock. It, however, could not start till about 9 o'clock. People over the 240-mile route had therefore to wait for long after midnight. And yet hundreds of people gathered even in small places with wreaths of flowers and, above all, their affectionate hearts. The numbers swelled into a few thousands at Trichur and Palghat. (Both these towns had the good fortune to have him as their Municipal Chairman for quite a number of years.) Several thousands were disappointed that all this took place in the night and they could not come and pay their last respects to him.

Among the people who gathered at various places were those who held various political views and came into contact with him in various capacities; they were all united in their respect for the man in Dr. A. R. Menon.

A veteran Congressman of Palghat, Sri M. Narayana Menon, told the public meeting held at Palghat to mourn his death: "I have known him intimately for the last few decades. I have seen him at work as the Chairman of the Trichur Municipal Council, as the Chairman of Palghat Municipal Council, as a member of Cochin and later on of the Travancore-Cochin Legislature, as the Health Minister of Kerala and, finally, as a member of the Opposition in the present Legislature of Kerala. I have worked with him, I have fought him. Out of all this emerged a bond of friendship between us which cannot break with his death."

## Eventful Career

The man who drew towards him such fulsome tributes even from his political opponents had an eventful career. A brilliant student in his day, young Ambat Ramunni Menon had his medical education in the U.K., from where he came back with great academic distinction. He set up practice and naturally won great renown as a successful surgeon and unerring physician.

He, however, did not confine himself to the life of a practising doctor, but threw himself earnestly into the non-cooperation movement and marked the blooming National Congress of Kerala with the stamp of his individuality.

A member of the AICC in the 'twenties, he gradually interested himself in the movement of the people of his own

State, Cochin, and of the States' people in general for responsible Government. One of the founder-members of the Cochin Congress, formed in 1937, he later on became a Minister of the State under the diarchic constitution introduced by the late Sir Shanmugham Chettiar, then Dewan of Cochin.

A nationalist to the core, he continued in the Congress and was a Congress member of the post-independence Cochin and Travancore-Cochin Legislatures. Nevertheless, he could not identify himself with various things that used to take place within the Congress; impatient with cant and hypocrisy, intolerant of corrupt practices, ignorant of personal and group intrigues, he flared up at such Congressmen as used their Congress membership for self-aggrandisement.

Many were the scenes that he made with such Congress leaders who brought discredit

to his leaders were even then intriguing for power.

I cannot but record here one incident which was characteristic of Dr. A. R. Menon and his relations with all honest nationalists. Sometime in 1938 there was a municipal election in Palghat. We, that is, the Socialists and other Leftists, were in a majority in the KPCC with myself as its Secretary; we wanted to put up a veteran Congressman of the Gandhian way of thinking, Sri R. V. Sharma, who knows no intrigues and who had no wires to pull for becoming Chairman, but who had only honesty and disinterestedness to support him. Rightist Congressmen did not like this and were intriguing among themselves.

Dr. Menon was then occupying such a position in the Congress and the Municipal Council of Palghat that, if he had any personal ambition, he could have intrigued and himself got the Chair-

stine glory, he began to see in us the continuators of the cause for which he had fought during his whole life. It was thus that he began to draw himself towards us in the later 1950's and in the end joined us in the 1957 General Elections.

I cannot but recall to my mind several talks that we had after the elections in which he had expressed the hope that a Communist-PSP-Independent Government would be formed; he tried his best to persuade his friends in the PSP to join such a coalition. We ourselves were inclined to that view and, readers will recall, we made a public offer to the PSP to form such a coalition, even though our Party with its independent allies had a clear majority. It was when the PSP contemptuously rejected this offer and when Dr. A. R. Menon independently came to the conclusion that the PSP was in no mood to accept his advice, that he threw himself heart and soul with us and joined our Ministry.

Even after joining our Ministry, he was anxiously watching whether we were being too hasty with our legislations. He used to give us the benefit of his long experience in public life and caution us against haste and indiscretion. At the same time, close comradeship and the sense of cooperation that developed between us slowly dissolved his early suspicions about us; he began to see in us trusted colleagues and comrades.

On the other hand, the indecencies and irresponsible attitude of the then Opposition towards our Government confirmed him in his worst fears of his old Congress colleagues and roused in him indignation and anger which he alone is capable of.

## "Swim Or Sink Together"

It was thus that he threw himself heart and soul into the defence of our Government and the celebrated passage in one of his speeches in which he declared that the Communists and their democratic allies would "swim or sink together". The more our political opponents indulged in their campaign of rabid anti-Communism, the closer he came to Communism, so that at the time of the recent mid-term elections he fought the election not with some symbol assigned to Independents but with the Communist Party's own symbol.

His political career was thus a part of the rapid change that has taken place in the political life of Kerala. And we of the Communist Party are proud that he, who was universally respected even by his worst political opponents, he who had no political philosophy except his deep attachment to the people and intense hatred of injustice, joined the ranks of our allies, though not the ranks of the Party itself.

We pledge to ourselves that, cherishing the traditions of decent public life that he built up, we will try to still further expand and strengthen the unity of the Communists and non-party democrats in order to more effectively serve our people.



Dr. A. R. Menon, while he was the Health Minister in the Communist-led Cabinet of Kerala, inspecting the mobile dental van presented to the Kerala Government by the All-India Trade Union Congress. The AITUC had received the van as a donation from the Trade Union Council of Czechoslovakia.

to the organisation and poisoned the political atmosphere of the State with their personal and group intrigues. Through all this, however, his loyalty to the organisation remained—but only up to a limit; and when that limit was reached, he bade good-bye to the Congress as an organisation even while continuing to be loyal to the cause for which he still believed the Congress stood.

## Supporter Of Just Causes

In the course of all these developments in his own and the State's political life he had been keeping a close watch on the Left wing in the national movement that was taking shape in the State. He used to give an attentive ear to those of us who had formed the Congress Socialist Party in the 'thirties and were trying to unite with all non-Socialist Leftists in the Congress in the struggle against the Right

manship. We (myself, then President of the KPCC the late Mohammed Abdur Rahman and the late Comrade Krishna Pillai) went to him and had a frank discussion with him on the situation and requested for his help. He gave us his full and generous support with which Sri Sharma got elected.

At no stage in his political career did he hold firm Leftist political views. I cannot, therefore, recall to my mind any stage in the development of the Socialist and Communist movement in Kerala in which he was our single "ally" in the traditional sense. Yet his services were available to us for innumerable causes when we were able to convince him that they were eminently just.

However, as he began to see how the Indian National Congress, in nurturing which he had played a notable part, was gradually deteriorating in its standards of public behaviour, particularly as he began to lose hopes of reviving it in its pri-