FACE TO FACE MEMORY WITH THE VOL. X, NO. 10 RIGHT DANGER



The Congress remains the national ruling party and will be the big dominant force over Indian reality and in charge of its course for the next five years. Alongside and as an integral part of the same process is the growing reality of the continuing loss of influence of the Congress, both on national and local scale.

T would be blindness if progressives outside the Congress did not take adequate stock of the dominant reality. Similarly it will be refusing to accept the verdict of the accept the verdict of the Indian people if thinking and honest elements inside the Congress fail to make an ago-nizing re-appraisal of the ne-gative aspects of their official policy and the significance of the decline of Congress influence

In the Lok Sabha the Con-In the Lok Sabha the Con-gres poll has declined from 47.7 8 per cent to 45.06 and its seats from 372 to 348. In all the State Assemblies put together, the Congress seats, have declined from 1,913 in 1957 to 1,768 in 1962.

1957 to 1,768 in 1962. The Congress publicists are stressing the improvement in Congress position in the four States of Assam, Gujarat, Ma-harashtra and West Bengal. The emerging challenge to Congress rule, from various

Congress rule, from various sources are, "the serious losses which the Congress has suffer-ed in eight States all the way from the Punjab to Madras, the defeats have been most grievous in Madhya Pradesh where its present massive ma-jority of 174 in a house of 288 has been converted in a minohas been converted in a mino-rity of four and in Rajasthan where its strength has been reduced from 119 in a house of 176 to 88". Such is the edi-torial estimate of the pro-Con-gress Hindu, (March 3). An integral part of the nu-merical and political decline of the Congress is the menacing rise of the Rightist political

the Congress is the menacing rise of the Rightist political parties both on the national and State planes, except where the Communists were strong.

Communist Vanguard

India can be proud of the fact that wherever, and in every State where the Comevery State where the Com-munists were in the position of the main opposition party, neither the Jana Sangh nor the Swatantra has been able the Swatantra has been able to make any headway while the PSP has suffered a deba-cle. The Communists have acted as the vanguard of the nation, barring the door to the entry of the Right in our country's, polity, wherever they were strong enough to do it.

It is in those States where It is in mose states where the Congress held overwhelm-ing sway and the PSP occupied the strategic position of the main opposition party that the Jana Sangh and Swatantra and the like have registered spectacular gains.

What should really shock all serious Congressmen is the grim fact that in eight States of the Union, their leadership adopted such a course that the reactionary Right has acquired

the status of the main opposi-tion and in the nation's Parliament, their representation has increased more than ever before.

The Prime Minister has been frank enough to admit "a move towards the Right in some States" as portrayed in the election results, in an inter-view given to the Yugoslav Borba

The PSP set out to become the historic heir to the Congress. It has been literally wiped out. The Free Press Journal (March 1) entitles its



editorial on the electoral ver-dict as "Quit ticket to the

PSP". It stated, "By all accounts the Praja Socialists are being shown as being an unwanted lot and no one will miss the party's absence on the political stage or in the councils of the nation".

It hoisted the bankrupt banner of anti-Communism to rally and unite the forces of reaction. It has met its well-deserved fate. Almost everywhere the loss of the PSP has been the gain of its Rightist allies, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra or of the Congress.

It gave national respectabi-It gave national respectabl-lity to Indian reaction and de-servedly suffered in national esteem. In the States, its 168 seats have been reduced to 149. In the Lok Sabha, its 10.41 per cent of the votes have been reduced to 6.88; its seats from 19 to 11.

The Right having won significant victories is all out to challenge the forces of democracy, patriotism and progress in our country. Acharya Kri-palani swore by democracy but is himself not prepared to accept the verdict of the elec-torate, and take to vanaprastha from the Indian political scene. from the Indian pointcal scene. The aged pontiff of the Right has declared that his defeat in the North Bombay elections "was not the end of the fight against Communism but only the beginning".

He proclaimed "his desire to form a broad-based front to resist the march of Communism in India". He expressed his firm belief that "defence against Communism must take precedence even over such vital problems as ending com-munalism and banishing poverty".

This- obviously means that This obviously means that the self-proclaimed heir of Gandhi is going to keep on hugging the murderers of the Mahatma and go on covering

up the alliance with commu-nalism as being necessary to fight Communism

Also the self-proclaimed prophet of daridra narayans is going to keep up his alli-ance with the Swatantra, on the ground that fighting Communism is more import-ant than misery under moand that misery under mo-nopoly. Let there be no doubt that the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, P.S.P. anti-Menon alliance is sought to to be kept and broadened to become a permanent feature of Indian national life.

Revealing commentary on the crypto-McCarthyite thesis of Kripalani is supplied by Goenka's Editor, Frank Mo-raes (Indian Express, March 5). He spotlights that "the comparative success of the Swa-tantra Party in its political debut on the all-India and States stages has surprised its friends and disconcerted its opponents".

that another significant feature of the elections was the relative-ly good showing of the Com-

Nentri's the was not content trated on the Communists as one would have thought it should be, but on what he is pleased to dub the reactiona-ries and the feudalists."

ries and the feudalists." Hopeful eyes are rightly cast towards Morarjibhai. "Whe-ther Morarji Desai can retrieve the situation or let things ride for the moment, is anybody's guess".

New

Stirring

pro-Western Right The the pro-western Kight wants to palm off its McCar-thyite anti-Communist drive against India, its independ-ence and progressive future under the cover of national unity. unity.

"At this moment the need is for national unity and pur-posefulness. But not the steamroller unity towards which the Prime Minister appears now to allow himself to be guided by his leftist colleagues. The India which Gandhiji envisag-ed was an India of the Right and the Left, of brahmins and harijans, of princes and pea-sants, of workers and industrialists".

There are new stirrings of thought in the country against

C P I	R	RE	MAIN	S
SECON	ND		PART	Y
1	Position of	l Part	ies	
	5			age
	- st			nta
	Seats Conte	Seats	Votes Polled	ercentage
Congress	485 3*	353	5,12,47,168	45.06
Communist Party	138**	30**		10.08
Swatantra	195	18	89,47,618	7.86
P. S. P.	166	12	78,19,088	6.88
Jana Sangh	198	14	72,63,514	6.38
Socialist Party	107	5.	included in oth	
Others	691	53	2,69,67,947***	23.72
Others			The second se	

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKL

NEW DELHI, MARCH 11, 1962

file

25 nP.

Independent Among others are included six Independents sup-ported by the Communist Party (three in Kerala, one in Andhra, one in Uttar Pradesh and one in Rajasthan) who have been elected. These Inde-pendents together polled a total of 10,10,050 votes (0.8 per cent.)

	1957		
	eg		age
	Seats Contest Seats Won	olled	ercentag
Congress	00 Ŭ 05 ⊅ 490 12* 359	HP	- F e
Communist Part		5,75,79,593 1,17,98,467	47.78
P. S. P. Jana Sangh	194 19	1,25,42,666	10.41
Others	133 4 659 71	71,49,824 3,14,43,365	5.93 26.10
	1593 12* 482	12,05,13,915	100.00
			-

 * Uncontested returns
* Includes 8 Communist. Party members who contested on PDF symbol in Telengana.
† Includes 2 Communists elected on PDF symbol. **

(The larger number of votes recorded in the 1957 elections is due to the system of double-member consti-

tuncies which was given up in the present elections.)

Communist MPs

Andhra

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Bihar

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Madras

- G. Yellamanda Reddy (Markapur) Veermachneni Vimaladevi (Eluru) Ravi Narayan Reddy (Nalgonda) K. L'axmidas (Miryalguda) Kolla Venkayya (Tenali) 1.
- 3.
- 4.
- Y. Eswara Reddy (Cuddappah) Narayanaswamy Madala (Ongole) Homi Daji (Indore) M 6. 7. 8. 9.
- Madhya Pradesh Kerala
- K. K. Warrier (Trichur) A. K. Gopalan (Kasergode) P. Kunhan (Palghat) 10. 11.
- 12
- F. K. Imbichi Bawa (Ponnani) P. K. Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha) M. K. Kumaran (Chirayinkil) 13.
- 14. Uttar Pradesh
- 15.
- 16. 17.
- 19. 20
- M. K. Kumaran (Chirayinkii) Sarju Pande (Rasra) Utta Jai Bahadur (Ghosi) Dr. Udaykar Mishra (Jamshedpur) K. Anandan Nambiar (Tiruchy) R. Umanath Rao (Pudukottai) Hiren Mukherjee (Calcutta-Central) V Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta-Contral) V Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta-South-West) Ranendra Nath Sen (Calcutta-East) Dr. Soradish Boy (Kotwa) W. Bengal 21.
- 22.
- 23. 24. Dr. Saradish Roy (Katwa) Mohmed Elias (Howrah)
- 25.
- 26
- Renu Chakravarty (Barrackpore) Sarkar Murmu (Balurghat) Dinendranath Bhattacharya (Serampore) 27. 28.
- Probhat Kar (Hooghly) " " Dashrath Deb Barman (Tripura-East) Tripura Biren Dutta (Tripura-West) "
 - INDEPENDENTS SUPPORTED BY CPI Kerala
- A. V. Raghavan (Badagara) S. K. Pottekkat (Tellicherry) 1.
- 2. S. N. Potterkat (Tendnerry) " 3. P. S. Nataraja Pillai (Trivandrum) " 4. Mandali Venkataswamy (Masulipatam) Andhra 5. S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur) U.P. 6. Lala Kashiram (Alwar) Rajasthan

He regretfully admits

ly good showing of the Com-munists at the centre compared to the rout of the PSP". He bemoans the fact that "The P.S.P. comes nowhere in the picture," and is very sorry for "the defeat of Ashok

Mehta". Mehta". He is wild against Pandit Nehru. "Since Avadi the So-cialist guns have been spiked by the Congress, and it is sig-nificant that in this election, Nehru's fire was not concen-



Unprecedented mass response to the CPI in Jamshednur

Bihar-Communists Double Seats

With a 100 per cent increase in the number of Communist members in the Legislative Assembly of Bihar (from six to twelve) the significant victory of its candidates in the Steel city of Jamshedpur and the election of the first Communist member of Parlia-ment from Bihar, the CPI unit in the State can very well be proud of its record in the general election

B UT a proper appraisal re-quires that these achieve-ments be measured against For the rest, the CPI, Sociathe background of and in relation to the demands of the situation. The results of general elections in Bihar have revealed, on a smaller scale, the same contradictory tendencies, same complexity of situation which more or less obtains all over the coun-

Growing Discontent

While the most important aspect of the situation remains the growing discon-tent against the anti-popular policies of Con-gress, revealed in its sharply reduced majority from 210 to 185 in a house of 318, facts show that in the main, this discontent has been nelised and exploited by the forces of Right re-

It is the Swatantra Party which has emerged as the main opposition in the State Legislature. It has increased its strength in the Assembly from 23 to 50. The Jana Sangh, which could not suc-ceed anywhere in 1957, emerged on the political scene with hree members

The PSP which is more right than left, has not been able to maintain its strength. Its strength is reduced from 31 to 29. Its State President Basawan Singh lost heavily to the State Congress President Abdul Qayum Ansari in the traditional PSP working class stronghold, Dalmianagar.

The Jharkhand also lost heavily with only 20 of its men in Assembly as against 32 in 1957.

The other gainer on the left, besides the CPI, is the Socialist Party which has increased strength from one to

PAGE TWO

For the rest, the CPI, Socia-lists and Swatantra have all gained at the cost of the Congress. But the gains of the latter are by far more numer-ous. The emergence of the Swatantra as the second party in Bihar constitutes a warning of an impending danger which if unchecked in time will mean an end of all that the people of our country have stord and stricountry have stood and striven for during the glorious struggle for freedom as well as after independence.

At the same time, it re-veals the weakness of the democratic forces in Bihar, their incapacity to have forewarned, to channelise mass discontent against the Congress in progressive directions and, thus, to prevent the advance of reac-

But the emergence of the latter reveals more than any-thing else the rot that has set in the Congress in Bihar, its political and organisation disintegration. For in fact, it needs to be noted that the successes of the Swatantra in Bihar are not the result of any direct accession of streng-th to this party, among the masses. Its victories are Congress-made. They were made possible by the direct active support given by Congress-men themselves against bro-ther Congressmen.

Nehru Disowned

It was at the Congress ses-sion at Patna that Prime Minister Nehru sounded the bugle of the Congress election campaign on a note of oppo-sition to forces of reaction, communalism and casteism. During his election tour in Bihar that remained the do minant note of his speeches. But Jawaharlal is the lone Of Jharkhand losses, four campaigner of his party to have gone to the Congress, conduct political campaigns.

While the Bihar Chief Minister, Binodanand Jha, talked glibly and denounced the Commu nists as traitors to the country, he and his ilk remained tongue-tied in face of the Swatantra onslaught against land ceilings. cooperative farming, State sector and socialism, and in sector and socialism, and in face of the communal pro-paganda let loose by the Jana Sangh.

It only showed that many Congressmen and leaders in Bihar are in fact hidden Swatantrites and Jana San-ghites. Not only politically they paved the way for the Swatantra victory, but orga-ingtically the paved for Swatantra victory, but orga-nisationally they planned for the victory of the Swatantra and Jana Sangh candidates not only against the Com-munists but also against Congressmen in all those constituencies where the candidate

were men of the rival Con gress group. To take but one example. Transport Minister Zawar Hussain was defeated in Zera-

> From ALI ASHRAF

dei, President Rajendra Pra sad's home constituency be-cause Congressmen helped and worked for his Swatantra opponent. Zawar Hussain's supporters avenged themselsupporters avenged themsel-ves by mobilising even Mus-lims to vote Jana Sangh in the neighbouring constitu-ency of Siwan. No wonder Zawar Hussain and Shankar-nath Vidyarthi, both Con-gressmen lost, helping the Swatantra and Jana Sangh candidates to win

candidates to win. On the other hand, where Congressmen fought united-ly as in Hazaribagh, they could make a dent in the Swatantra stronghold. In

1957 the Janata Party had captured all the seats in Hazaribagh, the ancestral home and zamindari of the Raja of Ramgarh. Now in the present elections, the Raja, despite all his vast resources and money, lost four seats to the Congress in his very stronghold.

NEW AGE

This political and organisa-tional. disintegration of Con-gress and tense factional division affecting all its work is undoubtedly the result of growing mass discontent against its anti-people policies and its growing isolation from the peopl

Lacking any progressive political orientation and fac-tionally divided, the Bihar Congress leaders made indiscriminate use of casteism as their main weapon against their opponents, both inside the Congress and outside. The Congress election campaign at the State level is only

Caste Factor

And when this happened, the flanks were left wide open for all reactionaries, open communalists and casteists to walk in. As a result, the Mus-lim Congress candidates were the worst casualties. But this has harmed the democratic movement as a whole

The CPI lost five out of the six seats it had won in 1957, the exception being Jamshedpur where it has won an absolute majority of votes. The Communist gr leader in the Assembly, Karyanand Sharma, was also not returned. Since also not returned. Since Sharmaji's main support came from the working peasantry, who belonged to the so-called backward castes, the Congress leaders resorted to the diabolical method of setting up an-other candidate from 'that caste on the Swatantra-ticket.

This plan was directly en-gineered by the Thana Con-gress President, Jaglalmahato, who was the hidden patron and guide of the Swatantra candidate to the extent of almost jeopardising the chances of the Congress itself.

Besides, the PSP, too, became very obliging and Gita Prasad reappeared from the obscurity of Jai Prakash Na-rain's Sekhodeora Ashram to contest and divide anti-Congress votes.

The Bihar Committee of the CPI in one of its pre-elec-tion reports made a candid assessment that, excepting, the working class centre of

Jamshedpur, there is no constituency in the State where the Communist Party could be said to be a decisive force itself. Only the unity of the democratic forces could hone to win.

The CPI, in the face of all the weapons in the armoury of its enemies-the India-China border issue raised by the Chief Minister, the d by Congress reactiona-ries and others, religious fatwahs issued in the name of Imaratshariah, dispenser of Islamic canonical and religious appeals by many Ulema of the Jamiat --boldly stood up and strove hard to build and preserve the democratic unity of the people against all the ons-laughts of the reactionaries, inside and outside the Con-PTess.

Its success in winning 12 seats in the Assembly and the first seat in the nation's Parliament from Bihar is a tri-bute to its efforts in the cause of the democratic unity of the people.

At the same time, the At the same time, the Party lost many seats due to mistakes of a sectarian nature where due attention was not given to the pro-blem of forging unity with other dmocratic elements. Sectarianism also manifested itself in organisation and failure to build broad democratic mass booth and constituency committees. This, too, is responsible for not a few reverses.

Need For

Unity

Communist success in Bihar, remarkable in itself, is no-where sufficient to meet the growing challenge of reaction in the State. The coming months and years will demand utmost efforts from the Party in rousing the masses gainst the anti-peo-ple policies of Congress Gov-ernment, against the poison of caste and communal disruption, for national integra-tion and broad democratic in the interests of naunity tional advance and socialism That alone can defeat reaction's fast growing challenge in Bihar

MARCH 11, 1962

ANDHRA-DEMOCRATS GAIN

The Secretariat of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India has released the following resoution passed at its meeting held on March 2. 1962, reviewing the general aspects of the third general elections: seats. Four ministers in-cluding the Deputy Chief

Minister and three ex-Ministers were defeated. The

Chairmen of Guntur, Chit-tor, Cuddapah, Anantapur,

Kurnool. Warangal. Karim-

Aninoo, Walangai, Harinam Dilla Parishads and the chairman of the Telangana Regional Committee who

had all contested on the Congress ticket were defea-

ted. "The three leaders of the

handloom weavers who had been accustomed to treat the

handloom cooperative societies as their personal estates were defeated. Many prominent

Congressmen in different dis-

been further strengthened. The reactionary Jana Sangh had been defeated in all the seats it had contested. The Swatantra Party which had eighteen seats in the assembly

was

the assembly able to in-

tricts were also defeated "As a result of these elec-tions, the Left opposition had been further strengthened.

previously

•• THE third general elecded and all the results had been announced. The loud claims made by the Congress leaders and a section of the daily press that the Congress had scored heavy gains can-not, however, conceal the patent fact that the Congress

"Similarly it cannot but be recognised that the Commu-nist Party had increased its strength strength in the Legislative Assembly by 16 seats having improved its position from 35 seats to 51 seats. The independents supported by the Communist Party have also been returned to the Assemb-ly in considerable numbers.

Improper Methods

"The Congress party de-pended to some extent on the past achievements of Congress. But mainly it had depended on corrupt and improper methods. "The Congress ministers

have abused their official power in several constituen-cies in different ways for the success of their party. Never before had the Ministers performed so many foundationlaying or inauguration ceremonies. "Promises galore - had, been

made of jobs and other bene-fits to individuals as well as to communities. The callous abuse of the official power had reached the very limit.

"Money had been spent like water to buy votes. As per the rules, a candidate contesting for an assembly seat should not incur an expenditure of more than seven thousand rupees. But there is, perhaps, not a single Con-gress candidate who had not exceeded that amount. Many Congress candidates including Ministers had spent from one lakh to six lakh rupees. Votes had been bargained for and purchased as if they were odities in the market for

sale. "The mouthing of the slogan of prohibition had not prevented the Congress candidates from resorting to the free distribution of illicit liquor on a very large scale as a method of getting round the voters. Their ultimate resort to infoxicat-ing spirits to influence the voters demonstrated to what extent Congress had dege-

"The Congress leaders and the police had joined hands to perpetrate terror and vio-lence on Communist workers and voters in the Telangana districts and particularly in Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam.

"The Chief Minister who holds the Home portfolio had deliberately utilised the police to help these violent raids. It is well known how the Chief Minister himself, both during and before elections, had helped to vitiate the peaceful atmosphere by incit-ing people to violence with his violent and rabid anti-Communist speeches.

Congress could only retain its position in Nalgonda dis-its position as the majority trict though its sustained party. But it lost 61 of its some minor losses.

MARCH 11, 1962



crease its strength by only one seat. "The Communist Party,

however, has increased its strength from 35 seats to 51 seats. There were only four Communist-supported Independents in the previ-Independents in the previ-ous assembly. In the pre-sent elections, the Commu-nist Party supported 52 independents, 23 of them were returned. Some of these independents are poli-tically close to the Party.

Independents Encouraged

"The Congress leaders dub-bed these independents as useless, and tried to prevent them from getting elected by the people. But the Commu-nist Party concentrated in some seats, while in many others had encouraged and supported the independents. It campaigned for their suc-cess to the best of its abilities. "The Communist Party scorpeople to violence with his ent and rabid anti-Com-elections. It had successfully fought back the offensive of "Despite all these, the the ruling class and retained

"In Guntur district, the districts. Independents Party had scored notable others increased gains "In West Godavari, Krishna,

Medak and Khammam dis-tricts, it had increased its strength.

"Above all, it had added considerably to its strength by gaining three seats both in Visakhapatnam and Chittor districts. While in the past, there were only ten districts from where Communist mem-

bers halled, now they repre-sent fourteen districts. "Though the Communist party lost three of the four seats it previously had in the. Lok Sabha, it gained seven seats. It helped the sucby cess of one independent supporting him.

Serious Reverses

"The Communist Party, no doubt, gained these successes but it had also suffered some serious reverses. The Secre-tariat cannot overlook this fact.

۰.,

"In Karimnagar district. it had lost all its as

others strength. increased their

"The Secretariat expresses its gratitude to the vot-ers, the people of Andhra Pradesh, friends and sym-pathisers of the Party and the Party workers who had toiled day and night, who alone made these su results possible.

"The success of the Com-munist Party and that of the Independents supported by it is a victory of the people. The Swatantra party had money behind it. The Congress had oth money and power. It had made use of every arti-face and device, whether moral or immoral, to secure votes. It had cajoled the voters. It had threatened them. It had tried to deceive them. It made use of castelsm and used liquor on a large scale.

"The Communist Party, on the other hand, did not buy votes. It did not resort to lies and deceits. It did not appeal to caste feelings nor did it serve liquor. It had mainly relied on political propaganda and the conscious ness of the people. It had

A feature of the election cam paign was the numerous small mass meetings, like the one above.

> seats. Similarly, in East Godavari, Warangal and Nellore districts, it had lost a majority of its seats. In Srikakulam, it could not better its position. Some prominent leaders and some important functionaries of the Party were defeated.

"The Party will carefully assess the political and organisational reasons for these losses and draw the necessary lessons from these defeats. It will seek to establish closer links with the people than in the past by wider and persis-tent mass work through mass organisations and at the same time, make every effort to strengthen the organisation "It realises that mass work and stronger organisation alone can rectify these weak-

nesses. "In Andhra Pradesh, taken as a whole, the Congress has lost its strength considerably. Its monopoly power has been weakened. It sustained severe losses in Ravalaseema districts. It succeeded only in two seats out of eleven in Cuddpah district. Similarly, it gained only seven out of sixteen in Chittor and seven out of fourteen in Anantapur

NEW AGE

pinned its faith on clean and healthy methods. "The victories that the Con-

gress scored by resorting to money, liquor, deceit and casteism and divisions amongst the people are bound to be only temporary in character.

character. "The Communist Party had participated in these elections with full confidence that by adopting clean and healthy means, it would help to poli-tically awaken the masses and score abiding victories in the long run.

Stronger Opposition

"The lack of a powerful opposition in the last Assembly had subjected the people of Andhra to many burdens and difficulties. The people are aware of them only too keenly. The Congress has used its immense majority only to abuse power in its self-interest.

"But the opposition has emerged much stronger in the, present Assembly. It now has the opportunity to exert some pressure in favour of more amongst the people with progressive policies in the greater zeal and confidence."



P. Sundaravva.

political, economic and social fields. "The opposition has more

strength to resist the anti-people policies of the Con-gress government.

"It would support Government whenever it brings good to the people The Congress should learn the lessons of this election and adopt and practise progressive policies. The people have elected the Communists and also the Independents supported by them in large numbers so that they become the de-mocratic weapon to resist all attempts to impose fresh

burdens and oppose its anti-people policies. "The Communist Party will resist with all its power, if the government tries to ride rough-shod on the rights

and liberties of the people. "A large number of Inde-"A large number of Inde-pendents have been elected. They have been chosen by the people in preference to the Congress candidates. They won as a result of the strong resentment among the people to the way the Congress con-ducted itself in the govern-

"We hope these Independents will realise the political responsibility the people had placed on them and work to build a strong, consistent and democratic opposition.

Vote For

Progress

"The Secretariat hopes that the Congress leaders would ponder over the fact why the people rejected the Swatantra party and elected the Communist Party as the main opposition party. The people express-ed their preference for more progressive policies, in un-mistakable terms.

"The members elected on behalf of the Communist Party would forge closer links with the people and reflect in in Assembly their troubles and tribulations and fight for their betterment and rights.

"The Secretariat assures that the Communist members would not abuse their status as MLAs to obtained licences, permits or in any way use their position for self-aggrandisement. They would exert their every nerve so that the people would be happier and their lot improved. "However, if the Commu-

"However, if the Commu-nist Party's work in the As-sembly is to succeed, it must be combined with a vigorous and sustained movement of the people outside the legislature. "The peoples' organisa-tions must be alive 'and

"The peoples' organisa-tions must be alive 'and active. They should be strengthened. The organi-sation of the Communist Party should be strong. Party should be strong. "The Secretariat appeals to Party should be

all Party members and Party workers to immediately take up these tasks and work with

PAGE THREE

IN UTTAR PRADESH From Ramesh Sinha **DISCONTENT TO DISRUPTION**

A staggering pattern has emerged from the rather complicated electoral situation in Uttar Pradesh. The deep and bitter discontent against the Congress regime, which had been welling up within people's hearts, has, on one hand, led to the ignominous defeat of a number of Ministers and other leaders whose persons had become symbols of the corrupt, inefficient and antipeople policies of the ruling party.

HUS, Finance Minister Har Govind Singh: Minister of State for Cooperatives and Sports (this because he owned a sports shop!) Mangla Prasad: Minister of State for Industries and Information Rauf Jafri; Health Minister Kailash Prakash; Deputy Minister for Education Ram Swarup Yaday; Deputy Minis-ter for Labour Wasi Naqvi; and Deputy Minister for Revenue Bhagwati Prasad Shukla, have fallen.

Ministers

Topple

The President of the TL P PCC, Ajit Prasad Jaln, M.P. (ex-Food Minister in the Central Government) and Beni Singh, General Secretary of the U. P. PCC have also gone down before the fury of ne people. Even the Speaker, A. G.

Kher and Deputy Speaker, R. N. Tripathi (who had, un-fortunately for him and the progressive movement, been persuaded to join the Conpersuaded to join the Con-gress only a few weeks before the elections) of the State As-sembly have not been spared. Some of the ex-Ministers like Mohan Lal Gautam, Laxmi Raman Acharya, Kali Charan Agrawal, Virendra Verma, and Sultan Alam Khan have also gone down. Others like Muishwar Dutt Upadhyaya, cx-President of the U. P. PCC, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Central Minister for Infor-mation and Broadcasting, Satish Chandra, Central Deand Industry, S. Jogendra Singh, M.P., have also shared the same tragic fate at the hands of the State's electo-

As a whole, the ruling party has suffered a loss of 182 seats in house of 430

In the 1957 elections the Congress had secured 286 seats and 42.42 per cent of the total votes as compared with 390 seats and 47.95 per cent of the total votes cent of the total votes which it had received in the 1952 general elections. In the third general elections. it as got 248 seats and only 36.32 per cent of the total

votes. It has, thus, got only 32 seats more than the 216 re-quired for having an absolute majority. These figures of the three general elections al-so show the sloping curve of its popularity in the State.

Minus the financial resour-es, and the backing provided 0 it by its being in control of the State machinery and Pandit Nehm, what would have been the fate of the Congress, it is not difficult to see. On the other hand, the

same bursting sense of dis-content, feeding itself further on the disanity and interne-cine warfare of the democratic and socialistically inclined parties, has produced a shockingly heavy crop of poisonous weeds in the form mainly of. the Jana Sangh. From 17 seats and 9.84

per cent votes that it had

PAGE FOUR

received in the second general elections, the Jana Sangh has now increased its received in the

Sangh has now increased its seats to 48 and votes to 16.47 per cent of the total. The 15 Swatantraites, two Hindu Mahasabhaites and at least half of the eight Repub-licans, apart from a few of the independents, should also be added into this category. They together have obtained about 7.50 per cent of the to-tal votes cast in the third tal votes cast in the third general elections in U. P. The Jana Sangh has now

The Jana Sangh has now become the second party in U. P., both in terms of its seats and the votes cast for it. It has also secured seven Lok Sabha seats from U. P. The parties of the right have, thus, amassed a total of about 70 seats and nearly a quarter of the entire vote

a quarter of the entire vote. As against these figures, the PSP, the SP, and the CPI have acquired 38, 24 and 14 (plus three supported by the Party) seats, and 11.44, 8.23 and 5.11 per cent respectively of the total votes.

logether they have 76 seats in the new house and have got nearly 25 per cent of the total votes. should be considered doubt-ful if all the persons who have been elected on the PSP and SP tickets really represent socialist or democratic ideology democratic ideology or in clinations.

PSP's Failure

The failure of the PSP and the SP was largely foreseen. Yet when it came and the form in which it came people were shocked. Triloki Singh, ex-General Secretary of the all-India PSP

and leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly lost even his deposit in his fight against an obscure mohalla Congressman.

of those like Asoka Mehta and Dr. Lohia who have fail-ed to respond to the needs and urges of our people and who, blinded by their anti-Congressman. Deputy leader of the PSP in the Assembly, Narain Dutt Tewari, too, fell ingloriously and so did its several other leaders such as Gauri Shankar who, binded by their anti-Communism, have systemati-cally divided and weakened the democratic movement and struggles of the people for food, employment and demo-Rai, Surath Bahadur Shah, Pratap Singh. Udit Narayan Tewari (President of the State PSP).

From some of its districts the PSP has been wiped out. The number of seats it has secured does not indicate the extent of the slumn it has suffered in the estimate of the people. Many of those seats have come



Jai Bahadur Singh

most unexpectedly and are they do not permit of simple certainly not PSP seats in generalisations. They would the sense that those who not be attempted in this deshave been elected are not PSP men, The PSP had put up Asoka

Mehta from a traditional pocket borough of theirs_in pocket borough of theirs—in Deoria. But he, too, met his Waterloo there, losing to a. district Congress leader by about 20,000 votes. Nearly a lakh and a half had been spent in Deoria to nurse this and other contact of the PSD and other seats of the PSP. if the reports that are current have substance. The PSP had contested 286

seats. 165 of these lost deposits. The SP had contested 268

seats. In 72 per cent of these it lost deposits. Its leader Raj Narain Singh, now President Narahi Shigh, how President of the All India SP, lost his seat in his home constituency, so did Braj Raj Singh, S. P.'s leader in the Lok Sabha.

Prabhu Narayan Singh and Jagdish Awasthi, two other important members of the SP in the Lok Sabha, also lost their seats.

Z. A. Ahmad

The SP has secured only two of the 50 Lok Sabha seats it had contested. Dr.

Lohia has, of course, lost, but so badly that he has be-

The reports of what actu-ally transpired during the elections are still coming in

and they would still take sor

Sariu Pandev

NEW AGE

cratic rights.

Congress Demoralised

patch.

For, neither the figures of

the seats won by various parties indicate their true strength, nor do they indi-cate the extent to which

our democratic. Secular life

and its value as a whole have been corroded by vari-ous evil ideologies. For instance, the rot that

the Congress organisation has revealed during these elec-tions has made even import-

enjoy. Others say that though vic-

tory has been achieved this time the values for which the Congress has stood all this

time have been wantonly

sacrificed, that now not ideas and ideologies, but castes will determine victory or defeat at the polls, and so on.

I have had the opportunity of discussing many of these things with some of the top men, apart from ordinary workers, of the Congress and, with rare exceptions, they all spoke more or less in the

I had never heard such bitter talk as I have heard during the last few days since after the results came out. I had also never before heard so much and so genuinely felt talk of the coming inevitable doom of

May be some of all this is due to the upsets received in the elections. May be some of it is only a fleeting feeling of disappointment and dismay. Maybe. But there should be no doubt that there is also much in this talk that is tragically too true.

but so badly that he has be-gun to think of winding up his party! This is the feel-ing he has expressed in a statement issued by him after his defeat. He says he never imagined he would lose so badly. In these elections U. P. has become the gravevard of In the course of these elections I have also had the op-portunity of coming in rather close contact of the ordinary Congress workers. By and large they have ceased to have any politics, unless it be com-munal or caste politics. Perhaps, it would be more In these elections U. P. has become the graveyard of many reputations, reputations

correct to describe it as communal or caste feeling, those who have communal or caste politics in the Congress are still not preponderant, although few in it are reluc-tant to use these in the elec-

tions. I have been told of a story, by an ex-Minister, that a Congress leader who is known for his crutading work against the Jana Sangh and the RSS had, in the recent elections joined hands with the Jana



Jharkhande Rai

Sangh to achieve electoral victory! Ordinary Congress worker

today cannot speak. He can-not defend the Congress, or its professed policies of ceiling, cooperatives, secu-larism, public sector, socialism, etc. He is politically the most helpless being you can imagine. The Congress has ceased to be what it

was. Similarly, the Jana Sangh or, for the matter of that, Right reactionaries have worn many masks in these elecant people in it say that the tions. If they have worn the Congress is finished, that this mask of the Congressman at is the last five year spell of one place, at another they power that the Congress will have appeared in the garb of a PSPer, and at yet another place in the red robes of a red-hot Lohia Socialist. Some of them have become Republicans and sported the slogan "Muslim-Jatay bhai-bhai. Vel Hindu goum kahan se Ayi!" (Muslims and Chamars are brothers, but from where has this alien tribe of Hindus come!)

At least this writer has no doubt that the discon-tent against the Congress and its rule has been gross ly underestimated; the peo ple's feeling of resentment and desire for change and better life have, too, been equally grossly undera

2

The splitting roles of the PSP and SP and such groups have played havoc with the morale and strength of the people, they have poisoned their healthy democratic and socialist urges. The Jana Sangh and the

other reactionaries have come riding on the scene on this omnipresent lava of discon-

Communist

Courage

In this picture it is only the Communist Party and its cadre who have tried to main-tain some standards. They tain some standards. They alone have discussed and raised and posed political issues and suggested their bold solutions

They alone have stood like a rock against the shattering waves of communal and caste frenzy. And they alone con-stitute the hope of all those who wish to fight against the reactionary forces.

If today there is general talk of unity to fight against communalism of the majo-rity community and of the need to forge unity among the socialistic minded groups, parties and people in the State, it is equally due in the State, it is equally due to the courageous work done by the Communist Party in the State. It appears that the situation is pregnant with moves for such unity of the democratic, secular forces.

The 14 seats and nearly 5.5 per cent votes received by the Party will help in the crystal-lisation of such ideas and, perhaps, in the realisation of such moves. Three indepen dents supported by the Party have also won in the elec-

The Party has got two seats in the Lok Sabha and another people's leader suported by it, S. M. Bannerji has also won with a thumping majority. They will all help and assist this process

MARCH 11, 1962

W. BENGAL-THE LESSONS

. The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India met on March 2 to discuss the election results, issued the following statement to the press:

strength by two.

"West- Bengal's democratic

movement under the leader-ship of the United Left Front

ship of the United Lett From has well held its ground aga-inst the most desperate bid by the Congress and the worst exploiters of the people. In this bid, all elementary codes

of democratic behaviour, all fundamental rules of free and fair elections and indeed all

sound principles were thrown

to the winds by the Congress

"Power of big money, the

Government machinery and the advantages the Congress enjoys because of its control of the Government were un-ashamedly pressed into ser-

vice for the electoral ends of

the ruling Party. Limitless funds were lavishly used for

"Further. the Congress ex-

ploited religious sentiments and encouraged communalism

and provincialism without

scruples whatsoever.

"In a number of constitu-

encies, including some in Calcutta and its industrial

belt, the Congress even sur-passed itself in rousing the Rindus against the Muslims,

Hindus, the non-Bengalis

"Lies, slanders and fabrica-

tions against the Communist Party and the United Left Front instead of honest pub-

Congress election propaganda. While all this seemed inade-

quate, it resorted to down-right threats and intimida-tion against large sections of

voters and in some cases even

to open terrorism and goon-

with the connivance of

aia

against the Bengalis

vice-versa, depend the local situation.

lic debate on policy que became the sole theme

lims against the

depending on

ne of the

the Mu

bribery and corruption.

THE Secretariat of the Front. Our Front alone has West Bengal State Coun-of the Communist Party seats, and increased its West Bengal State Coun-cil of the Communist Party of India expresses its heartfelt thanks to the millions of the call of the United Left Front and supported it in the General Elections.

We are deeply grateful to all those fighting men and women—our dear friends and well-wishers—for their brave and untiring efforts and for their great sacrifice for the cause of our victory. Indeed, it is this glorious role on their election campaign into a magnificent State-wide poli-tical battle in the finest tradition of democracy.

CONGRESS BACK

"Our main electoral objective of breaking the mono-poly of political power of the Congress in this State of West Bengal has not been achieved. The Congress has again returned to power. anv

"This has understandably caused disappointment and sorrow among the vast sections of our people who have so abundantly supported us and who wanted to see the Congress misrule in this State end. Our Party fully shares these popular feelings.

"If we have not been able to defeat the Congress and oust it from the Govern-ment, neither has the Con-gress succeeded in pushing back West Bengal's democratic movement or our Party and the United Left Front. The fond dreams of the Congress leaders to browbeat and push back the democratic movement re-mains as ever unfulfilled.

"The massive poll in sup port of our Front and the many seats we have won not only underscore the great vitality of the democratic movement but also point to the great possibilities before

IRREGULARITIES

the police.

SERIOUS

"In this connection, no one can ignore the fact that not only have we retained the three Lok Sabha seats in Cal-"It seems we sufficiently take sufficiently take into ac-count all these tactics and utto as against one still held mainractices on the nart of cutta as against one stin neur by the Congress but some new Lok Sabha: seats in other parts of the State have now come to the United Left the Congress. We take this opportunity also to state that we have received certain complaints about seri-







insidious methods, the West Bengal Congress has amply demonstrated how, despite-our Constitution and electoral laws, the elections can be degraded and rigged. Those who single candidate of the Swa-wish well of India's parlia-mentary institutions and cessful. mocracy in the country can ill afford to ignore the me-thods and tactics the Congress employs in elections.

"For the democratic move ment in West Bengal in par-ticular, the elections have some very instructive lessons to offer. Our Party will in due course review the entire ex-perience and try to draw the necessary lessons.

CONSOLIDATION LACKING

"But even now it is plain enough that while the de-mocratic movement has been significantly extended to certain new areas and has overcome some of its past weaknesses, it has,



Jyoti Basu

however, not been able to properly consolidate the past gains in a number of places and even retain its position. This constitutes a serious lapse which needs to be frankly admitted and overcome with all might.

"For this as for consolidating the gains of the present elections, our Party and the entire democratic movement must rise to far greater heights in their political and organisational activity, in their approach and work among the people.

"It should be a matter of

ous irregularities in the joy for all secular, non-com-munal and progressive forces, irrespective of their party "By its maipractices and affiliations, that not one candidate of the Jana Sangh or any other communal organi-sation has been returned either to the State Assembly or Lok Sabha, Similarly, not a

> "The candidates of this party and of communal par-ties have been literally routed to a man. This is no mean achievement for West Bengal particularly in view of the fact that these forces of communalism and extreme Right have, unfortunately, made some headway in cer-tain other parts of the coun-try.

"The people of West Ben-gal can justly take pride for their performance on this score. Our Party trusts that West Bengal's example will give confidence to the peothroughout the country ple throughout the country in their fight against the dark forces of communalism and right reaction.

"The virtual eclipse of the PSP in the West Bengal elec-tions should cause the leaders and followers of that party to ponder over the po-licy of anti-Communism and disruption. The routing of the PSP unmistakably signifies the rejection of its discredited policies by the democratically minded people of West Ben-gal. The PSP leadership has to thank itself for the sorry pass to which it has brought their party.

"In their never-ending efforts to disrupt Left unity in West Bengal, the FSP lea-dership has always tried to make out that the unity with the Communists leads to the gradual liquidation of the Left parties. The election results have completely exposed the hollowness of this misleading propaganda.

LEFT UNITY

"The elections, on the other hand, have shown that the unity among the Left parties brings new strength to all of them and raises their stature both in-dividually and collectively. It is no wonder that practically every party of the United Left Front has gain-ed, and grown stronger, some substantially.

"The PSP. on the other



Renu Chakravartty, Her of victory mannin was the highest in W. Bengal

hand, is on the road to selfliquidation, because of its very policy of anti-Commu-nism and disunity. However, it will be watched with great interest what lessons the PSP draws from its own bitter experience.

"The return of the Congress "The return of the Congress to power in West Bengal means the continuance of its misrule and it spells hard-ships and suffering for the working people. It also means greater struggles ahead which would call for greater unity of all democratic forces.

"On this occasion our Party olemnly reiterates that in solemnly reiterates that in building this unity and in defending the interests of the working people the Commu-nists will spare no efforts.

FUTURE TASKS

"The Communist Party assures our suffering people that it will always stand by their cause and strive to unite them in the struggle for a better life, firespective of whether they have sup-ported us or the Congress or any other party in the elections

"The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India is proud of the unity of the Left parties. It will be now our Party's constant endea-your to consolidate this unity and further broaden the unity of the democratic forces in West Bengal.

"Serious efforts will have to "Serious efforts will have to be made to break new ground and extend the base of our movement. The elections have emphasised that greater efforts, political as well as organisational, will be requir-ed in order to consolidate our gains in the elections, and forge abead and thus disforge ahead and thus discharge our responsibilities towards the people."

* SEE ALSO PAGE 12

Victorious Communist candidates for the Lok Sabha. Left to Right: M. Elias; Hiren Mukerjee; Indrajit Gupta; Provat Kar; Ranen Sen.









PAGE FIVE

JOHN GOLLAN Interviewed Bu Omeo Gunta

ents in Africa and to transmit that understanding cor-rectly to a large audience, is always a comparatively diffi-cult task, if only because of the jungle of lies, half-truths concerning history and people which has been heaped upon us by imperialism for enturio

Do you agree? How far have the forces supporting African people's aspirations been able so far to cope with this pro-

GOLLAN: It's true that the imperialists have done their utmost to conceal the past achievements of the African peoples, their history and tradition. Their aim has been, and still is, to create the im-pression that the Africans are backward and uncultured. and that they are not fit to govern themselves. This is their attempted justification for imperialist and colonial rule over the African territo-

Imperialist Tenacity

Even when they are forced against their will, by the rising strength of the na-tional liberation movement, to concede political independence, they strive despe-rately to restrict the scope of political independence, to extend their economic domi-nation, and to combine old and new forms of colonia-lism. In this way they strive to influence the govern-ments and leaders of the newly independent conn-

wever, it has not been so easy in recent years for the imperialists to maintain the fiction that the Africans ar savages, or must be treated like little children, and that they need the "trusteeshin of the "civilised" imperialist

Not only have the Africans the m s e l v e s demonstrated their ability to govern, but also devoted themselves to a study of their own history and culture, and have provided indisputable proof that in many respects their ancestors were more civilised and cultured than the forefathers of those who regard Africans as backward peoples. It is not only Africans who

are now engaged in re-writing their history. Within the ranks of pro-

gressive British historians, biologists and archaeolo-gists, there are wellknown minent writers who have provided a wide range of evidence that many of the African peoples were creat-ing a civilisation over one and years ago, with a rich culture that far exceled the cultural level existing at that time in England, Wales and Scotland.

It was not only in the North, in Egypt for example, that im-portant advances were made. Most parts of the African continent experienced an iron age; great kingdoms were found—Ghana and Mali, for example; Timbuctu was a widely-renowned centre learning, and the ruins of

PAGE STX

GUPTA: I have always Zimbabwe stand as silent found that to understand testimony to the achievements objectively the course of of the people whose descenof the people whose descen-dants now inhabit Southern

Rhodesia. There was also a considera-ble skill in craftsmanship, expressed in the remark-able Ife heads, the bronze work in Benin, the ivory and wood carving, and other works of art.

Among outstanding writ-ers who have presented the real Africa of the past to the world is Dr. W. E. Bur-ghardt Du Bois, who decidghardt Du Bois, who decid-ed at over 90 years of age to crown his life's work-for-the African peoples by join-ing the Communist Party of the United States, just at the moment when the U.S. Imperialists were launching their most fierce attack on the keality of the Communist the legality of the Commu-

nist Party. Professor I. I. Pothekin, Head of the African Institute in Mose in Moscow, is now recognised internationally as one of the foremost African historians Scores of Soviet research workers and writers who are revealing the truth of the old Africa to the whole world. Among those who are not Communists is Basil Davidson, who in recent years in his books Old Africa Rediscovered and Black Mother presents rich evidence of the history of story of ancient and medieval Africa. Thomas Hodgkin has also given glimpses of the past achievements of the African peoples, and in his recent books Africa: Roots of Revolt and Africa: The Lion Awake, one of our own Communist writers, Jack Woddis, has drawn considerably from the growing evidence of past African history to provide the background for his account of African liberation struggles. At the beginning of this century, the wellknown historian, Leo Frobenius, spent many years in a close study of the past history of West Africa, came to this con-clusion: "The idea of the barbarous Negro' is a Euro-pean invention which has

consequently prevailed in Europe until the beginning of this century". This idea, which still pre-vails in British circles has in-

fluenced considerable sections of the British people. But this situation is now changing changing rapidly.

African Civilisation

The gigantic achieve-ments of the African liberation struggle, the formation of new independent states, and the new strengthening they have given to the cause of world peace and the end-ing of colonialism, has made a great impression on the British people. Moreover, the increasing

umber of Africans coming to work and study in Britain has provided a closer personal contact, and increasing numbers of British people are now conscious from their own ex-perience that Africans are far more civilised than the British ruling class.

To the extent that British workers join in common act-

Africa-The

ion with the African peoples in their struggles the prejudi-ces created by imperialist his-torians will be broken down. GUPTA: The stirring resur-GUPTA: The stirring resur-

gence of Africa is now assu-red to be ranked as one of the outstanding developments in this century. 1960 was declar-ed as the 'Africa Year' and before the year ended, 180,000,000 out of the Conti-nent's 200,000,000 population had already achieved political independence.

Would you like to indicate the likely course of develop-ments in the continent, gene-

rally speaking, in 1962? GOLLAN: It is by no means easy to forecast the precise course of developments in Africa this year.

In this vast continent of 55 different territories, at various stages of development, with peoples speaking many languages and hun-dreds of different dialects, the nature of their problems differ widely.

Moreover, the speed of de-velopments in recent years is apt to outstrip any forecast, not only because of the rising tempo of struggle in Africa but also through the impact

Perspectives Ahead

of world events.

There are now 30 indepen-dent states in Africa, but among them there are re-markable variations. Apart from Guinea and Mali the 14 ex-French colonies

They, are still part of the "French Community" in effect if not in name, and remain largely under French domination. The four ex-British colonies

(Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika) have the possibility of exercising their Independence in its full sense. but until now Ghana, which and others) will be achieved independence first, is still further imper alone in forging ahead on its nomic domination. own independent path of de-

velopment. Then there is Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and Soma-lia, all at different levels and lia, all at different levels and stages of development, not to mention the Arab countries of Moroccc, Tunisia and Libya in North Africa. Though Congo has won for-mal independence, the battle for real independence is still being flercely fought, and the liberation war in Alerta is

liberation war in Algeria is still not at an end. At the same time, there still remains 25 territories which have yet to win political in-

dener

ependence. The struggle will be shar-pest in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, dominated by a white settler minority. British imperialism will fight African to the last to maintain this domination, and in the last Unity resort will try to find new forms and methods of keep-ing its grin

ing its grip. And though the Union of South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth the British ruling class will strive to maintain its political, economic, and even military ties with the apartheid rulers

In the Portuguese-held ter-ritories, too, the struggle/will be fierce because of the European settlers and because of the Salazar fascist regime.

One cannot ignore that the independent African states are already divided

between the "Casablanca" group (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Morocco and Sudan) and the others

which form the "Monrovia

The imperialist powers fav-

our the Monrovia group, for

among them are the ex-French territories, together

imperialist influence. One of the biggest issues which divides them is that

several states in the Monro

via group still have imperia-list military bases on their territory, and this is strongly opposed by the Casablanca

group. At the same time, there is strong resistance even in the

Monrovia group to certain aspects of imperialist policy, and one can only hope that both groups will come closer

together around a common

broad policy, leaving the in-dividual states to frame their own policy on their particular

GUPTA: How dangerous are

GOLLAN: It seems to me

that it's not a matter of "new tactics". British impe-rialism in particular, with

centuries of experience of colonial rule, is extremely skilful in combining both old and new tactics and des-

cribing it as a new policy, or in MacMillan's words "the wind of change". When faced with the real

struggle it does not hesitate

repression as in the two Rho-desias in recent months, and

have won partial success-

es in this new strategy-with

conditional loans, military bases, offices of "informa-tion", control of the African

to use the age-old methods of

group.

Two

Groups

FIRST, the remaining colonies will intensify their struggle to achieve political independence. Independen-ce is already promised for Uganda in October, and ries are hard at work trying to persuade the African state to persuade the African states and peoples, to align them-selves "with the West", and West Germany is now pene-trating Africa in a big way. One cannot ignore that small Gambia is likely to achieve this without a sharp struggle. But in Kenya, Northern

Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Zanzibar there are likely to be flerce struggles before independence is won.

Constitutional talks on the future of Kenya will take future of Kenya will take place in London during February, and on Zanzibar during March. The British Govern ment is still postponing its proposals for Northern Rho-desia, and when they are made known they are most likely to favour the European

likely to lavour minority. The Algerian struggle is bound to develop to a new stage, and is now becoming recognised by all independent French territories, together with the U. S.-dominated Liberia, the British-dominat-ed Sierra Leone, and other states still considerably under African states as a common struggle in the , cause of all African, neonles

The SECOND aspect is the stage, of development in independent African new states. They have to solve the

They have to, solve the gigantic problem of trans-forming the old backward colonial economy, building the foundation for indus-trial development, and rais-ing the living standards of their people.

Those independent states who favour close cooperation with the socialist countries will find (like Guinea and Ghana) that socialist economic aid is a tremendous factor in assisting to achieve this aim

imperialism's "new tactics" in Africa? Have these been suc-cessful to a considerable ex-tent? Those who refuse friendly relations with the socialist countries (like Mauretania and others) will be subject to still further imperialist eco-

In this respect, the Common Market is not only a threat to British living standards and political independence, but more particularly a threat to

Its aim is to maintain Africa largely as an agra-rian hinterland, providing cheap raw materials and agrarian products for the industrially-developed Eu-romean counting ropean countries, especially Western Germany and France

by Ghana, and from the bit-ter experience of this exten-sion of imperialist exploitater experience of this exten-sion of imperialist exploita-tion African resistance is

"study" its problem

African and British emissa

GOLLAN: I have dealt with

Far be it for me to pretend to give political advice to in-dependent African states who are facing gigantic problems which - are vastly different from those with which we are faced in Britain. It's not a matter whether I am satisfied with the efforts,

or the lack of effort, made by certain states to complet their national - democrati tasks. It is the African peoples in these countries who will judge finally whether their governments are taking

National

Democracy

At the Moscow conference of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties in November 1960 a clear perspective was given in the resolution on the path towards the achievement of "independent national democracies

at democracies". There's no need for me to remind New Age readers of this complete section, but basically it means getting rid of imperialist economic domi-nation transforming the old nation, transforming the old colonial economy, taking over the imperialist enterprises, solving the agrarian problem.

and the rapid extension of democratic methods. This does not mean transplanting the typical "parliamentary democracy" of the West under which real power is still in the hands of the big monopolies, but transferring real power to the people.

This is already taking place in Guinea, Ghana, Mali, and to a smaller extent in other independent African states. In Egypt, there is still firm opposition to foreign imperia-lism, but no semblance of internal democracy, and the Communists, who are the best fighters for real independence, are still being tortured behind prison bars. On a smaller scale this is

On a smaller scale this is also the situation in the Sudan; and in Senegal, the Cameroons, and other ex-French territories the most ous liberation fighters are still being persecuted.

GUPTA: Undoubtedly vari-ous factors and ideas have helped to shape the national movements in the continent. movements in the community What has been, if any, the role of Marxist ideas in this context. Are there many Com-munist organisations or groups there?

GOLLAN: You will appreclate that any detailed ac-count of the growth of Marx-ist ideas in Africa, and in particular the existence of

However, there has been a rapid expansion of Marxist. ideas in many parts of Africa. Apart from the re- hopes be cognised legal Communist respect?

MARCH 11, 1962

Party in Tunisia, there are illegal Communist Parties in Morocco; Algeria, Egypt, Sudan and South Africa. At the end of 1961 a new Comcountries in Africa to follow up their political victories by other vital actions necessary to complete their nationaldemocratic tasks, realising, of course, that in many cases different African countries munist Party was formed in Basutoland. Marxist groups exist in different African countries are confronted with very different problems?

Nigeria and Ghana, and in 1961 a new Communist orga-nisation was formed in Nor-thern Rhodesia. There are this to some extent in my answer to the second question, and it's not easy for me to deal with this at length. also Marxist groups in Somalia, in Senegal and one or two

na, in Schegal and one or two other ex-French territories. Many of the new group-ings do not necessarily adopt the Communist title,

their governments are all the necessary steps. and in the illegal journal of

thee Communist Party of South Africa, The African Communist, both of which are now sold regularly in many thousands of copies in most British and ex-British territories in Africa.

partly because this would leave them open to severe repression, and partly be-cause they are still in the

wards the Communist standpoint. The rapid extension of Marxist ideas is shown by the

big increase in the sales of the international $C \circ m m u n i s t$

journal, World Marxist Review

advancing

process of

GUPTA: What has been the significance of the liberation of Goa from Portuguese im-perialism for the anti-impe-rialist struggle in the world as a whole?

GOLLAN: The libération of Goa had a profound effect in all parts of the world, more particularly in those countries still fighting for national libe... ration The imperialists were

shocked, because they had relied on Pandit Nehru to refrain from taking organi sed action to complete the liberation of India, but to continue in the futile pro-cess of waiting for the Portuguese imperialists to change their attitude or further futile talks in the

United Nations. On the other hand, Goa's liberation was warmly wel-comed throughout Africa, and President Nkrumah and other African leaders have given their public approval to a step which they felt should have been taken long ago.

Goa's Impact

It was applauded in all the socialist countries, and by the great majority of people even

in the imperialist countries. All the imperialist attempts (which were joined by Gaits-kell and other Labour leaders) to arouse opposition to the measures taken to achieve Goa's liberation, failed to im-

Goa's liberation, tanen to im-press the ordinary people. Goa's liberation is certain to stimulate the struggle in Angola and Mozambique, and to give new encourage-ment to the national liberation movements in all parts of the world. It will serve as

a powerful blow to advance the struggle for freedom within Portugal itself. Ist lucas particular the existence of Communist groups, would be to present an opportuinty to the imperialists and other expect India, in parti-reactionary forces to intensify reactionary forces to intensify cular, to take a positive and vigorous stand consistently, instance directly affecting their destiny? To what extent, do you think, have their hopes been fulfilled in this

again possibly soon in Kenya. In this respect, the term "neo-colonialism" is now used African opposition to the Common Market has already been voiced, more particularly widely to emphasise the com-bination of old and new methods of imperialism to maintain, and even extend its do-mination, especially after the iberation movements have won political independence. It would be foolish not to recognise that the imperia-

bound to grow.

The THIRD aspect is the The THIRD aspect is the advance towards African unity. This is not a simple process, for the imperialists are striving harder than ever to divide the peoples of Africa and to sow dissension among the new African states. They have the support of

leaders of the so-called Socia-list International, which now has a mission in Africa to Broadly speaking, it seems are aided by the ICFTU lea-to me there are three likely ders, together with the Bri-

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to real independence, and in the main resolution of the third All-African Peo-ples Conference at Cairo last March worked out spe-cific measures to combat "neo-colonialism".

atisfied with the efforts made so far by the independent

means

press and radio, and other However, the African national movements are cons-cious of this serious threat

GUPTA: Briefly, are you

a strong impact throughout. in Britain now? Africa

Last Lap To Freedom

In general the African peoples appreciate the positive steps taken by India, its friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and its efforts to transform the old backward

colonial economy. It is possible that the estimation of India's positive role would differ among the many independent African states. In many respects its atti-tude is in advance of that

of many African states, but in Ghana, Guinea and Mali it may well be that India was expected to take a more positive stand, particularly in relation to the struggle

in the Congo. When Dayal, the personal representative of the late Hammarskjold was recalled from the Congo because he was too favourable to Patrice Lumumba's policy of a united Congo, there was keen dis-appointment among the more progressive African peoples.

India has had 14 years since achieving its political inde-pendence to advance towards coming an independent national democratic statethree times as long as any newly-independent state in Africa. .

Britain-**Two Camps**

It has made a big advance towards this stage, but it's towards this stage, but it's not surprising that many Africans feel it could have advanced far more rapidly in view of its great size and population (twice the popu-lation of all Africa) and that Pandit Nehru has not taken advantage of all the opportunities which have existed since 1947.

existed since 1947. In fact, Ghana, in the five years since she gained inde-pendence in 1947, has made a far more positive impact on world affairs.

GUPTA: Lord Home's vicinewly-independent countries within the United ous speech on the role of the within the United Nations and Indian action against Portuguese colonial interests has been a revelation to many in India. What was your own reaction to the speech?

GOLLAN: I dare not state in actual words my own par-Home's speech in which he attacked the Afro-Asian countries and the United Nations and tried to justify colonialism

But my view is also shared throughout the British work-ing class movement, and has been severely criticised even among Conservatives. At the same time, his

among Conservatives. At the same time, his speech does reveal the real policy of British impéria-lism, which more experien-ced diplomatists usually hide beneath a mountain of honeyed phrases about "trusteeship" and "guar-dians" of the colonial peoples. In short, Lord Home is

alarmed because the people of Africa and Asia are standing up-but we Communists only rejoice in this historic event

GUPTA: Could you say, briefly, what the British Lab-our movement is doing at the present moment to advance the African national aspira-

GOLLAN: India's stand for tions by way of solidarity world peace and against im-perialist war pacts has made in this sphere, are most active

GOLLAN: The solidarity novement in Britain with the African struggle for libera-tion is still not sufficiently organised and widespread. But it has certainly grown with rapid strides in recent years.

Many trade unions have direct relations with parallel trade unions in Africa More than 300,000 British trade unionists signed a declaration of welcome when the All-African Trade Union Federation, was formed at Casablanca last May.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom (to which 14 national trade unions, over 100 constituency Labour Parties and many hundreds of trade union branches, trade councils, Co-operative organisations, etc, are affiliated) is constantly active ies of solidarity with on issu the struggle of the African peoples. During and since the Shar-

peville events in South Africa impressive demonstrations have been organised and widespread support expressed for the boycott of South African goods. There have been meetings

and campaigns, too, for the release of Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Hastings Banda, against the suppression in Central Africa, and in Algeria.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom is all the more effec-tive because, unlike other organisations associated with the Labour movement, it does not han Communists

This makes it possible to unite all the forces opposed to colonialism, and to ensure close cooperation in all pha-

ses of solidarity with the struggle in Africa. There exists also in Britain the Committee of African Organisations, which repre-sents 37 African student and other organisations in Britain, and is extremely active on all the big formed of the structure the big issues of the struggle in Africa.

The Communist Party is extremely alive to the libe-ration struggle in Africa. It is presented in our Daily Worker as an essential part of the common struggle against imperialism, and in our weekly. World News and our monthly, Marxism To-day, serious political and practical treatment is given n important articles on African problems.

Never in my experience have British Communists been so conscious of the character of the united struggle with the African peoples against the commor enemy.

This is not to say that we are satisfied with the scale of our solidarity activity in Britain

But the Communist Party has certainly proved itself to be the most consistent force in Britain for stimulating solidarity action with the struggle in Africa, and we are confident that our solidarity efforts in this sphere will be even more successful in 1962.

GUPTA: It is said that advance towards socialist goals in Britain is assured if there in Britain is assured if there is a powerful world-wide common fight against impe-rialism and everything that the latter represents? Do you agree?

GOLLAN: Our view of the relations of the colonial stru-ggle to the advance of socia-lism is clearly set out in our programme, The British Road To Socialism.

It points out that it is "in the common interests equal-ly of the British people, the bject colonial peoples and all the peoples of the pre-sent empire to build a firm alliance in the struggle against all imperialist agagainst an imperialist ag-gression and robbery, and for the national indepen-dence of all subject peoples of the Empire". We regard the struggle for

national and colonial liberation, not as something sepa-rate, but as an essential and integral part of the fight for socialism in Britain.

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For Kerala's Advance

COMMUNISTS READY TO COOPERATE WITH MINISTRY



Women attended Communist election rallies in unpreedented numbers

E. M. S. Namboodiripad has issued the following statement to the Press on February 27:

T is obvious that the people tions incontestably prove the I is obvious that the people itons incontestably prove the ar and unambiguous ver- pursued by the Congress and t against the two year old its allies in relation to the ngress-PSP Government in Communist Party ever since rala as well as against the itinuous neglect of Kerala's ted, in 1957, the formation of eds on the part of a Central a Communist led Government. clear and unambiguous ver-dict against the two year old Congress-PSP Government in Kerala as well as against the continuous neglect of Kerala's needs on the part of a Central

It would, however, be incorrect to stop at such an assess-

It should further be stated that events culminating in the present Lok Sabha elecportunity in 1962 to judge us on our five year record and the Congress on their ten year record in Kerala Their refusal to do this: their resorting to unconsti-

tutional methods to get that Ministry removed by the Central Government; the anti - Communist hysteria they worked up; the unthey worked up; the un-principled oportunism which they exhibited in forming the triple alliance—all this has now been proved to have offered no solution for the economic and political problems of Kerala.

Two years ago when the present Government took –by e. m. s.–

namboodiripad

office we were assured that the Congress was turning a new leaf. We were assured that the mis-rule, corruption and in-ternecine squabbles for which the pre-1957 Government were Dast.

Had the Congress and its allies shown enough patience for the full five year period for which that Government even for the blindest eyes, that Government is even more cor-rupt than previous Congresswas constitutionally entitled to function, the people of Ke-rala would have had an op-PSP Government. The wide-

notorious, were things of the Today, however, it is clear

spread allegations of corrup-tion levelled against more than one Minister have now capped by the rejection oth the parties by the electorate.

The question naturally arises: What are, the ruling arises: parties going to do? Proposals are in the air with regard to the reorganisation of the Ministry and even dissolution of the Ministry and the legi-slature leading up to fresh elections to the legislature.

I would, however, appeal to all my friends including both in the PSP and the Congress, to do a little more serious thinking on the basic issue involved. That issue is the negative policy of anti-Communism which has been their sheet-an at least for the last five vears.

Was it not this that' led them to adopt a negative attitude to the demand made on the Centre by the Communist Party and the Government led by it for a fairer share of central sector projects in Kerala?

Was it not this that made sort to the unconstituthom re tional method of direct action in order to remove a constitu tionally elected Government? Was it not this that led to



Teh

A. K. Gopalan



tic alliances with the forces of

Was it not this that forced them to tolerate the corrup-tion and nepotism resorted to by their ministers rather than putting them down with an iron hand?

Finally, was it not this negative anti - Communism that made them resort to the manoeuvre of conf election to the Lok bha alone rather than taking this opportunity to take a fresh verdict of the people for the State Legisla-ture and the Government as 110

The question, therefore, is whether the Congress and PSP friends are prepared to give up this negative policy of anti-Communic munists for our part are prenared to extend out hands of cooperation to them as well as to friends belonging to other parties and organisations in an earnest and united effort to serve the people of Kerala and particularly to:

-Rid its administration of the corruption, inefficiency and bureacracy which are hampering its development;

-Fight for securing a pror share in Plan allocation Kerala from the Central

-Facilitate the most efficlent and speedy implementa-tion of developmental prolects through the mobilisation of the entire people;

-Fight the evils of communal separatism without in any way weakening the strug-gle for the legitimate demand of backward communities and religious mi

-Improve the living and working conditions of the common people;

And achieve other democratic aims and objectives in which the people of all castes, creeds and political affilia-tions are interested.

MARCH 11, 1962

By HARKISHEN SINGH SURJEET

The Third General Elections have made it clear that the majority of the Punjabi people are against Congress rule. In spite of spending lakhs of rupees and use of government machinery in an unprecedent. ed way, the percentage of votes polled by the Congress this time is lower, being 43.12 in comparison with 1957 when it was 47.60. The Kairon clique which has maintained its power with the help of bullets, tear gas shells and lathies has been thoroughly exposed.

elected candidates are not

going to stick to it because they had nothing to do with

The Akall Party had joined

sible to make any comparison of votes polled by them with the present. In 1952 they had

won 23 seats and got 15 per cent of the votes. The per-centage of votes polled by them this time is 12.6 per

The PSP had two members in the last Assembly. One of them had joined the Congress,

the other one has been de-

feated in the present elec-tions. This time they contes-ted 10 seats as compared to to 15 in 1957 but drew a blank.

The Socialist Party in reality

has won one seat. The other three candidates who have

been elected on its symbol are

dissident Congressmen belong-

The General Elections of

1962 have been held in the background of rising dis-

content against Congress in the Punjab. The heroic anti-betterment levy strug-gle fought by the Punjabi

peasants, during which the Congress rulers resorted to savage force resulting in

the tragic death of ten per-

sons including two women-one of them a Harijan-has not gone in vain. The Con-gress rulers were forced to reduce the quantum of levy

The struggles launched by

had their effect on the elec-

The second important fac-

tor, in the background of which the present elections took place, is communalism.

The Congress is respon

tions

"taxes,

hy Rs. 20 crores.

ing to Devi Lal's group.

cent.

HAT about the Commu-nist Party? In spite of Hariana. Three of its present Hariana. Three of its present and dour in lab the Communist Party has succeeded in fulfilling its main election objectives. Let us remember the call the Party had given to the voters before the elections.

they had nothing to do with the organisation and had only accepted the symbol for ex-pediency's sake. It has heavily lost in seats in the major cities, especially in the Pun-jabi region except for Amrit-sar where it has retained two seats The Communist Party had appealed to the electorate to ensure the defeat of the do minant leaders of the Kairor seats. clique and reduce the overal majority of the Congress. the Congress before the 1957 elections. Twenty-three Akaweaken the political and ideo-logical influence of the com-munal and reactionary parties lis had got the ticket out of lis had got the ticket out of which 22 had won. This time nineteen Akalis have been elected. As they were in the Congress in 1957 it is not pos-sible to make any comparison and increase the representation of the Communists and democratic allies

Communist Gains

The election results are already out. Among the opposition parties the Com-munists have increased their seats. They have in-creased their strength in the State Accordbly from four to State Assembly from four to Four independents supported by the Party have also won. Out of 26 in dents a large majority con-sists of democratic Congressmen who have devoted their lives to the national movement. Combined to-gether the strength of democratic opposition has increased phenomenally.

Its vote has gone down. Some of the prominent members of the Kairon clique like. Hans Raj Sharma, Chief Parlia-Raj Sharma, Chief Parlia-mentary Secretary and the right hand man of Kairon, has been defeated. Similar have been the fates of Chow-Similar dhary Amar Singh, Gene-ral Secretary of the State Congress, and PWD Minister Chowdhary Suraj Mal.

As regards Kairon's popu-larity the less said the better. The way he has "won" is known to everybody. He has a "glorious" majority of 34 votes, something for which the Chief Minister must be thankful to his obedient officlais! But Kairon can pride himself for this too!!. His index of popularity is for everybody to see today.

The Swatantra Party which was boasting about forming an alternative Gov-Impact Of Struggles ernment in the Punjab has been routed at the polls. The three members elected the people, against high food prices, struggle for civil liber-ties and other struggles of the middle class employees, the struggle against high taxes, on its ticket had only adopted its symbol. Al-though it had no dearth of money most of its leaders have been defeated, includhave been defeated, includ-ing its two General Secre-taries, Basant Singh and Dharam Singh Rathi, and Raja Mahesh Chandra Singh— the uncle of the Maharaja of Patiala. In mony cases they have not many cases they have not been able to save their de-

for perpetuating it by refusing to solve the question of lan-guage by the linguistic re-organisation of the State on The Jana Sangh, in 1957, had contested 60 seats and democratic lines. won nine. This time it con-tested 76 seats but it could In this background the

posits even

MARCH 11, 1962

KERALA'S POLL-THE FACTS

As the din and dust of the electoral battle are settling down, political parties are busy analys-ing the electoral figures polled by them and drawing lessons that emerge out of them.

OF the 14 Communist Party candidates that were in the field six candidates came out successful (in the 1957 elections 15 Party candidates contested and nine were successful). All the three independents whom the Communist Party supported and the one RS candidate whom the Com-munist Party sponsored and supported won

Of the 14 Congress candidates the Congress set up six won while in 1957 they set un 17 candidates o whom six got in. Of the three Muslim League candidates two won (in 1957 they had set up four candidates and won only one seat).

Of the four PSP candidates who stood with Con. gress support, none got in while in 1957 they had fielded eight candidates with the support of the League and got only one

.ζ

The RSP set up one candidate - with Communist support and won it while in 1957 they got none out of the three candidates they

set up. The Swatantra Party set up one candidate and the Jana Sangh four candidates none of whom fared well.

The Congress lost its three 1957 seats from Malabar-one to the Communist Party, the second to the Communist-supported in-dependent and the third to the Muslim League. It gained three seats from the Travancore-Cochin area

from the Communist Party. Of the total votes polled the bloc of Communists, RSP and Independents supported by them got 49.5 ne cent. In 1957 the Commu-nists and their Indepen-dents had secured 43 per cent. The Congress and PSP bloc together polled 43.3 per cent of the total votes. The League had polled 5.81 The League had polled 5.81 per cent in 1957 while in 1962 with only three seats they polled 3.5 per cent. In 1957 the Communist Party 1957 the Communist Party polled 37.48 per cent while in 1962, the Party candidates polled 34.7 per cent of the votes (this does not include the Communist Party votes that have gone in favour of the RSP and Independents). The Con-gress Party polled 33.3 this time as against 34.75 per cent last time.

In the 1957 elections 66 56 per cent of the total elec-torate had registered their votes: in the 1960 mid-term elections this percentage shot up to 84.75. In 1932 the percentage polled was 70.5, higher than all the -eve forecasts. If one analyses the votes

bolled by various parties in the Assembly constituencies this time the picture that emerges is that the Congress and PSP together have secured a majority only in 40 seats out of which 38 are in the Travancore-Cochin area. In Mala. bar of the 49 total Assembly bar of the 49 total Assembly seats the Congress has a majority of votes only in Kozhikode and Kuthupa-ramba. The opposition par-ties including the Muslim League have, thus, a majo-rity in 86 Assembly seats with the League having a majority in nine seats in majority in nine seats In all the Assembly Constituencies of the Kasargode. Badagara, Ponnani, Pal-Badagara, Ponnani, Pal-ghat, Quilon and Chirayin. kil Lok Sabha seats, the candidates of the Com-munist - RSP - Indepen-dent block have a majority. In all the Assembly consti-tubenet of the Tormer's tuencies of the Tiruvalla and Kottayam seats the Congress has a majority. The candidates of the Communist Party were beaten in Kozhikode and Man

jeri by a narrow margin by the Muslim League while in Mukundapuram, Ernakulam. Moovattupuzha, Kottayam, Tiruvalla and Maye-

NEW AGE

likkara, the Congress beat the Communist Party poll-ing a sizeable majority over the Communists, except in Mavelikkara.

One significant feature of the Karnataka speaking areas of Manjeswaram (Kasargode area) of the Kasargode constituency and the Tamil areas of Devikulam-Peermade in the Moovattupuzha constitu-Moovattupuzha constitu-ency is that the Communists and Independents have been able to gather considerable strength.

The Congress has been able to retain its stre and improve only in the Travancore-Cochin areas, particularly in Centrel Travancore and Cochin where the combined forces of Nair communalism and the Christian clergy could operate.

In the Malabar area the Muslim League has been able to prove to the Con-gress and PSP together that without their support, both the Congress and the PSP are nowhere.

The Muslim League independently fighting the Communists and the Congress in three seats have een able to annex twodistinct improven their position. In both the seats the Communists have emerged as a close rival to the League.



Akalis were making an appeal to the Sikhs alone to rally behind them for the solution of the Punjabi Suba question the Congress was trying its utmost to make a communal appeal to the Hindus to rally behind it to save the Punjab from division.

Incidentally this has been the slogan of the Jana Sangh, since its inception. The Sangh has fought the The Jone tions on a similar regional formulo

The Communist Party was the only party which came forward as the unifier of the Punjabl people, putting forward a democratic solu-tion and fighting against the tion and fighting against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government. It had a heavy responsibility to fulfil during the general elections. No wonder it he-came the main target of the Congress which dubbed it as an anti-national force, etc.

Congress Manoeuvres

The Congress, because of its anti-people policies, corrup-tion and interference in the administration, was so much isolated from the people that it required the help of central leaders even to hold meetings. Fandit Nehru was thrice invi-ted to Punjab to help the sinking boat of the Congress. But even then the Congress was not able to rally the ma-jority of the people behind it. **Complex Results**

THE Secretariat of Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India which met at its Jullundur headquarters considered and discussed the results of General Elections in a broad way.

It expressed satisfaction at the heavy reduction in the Congress majority and the reverses suffered by important members of the ruling party, and the election to the Assembly of Communists in larger strength and of quite a good number of independents with democratic orientation It thanked the lakhs of voters who sup-ported the Party and de-mocratic independents despite terrific pressure by the ruling party and official machinery. The Secretariat also noted certain negative features of the situation.

The Secretariat discuss-ed the issue of counting of votes in Sarhali constituency and also Narnaul and Jhajjar constituencies. It

areas: two from Ferozepur, two from Bhatinda and three from Sangrur.

Two Congress leaders inclu ding Hans Rai Sharma, de feated by the independents supported by the Communist



was couvinced on the basis of facts brought to its no-tice that serious irregulatice that serious irregula-ritles have been committed to tilt the balance in favour of the Chief Minister and other Congress candi-

dates. The Secretariat considers that there exist clear cases for re-poll. It appealed to all political parties, irres pective of political differ ences, to stand together in the cause of the defence of democracy and free and fair elections and demand a re-poll.

The Secretariat has de-cided to call a meeting of the State Executive Committee in the first week of April to prepare an election review report which will be placed before the State Council for discussion and adoptio

In the meantime, Dis-trict Councils have been asked to discuss and adopt District review reports by March 20. The entire mem bership is to be drawn into the discussions to pool experience and draw correct conclusions.

ty of these constituencies. The Congress has been able to rally the support of the Sche-duled Castes because of our weakness among them.

Thanks to the Congress policy the ideological hold

PUNJAB - POLARISATION The Congress which won 118 seats out of 152 in 1957 this time has only 90 seats. ALONG COMMUNAL LINES

But for the communal appeal made by the Congress, telling the Hindus that it is not the Jana Sangh but the Congress which could save Punjab from further partition, the Congress would have been routed. Of course, such appeals were net made from the public platform but the campaign platform but the campaign was carried on in a subtle way by holding secret mee-tings of Hindus and rousing their communal passions on the question of the reorga-nisation of the State.

A thorough analysis of the Congress will show that the Congress has been able to wing generally in the seats where either the Hindus are in a majority or which are balanced by the two communities, Hindus and Sikhs. Similarly the Akalis got the seats which are predominantly Sikh population.

In Nur Mahal contest where I lost the seat most of the district Akali leaders and Jana Sangh worked for the Congress candidate. More-over the Swatantra Party candidate withdrew in favour of the Congress candidate.

The Communists won eight seats in direct contest the Congress and one with in a triangular contest. The macandidates have been elected of the people from their probfrom the areas where there lems in these areas and direct was a bitter struggle against it to the bogey of State re-betterment levy. Seven out organisation thus getting the of nine seats come from these support of the Hindu majori-

NEW AGE

Party also belong to the areas where firing took place during the anti-betterment levy struggle.

In the Hariana area the Congress has lost mostly to the dissident Congressmen who contested on the basis of a democratic norgramme If the CPI's efforts of unity among all democratic ele-ments had succeeded better results would have been achieved, because the Con-gress hold in this area is weaker than even that in the Punjabi region. Twenty Congress MLAs from the Hariana area had joined hands under the leadership of Chowdhary Devi Lal to form a democratic opposition .

In the last election the Communists had won four seats from the Punjabi region Now they have got nine On the whole the Party achieved the objective Party has laid down in the Manifesto of the Puniab State Council of the CPI.

But it would not be proper if we fail to mention our failures and shortcomings ex-pressed through this election. The Party has lost three of the four seats it held last time, not because its influence has declined but specially because the Congress had been able to divert the attention

of the communal parties ha not weakened. The elec-tions have resulted in further polarisation on com-munal lines and the heavy responsibility now rests on the democratic elements to forge the unity of the Punjabi people.

The conclusions arrived at in the June 1960 meeting of the State Council that unless the question of the State reorganisation of the Punjab is solved the democratic move-ment cannot make much headway has proved to be correct.

Along with the co forces the Congress has been utilising it and trying to per-petuate the communal divi-sion for keeping itself in the power.

Important

Lesson

The second important les son that the Party has to draw in Punjab is that un-less it concentrates among the agricultural labourers, who are generally Harijans, even the unity of the peasantry cannot be achieved nor can the democratic movement strengthen itself.

In the coming days the Party will try to remove these weaknesses. The Communist MLAs inside the Assembly and the Party outside will continue the battle on behalf of the neople.

PAGE NINE

From Our Correspondent

Virtual rejection of the Congress by the electors of the Madhya Pradesh is definitely a protest vote against the mal-administration, corruption, nepotism, indifference to the people's demands and grievances by the ruling party.

Congress in this State, spite of all the information which was considered, to be at its command the ruling one of its strongholds, has party did not take any action exploded the myth of the invincibility of the narty. The results have gone herond the expectations of any keen po-litical observer. Though the political pundits and the press predictd a definite reduction in the Congress majority none went to this extent. The electorate by its performance surprised one and all

But the forces and ele-ments which have come on the surface and created a strong base for themselves are such that cannot he welcomed by the secular and democratic citizens. The four-fold increase in

the strength of the Jana Sangh-from 10 in the pre-sent house to 42-in the M. P. Vidhan Sabha poses the biggest threat for the future of this State. The emergence of the Jana San-gh as the biggest opposi-tion group should be noted with all seriousness.

Now the question can be asked who made the Jana Sangh strong? The answer will be-every body, particushare the responsibility. They taken by the Prime Minister. will have to answer for this

THIS near-rout of the It is known fact that in against the Jana Sangh and the R. S. S. for their dirty and

ruthless hand in the riots. There was a popular de mand for a ban on Yag Var. dharma, the organ of the Jana Sangh which incited the communal troubles in the State. But nothing was done in this regard.

Moreover the Chief Ministr came out with a statement that there was no communal press in the State. The Government performed its duty by stopping the supply of the vernment advertis it and this was avenged by the Jana Sangh by defeating the Deputy Minister of Information and Publicity, Sitaram

Jajoo at the polls. When the Prime Minister Nehru visited the State after the riots, he stated in very clear and unambiguous terms that the responsibility for the riots must be fixed on the Hindu communal parties. He deplored the weak and in different role of the Congres

men during the riots. But the Chief Minister This gave a clean certificate to them. Such irresponsible

MADHYA PRADESH_CONGRESS LOSS AND REACTION'S WIN

and unreasonable utterances by Dr. Katju and other Congress leaders encouraged the communal forces. Another factor which gave

sufficient time to the Jana Sangh assisted by the fascist bands of the R. S. S. volun-teers to consolidate their posin, was the delay in the tribution of the tickets to

tribution of the lickets to their partymen. When the partymen were busy in fighting each other the Jana Sangh' workers started approaching the voters with their party programm

Much has appeared in the press about the sabotage by Congressmen against their Congressmen against their fellow partymen, A very im-portant Congressman be-longing to the P. C. C. group told this correspondent that they had a plan for ensur-ing the defeat of many Ministerialists, including the Chief Minister "but we never thought that it would head to the administer of lead to the elimination of the party itself". He told me that what they aimed at was the reduction in the majority of the Ministeria-lists in the Congress legisla-ture party "because this would help us to win po-

of this conspiracy which the P. C. C. group hatched. Although the internal dis-

sensions in the Congress play-ed vital role in its rout, one cannot underestimate the cannot underestimate the frustration and anger which the people had against the ruling party, The Congress had to lose

almost all the seats in the Bastar district due to their wrong handling of the aff-airs. The hackneyed approach towards the Hindu communal parties made the Muslim masses anti-Con-Muslim masses anti-Con-gress. The delay in conced-ing the demands of the Government employees and dismissal of many employees following the State employees' strike made them confirmed anti-Congress voters. The delay in distributing the land to the landless and also the policy of boosting INTUC everywhere resulted in frustration among the

peasantry and labour. Although the P.S.P. and the S. P. have improved beyond had lost many stalwarts in the election. In the defeat of the election. In the defeat of Tamasker, the leader of the P. S. P. group in the Assembly and Dr. Baghel, who contestwer". He confessed that our ed for the Lok Sabha, the calculations had misfired party suffered heavy losses, and the results had come as Brijlal Verma another important member of the P. S.P. was boomerang for us". ant member of the Dr. Katju's defeat is a part also defeated The

munal, not only in spirit.

The Congress Education Minister is the closest friend

of Hindu Mahasahha candi-

date. During the last week he

held all his election meetings

in Muslim areas and not Hindu, to cut the Muslim

votes going to Comrade Sha-kir Ali.

Still more crude and open was Congress Municipal Coun-cillor, Aftabuddin, with a

beard, and an MA degree to sport, who openly said in a Congress jalsa, Agar aap Congress ko vote nahin dete,

to Hindu Mahasabha ko diji

to Hindu Wanasaona go uu-ye, Communiston ko kisi halat main nahin! (If you don't vote Congress, you may vote Hindu Mahasabha, but on no

account Communist)

directed that Congress

win rather than a Muslim

Communist who was himself

the founder of the Congress in Bhopal and whom nobody

dare accuse of communalism

Muslim Congress

the S. P. group in the Assem-bly J. C. Joshi was also defeated in his home consti-

The Communist Party's performance at the polls came as a disappointment to the electorate. The Party failed to maintain its pre-sent strength in the House. It succeeded, however, in sending one representative to the Los Sabha. Homi Daji who has been elected by the

conscious electorate of Indore by defeating the INTUC boss Verma, who fought the elec-tions with the huge sums given to him by the mill-owners. Daji's victory in spite of

all this is very significant and proves that if the proand proves that if the pro-gressive forces can be pro-perly organised they can de-feat anybody how-so-ever strong he might be. Shakir Ali's victory from Bhopal can very well be des-cribed as the victory of secu-lar forces over the communa-

The victory of Bhairava Bharti, a kisan leader who won the elections as an independent vindicates the correctness of our approach to the Kisan problems. The third candidate Gendalal of the CPL who was declared elected from Morena, lost to a PSP candidate in recount-ing by only two votes.

From Our Special Correspondent

Again, to cut the Muslim votes in the second new Bhopal city constituency, Mohini Gupta was contesting, the PSP put up a Muslim candidate, one Yusuf Qureishi and the old Lea guers also supported him. The plan was to split the 3,500 Muslim votes of Jahangirabad. Despite his being a Muslim and with a PSP label, he got only 71 votes from the nine pollitions of this ward. ling sta

not taken its defeat normally candidate to win if a re-elec tion is ordered

The Hindu Mahasahha Mu Secretary of the local Maha sabha was defeated in the new Bhopal City seat by Con-gress and got less votes than Mohini Gupta who was se-cond. These circles are shrieking: Danga phir hoga, jalsa hua tha us se bada! (There will be a communal riot again, bigger than the last!)

The provocative aggressive-ness of the Hindu Mahasabha and the passivity and worse The Communist leaders not only never encouraged any communal appeal but their Muslim mass base gave on an Holi on the 20th Shokie 41 inspiring demonstration of secularism. For example, the tervention.

Parliamentary candidate Mo-hini, a Hindu, won as many votes as Shakir All. This also proves that the Bhopal has again voted Communist. The Communists of Bhopal will do all they can big majority of Bhopal Mus-lims under Communist lea-dership voted against the

The industrial metropolis of North India, Kanpur, has made the Red Flag victorious in the current elections. The popu lar leader of the Defence workers, S. M. Banerjee, had been re-turned to the Lok Sabha last time with a 17,000 majority. This time he won 133,000 votes, the highest in U.P. and a 59,000 lead over his Congress rival. Others who also ran were wiped out, not polling more than single thousands.

THE beloved leader of the done by the workers. There textile workers, S. S. are 3,000 workers in each shift Yusuf, also won this time. Earlier every trick used to be resorted to to defeat this proresorted to to deleat this pro-letarian veteran. This time, the considered a point of honour to Party not only succeeded in stick on and listen. rallying the workers like an army behind their commander, but also won enough middleclass votes to send him to the at the mill gate but Party State Legislature, Lucknow ki meetings inside the mohallas. kursi main (seat him on the chair at Lucknew), in the DOpular Kanpur jargon.

Tactical Objectives

1

The Party set out three

tactical objectives in this election campaign: (a) re-tain the Parliamentary seat; (b) win at least one Assem-bly seat; (c) bly seat; (c) conduct election composion in such a manner as to change the po-litical climate of this key industrial city.

We put up four Assembly candidates in the five seats and for the Parliamentary seat we decided to support S. M. Banercitient to support S. M. Ban-ercit. We made very serious efforts to come to an agree-ment with the PSP and the SP, who had also influence among the working class. At every gate meeting, we offered two seats to the PSP, one to two seats to the FSF, the two the SP and claimed two for ourselves and appealed for fraternal talks for cooperation. A struggle began inside these two parties for negotiating with us, but the splitters proved strong. To inspire con-fidence in these two parties, we withdrew a month before the elections, Santoshi from the contest. There was no res-

We ultimately fielded Assembly candidates ought it out leaving candidates and fought it out leave the verdict to the comm ople. We won Yusuf's seat people. We won Yusuy's sea, and in the other two secur-ed the second place after the Congress, and got re-corded the highest vote for the Parliamentary seat.

The PSP and the SP conatod all the six Kanpur seats. five for the Assembly and one for Parliament. They both lost their deposits in all the

for Yusuf this time, Juhi area, with five textile mills and one

jute mill, Swadeshi Cotton, Kailash, Atherton West, J. K.

Cotton, Lakshmi Ratan Cotton and J.K. Jute. We had to make

from the very beginning a bold

and sustained struggle to achi-

and sustained struggle to achi-eve solid working class unity behind Yusuf. Opposing him was the PSP candidate 'Raj Dhar, himself a victimised Swadeshi worker, and the

Swadeshi worker, and the treasurer of the common Suti Mill Mazdoor Sahha (SMMS). Everyone felt he will split at least the Swadeshi votes, if

not of the workers as a whole. The Swadeshi Mill has the grand tradition of holding gate

meetings at 6 a.m., 2 p.m., 10

p.m., whatever the season be,

even in the cold weather, when the temperature is at freezing point, if and when anything serious has to be

The Jana Sangh narrowly saved its deposit in one seat only, but in all the others, it was routed primarily by the devastating Communist campaign. We chose a new constituency

drivers and small tradesmen. Dange's rally on February 4, made a big, impression. We realised that the Cong-

big thunder against Jana Sangh and our lawyer com-rades Chaturyedi and Sultan Niazi kept it up magnificently, indnagar is a Jana Sangh where it got over 4,000

MARCH 11. 1982

BHOPAL-COMMUNALISTS BEATEN

Bhopal, old city, election results are as follows The victorious candidate Shakir Ali polled 16,933, closely followed by Hindu Mahasabha with 16,700 and Congress far behind both with 10.700

Bhopal while the Congress claims 10,000. The Congress position has been reduced to this that it got only as many votes as it has members on

tis register. The local Congress leadership tried its hardest to regain the seat by making the reli-gious appeal. The Multi of Bhopal,

nad Mohsin was made to issue a fatwah under his own seal and signature, that the Commu-nists did not believe in Al-lah, Rasul and the Shariat and, therefore, do not vote Communist, instead vote for Janab Fakhruddin and B gum Maimoona Sultan, both God-fearing Congressmen. This fatwah was issued in

the night when the actual polling was next morning just to ensure that it could not be answered.

The above was no isolated incident. The Congress Muni-cipal Councillor Sh. Aftabuddin issued a poster under his name that the Communists were against religion and God and so vote for Congress ins-tead. He even quoted Amir Moulvi Abul Lais of Jamait-- Tslamit

The religious appeal was not the only Congress scandal against Indian democracy. The senior Begum of Bhopal mother of the present Nawab-Begum was also mobilised to issue a statement on the eve of the noll appealing for votes for the Congress candidates.

Another was a poster sign-ed by most of the retired Muslim military officers, colonels, etc., to vote Congress,

PAGE TEN

THE Communist Party has Again it did not stop here. 100 members on its roll in Late at midnight before the poll, morn a hand-written poster in large numbers was pasted all over Bhopal, and in the Muslim mohalias, that there is danger of the Hindu Mahasabha winning, we have withdrawn Shakir Ali Khan, now the Muslims should vote for the Congress to save secu-larism, etc. The names below were of prominent local Communists and our influential Muslim supporterst

The Communists organis ed their election campaign on a mass basis and called for sacrifice. The Party ap-pealed for Rs. 10,000 elec-tion fund, with 100 com-rades collecting Rs. 100 each. The quota was overfulfilled.

An inspiring feature of the campaign was that the Mus-lim women worked more actively than even their menfolk. In the last days, it was a common sight to see hun-dreds of Muslim women, with burgas on, kids in arms and their noon meal in a packet, working the whole day to en-sure that their comrade Shakir Mia did win, whatever the odds. Communist women squads

even held street corner meet-ings. The Communist Parlia-mentary candidate was Mo-hini Devi. She activised Bhopal's womanhood, ably assisted by two leading women com-rades, Akhtar Jehan Begum and Shanti Devi and supported by many more. They pro duced a spectacle that Bhopal citizens began arguing whe-ther more women, both Musther more women, both Mus-lim and Hindu, had voted for Shakir Ali than men.

Sikh and Punjabi youth, mostly carpenters, motor workers and the like came out campaigning in squads, sing-ing Punjabi folksongs, stirring the refugee Punjabis wherever they lived against communa-lism and to vote Communist. The Bhopal workers bro-

ught out a striking demonstration with 1,500 on cycles and Red Flags afloat. It was a real hit, no other party could repeat the perfor-

mance. The Hindu Mahasabha pubcampaign this time was not aggressively anti-Muslim,

but mostly an appeal to vote for Pandit Udhay Das Mehta, the President of Hindu Ma-hasabha who had grown old in the cause of sewa, that the first time they had sent in a Congressman, second time a Communist and that now they must give a chance to Bhaiji, for his life-long service

vice. Popular sympathy was sought to be won by spread-ing the tale that his six houses had been sold in the cause of the people. He has however only one house and it has not been sold wait

it has not been sold yet! During the last week, the modus operandi of the Hindu Mahasabha was to approach the backward and poor folks, of the so-called lower castes. in their mohallas, through their chowdharies, who took the sacred water, sealed in a pot and the scene enacted was,Ganga jalo uthao, kasam

khao, Hindu Mahasahha ko vote doge! The traditional old leadership of the Congress is literally the present leader-ship of the Communist Party. The present Bhopal Congress leaders are hard-ly-veiled Hindu Mahasabhites. They have only the

Gandhi can on but ar

The Hindu Mahasabha has It has collected Rs. 10,000 for an election petition and is out to create communal trouble which it thinks will help its

When the Bhonal Congressmen found that Shakir All could not be beaten and was assured of success in the triangular conflict, they nicipal Councillor Bhagwan-das Saraswat who is also the be diverted for the success of the Hindu Mahasabha candidate. This explains the heavy polling of the Hindu Mahasabha. Bhopal Congressmen hav fallen so low that they prefer to see the Hindu Mahasabha

duced a situation of acute communal tension. The Id is on the Sth. followed by the has rushed to New Delhi to warn the Prime Minister in time and seek his personal in-

of Enopal will do all they can to prevent a communal riot taking place again. The final outcome, however, does not depend on them alone.

ek vote, ek note (one vote, one currency note). The Swadeshi workers responded magnifi-cently. On the next wage day, Rs. 2.000 were collected in one rupee currency notes. The news had electrify-The news had the ing effect throughout the working class area. It stirred the class feeling of all the class feeling of all the the class feeling of all the class feeling of all the the class feeling of all workers and strengthened their determination to make their Moulana win this time. It had a positive impact

among the petit-bourgeoisie. The more the Congress and the Jana Sangh faced Yusuf's powerful campaign, the more panicky they became, as the working class became more active and solidified. As President of the SMMS.

we decided to change our whole style of work and be-gan Yusuf's election campaign

with gate meetings and they too right on the Swadeshi gate and in freezing winter. Yusuf gave out the slogan

Yusuf took up the bonus issue and succeeded in settling it and succeeded in setting it successfully. For example, the Kailash Mill workers got Rs. 25,000 in bonus and the workers gave back Rs. 1,000 as donation ple, the got Rs. to the Party election fur The workers of Swadeshi

Mill had a particular reason to be deeply attached to Yusuf and his Party. For the last seven years, the management has succeeded in making the workers work extra four hours every week. Yusuf led a three-month long struggle and suc-ceeded in getting these extra four hours dropped.

At first, the workers en masse stopped the work just as the last extra half hour began. The management declared a lock-out lasting over a month. The workers began to starve. Yusuf lite-rally inspired the workers to stick it out, and keep up the good fight. The workers ultima-tely won. Now they all set out express their gratitude to

their beloved lead Terrific Campaign

The workers of Swadeshi and city. We had only the last day in We had only the last day in Kailash en masse became volun-teers and active campaigners for Yusuf, Comrade Lotu Rai mobilized the jute workers. The 4,000 while Rs. 3,000 came from Punjabi workers, truck

ress voter is fixed but pa sive and that unless we attacked the Jana Sangh frontally, we will not be able to keep either the workers united nor make our middle-class voters firm. Aruna Asaf Ali opened the

From S. HARBANS SINGH Kanpur-Red Flag Wins

votes, the Congress a little over 2,000 and Yusuf 1,758. Right there Sultan made a terrific exposure of the Jana Sangh and Guru Golwalkar on the basis of the New Age article by Garuda

The Jana Sanah hearn a vicious whispering campaign that the son of a Mussalman had dared attack the Hindu dharma. When the Jana Sangh

leader Atal Behari Vajpayee came to Kanpur he scolded his followers: Why did you let him speak? If I were not a candidate myself, I would have pulled his tongue out. The Jana Sangh made a plan

to counter-attack us both demogogically and physically. We got the original of Gol-walker's statement, took out photostat copies and distributed it in leaflet form in thousands of copies. We again held a meeting in this Jana Sangh base, Sultan attacked still more vigorously and he was protected by Sikh sardars all round, The success of our campaign demoralised and pa-ralysed the Jana Sangh.

On February 18, the Swade-shi Mill workers decided to bring out a man oth proces sion. They covered an 18-mile route in six hours, and sent Yusuf's electoral stock sky high.



S. S. Yusuf

On February 22, a news item appeared in the Hindi daily, Viswamitra, that one day, in one of Banerjee's meetings, one Communist leader said that Sita was a prostitute Neither the place nor the time of the meeting nor the name of the alleged speaker, one Com-munist leader, was stated. However, 20,000 copies of Visuamitra was distributed Visuamitra was distributed free. The cutting was pasted up in the walls of all the tem-ples and within 12 hours, nu-merous leaflets reproducing the story from Visuamitra were broadcast all over the

We had only the last day in our hand. No public meeting could be held on February 24 and the poll was on the 25th. On the 23rd itself, we held four big meetings, one in the Jana Sangh base and took out a 5,000 strong procession. The central rally was in Maction Road attended by

Meston Road attended ้อน about a lakh, followed by a procession of 50,000 very late in the night. This sma-shed the slander about Sita mata. The election results showed that this last desperate bid was smash foiled, by the skilful high speed work of our rank and file.

S. M. Baneriee began his parliamentary campaign by distributing 40,000 copies of a factual report of his work in the Lok Sabha. It deeply imed public

NEW AGE

they came to the conclusion that Banerjee had done good work during his five years in

he Parliament. We had to come face to face with two negative factors which were successfully overcome. The PSP and SP had no candidate against him last time, but this time both put up their own parliamentary didates.

Congress Slander

The common voters felt that the left vote would be split and Banerjee may not win. The PSP and SP had gone so shamelessly anti-Communist that they open-ly bragged that their one aim was to defeat Banerjee and Yusuf. We campaigned to defeat those who admit that they can never win themselves, but are only out to defeat the other lefts. This worked.

The other hurdle was the new Congress candidate, Vijay Kumar Sinha, colleague of the martyr-hero Bhagat Singh. martyr-hero Bhagat Singh. The people said Sinha may not have worked in Kanpur and for the people for years but the Congress was at least putting up a clean candidate with a good past. Bhagat Singh's two other comrades-in-arms, Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor came down to broadcast the last message

to broadcast the last message of Bhagat Singh was that Marxism-Leninism was the only way out for India. When the Congress found that the appeal of the Congress candi-date being also once Bhagat Singh's comrade is not proving decisive, they rained Nehru's message to the Kanpur voters from an aeroplane above, in lakhs of copies. This created excitement, heightened sity but nothing more. curo-

Now the Congress intensi-Now the Congress inclus-fied their campaign along the usual anti-Communist lines, Banerjee was a "veiled Communist", to vote for Banerjee is to "vote for Chou-Mao," to vote for Ba-Chai-Mao, to vote for Ba-nerjee is to "vote for Chin-ese traitors," to vote for Ba-nerjee is "to reward a trait-or", Banerjee is "a shame on Kanpur!" It is interesting to note that these anti-Con note that these anti-commu-nist leaflets distributed in lakhs and 30-yard long ban-ners tied up across the streets and in every part of the city mere not signed not responsibility publicly own-ed. They were paid for by the mill-owners and everything else done by the Con-

gress. Banerjee and Yusuf smash-obstacle ed through every obstacle through a sustained, organised campaign and two mammoth

On February 4 Dange's rally was held which was the first central rally, over 30,000 strong. Next week on 11th, Aruna-

Next week on 11th, Aruna-ji's meeting was still bigger, about as big as Nehru's, said most. She effectively and per-suasively debunked the slan-ders about Communist treachery, Communist being Chi-nese agents, etc. She proclaimed herself a

supporter of Pandit Nehru's policy that she had support-ed the Congress 4n Delhi against the Jana Sangh, and that what was needed today was a broad national front to correct the mistakes of of of be the the Congress, consisting the people who would selfless, out to serve

people and of pure patriot-ism. She asked for support for Banerjee and Yusuf because they were such, the type of legislators the countru needed.

The week following was the anti-Jana Sangh week as stated earlier. On the 18th, a big procession

began from Parade Ground and went round the city. It was raining and the 25,000 demonstrators went on shouting: "It may go on raining but The success of this procession made it imperative for the

Congress to bring out a match-ing one. The Singhanias gave leave to all their workers of the 2 p.m. shift, one rupee extra as a reward, and sent them out in trucks and rickshaws to strengthen the Congress procession. The multi-millionnaire Sin-

ghania family, one of the top monopoly groups in the coun-try, is reported to have spent over a lakh over this procession. Despite all these, it was nale and weak before the ear lier procession that had come out demonstrating for Baner-jee. After this, they put out the stunt story about Sita, as statof earlier

People's

Jóy

There are 40,000 rick-shawwallas in Kanpur. We had taken up the misery of their life and the redress of their grievances very seri-ously indeed. Hundreds of them worked free for Banerjee and Yusuf-women, for making the banners, con-tributed their sarees which for making the banners, con-tributed their sarees which were all dyed red. This, ge-nerous gift came to over 600 yards. Two meetings of 2000 each of women alone were

After the election became known in the City Congress office, one prominent Congress leader told the configuress reader total the others, "now you have it, both Chou and Mao have been elected. We set out to defeat Banerjee and we have got Yusuf too round our neck

In the victory rally, over 50,000 strong, Yusuf made one of his grandest speech-es, the danger signal is there, pointing towards the Jana Sangh and the Swa tantra Party. He fervently appealed to good Congress-men for unity to defend men for unity to defend India, its honour, tradition and future and appealed to all to help build a strong Communist Party which was out to build a joint front of all patriotic and democratic

He did not claim the Kanpu victory as of the Communist Party alone but that the Party was only its organizer. It was really a people's victory. The Communist votes were only 40,000 but Bane 140,000, he stressed.

When the Swadeshi mill workers heard at about 5 a.m. that their Yusuf had won stopped work, started singing and dancing, wi thjoy. Kanpur is looking up, the

entire working class, and all progressive individuals are happy. Honest Congressmen are saying among themselves that Banerjee and Yusuf's victories are good, they will make other Congressmen think. The vested interests and reaction aries of all times are crest fallen but desperate. ies are crest

PAGE ELEVEN

TAMILNAD-Congress Weakened

From GANESAN

The elections provided surprises everywhere. Tamilnad is no exception. It was widely hoped by Congressmen that the Congress will not only retain its present strength but also increase it.

A SUBTLE propaganda was let loose that the prestige and influence of the Congress have increased under the regime of Kamaraj. But this expectation has been belied. To the dismay of the Congress leaders it won only 138 seats against 151 seats in the out-

opposition in the State legisla-ture. In the last Assembly the DMK had 15 members. After the exist of E. V. K.

Sampath and his followers from the DMK the latter's strength in the Assembly was reduced to 12. Now the DMK has increased its number to 50. It has also won seven Parliamentary seats. The DMK has secured about 34 lakh votes or 27 per cent of the total valid votes polled.

The emergence of the DMK as the main opposition has perturbed Congress circles. Chief Minister Kamaral has said that he was not happy over the development

cannot be happy over the victory of a party like the DMK whose main objective is the division of the coun-try. Moreover, the DMK's open alliance with the comnal Muslim League and Dravidasthan

MONTHS of intense

election campaign,

From Inan

Bikash Moitra

its get-together with the re-actionary Swatantra cannot but create concern among the other democratic parties.

The DMK leader C. N. Annadurai has reiterated his party's objective of separation of Dravidasthan in his latest going Assembly. One of the main features of after the elections. He also the elections is that the DMK said sometime back that his has emerged as the main party would listen to the party would listen to the advice of Rajaji and follow his lead. These are all disquieting

lead. These are all disquieting features. The DMK had so far been acting as a democratic opposi-tion to the Congress and it had always taken up a demo-cratic position along with the Community Barty common the Communist Party on many

the Communist Party on many democratic issue. The CPI and DMK stood jointly on the side of the people on almost all issues affecting the people inside and outside the legislature. Let us hope that the DMK will con-tinue to function as a demo-cratic opposition in the inte-rests of the people and not be dragged away by the Swatan-Those who are concerned tra leadership. for the unity of the country The DMK may boost its

The DMK may boost its victory as a victory of its slogan of Dravidasthan. M. Karunanidhi, one of its top leaders, has already declared that the people have given their verdict in favour of Dravidasthan

total number of votes cast in

However, the truth is that the slogan of Dravidasthan was not made an election issue. This slogan was only mentioned as the objective two Lok Sabha seats. But it could not win any. Bowever, we can now see the avery function willowe the in the preamble of the DMK election manifesto. Nor was this featured in their press and election platforms. Besides, the DMK won many of its marginal seats only because of its alliance with the League and Swatantra.

Another important feature the election is that the Swatantra Party lost heavily in the elections getting only



Anandan Nambiar

six seats in the Assembly and losing as many as 57 deposits out of the 94 seats contested. It could not win single Lok Sabha seat. It is a clear indication that the people have rejected Swatantra politics. Rajaji's alliance with the DMK has helped the latter but not himself.

Such is also the case with the Muslim League alliance with the DMK. The League

ous set-backs in Calcutta and

24-Parganas and in Howrah district. It has lost five of its ten seats in Calcutta to the

Congress. But the Congress

However, we can now see in every Muslim village the Muslim League flag flying along with the DMK flag. The communal Muslim League is again rearing its ugly head; Unfortunately the DMK has helped this pro-Cess.

Another noticeable feature of the election results is



R. Umanath.

the trouncing of the PSP in Tamilnad. It lost its two seats. Its leader Chinnadurai lost to the Congress—in spite of his alliance with the Swatantra. The PSP supported G. K. Sundaram, a Swatantra millowner in the Coimbatore parliamentary constituency, where the real fight was between the Congress candidate and the Communist Party condidate Parvathi Krish

have lost their seats.

The Communist Party suf-fered heavy reverses in the elections. It lost three Assembly seats and two Lok Sabha eats. However, it gained two other Lok Sabha seats. M. other Lok Sabha seats. M. Kalayanasundaram was elect-ed from Trichy II Assembly constituency for the third time in a straight fight with the Congress, A. K. Subbiah was also elected from Tiruthuraipoondi in a straight contest with the Congress to the Assembly.

People hoped that the CPI and the DMK would come to an electoral understanding Had such an understanding been arrived at the Congress strength would have further been reduced. But the DMK preferred to have an understanding with the League and the Swatantra.

The DMK set up candidates in 44 seats against CPI candidates and supported either the Swatantra, League or independent can-didates against the CPI in the remaining constituencles contested by the Communists, expect in Trichy trict where the CPI and DMK had a districtwise district whe partial understanding for mutual support.

The CPI had to conduct the election fight mainly on its own strength. It had the satis-faction of giving a principled fight. The Communist Party's defeat has caused much con-cern in its ranks and also among the other democratic sections. The CPI will learn proper lessons from the elec-tions and chalk out its pro-

W. Bengal-Election Figures

the Opposition. It has won 22 seats from the CPI and 29 Minister of State, the Speaker from other Opposition groups, while it has lost 20 to the former and 33 to the latter. The CPI has suffered seri-the CPI has suffered seri-of the Communist leaders also because the communist leaders also the communist leaders als Renu Chakravartty has been returned by the largest majority among all Lok Sa-bha candidates from West Bengal, her lead over her nearest Congress rival being

Communist candidates have 94,424 votes. The RSP has retained its polled the highest votes in the Assembly elections. They are: existing seat. The F.B. has lost is two present seats, but has won a new one from Cooch Behar. One ULF-supported In-Tarun Sen Supta: 48.808 (Dum Dum); Niranjan Sen Gupta: 41,049 (Tollygunge), Jyoti Basu (leader of the opposi-tion: 40,830 (Baranagore). dependent has been elected by defeating Ila Pal Chowdhury, sitting Congress M.P. from Nababwip Parliamentary constituency. The final party position in. Inspite of its reverses in the Assembly elections, the CPI has not only retained its six Lok Sabha seats, including

		195	2	1	957	19	62	-
		Con.	Opp.	Con.	Opp.		Opp.	, e
Calcutta	••	17	8	8	18	14		1 I
Howrah	••	8	8	5	10	9	6	1.5.
24 Parganas		23	17	20 _	22	- 33	9	
Hooghly		. 7 .	7	- 11	4	10	5	
Nadia	••	9	1 1	10	1	. 6	5	
Burdwan		13	7	· 10	11	10	11	8 B
Birbhum		8	3	5	6	4	R	n. 1
Bankura	••	10	4	13		9	4	
Murshidabad	••	. 14	2	. 15	1 . 1	8	8	5.0
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Darjeeling		1	4	1	4	2	š	
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		three in Ca			the Lok 8			ows
Percentage of votes	polled	ther increa			То	tal Seats	s: 36	$\{ i,j \}$
1952 1957	1962	three. Com			•		1957	196
38.20 46.14	48.90	elected to t			Congress	1.1	23	. 23
9.71 17.82	24.10			erjee, Dr.	CPI	1	6	· - (
8.30 9.85	4.60	Ranen Sen					2	
		from Calcu					1	
	12.10	vartty (Ba						
19.70 14.10	8.80	Murmu (Balurghai	-Schedu-	(ULF su	(betrogg	<u> </u>	11.1

Murmu (Balurghat-Schedu-led), Md. Elias (Howrah); Dinen Bhattacharyay (Serampore); Provat Kar (Hooghly);

PSP

(ULF supported) Lok Sevak Sangh

Independents

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MARCH 11, 1962

PIETER KEUNEMAN on ...

On behalf of the Communist Party, I wish; first of all, to congratulate the Government on the steps it has taken so far to suppress the attempt at a reactionary coup d'etat based on sections of the armed forces and the police.

Alms Of

. - '

If this reactionary coup d'etat had succeeded in establishing a military-police regime in this coun-

try, the common people would have lost their right

to vote and to establish a Government of their own

run on the lines of "Opera-

It would have meant the end

As far as the Communist

alone but to take immediate

Conn

and the police. O UR Party has supported and will continue to sup-port every action of the Gov-ernment directed towards un-earthing all the ramifications of this reactionary plot and smashing it totally. In the course of this Debate, many theories have been ex-pounded. Many inferences have been drawn from facts, real and imaginary. Many points of detail have been exof this reactionary plot and smashing it totally. In the course of this Debate, many theories have been ex-pounded. Many inferences have been drawn from facts, real and imaginary. Many points of detail have been ex-pounder of this country. That is something that none of us should forget. aggerated out of all propor-tion. Some honourable memtion. Some honourable mem-bers have behaved as if this House could constitute itself into a parallel investigating authority....

The main question is that a reactionary coup d'etat was planned; that it was aimed at destroying not only the Gov-ernment but the Left as well; that parts of the plot have been uncovered and some of the plotters arrested: that all the reactionary and upper class forces in this country are lining up in various ways in defence of the coup d'etat and its perpetrators; and that international reaction, too, is doing what it can in their support.

In this situation what do we gain by arguing whether pea-sants can do without workers or workers without peasants? Both points of view will only isolate their respective expo-nents and get them in trouble. In this situation what do we gain by trying to thrash out the differences between us of a month ago? No, Sir. The main job before the Govern-ment and the Left, whatever may be their differences, is to wardena) so vividly called "Thuppahi Culture". get together and jointly smash this reactionary conspiracy of foreign and local vested inter-It would have meant the end of all hopes of a unified and national system of educa-

Mr. Speaker, the attempt-Mr. Speaker, the attempt-ed coup, d'etat is not an tion where Catholic Action isolated incident. It is not, and other reactionary vested as some people suggest, interests would dominate over Warning as some people suggest, merely the product of the overweening ambitions of a couple of dozen highranking army and police officers. It is the most recent and most of food subsidies, of trade union and democratic rights, and the slashing of social seris the most recent and most and the slashing or social ser-desperate development in vices and the standards of the long and bitter struggle living of the people in order that foreign and local re-taction have waged to reb profits of foreign and local ex-notices and the slashing or social ser-ing class and the Left, and forging a new alliance with the military. I continued--I am quoting now from column 934: the common people of the ploiters.... gains they have made since 1956; to turn the clock back; Party is concerned we have continuously warned the House and the country of the and to return Ceylon to the state of affairs that existed under the colonial regime and the successive U.N.P. Governments that followed dangers of a reactionary mili-tary-police dictatorship. We have continuously warned have continuously warned against the danger of allow-ing known and notorious re-

Latest* Chapter

ing known and notorious re-tionaries to continue to occupy leading positions in the Armed Forces, the Police and the Administration. We have demanded that these reactionaries should be removed and replaced by per-sons who are patriotic and loval to democracy and pro-. This attempt at a coup d'etat is the latest chapter in a sordid story of reactionary intrigue whose earlier chap- sons who are patriotic and ters include the break-up of loyal to democracy and progress. If this had been done ear-lier, the present attempted coup detat may never have Mr. Bandaranaike's Government in 1959, the foul assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike himself; the short-lived and unsuccessful attempts to taken place. Even though it stabilize the position of re- comes at this late stage, we action under two Caretaker welcome the fact that, in its Governments; and the strug- statement yesterday, the Gov-gles against the Petroleum ernment has at last announc-Bill, the schools take-over and ed that it intends to take ernment has at last announc-ed that it intends to take. those steps. We ask the Gov-ernment not to keep this in the sphere of announcements other progressive measures which took place in the latter part of 1960 and the early part

MARCH 11, 1962

1952 was 7,537,827 and in 1957 it was 10,469,803. The 1962 figures are not available. The percentage calculated for 1962 is on the basis of figures for which developed into magnificent political battle against the Congress in 246 seats. West Bengal are now over. West Bengal are now over. The final position of differ-ent parties in the State polled by different parties in Assembly is as follows: 246 out of the 252 Assembly

Assembly is as follows: 246 out of the 2	252 Assembly Congress. But the Congress also has suffered severe re- verses in a number of dis-
Total Seats: 252	tricts. The position of the Congress
No. of Sea 1957	
Congress 152	157 in the three general elections is as follows:
Communist 46 Marxist F. B 2	50 1
F.B. 8 RSP 3	13 Calcutta 7 Howrah
RCPI	2 24 Parganas Hooghly
Independents (ULF-supported)	9 Nadia Burdwan
PSP 21 Socialist Unity Centre 2	6 Birbhum — Bankura
Lok Seyak Sangh (LSS)	4 Murshidabad 2 Midnapore
Independents ., 10	3- W. Dinajpur
	Cooch Bihar

100. But seven members crossed over to the Congress. So on the eve of the 1962 elec-tions it was 93 in all. After the elections their number is 95. The Communist bloc in 1957 was 51. Now in 1962 it is 52 since two of the nine ULF-suported Independents will sit with the Communist bloc.

The total number of seats in 1952 was 238 and in 1957 as well as this time 252. The

PAGE TWELVE

The Opposition in 1957 was seats, details of which are

available till the time of writ- ing, is as follows:	Purulia Darjeelin		
	Percentage		
	1952		
Congress	38.20 4		
CPI	9.71 1		
PSP	8.30		
Other parties	20.90 1		
Independents	19.70		

The Congress has gained 51 The casualties in the ranks seats from and has lost 53 to of the ruling party include of the ruling party include

NEW AGE



onourable members on the other side that the stage is being gradually but steadily set for a permanent military government in this country. government in this country. Sir, I am not making these remarks lightly"-[Official Report January 9, 1362; 46, C. 133]. I concluded that speech by

saying: "But may I tell the honourable members of the Government: do not create a Government of their own choice. It would have meant the end f Parliament, and democratic this military control, this of Parliament and democratic institutions. It would have meant the end of an independent, peaceful and anti-colonial foreign policy, and the incorporation of Ceylon into SEATO and imperialist military alliances. It would have meant the establishment of a regime of military and police terror, with the whole country being run on the lines of "Opera-

in on the lines of "Opera-tion Ganja". It would have meant the end of national languages and cultures and the enthrone-ment of cosmopolitanism, or what the honourable member for Avissawella (D.P.R. Guna-wardena) so vividly called ing as a result of the policy of the Government"—[Official Report January 25, 1962; Vol. 46, C. 934].

I went on to criticise the Government's policy of break-ing its alliance with the work-ing class and the Left, and

"Let me tell them this: you are now taking on a friend who will cut your own throats. Some of you hope to use the military to smash to use the military to smash the working class. The mili-tary may do its best to oblige you. But if they do succeed in smashing the working class, you are next on the list. As I told you last time, if you put us in prison this week, you will be there a few weeks later_or same few weeks later—or some of you will be there. And it will be the same military forces that will put you there....

Mr. Speaker, in this situation I hope that the Government, too, will reassess its own position.

Let it realise that the only effective way to fight and smash this conspiracy of fore-ign and local reaction is to mobilise the common people, to make them aware of the issues at stake and to draw them into the struggle.

Let it realise that, in the struggle against reaction, the organised working class and of 1961. alone but to take immediate struggle against reaction, the Both the nature of the plot action to implement this organised working class and the character of the plot-policy as well. But a coup, d'etat which the Left movement are not ters make it clear what would I should like to mention, have happened if this attempt more specifically, that we of the communist Party is a

friend and ally which is reli-able, determined and experi-enced in the struggle against contine

eaction. I should like to ask honourable members oppo-site this question: Can you really hope to uncover and who have been taken into nonourable members oppo-site this question: Can you really hope to uncover and smash the forces behind this attempted coup d'etat by

Rely On People

officers, and, far more so, among the rank and file of the armed services and the police there are honest, patriotic and loyal persons who are opposed to reactionary conspiracies and coups d'etat. As far as the Communist Party is concern-ed, we hold all these persons

knows that the arrest of 29 high-ranking army and police officers has not eliminated all reactionaries and conspira-tors, current or potential, in the armed forces and the polic

That is why we say: Do not place your whole trust in the armed forces and the police to fight and destroy this cons-

to fight and destroy this cons-plracy. Rely mainly on the people, on the organised working class, on the unity between the Government and the Left and, of course, on the pat-riotic and loyal forces within the armed services and the the armed services within police. Only a combination of all these forces can really smash this treacherous conspiracy.

Mr. Speaker, the events of Mr. Speaker, the events of the past two weeks have been a real political education to the people of Ceylon. They have confirmed in practice the truth of the repeated warn-ings of the Communist Party.

nation of the Prime Minister and the subsequent attempt to instal the forces of the Right in power were sought to be justified by the bankrupt slogan of "fighting Commu-nism."

Let the Government and the forces standing behind it draw correct conclusions from these experiences. Let them never forget that behind the spuri-ous glitter of anti-Communist slogans there always lurks the reality of a reactionary, right-wing conspiracy!....

But a coup, d'etat which aimed at overthrowing the Government, at smashing the

tive arm. It must have other

custody, They are all deep-dyed reactionaries but they attempted comp a ctat by dyea reactionaries but they relying solely on the very are not the fools that some-forces among whom the at-tempted comp d'etat origi-nated—namely, the armed services and the police? descent the fools that some-tempted comp d'etat origi-nated—namely, the armed telligence to know that, un-less they quickly established some form of political con-solidation after seizing power, they were only opening the gates to civil war. Maybe they hoped for inter-

We know that among the vention by and assistance meers and far more so, from the USA or other imperialist powers in exchange for giving up the policy of neutrality and joining SEATO.

Maybe they hoped to instal in power a reactionary party that had been defeated in the elections. Maybe they hoped to con-

in high regard and thank fuse the people by installing them for their loyalty to for a short time a so-called democracy and the people. "national government" com-But the Government itself posed of selected people from fuse the people by installing for a short time a so-called "national government" commore than one party.

Maybe they hoped to re-enact the events of Pakistan in Ceylon, to suspend the Constitution and to instal

Governor-General's Rule. But irrespective of whe-ther the conspirators had one or several or all these aims, this coup d'etat could not have lasted long unless it had a political arm as well. That is why the investiga-

tion cannot be allowed to stop at the present point. You must go fully into the political aspects of this attempted coup d'etat. You must discover, expose and render harmless the poli-tical, social and economic forces behind this conspiгасу.

The tortuous criminal pro-ceedings in relation to the First of all, they have ceedings in relation to the shown that the real threat assassination of Bandaranaike to democracy and demoare still not completed. As a cratic institutions comes not from the Left but from the Secondly, they have shown that anti-Communism, and the slogan of the struggle against the working class and the Left Movement, are always an excuse to justific again the struggle and the Left Movement, are

and the Left Movement, are always an excuse to justify the attempt at military-police dictatorship by the Right. We had the same experi-by D. Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-Banda-The attempt at a reaction-ary coup d'etat is an even more ambitious and more far-reaching effort by foreign and local reaction to realise its aims than even the assassin-tion of S. W. R. D. Bandara-to S. W. R. D. Bandaration of S. W. R. D. Bandara-naike. That is why things can-not be left where they are. I notice from the statement

of the Government that the persons who have been arrest-ed are all silent or delight-fully vague when it comes to the point of their political aims and connections. That is why the main purpose of any further investigation must be directed towards ferreting out these political connections

I demand that the editorial connections: I demand that the editorials and the activities of the Times of Ceylon newspapers should be thoroughly and should be thoroughly and deeply investigated. I agree with the honourable member

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PAGE THIRTEEN

By T. NEKISOV

Of late some of the critics of the Soviet Union abroad have been very fond of talking about the "crisis" in Soviet agriculture. Agriculture in the USSR, they allege is in a state of chronic decline. Production fails to pick up, harvest yields are year after year low and the great virgin land experiment that Nikita Khrushchov started way back in 1954 has all but flopped.

ments and criticisms made in the Soviet press, tearing them out of their context and distorting their meaning. Unfortunately for them however, the "crisis" of which they speak so much exists only as the figment of their own imagination; it has little basis in fact

The fact, on the other hand, is that Soviet agriculture has in recent years made a signal advance; a bare look at the indices of production in the last few years makes this clear beyond dispute.

Oddest Mistake

The oddest mistake in exa mining these indices would be to take a boom year, or for that matte r a lean year, as a measure of progress. Agricul-ture even where it is highly mechanised as in the USSR still depends so much on un-certain weather conditions that it would be extremely hazardous to do so.

And yet some of the Western critics, out anyhow to show a decline in Soviet agriculture, have with malicious intent sought to draw a comparison between the peak year of 1958 and the succeeding years of 1959 and 1960, when weather conditions were. altogether unfavourable.

Even this trick would fail to work now, as agricultural production last year (1961) was almost back to the peak level of 1958. Actually the only way to obtain a correct and objective picture is to take up averages for a number of VESTS.

If we, therefore, compare the first part of the last decade (1951-55) with the se-cond (1956-60)—the period in which the new agrarian poli-cies initiated by Nikita Khrushchov have been in the main implemented—we find a clear and unmistakable trend of DFORTESS.

We find that gross agri-cultural output in the 1956-60 period increased by as much as 43 per cent as com-pared to the earlier period. The average annual rate of increase in the gross output advanced from 4.1 per cent in 1951-55 to 5.9 in 1956-60. The Western critics should do well to remember before attack Soviet agricul ture that the corresponding figures for the USA are only 2.3 and 2.7 per cent.

Thus, we see that Soviet agriculture has been advanc-ing in the last few years at double the rate of the USA. The all-round growth of agricultural production in the USSR can be seen from the fact that the average annual output of grain increased from 89.2 million tons in 1951-55 to 127 million tons in 1956-60, an increase of 42 per cent. The output of cotton in the same period increased from 3.9 million tons to 4.4 million tons, and of sugar beet from 24 million tons to 45.6 million

PAGE FOURTEEN

To prove all this, they The corresponding figures seize on certain state- for flax are 0.23 million tons

and 0.44 million tons, for potatos 69.5 and 88.3 million tons, vegetables 11.2 and 15.1 million tons, and fruit 2.1 and 2.9 million to As a result of this magnificent increase in agricul-tural production. State pur-

tural production, State pur-chases of grain and other products have sharply increased: those of grain alone rose from 33 mil tons to 50 million tons. In 1961 the figure went np further to 54 million tons

Another vital branch of agriculture, livestock farming, has made rapid headway in this period. The cattle wealth of the country increased from 58.8 million heads in 1955 to 75.8 million heads in 1960, i.e., by 29 per cent.

The production of meat in-creased in 1960; as compared to 1955, by 24 million tons (in slaughter weight), or by 37 per cent.

The production of milk similarly has gone up consi-derably: as compared to 1955 trose in 1960 by about 19 mil-lion tons or 43 per cent. In fact in regard to milk and butter production, the Soviet Union has already outstripped the USA.

As a result of this remar-kable growth, the market-able surpluses of livestock ly. In the period 1955-60, as compared to the earlier pe-riod, 73 per cent more meat, 102 per cent more milk, 87 per cent more eggs and 63 per cent more wool were per cent more sold.

The achievements of Soviet agriculture, e n u m e r a t e d above, were made possible by a heavy increase in state in vestments in this sector of the national economy.

These investments increas ed from 14 billion roubles in the 1951-55 period to 27.2 billion roubles in the latter half of the last decade, which means that they nearly dou-bled. These investments were used largely for the technical re-equipment of agriculture.

Virgin Lands

Over 750.000 tractors (as compared to 427,000 in the earlier five-year period), be-sides large quantities of other machinery, were supplied to the collective and state farms.

The further mechanisation of Soviet agriculture, together with other mea-sures, has resulted in a big rise in labour productivity on the farms. As compared to 1955, the gross output of agricultural produce per worker increased by 32 per cent in 1960.

The development of virgin and long fallow lands in the boundless steppes of Kazakh-stan, Siberia and other Eastern regions of the country has been a vital factor in the progress and ex Soviet agriculture. expansion of

The reclamation of about 105 million acres of land in a few years has been miraele of human

Soviet Agriculture-Signal Advance

vour, which has few paral-lels in the world. The suc-cess of this mighty enter-prises can be seen in the fact that the virgin land acres today account for 40[±] per cent of all the grain produced in the country.

Apart from repaying the heavy investments on their development, they have al-ready yielded a net profit of 32 thousand million roubles. Encouraged by this success.

the Soviet Government is success, the Soviet Government is con-tinuing the \ development of virgin_ lands and plans to bring inder the plough not less than another twenty mil-lion acres of land in the im-mediate future.

The fairly detailed figures I have given above seem to me to finally settle the question of a "crisis" in Soviet agricul-ture beyond dispute.

To talk of a crisis or decline or failure of Soviet agriculture in the face of rising outnut of all kinds of agricultural produce—rising at a rate that would be considered, by that would be considered, by the standards applicable in a country like the USA, very fast—makes absolutely no

sense. Why then, one might ask, is there so much criticism of shortcomings of agriculture in the Soviet press itself? Why are there so many confei

blood

sourishment to all the tiny calls which make up the body and the brain and then

the dangers you have when this blood becomes impera-Often, Itching, Scabies, Us-erre, Berras, Boile, Rashen, Cant and more other other

Utten, Itching, Scabies, U-etter, Eczema, Boilt, Rashen, Gost and many other com-plicated discasses beset upon pice and make your life minerable.

NEW AGE

¢.

ine life itself. Think a

on agriculture, all discussing in recent years-wage in-the problems and difficulties creases and tax reductions, faced by it? Why is Nikita abolition of state logge to Khrushchov personally devot-ing so much attention to agriculture and giving it top priority?

. The answer to these questions is not far to seek. Des-pite all the progress Soviet agriculture has made, progress that is indisputable. it is not yet going as fast as it must if it is to reach the majestic target set before it. The new Programme, pass-ed by the 22nd Congress of

the CPSU, envisages a 250 per cent increase in 20 years in the aggregate volume of agricultural production. If the Soviet people are to enjoy an abundance of agricultural produce, these targets must be achieved.

At present, however, the rate of growth of agricultural production is lower than what is necessary to meet the constantly increasing require-ments of the people.

These requirements are in-deed growing very fast, thanks to the growth in the popula-. tion and the purchasing capacity of the people. Certain measures adopted

of more than 24 thousand million roubles in the cash in

•

comes of the people. This has led to a marked rise in the demand for farm products, especially meat, milk and butter. If, therefore, Soviet agriculture is to keep pace with the growing requirements of the population it has to grow a good deal faster than it is at present

doing. It is for this reason that the Soviet leadership is pay-ing a lot of attention to reing a lot of attention to re-moving the bottlenecks that are hindering the -advance of agriculture.

One of these bottlenecks consists in the adherence of Soviet farming to certain outdated methods, in parti-cular the method of ley farming or grassland farm-ing founded in the Soviet ing founded in the Soviet Union by Academician Williams, an eminent soil scientist of the past who

* SEE FACING PAGE

MARCH 11, 1962

P. TOGLIATTI On ...=

"The struggle for a shift to the left in the pre-sent Italian situation", was the subject of the report presented by P. Togliatti at the opening of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party on February 12.

sectors of production, had considerably increased.

It was this general demand

which in the last two con-

gous ones, continued Toglia

social-democrats and by cer-

tain trends of the Christian

Further permeating public

the countryside and

main in power.

repulse not only of the elec-toral law swindle of 1953 but

pressure against all the "cen-trist" and rightist formulas

through which the Christian

Democratic Party tried to re-

Going on to examine the political line proclaimed by the last congress of the Chris-tian Democratic Party, the secretary-general of the JCP stated that the secretary of the Roman Catholic Party, Moro, assumed, in his report, the position of an ill person who stands over the bed of a more seriously ill person hon-

more seriously ill person, hop ing to find some remedy whic

ing to find some remedy which may give him back a little

the

O start off, the secretary-To start on, the sectors general of the Party stressed that "the agitation and struggles for a deep abauge and more precisely change and more precisely for a shift to the left of national policy had always been an essential element of the policy of the Party.

gresses of the Party was ex-pressed in precise points of a programme. But later, these same points or other analo-"If the need for a shift of tti, were elaborated by the socialists, the republicans, the this kind was, today, felt by many other parties, amongst them the Christian Demo-cratic Party, which had made it the centre of its last Democratic Party. congress, and even by the high priests of social and

sth and 9th) concretely de-fined a programme for the economic and political renewal of Italian democracy.

It took into account the new elements of the situation, the most important of which, according to Togliatti, was the continuously beavier role the continuously beavier role new elements of the situation, the most important of which, according to Togliatti, was "the continuously heavier role in national economy, and, therefore, also in political life, of big private monopolistic capital and of the groups directing it"

Democratic

Control

Industrial expansion achie-ved under the direction of these groups only aimed at al-ways greater profits and never solved any of the big economic and social problems, creating, instead, new con-tradictions, new differences, new problems.

Hence, the demand for a democratic participation in the management of national economy, in the elaboration of general development plans, both regional and local, for greater state in-tervention in this field with an anti-monopolistic direc. tion and for the nationalisation of the

strength. The remedy would be, in this case, a greater inter-vention by the state through different measures, and not only through an increase in public expenditure, but also through certain nationali-sations and a certain type

with a scientific system of crop rotation with such high-yielding crops as maize and

legumes occupying an import-

This has already borne

fruit, the Soviet agriculture

The transfer of Soviet agri.

culture to the new system is. however, taking place rather

slowly. It is not so easy for many of the agronomists trained in the theories of Aca-

demician Williams to give up the ideas they have held fast

ant place in this system.

SOVIET AGRONOMY-A NEW REVOLUTION

* FROM FACING PAGE

the influence of his theories millions of acres of the most fertile lands were sown to low-productive gras with the result that for a long time grain production in the has in recent years made a considerable headway. country advanced at a very slow rate.

As the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Dmitri Polyansky, said recently at a Moscow conference, the out-put of ley farming is hardly a fifth of what the best methods can produce.

Energetic measures have ben adopted in the last few years to replace ley farming

Many of them, however,

MARCH 11, 1962

Every drop purifies your SARIBADI SALSA I puted for decades as the verid's best blood purifier It clears the bowels regu larly, cures all skin and other diseases arising out of blood impurities, tones 0 the the liver, increases the appetite and thus being formation of new, rich

blood which ensures e standy health for SARIBADI SALSA the best blood purifier RE O SADHANA Achroteto - Ca. Age Carter Chantel A. Age addated R. C. S. Carting R. C. S. Manatus Ruckar of Elementry Rutan Calus o Ausadhalaya

Solans . DACCA

Delhi Branch: 224, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6, 1855, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6,

of planning, so as to oversafeguard, in such a man-ner and on the whole, the vitality of the system.

But, such remedies. Togliatti remarked, during the con-gress of the Christian Demo-cracy had only been seen from a technical angle and not from the point of view of a social, human and democratic development and, above all, an anti-monopolistic stand had been lacking at the Congress.

Togliatti considered as po-sitive the refusal of the Chris-tian Democrats to reach an agreement with the extreme rightist forces and also with

These facts, Togliatti conor planning, so as to over-come the more striking con-tradictions and to face the most acute problems and to safeguard, in such a man-ner this left-centre government will take form.

> The leader of the ICP then rejected two opinions which, according to him, are mis-taken: of those who main-tain that, despite anything which may happen, nothing will change in the Italian which may happen, nothing will change in the .Italian situation, and of those who think that a new era is about to start, where the demands of the masses will be granted in a paternalistic way, the Constitution will be enforced and respected and exemptions and respected and everything will go in the best possible way.

he considered the more dan-gerous), Togliatti enumerated eight essential points for the struggle to attain a real shift. to the left:

From S. Bensasson

-The struggle for peace and for a new course in Ita-lian foreign policy.

-The struggle to-really increase the share of the work-ing class in national income and its participation in the direction of the economic and political life of the country.

-Agrarian reform and firstly the abolition of metayage;

--Immediate elections of regional councils, indispen-sable if the elaboration of the economic depelonment is to have a democratic cha-

high priests of social and comomic conservatism, this was, above all, due to the pressure of the masses, at the head of which the Com-munist Party had never ceased playing its avant-grade role." Itouty's Struggele For A congress of the Christian De-mocrats, which had to recog-nize the necessity for a poli-tical shift. To The Left

resuming collaboration with the latter was not excluded.

On the other hand, the "left-centre" formula was presented, during the congress, as a necessity, but, above all, to "isolate" the Communists, which proves clearly that the intentions of the Christian Democratic Party are not at all progres-sive, but, on the contrary, conservative.

Need For

Caution

The same conservative spirit was expressed in fore-ign policy. There could be no shift in this field, Togno shift in this near, ava-liatti stressed, if one continued to accept the exis-tence of American atomic bases on Italian territory, i the ties with the socialist countries were not strengthened through non-ager sion agreements and break-ing away from any form of colonialism or neo-colonia-

velopment, and that if the political "left-centre" trend tre" trend followed, was going to be followed, new and more favourable perspectives would open up for the struggle of the Com-munists and of the sincerely democratic forces to achieve a real shift to the left.

The most important slogan struggle, he added. should be "we must pass from programmes to their realiza-

Togliatti also stated that the trade-union orgainzations would occupy a basic role in this struggle and stressed that the ICP fav-oured the possible forma-tion of a single trade-union organization, completely independent from pol

The essential condition for a real shift to the left and for the realization of programmes was, according to Togliatti, the struggle of the masses and, above all, the working class. And it was also through action and struggles that the plans of those who wished to divide the working clas could be held at bay.

After having condemned every form of revisionism and sectarianism (but, above all this second deviation which

litical struggle was opening listic front, directing the first np, as the result of a whole subjective and objective de-and sugar monopolles: and sugar monopolies;

-The revival of the South through its rapid industria-lisation and the agrarian reform:

-The democratic reform of public schools;

-The respect of all forms of liberty in every field.



EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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are learning from actual experience, and are forsak-ing the outworn theories to

which they had clung so far. A veritable agronomical revolution is taking place in the minds of our agricultural experts.

One can say with confidence, therefore, that the fetter of grassland farming on Soviet agriculture is soon going to be removed. There need be no doubt that freed of all obstacles Soviet agriculture is going to advance head_ long, in step with other sec tors of the national economy leading to an abundance of all kinds of agricultural produce.

NEW AGE

NEW AGE (Monthly)

February Issue Contains

AJOY GHOSH : 22nd CPSU Congress P. TOGLIATTI : Ideological Renewal W. GOMULKA : 22nd CPSU Congress

PAGE FIFTEEN

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From Page 13 =

for Avissawella (D.R.P. Guna-

Yesterday, the honourable Minister of Finance told us that in addition to the arrest of Sidney de Zoysa, the Busi-ness Manager of the Times, N. S. O: Mendis and Felix Goonewardene had been questioned. I ask the Government te go on with this. It will find interesting connections een the Times and foreign banks, between the Times and Catholic Action, between the Times and Queen's House.

No one who analyses the of editorials of series of equitorials of the Sunday Times can come to any other conclusion than that this was the manifesto of the reactionary conspiracy. These editorials provided the ideology, the encouragement of this conspiracy.

The Times was the organiser and inciter of these upper-class, so-called "edu-cated" elements who wanted to save the country from the "tree-climbers", who thou-ght that Ceylon is going to the dogs because neons are given seats, who thought: "How can respectable offi-cers and gentlemen exist under these conditions?" You will find all that shabby logy in these editorials.

The honourable member for Avissawella (D. P. K. Guna-wardena) said that Sidney de Zoysa was not only the Business Manager of the Times. I know that I have a circular know that I have a circular here issued by Felix Goone-wardene, which was displayed on the notice board, authoris-ing Sidney de Zoysa, whom he describes: as his. "Personel Assistant", to carry out sur-prise visits, to report breaches of discipling and in actual While pledging once again our support to the Govern-ment in all its efforts at un-earthing and smashing the of discipline and, in actual fact gives him almost complete powers in the Times of ing particular steps being Ceylon.

In view of all this, it is for Avissawella (U.K.F. Guua-wardena). The Times is one of absolutely essential that, just the main ideological centres as you look into the matter of of the attempted coup detat. the letter of C. E. P. Jayasuriya, you should also go very been going on in the Times of Ceylon.

> And may I add this? The monopoly newspapers_both of the Lake House Group and the Times-always write editorials on the need to save ocracy from Communism But none of these newspapers have, even up to date, thought it fit editorially to condemn the coup d'etat or to point out the need to save democracy from the force of the Right. They falk so much about

democracy. They want to to shake off the books which save democracy not only have shackled them for gene-

this country.

ment to enlist the support of all progressive organisations, whatever their differences with the Government or with each other may be, in order to expose and rout the forces behind this attempted coup.

Secondly, we demand sneedy trial of all those who are accused and exemplary puni-shment of all who are found guilty. As I said before, we are not dealing with an ordinary crime. We are dealing with the high treason of reaction. We are dealing with the greatest of all crimes, crime against the democratic rights and liberties of the ordinary people, crime against the hopes and aspirations of the people to shake off the bonds which

First, we ask the Govern- the centres of political reaction in the armed force

We are not asking you only to demobilise one or two sections of that Force. We are asking you to disband the whole Force and, if necessary, to reconstitute it later on a democratic basis.

For many years, officers of the Ceylon Volunteer Force the Cevlon have in the main been re-cruited from among the executives of foreign and local mercantile firms and the products of a few snoh schools.

By background, inclination and training many of these police aspect of this coup people are hostile to progres-sive developments and more at firmly, to carry on with the home in the state of affairs investigation into the poliand training many of these that existed under the colonial

d'etat is over. What has been the experience in other . countries? Attempts are made, some of them fail, but they start again. Why?

Because you can only cure a disease by getting to the root of the disease. You can only cure the disease by curing its root causes. The root cause of this coup d'etat lies in the continued nolitical, social and economic power of the re-actionary forces behind this conspiratorial coup.

That is why we say: While, you continue your investiga-tion into the military and tical asnect

CEYLON-COMMUNISTS from Communists but also from other Leftists and even from the SLFP. But this "free" press has not one word of condemnation for a CALL FOR UNITY

rations. In these special cirword of concennation for a reactionary coup. It has not said one word against at-tempts by reactionary cons-pirators to overthrow the democratic institutions of cumstances, there must special measures.

Thirdly. in this difficult and dangerous situation, we of the Communist Party ask the Government to take all necessary steps to have a thorou-ghly reliable person occupy-ing the post of Govenor-General. The present incum-bent of this high post must I tell my Friends opposite: you have given these people far too much rope. I hope those of you who were having second thoughts about the question of breaking the capibe asked to go. talist monopoly of the press will think again

In view of what was said by the Government yesterday and by a number of honour-able members on both sides of this House, J am surprised that the Governor-General has not submitted his resignareactionary forces behind the attempted coup d'etat, the Communist Party wishes to stress the need for the followtion.

We cannot afford to wait in this matter. If the Governor-General will not go, he must be asked to go.

go, he must be asked to go. In this dangerous situation, it is essential that a person who, like Caesar's wife, is above suspicion should oc-cupy the highest and, perhaps, the most decisive post in this land.

Fourthly, we of the Communist Party ask the Govern-ment to disband the Ceylon Volunteer Force, which has been allowed to become one of

ЧØ

regime. They have no sym-pathy for national cultures or for the aspirations of ordinary people There are loval and patrio-

As far as I know, five of the high-ranking and command-ing officers of the Ceylon

Volunteer Force have been

volutieer Force have been taken into custody in connec-tion with this attempted coup d'etat—the Commandant, Col. Maurice de Mel, the Deputy-

Commandant, Col. F. C. da

Saram, and three others. As a matter of elementary pre-caution, you should disband the Ceylon Volunteer Force.

Later on when, things are

quiet, you can reconstitute it on a democratic basis. But to-

day it is dangerous to allow

this situation to continue and we of the Communist Party ask the Government to take

In our opinion, all these

that step.

have up to now.

ple of this country and not the armed forces. Please realise that the workers and the Left parties are your allies, whatever differences there tic persons in this Force too. but I am sure that they will realise that, in the present situation, it is inadvisable to may be between us. Some people think that an allow matters to go on as they

alliance means that you must agree one hundred per cent. This is not so.

inquiry, please realise that your best friends are the peo-

In order to fight this coup, we are not asking you to agree with us. You should not ask us to agree with you. The coup threatens , both of us. So let us fight it together. Let us stand to. gether and fight it back.

This is not a question of a few Ministers, even the whole Cabinet, and the Left leaders being taken into custody or killed. We are all expendable as persons.

But, the real intended victime of the conspiracy were the common people, who are eternal. In the name of common people who have sent us to this highest democratic authority in this country, we steps will greatly help in the of the Communist Par fight against the coup d'etat. you to take the steps Do not think that this coup we have suggested. of the Communist Party ask which



People's anger against the monopoly press in Bombay. The reactionary gang-up against Krishna Menon had some striking similarities with the conspirators in Cevion. non had some striking NEW AGE

HEL Strike Entirely Management Provoked

establish one and it was carried out but it was a "puppet committee". It lite-

rally did nothing during the

In 1959, when elections were

whole of 1958.

From Our Correspondent

The strike in the Heavy Electricals, Bhopal, continues. There is, however, a change for the better. The Management had been made to stop repeating the demand that the workers must come back to work unconditionally because the Prime Minister has said so and that everything will be alright because they themselves say so!

THE workers' strike re-mains firm and they are eager to settle it on honour-able terms. The Management is now prepared to negotiate. It is reliably understood that the directive that has gone from the Ministerial end is a held, a Staff Committee of 22 was elected, with the present President of the Union, Handa speedy settlement should be sought. Both sides are keen and the victorious Kanpur MP; S. M. Banerjee, is helping the two sides to come toge-

There are, however, many

downwards everybody in Bhopal wants this strike set-

tled as soon as possible. The workers have been rendered

so bitter on the basis of their

The workers say that no

effective machinery for set-tlement of grievances ever existed. The Staff Commit-

leaders

as a member. In the very first meeting, February 1959, they elected Resident Director. Saranganani as Chairman and a worker Gogia as the secretary, both unanimously. secretary, both unanimously. So far an official was the hurdles to negotiate. From Governor Pataskar secretary as well. The Management representatives desir-ed that the problem of cons-titution of the Staff Committee and the adoption of a code of discipline be postpon-

refuse to take the manage-ment at its word. I have been held in March, the Resident meeting the strikers and their. Director announced that the election of a Secretary was a mistake and was not accept-able to the management, that he did not want any formal existed. The Staff Commit- constitution adopted but that tee first established was they should work through completely bogus. In 1957, mutual goodwill, same nega-orders came from above to tive attitude about the code

It is not enough to admit

the menace of the Right, even the purblind dare not deny it now. What the coun-

try awaits from the Prime Minister of the country and the national leader of the

eminence of Pandit Jawa-harlal Nehru are not only

indignant words against the Right but a concrete and

constructive plan of action to rally all the healthy forces of the nation for a united

the Right. Anti-Communism stands blown up in Indian life and on our own soil through the electoral verdict of the Indian

Party have already made con-structive offers for the fight against the Right. Our national leadership will positively res-pond to every constructive na-tional initiative by the Prime Minister against the Rightist

menace. And when our Central

Executive and National Coun-cil meet to review the election results and the task before the

country, let there be no doubt

that bold new initiative would be unfolded to defend all that our nation treasures and to

what our people

achieve dream.

national campaign the Right.

Rightist Danger

* FROM FRONT PAGE the Rightist menace. There is rightly no panic, but great anxiety and deep worry among those who think honestly and realistically and feel and re-act passionately. act passionately. This hig phenomenon can-

mocracy to succeed in this country, must join hands to meet its enemies. If we fail now, we are gone" (Hindustan Times, March 6). not but register its own re-flection inside the ruling party. The machinemen and the Rightists continue not to the rublicly bothered about the growth of the Rightt, however pleased they may be about it in their heart of hearts.

They continue to give traditional, partial, and thoughtless explanations about Congress defeats, for example, factionalism within, and lack of mass work by Congress workers below. They think bureaucra-tically and only trot out organisational reasons for Congress losses, whose significance is political and deeper. This, however, is not all the

picture as it used to be before. Rajasthan's Chief Minister, electoral verdict of the Indian
people. The Communist Party
of India has not only main-tained its strength but increas ed it, dramatically in some
States, marginally in other
States. We have lost some, but
more than gained in others.
The State spokesmen in our
Party have already made con-structive offers for the fight Sukhadia faced with big loss Sukhadia faced with Dig loss both to Swatantra first and Jana Sangh next, has been frank enough to admit it was "the critical stage" and "the question before the legislators e Cong-in the was the survival of the ress and its ideals in the State". (Times of India, March

Addressing a meeting of Addressing a meeting of journalists the next day, he stated that "it would be his effort to bring the Congress Party and the progressive opposition in the State nearopposition in the State hear-er each other. This he said would help the growth of progressive thinking in the State rather than reactionary thought" (Hindustan Times, March 7). In the U.P. Assembly, Gov-

rnment spokesman answering MARCH 11, 1962

GREAT VICTORY FOR ALGERIA

T HE French Communist Party welcomes the outcome of the re-cent talks between representatives of the Prothe Algerian Republic lated, and an independent and the French Government, says a statement state formed. of the Political Bureau It is necessa of the French Communist Party issued in Paris on February 22.

Frainating the outcome of these talks as a "great victory for the cause of peace and national inde-pendence", the Political Bureau declares that Communists, who have always supported the just national aspirations of the Algerian people and from the time of the outbreak of the war insisted that the solution of the Algerian problem, in keeping with the interests of France, lay in negotiawith the representatives of the Algerian peo-

present period". adds the Political Bureau. It is im-portant that the popular masses continue their pressure until a cease-fire agreement is signed, the

It is necessary to demand most emphatically the liquidation of the OAS and its accomplices, who are trying to sabotage the negotiated agreements, as was shown by the recent fascist provocation against Morocco and the fascist France, the statement stresses. The French Communist

The French Community Party urges the working class, all democrats and peace workers to increase still more their unity and intensify the struggle against the enemies of peace in Algeria, for the speed iest signing of an agree ment ending the colonia sneed ple, rejoice in this event. war, which is against the "The vigilance of the interests and honour of people must not flag in the France.

MARCH 11, 1962

of discipline. The disappointed on all the issues. They wanted acceptance of the unanimously elected workers' Secretary and the mutual acceptance of a code of dis-cipline so that both the sides knew their rights and duties. The management was adamant

Fifteen out of 20 elected members resigned. They also sent wires to the Prime also sent wires to the Prime Minister, Home Minister and the Labour Minister that the Government rules were not being followed in the plant, company rules were not being framed, no code of distingtione was accounted not being framed, no code of discipline was accepted and hence employee-mana-gement relations were get-ting strained. The 15 workers, who had resigned, were pressurised to withdraw their resignations, but eight stood firm. They

but eight stood firm. They were transferred and harrass-ed. New eight were nominated

without any more elections. This Staff Committee met every month but without any results. In 1960, elections were held

again. The old Staff Com-mittee members dared not stand for elections, only two dared and were duly defeated. Handa was unanimously elected and so were others who had earlier resigned as a protest

Again they suggested that the constitution of the Staff Committee be formulated but nothing happened. Since there were independent-minded representatives in the Committee, it was made de-funct, not functioned at all. They wrote to the Manage-ment, but it all went into the files, without a reply, It was such wooden hure-

aucratic attitude on the part of the management that made the strikes inevitable. The first strike took place on October 13, 1960. The first batch of trainees had been sent to the factory for production but were being given the wages of trainees. They demanded full wages. They won their demand but only after a strike. The second strike was of

the U. K. returned engineers, about more than 60 of them, about re-fixation of their pay. Again it was only after the strike that their pay was in-creased, Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. The third strike was still against more unique It was of the Security Guards. The reasons

for it were emotional and human. Two of the Security Guards had been killed in a jeep accident The workers were certain that they could have been saved through timely medical aid. The driver was arrested by the police but the management did not bother to get him out on bail. No funeral arrangements were made for the dead. The rank and file workers spontaneously collected chanda and organised the funeral rites

The Security Guards felt awful at this neglect of the of the management and struck. The District Authorities intervened and listened to the Guards' grievances. The management be-gan to weed out the exarmy personnel who being more advanced had shown boldness.

The fourth strike took place Krish NEW AGE



Shakir Ali addresses BEL worker (Photo: Suraj Joshi).

hunger-strike.

The Management terminated the services of 16. There was a flare-up and all the factory workers of various Production Departments spontaneously struck work and demonstrated their solidarity. S. M. Banerjee, M.P. came

to Bhopal and talks around the table began. The workers proved that tests had been held earlier, by producing test papers themselves! Chairman Mathur, the highest from the official side, realised that the Management had bungled and it was agreed that tests would be held only for those who were absent or then sick.

The current one is the fifth strike one-and-a-half years, since this national project has started production. The Management is manufacturing strikes instead of swit-chgears and transformers. This is literally true,

management, production proud

second batch of artisans, more plans could not but be in a second batch of artisans, more than 600. They had already gone through their pre-absor-ption tests but the Manage-ment did not announce the results and wanted them to appear in the tests again. Against these repeated tests, strike took place. Two went on Unverse trike

The production plans feil behind schedule and the behind schedule and the workers boldly exposed the reality. It was only in Decem-ber 1961 that the manage-ment accepted that they were behind schedule in production, but put the blame on lack of material not having been re-ceived from abroad and the workers not being peaceful.

The workers have demand. ed a joint production council as one of their 49 demands. It is the management that does not accept it. The workers are keen to. and capable of in

creasing production. The more I talk to the HEL strikers, the more I am con-vinced that this strike has been provoked by the Mana-gement and that if it is set-tled honourably and satisfac-torily and the workers' cooperation sought for boosting production, this first plant of its kind, in the much-needed power production machinery for our country will become a model national project of Under such a bureaucratic which any country could be

MASS TRIUMPH

* FROM BACK PAGE

fig-leaf could hardly hide the shame. A rather amazing episode was the semi-under-ground activity of Sucheta Kripalani who turned up to help the Acharya but avoided the public gaze.

The Bombay public also did not miss the significance of the ominous silence of S. K.

Did the Communists work for Menon? They worked as much as any other democrat. Dange on behalf of the Sam-yukta Maharashtra Samiti had declared that Kripalani, as the mouthpiece of reac-tionary forces, must be defea-

And Communist cadres in North Bombay worked on their own, and in course of for instance, for Dhume, who stood for an Assembly seat in the same area—they called upon the voters to support Krishna Menor

A word should be said about the Support Menon Commit-tee, a non- party body which rallied leading intelligentsia of Bombay and worked tireness. It is the worked the sourcess. It is the worked the sourcess. It is the source sourcess. It is the source source source source sources the source from its platform,

strictly behaving as the official candidate of the Congress

Chai candidate of the Congress. But this Committee on which prominently worked Dr. Ballga, Rajani Patel, Bal-raj Sahni, Ramesh Sanghvi, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and a host of others, did signal serhost of others, did signal ser-vice in rousing the patrictic fervour of the Bombay public and made no small contribu-tion to this grand defeat of Reaction's first organised offensive in Free India. Dust had set in when we took off for the flight back to Delhi. Glancing through the newspapers, my eyes caught

newspapers, my eyes caught an odd bit of news: The an odd bit of news: The Chinese press had discovered that Schlesinger, Chester Bowles and other American VIPs had been visiting India to help Nehru win the General Elections!

How lop-sided the world looks to some people! I only wished that this ingenuous press commentator had come to Bombay and wit-nessed the mass upsurge upsurge

against the U.S. And in my ears there still ingered on the rousing tune of Prem Dhavan's magnificent song for the Support Menon Menon campaign, opening with the line—"On this side is the entire janata, and on that. are their raja-ranis!"

PAGE SEVENTEEN

Maharashtra-Samiti Remains Main Opposition

With polling in one constituency postponed for a later date, results of the elections to the 264-member. Maharashtra State Assembly show that the Congress has won 214 seats, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti 33, the PSP nine, Lohia Socialist one, the Nag-Vidarbha Parishad four and Independents two. Not single seat has been won by the Jana Sangh which contested 128 and the Swatantra Party which contested nine.

THCUGH much reduced from before, the Samiti remains the main opposition ir the new legislature. The PSP which held 33 seats in the last Assembly has failed to replace the Samiti in that position. Its allies, the dissident Republi (Kamble Group) who had also walked out of the Samiti and opposed it in these elections side by side with the PSP, failed to secure a single

Disappointing Result

The thirty-three seats won by the Samyukta Maharash-tra Samiti in the current elec-. tions have been divided among its various constituents as follows: Communists six, Peasants and Workers' Party 15, Republicans three, Lal Nishan nsored Inone and Sa niti_ dents eight.

Due to the obviously altered circumstances in 1962, nobody had expected the Samiti this time to win the same sweeping successes as it had in 1957. All that the Samiti aspired for was emerge as a strong opposition which would exercise an effective check on the ruling narty.

This limited objective cannot be said to have been adequately realised as a result of these elections. Apart from its entation in the Assemfalling considerably below expectation, the Samiti failed to get a single Lok Sabha seat. This has undoubtedly considerable caused appointment among the Samiti owing.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

thousand workers in the oil installations and

offices of the Burmah-Shell

began on Feb. 9 demanding

sal orders served on 19 workers continued till Feb.

The Managing Committee of the Petroleum Workmen's Union which led the strike

called it off on Feb 23, fol-

Minister of Maharashtra The Chief Minister had pro-

mised the look into the dis-

During the period of the strike, 134 workers had offer-

Addressing a rally of the

workers on strike, on Feb-ruary 16, S. A Dange, General

Secretary, AITUC, extended the whole-hearted support of

the AITUC to their struggle. He referred to the anti-national policies of the oil

companies in general and of

Minister Malaviya. He referred to the propa-

ganda bulletin of the com-

pany issued on Feb. 16 and remarked the absurdity of the

company's logic that they

PAGE EIGHTEEN

mah-Shell in particular

hich are being faced by

pute.

ed satvagraha.

owing the advice of the Chief

cancellation of the dismis-

in Greater Bombay which

It would, however, wrong to overestimate the extent of the Samiti's failure at the polls. One has only to look at the voting figures to correct any exaggerated im-pressions in this régard. In Greater Bombay's 24 Assembly constituencies, for ininstance, while the Samiti secured only two Assembly seats as against 21 se-cured by the Congress, the votes it polled add up to 3,08,509 while those of the Congress amount to 6,40,057.

The PSP-Kamble combine's as well as the Jana Sangh's ca pacity for disruption was perhaps underestimated and in-adequately provided for. To this in Bombay city was added the Muslim League's disruption. While openly supporting Kamble against Dange, the League was at the same time in secret alliance with the Congress in S. K. Falti's con-

stituency. All these forces carried on the most virulent anti-Com-munist, anti-Samiti Campaign and were fully utilised by the and were may utilised by the Congress. On polling day in the afternoon in Bombay city both PSP and Jana Sangh were seen diverting their votes to the Congress as against the Samiti.

Samu. . The Muslim League which had been revived as a result at least partially of S. K. Patil's efforts (who has almost conressed to this by publicly stat-ing after the elections that he could get it wound up again through "negotiations") took away a big chunk of votes purely on the basis of anti-Communism and the "Islam in danger" cry.

disciplinary action'

ed to the Burmah

policies.

anti-labour and anti-national

This was an official letter

signed by Shantilal Shah, the

Labour Minister and address-

suring them that the Govern-

ment and he himself person-ally would be responsible for the police and if necessary, for military bandobust at the

installation during the strike.

The strike completely na-

ralysed the work of the Burmah-Shell in Greater Bombay. The blacklegging activities of the INTUC

could produce not more than

19 workers for allegedly de-

monstrating for removal of Raja Kulkarni, the INTUC leader, from the office of the Sewree installations

serves to illustrate the re-

lationships between the INTUC and the foreign oil

blessed by the Maharashtra

a relation

ship

isation of the

two per cent attendanc

The victim

lopolies

Lahonr

In S. K. Patil's own conncy a further testimony of the secret understanding hetween him and the Leagu was provided by an unsign-ed handbill distributed in Urdu and Gujarati appealing to Muslims in the name of the League's anti-Commu-nist stand that they should not vote for the Samiti supported independent Lalji Pendse but for Patil.

It is the combination of all these factors along with the unfavourable bifurcation of earlier double-me the that explains the constituency that explains the defeat of S. A. Dange, so much regretted by wide sections of the citizens of Bombay. The voting figures themselves tell the tale of this disruption. While Dange polled 97,891 votes against the Congress candidate's 1,36,469, B. C.

> - From ZIAUL HAQ

Kamble took away 47.462 and the Jana Sangh candidate anther 20,899. A memorable fight, which othe

where the also proved that Samiti campaign was power-fully politicalised and organ-ised in a thoroughgoing ised in a thoroughgoing manner it could be a formidable match to the Congress, was in the North Bombay Assembly constituency of Vile Parle-Andheri. Here on the first day of the counting it was a neck to neck race between the trade union leader B. S. Dhume and the notorious anti-labour Mi-nister Shantilal Shah.

Another instance of the same phenomenon was the Byculla constituency, where the Communist-Samiti candithe Communist-Samiti candi-date Bapurao Jagtap, a sitting member, lost to Congress by a narrow margin. It remains a fact that des-

pite the outcome, the Sami-

ti's was the most powerful mass campaign of all parties, leaving aside the North Bombay contest. The Samiti held the largest number of and the most well-attended of election rallies, S. A. Dange himself addressing ten to twelve meetings a day.

Soon after the announce ment of the results, the Samiti held a mass rally at Shivaji Park on March 3. The mammoth audience that attended the rally once again proved that a vast section of people remained firm in their loyalty to the Samiti.

S. A. Dange analysing the results told the rally that ad confirmed once again that the main fight was between the Congress and the Samiti. Those who tried to interpose themselves between these two had badly lost. The Jana Sangh and Swatantra, he po-

inted out, had failed to secure a single seat in Maharashtra. The PSP too, although it had secured nine seats, could no

claim to have won. They should also ponder over this situation, Dange said. Conceding victory to the Congress, Dange said that it did not mean that the Samiti had been "wiped out". In the last elections, Dange recalled the Samiti had secured a little more votes than the Congres but a lot of more seats. "We did not say then that the Con-gress had been 'wiped out'. No. We said that though the Samiti had won more seats, the Con gress still had great hold on

the people. "Similarly now in 1962, though the Congress has got many more seats, and the Samiti only a few still the Samiti is there among the Samiti is there among the people and it is far from routed or wiped out."

Posing the question as to why the Samiti had been defeated Dange said politics in Maharashtra had changed in

1982 from what it was in 1957 Even a great mass inside the Congress was then angry with it over the imposition of the bilingual state and the denial of Samvukta Maharashtra, In Bombay itself 20,000 Cong-ressmen had resigned from the Congress and joined the Samiti to fight for Samyukta

Maharashtra. He explained how this fluid mass which had come to the Samiti had gone back to the after the Samyukt Congress after the Samyukta Maharashtra State was won. "We were unable to convince them about the Samiti's further programme and they went back."

But the Samiti's original following, declared Dange, remained loyal to it as seen in the lakhs of votes secured by it in Bombay and all over Maharashtra. "It has also shown that

the Samiti stands as the main opposition to the Con gress and that is why the Samiti will remain. ogition to the Con "We must convince the shifting mass in between about our programme and policy through day to day struggles and through live experience of the Congress rule.

Dange's Call

"We are confident that this fluid mass will come back to the Samiti if we fight the day to day battles," Dange declar-

He referred to the Congress resorting to casteism and com-munalism, the distribution of Taccavi loans and the misuse of the State machinery, to emoloyment of goondas the bailot box tampering with the ballot es. He said all these me ampering v es ne said an unese methods had been employed but they could not be considered deci-sive. The main reason for Congress victory had to be seen in the return to the Congres of the fluid mass - which come over to the Samith He also referred to the

vile propaganda carried by the other parties on the issue of the India-China border dispute. "I would like to make it clear that the Communist Party and the Samiti in general got more votes on this score." The people by casting lakhs votes in their favour h only shown confidence in the patriotic bona fides of the Communists.

In a passing reference to the all-India outcome of the elections Dange said wherever progressive forces had united, reaction had been defeated as in Kerala; Andhra and Bengal. Where, however, they had failed to unite as in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pra-desh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, reactionary and communal parties had won considerable

progressive forces, Dange said, were united in the ninikta Maharashtra miti. It was due to this that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra had been routed, not getting a single seat. "This yields a lesson t the progressive forces in the Samiti as also those outside it should unite and fight for the common man's needs—that is the Samiti's programme: Take up the day to day issues and

"Let us all unite with renewed vigour to struggle for a Socialist Maharashtra in a Socialist India," concluded Dange.

MARCH 11, 1962

From H. K. VYAS

The results of the third General Elections have shown that the Congress Party in the State has re-ceived a serious setback. In the State Assembly it has been able to secure only 88 seats which is exactly 50 per cent of the total of 176 total seats. COMPARED with the last were enormous and they,

by them

were continued to be enjoyed

The Congress leaders of

the State not only continu-ed these concessions they even tried to better them. Thus, as late as 1956 the

State Government concreti.

state Government concreti-sed the position regarding free suply of electricity and water and it granted a con-cession of say Rs. 1.8 lakhs of free suply of electricity to the Jaipur Maharaja alone, let alone the con-cessions regarding mater

cessions regarding water aud concessions to the other

princes. It granted and continuously increased the

compensation to the jagir-

dars. All this was done in the name of "avoiding" an open showdown.

These economic measures

were the counterpart of the

political policy that the State Congress leaders followed to-wards these forces. Every

two years some dozens of Jagirdars used to be "won

over" and made to join the

Maharana Rana Harish-

Overnight it granted Con-gress ticket to them. Maha-

rajkumars became Congress

candidates. The Nawab of of Loharu became its nominee

for a Vidhan Sabha seat, even

Hukum Singh of Jaisalmer who was the founder member

of the Swatantra Party was

Chief Minister Sukhadia

penly praised the Maharaja f Bikaner and the Congress

did not even put up a

candidate against him. The

ed, a meeting was arranged for him with the Prime

Minister, all in the hope

'contain" these forces

wonld

that concessions

Jaipur Prince was contact

Rajas

Congress.

general elections the Conthus, amassed crores worth gress strength has been reof assets. Thes duced by about 35 seats: for it had a strength the last General of 119 in Elections. The same is true of the votes that it has secured 'Co ed to the 44.5 per cent that it secured in the last elections, it has been able to secure only 40 per cent in this general

Feudalists Strong

This reverse that the Con-gress has suffered is neither entirely unexpected nor is it something which is inevitable in the political climate of the

The biggest reverse that the Congress has suffered is at the hands of the Swatantra Party ' and the Jana Sangh These two organisations in Rajasthan, have a strongly entrenched feudal leadership. The Swatantra Party, of

course, is more or less like the appendage of the Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur and the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

The Jana Sangh, too, had a working adjustment with this Party and in the Jaipur region, particularly, the Maharani and the Maharaja of Jaipur openly campaign-ed for the candidates of the Jana Sangh. It is in this region that the Congress has been virtually swept

off Out of the total of 17 seats Congress has been able to se-cure only two seats, the Swatantra Party bagging as the State Cabinet. Even as late as this general elections it was all the time wooing these elements. many as 13.

Similar is the situation in the Tonk district where all the four seats have been cap-tured by the Swatantra Party.

In Sawai Madhopur District, too, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party have secured more than half of the seats.

The Jalpur Region, thus, accounts for the biggest losses suffered by the Congress.

"converted" into a Congress candidate overnight. Another District where the Congress has badly lost to the Wooing Rightists is the Udainur District, where in the last elec-tions the Congress secured all the seats except one. but where in these elections it has Inst eight out of 13 seats. The Swatantra got five and the Jana Sangh three seats.

Even till the last moment the Congress leaders of the State, notably the Chief Minister Mohanlal Sukhadia, were very complacent about this threat, and the election results have com-pletely belied their facile anticipations.

The Congress leadership of the State cannot get out of its clear responsibility for this debacle. The policies that it debacle. The policies that it has pursued and the conciliatory and compromising line that it has followed towards these feudel reactionary for-ces, in the facile hope of placating and, thus, containing them, had come home to

The ruling princes of this State ever since 1947 have been given fat privy purses. But that is not all. The list of the private properties that present debacle of these princely houses drew gress in the State.

MARCH 11, 1962

However, with each such concession these forces got added morale. Whatever strategic position they could secure inside the Congress. was considered by them as ground already won, and at the same time they fully organised their forces outside, through the Swatantra Party or the Ram Rajya Parishad, or Jana Sangh or even as Independents.

How can you really fight these forces, when you conti-nuously grant them conces-sions and make political compromises with them? It is this policy which led to the

ployees' Union (INTUC) whose president is Raja Kulwhose president is Raja Kul- been victimised following this incident are important office-Under these circumstances, bearers and active workers of karni. Minister, Shantilal some of the oil companies like the PWU.

NEW AGE

Raja Kulkarni heads minority union in Bombay's petroleum industry. But ins-THE strike of three- have inflicted these dismis-thousand workers in sals as a matter of 'normal pired by the Labour Minister, the four oil companies-Bur-mah-Shell, Standard-Vaccum, Later, on Feb 21, address-ing a meeting, S. A. Dange showed before the gathering Caltex and IBP-entered into an agreement with Raja Kula document—a concrete proof of the State Labour Minister's

PETROLEUM WORKERS' BIG ACTION

karni and his union. Under the three-year agreement, the compar to pay bonus at 9/24th of the annual basic wages for work-ers other than clerks and 7/24th for clerks. This formula, however, has been continuously followed irrespec-tive of the profits made by the companies from year to

year. On Nov. 25 last, the "threeyear bondage" as the workers' described the agreement signed by the INTUC, came to an end The Petroleum Work men's Union (AITUC) had earlier, in September, got mandate from the overwhelmhad ing majority of workers of the four oil companies to nego-tiate with the employers on the demands including bonus equivalent to seven months basic wages. Further, the workers gave

notice to the companies aga-inst entering into any agreenents with the Petroleum Em-

the Standard-Vacuum started negotiations with the Petro-Workmen's Union (PWII) But in the first week of

January, the employers abru-ptly called off the negotiations on the plea that "certain developments have made it difficult for them to carry on

further negotiations". These "further developments", It is reported, were nothing other than the pressure from the Labour Minister and other oil compaines.

When the management refused to negotiate, the PWU issued a strike notice to the compaines with the specific announcement that

the union "resolve to conti-nue negotiations if a fruitful opening for such negotiations exists for a reasonable settlement"

lowing this, on Feb. 16, the workers' demands were referred to a Board of Concillation.

But during the last two nonths, Raja Kulkarni and his patron, Labour Minister Shantilal Shah. hectically tried to break the unity of the workers and get recognition for the Petroleum Employees²

Tinion. The 19 employees who have



cle of the Con-

s. "In Maharashtra too all

fight the Congress regime.

Added to this policy of con-ciliation with the feudal forces was the fact that the Congress Government had not been able to solve a single problem of the State.

High prices, unemploy-ment. were hitting the and, were nuting the common people hard, their struggles were being ruth-lessly suppressed, while the business tycoons and the business tycoons and the feudalists were granted concession after co ssion. In the overall result there was deep discontent against the regime, which these reac-tionary forces were able to utilise in a demagogic manner.

Princes Defeated

It would be wrong to think that these princely houses and the feudal forces are so power-ful that none can stand in their way. Actually the results show things to the contrary.

In the Pali District where majority of the Pradhans of the Panchayat Samitles had donned the banner of the Swatantra, in the elections the Swatantra Party has been able to secure only one seat.

In Jodhour City one of the contestants was Deonarayan Yyas, son of the ex-Chief Manarana Rana harisn- vyas, son of the ex-chandra, ex-ruler of Jhalawar Minister Jai Narayan is one of the key members of who was openly and vige Minister Jai Narayan Wyas, who was openly and vigoroustrounced by heavy margins by Communist leaders

Thus, Minister Sampat Ram has been beaten by Hariram in the Tijara seat by a huge margin. Similarly Minister Ram Chandra Chaudhary has lhary has been trounced by Sheopat Singh in Hanumangarh. Even the Independent candidate Satish who beat Health Minis-ter Badri Prasad had the joint support of the Communists and the Independent group of Lala Kashiram

. The most notable is the victory of Lala Kashiram, a veteran leader of Alwar who left the Congress and stood as a progressive Inde-pendent and who fought with the open support the Communists, and was able to defeat the so-called invincible Shart invincible Shobharam of Alwar. In Alwar District, which was one of its strongest Districts, the Congre this time has lost almo this time has lost almost half of its seats and also the Parliamentary seat.

Somewhat similar is the situation in the Gangan District. Out of the seats in this District, two have been won by the Com-munist Party, another has gone to a left Independent Professor Kedar, who fought the election with Communist support. Yet another has gone to an Independent allied with Professor Kedar. Other seats too have gone to Indejury that he received needed three stickes to stop the bleeding. Vet the common people of Beawar voted him to victory.

Apart from the Communists and their allies, the Socialist Party, too, has improved its position getting five seats as compared to two last time, and the PSP also has got two seats instead of its one seat in the last elections.

Left

Growth

Apart from these, some of the Independents who have been returned have definite left leanings, though, of course, some of them are just dissatisfied Congressm are likely to rejoin the gress—one such Independent has already done so.

Though the dent that the feudal reactional have made is mu feudal much larger numerically and they cons titute the main oppo at the momentrepresents a very serious menace to the progress of the State-yet the progressive and Left opposit too, has emerged strend than before and in a num that it can make its influence felt in the Assembly:

It is this latter trend in which reside the hopes for the democratic movement in this State.

Rajasthan-Congress Mauled, **Cross Trends In Opposition**

ly supported by his father. He, along with another Assembly candidate, Keshao Singh, were "blessed" in a written message by the Rajdhadhi of Jodhpur. Both these candi-dates lost their deposits.

But to combat these forces it was necessary that the Congress reverse its policies of hitting the common man, and giving concessions to these elements. Drunk with power, moving amongst the narroy groove of their own class pol cies the Congress leaders of the State adjured this path and the result is there for all to see.

Though this trend is th more publicised trend of the Rajasthan politics, there is et another political that has emerged in these General Elections.

A significant part of the mauling that the Congress has received in the State is at the hands of the left an the progressive forces. The Communist Party in this context has emerged as the strongest component of this trend.

It has been able to secure five seats in the Assembly. Besides these five it has been able to get some independents elected by its open support. The total strength of the Communists and their allies is thus, likely to be about ter in the house. Its voting per-centage has gone up to about six per cent and if the votes of the Independents support-ed by it are taken into account the figure would even go higher.

Two of the Ministers of the State Government have been

NEW AGE

pendents, the Congress get-ing a bare single seat.

In the Bharatpur District a section of the Co joined the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia. They have been able to secure three seats out of ten. Another three seats out gone to the group of Con-gressmen led by Master Adi-tendra who resigned from the Congress on the eve of the elections

Communist Victories

In the other parts of the State, too, it is the obduracy of the State Congress leaders which has resulted in the winning of so many seats by the reactionaries. The State Con-gress leaders were concilia-tary to the reactionaries and absolutely hostile to the progressives.

The results of the Beawar seat, too, are an indication of the same trend. Both the Congress factions, one led by Brij Mohan and the othe led by Chiman Singh, entered the election, one as a Congress candidate and the other as an Independent.

However, the seat was won by the veteran leader of freedom struggle, the founder of the Communist movement in this State, the grand old man of the trade union movement, Swami Kumaranand. The goonda Swami elements enraged by his popularity even organised an attack on him when he was addressing a public meeting. He had to be immediately removed to the hospital and the head inThe way these progressive Left opposition forces, in the centre of which stands the small but vital Communist Party of this State, fight against and oppose the anti-people's policies of the State Government and voice the feelings, sentiments and demands of the common people of the State, and the way they: expose the hollow reactionary nature of the so-called oppo sition of these right tionary forces—in this li path for the future that opens out for the progressive and democratic forces of the State

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NORTH BOMBAY-GREAT EXPERIENCE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"Do'you think Krishna Menon will be able to win?" I asked the IAC baggage steward at Santa Cruz airport. "Sure", he said, "Menon will win hands down. Do you know he has never, not even once, made a personal attack on Acharya Kripalani?"

I did not quite fully under-I stand then how Krishna Menon's victory could be as-sured by his merely not at-tacking the Acharya. But four exciting days in Bombay before the eventful poll of February 25 opened my eyes and I could realise that it was and I could realise that it was a battle between the fascist technique of the Big Lie ver-sus principled political cam-paigning for a clear-cut dé-mocratic policy. On the Acharya's side, it was a gigantic attempt at political character-assassina-tion. The one theme that was

repeated ad nauseam through a thousand posters and leaflets-lavishly produced at whose expense nobody knows (though many could suspect!) -was that Menon was a sec-ret member of the Commu-

ret member of the Commu-nist Party. The Prime Minister has branded this as McCarthy-ism, but, perhaps, it goes a step further--to the patho-logical limits of the, Birch Society (which suspected even the Eisenhower Admi-pistration as being run by nistration as being run by

Meda!). Menon was, of course, a "communist" since the India League days before World War II. "Evidence" galore War II. Evidence" galore. broadcast through scores of printed sheets brought out by Ramakrishna Bajaj's (brother of Congress MP Kamalnayan Bajaj) Anti-Menon Youth Front and printed at Goenka's DIG

press. I heard of a master plot to bring out a forgery under the late M. N. Roy's forged'signa-ture to "prove" that Krishna Menon was an agent of the Communist International. Somehow or other this time-bomb got defused and the matter was hushed up.

Guru Gorwala

A. D. Gorwala, played the ideological gurn in this amaz-ing circus. Giving a good-conduct testimonial that "Kripalaniji himself is doing a very fine job", Gorwala gave a clarion call to his flock: "It is time the chiefs of the political parties understood that whatever victories they may win elsewhere cannot but may win elsewhere cannot but turn to dust and ashes if Krishna Menon is not defeat-ed. In the lives of nations, there come certain _decisive points. Everything thereafter is determined in relation to what happens then. This election is such a point".

And Gorwala's own gurus had mustered there in full strength: not only the entire tribe of American correspon-dents, complete with telephoto dents, complete with telephoto cameras to see the Acharya beating the Red Menon, but even the American officials could be seen moving about in Consular cars. And they overdid it to a point that, perhaps, it created sufficient revulsion in the ordinary voter as to help Menon himself.

I found Time copies with the Krishna Menon cover-page being shown round with great delight by Menon supporters, for they could

rely on the healthy patrio tic instinct of the public to condemn such blatant warning of a foreign agency. On the day Menon's victory was assured, a local presswas assured, a local press-man working in Goenka's outfit rang me up and said: "This is America's Second Cuba, this Menon victory!" Attending Kripalani's mee-tings, one was sure to hear all the usual tirades against Krishna Menon—Chinese ag-gression, jeep scandal, Red agent. At times, the Acharya could be trusted to be quite unbalanced and once even said that Menon was provok-ing "grave discontent" inside the Defence forces. In a printthe Defence forces. In a print-ed sheet handed to me in one of the Kripalani's meetings, it was written in Gujarati that of the Kripalani's meetings, it was written in Gujarati that "Krishna Menon is a thief". He "sleeps when China at-tacks". He "wears Khadi but, goes about with Communists".

Political Campaign ·

I went to Menon's meetings: there was only an exposition of the Government's policy of non-alignment and peace. Chavan explained at one meeting how the onslaught on meeting now the onslaught on Krishna Menon was meant to be an attack on Pandit. Nehnu's progressive policies. There was no mud-slinging anywhere. Menon himself said: "If

you throw mud, some of it sticks to you. My system is such that I do not absorb mud even if it sticks".

The nearest that I heard Krishna Menon himself referring to Acharya Kripa-lani's non-stop attacks on his political faith was, at a meeting of Sindhi residents, where Menon said: "It is surprising how sensitive some people are to other people's faith rather than their own. Perhaps, they their own. Perhaps, they have none themselves".

How blatantly unscrupul-ous were the Kripalani campaigners was clear from their stand on Goa.

In one of the early issues of the Kripalani Election Campaign Committee's Bul-letin, it was stated: "The Acharya assalled the Govern-Menarya assance the deviation ment for its ineptitude in be-ing unable to drive away the Portuguese from Goa and

other Indian enclaves". And when the Goa action actually came, the focus was changed, and a cyclostyled questionnaire meant for Kriquestionnaire meant for Kri-shna Menon's meetings asked: "If a tiny problem of Goa took fourteen years, how many years will be taken in solving Chinese and Pakistani problems?

And Guru Gorwala did not spare the admonition: "The Government of India "The Government of India certainly has Goa, but there can be little doubt that it departed from the Charter of the United Nations which of the Onited Nations which it was pledged to uphold". Approvingly he dittoed the Western charge that Nehru was a "hyprocite" over Goa. But what brought Krishna Menon the memorable victory

Menon the memorable victory was not the evident chinks in Don Quixote's armour. More solid than all this was the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh with the PSP playing the Man Friday to them. In fact, the Acharya was a pathetic spectacle, playing the mascot for this axis of big money and Reaction. And as their ally stood the Morarii Group inside Bombay Con-gress.

OTESS.

Morarji's Manoeuvre

Reports were current in Bombay that Morarji Desai used his not-too-small influ-ence with the Jains (shades of the Foreign Exchange un-mentionables?) to get their newspapers play down the Krishna Menon campaigners. Goenka went a step fur-

rishna Menon campaigners. Goenka went a step fur-ther in blacking it out com-pletely: a piece of effcon-tery which angered more than confused the Bombay than confused the Bombay public, and the Express sale was said to have gone down by over 10,000 copies as a result. Af Kashmir M. P. Dange Retains Workers' Vote

U.S. Junform han Aging

Anti-Communist cir-cles in Bombay "inter-preting" Dange's defeat in the General Elections, compared to his specta-cular success last time, have put forth the "the-sis" that Dange does not enjoy working class confidence. But an examina-tion of the election re-sults shows that this is far from the truth.

THREE reasons could be cited for the defeat of Dange and the Samiti in Bombay City Central South. The constituency has less than 50 per cent Mahara-shtrians, if one is to take into account the linguistic factor. A Congress study for ele-

ctoral tactics shows that of the five lakhs voters in the the lakhs voters in the constituency nearly 82 thousand are Muslims, 20 thousand are Parsis and Christians each and 53 thousand Gujaratis. These groups are not influenced by the Samiti.

by the samit. The constituency was also divided. Most of the working class which voted last time are now in the reserved seat. Dange's pre-sent constituency has only 40 per cent workers. Secondly, the Samiti was split and the Praja Socia-lists went out of it after the formation of Mahara-shtra. The Republicans with a large and disciplin-

shtra. The Republicans with a large and disciplin-ed following also split into two groups. The breakaway

Kamble group put up can-didates against Samiti and

didates against Samiti and Republicans. B. C. Kamble stood aga-inst Dange supported by Fraja Socialists, League and Swatantra — another North Bombay gangup. They got 47,642 votes. This means 0.064 means the means 9,064 More than re-quired by Dange to win over, the Congress, Jana Sangh candidate got 20,899. This factor was absent last time.

If no gangup had been there Dange would have won despite the division of the constituency. Thus, the Congress win is not due to more following than last time

All six Assembly seats, were contested by the Com-munists. Patkar won in the munists. Patkar won in the workers and Marathi seat by over eight thousand votes. In the second seat Jagtap lost by 1,605 votes to a Congress Muslim can-didate.

didate. Except a small section attracted by the demagogy and new Maratha face of the Congress Ministry, the main body of workers voted for the Samiti and for

Dange. Also it should be pointed out that vast resources of money. State power and patronage of High Finance in the city were used for the Congress.

the Congress. The North Bombay clash was reflected over the whole city. In spite of this the bulk of working class votes was not for the Congress.

Tariq had not confined the demonstration to a bonfire of the paper itself, Goenka's press would, perhaps, have been raided that day by the angry public.

The Air India International's American publicity organisation put up a poster frankly making fun of Kri-shna Menon and almost join-ing in the Red-batting slan-der. Angry protests brought this poster down, no credit for a Government-owned undertaking.

Inside the Bombay Congress, BPCC Chief Shantilal dutifully carried out the Morarji line and many have complained quite openly that Shah's men not only failed to campaign for Krishna Menon but actually asked people to vote for Kripalani.

Congress

Sabotage

Kripalani publicity mat-erials could be found in BPCC Office but hardly any Menon material. It was Menon material. It was only Chavan's Intervention that saved the name of the Congres in North Bombay and after the poll, a leading Congressman said: "If Menon wins it would be des-pite the BPCC. If Menon loses it would be because of the BPCC".

Reports are current that at the eleventh hour when it was known to him that disciplinary action might come because of his misconduct that Shah hurried to issue a press con-tradiction about his pro-Kripalani activities, but this

