

SHOOT THE CROCODILES!

Prime Minister Nehru is thundering away for all he is worth in defence of Krishna Menon not only in terms of supporting an esteemed and loyal colleague but, above all, as a symbol of the best in Indian national tradition, of peace through Panchsheel in the world of progress and well-being within our country, of onward march to socialism.

Indian reaction has never been bolder before. After making anti-Communism fashionable within the ruling circles it is now concentrating its fire on Krishna Menon as the big peg to be uprooted, to rush through reactionary reversal in Indian national policy, all along the line. It relies on the passivity, disloyalty and sabotage of the Right within the Congress Party itself, as has been revealed in State after State and, above all, in North Bombay constituency itself.

THE nearer comes the poll day the more obvious and visible becomes the interest and hand of imperialist Western circles in India's third general elections. "This election in North Bombay constituency had been tom-tommed even in Europe and America", stated the Prime Minister in his Gwallor speech (Hindustan Times, February 20).

AMERICAN RAVINGS

Here is just one example, from the editorial of Washington Daily News: "The Americans rightfully are interested in this election race. The size of Menon's vote should be an eye-opener, indicating the extent to which this strange character actually speaks for the Indian people. As the Indian representative at the United Nations, he has followed the Soviet line consistently and is just as consistently anti-American.

"His opponent is 74-year-old politician, Acharya Kripalani, who seems deeply concerned about the bad name Menon is giving India generally and is incensed over the way Menon allegedly has mishandled the Defence Ministry".

Last week, we spotlighted the Prime Minister's Poona statement that some "outside persons" representing some foreign powers were interfering in the Indian elections. We also drew the attention of our readers to the unusual USIS interest in the North Bombay elections. This is no more a secret this week.

Again, very significant is the recent visit of two Special Assistants to President Kennedy, George McGovern and Arthur Schlesinger to India and also to Bombay, which clearly enough casts thicker the U.S. shadow over the Indian elections.

It is not only the American ideology that is being sold as the best for the Indian electorate. Last week 14 million tons of PL-480 wheat were rushed from America to Bombay's Alexandra Dock, to be ceremoniously handed over by the Special Assistant to President Kennedy, George McGovern to India's Food Minister, S. K. Patil, obviously to stir sentiments of gratitude for America's friends fighting the Indian elections.

The Swatantra Party is being introduced to the people in what one of its top campaign organizers says "a big way", through tons of beautifully and expensively brought out publications and posters, the work of an internationally known foreign advertising agency. So also are the catchy advertisements of the Swatantra appearing in the various

newspapers of the country. Intelligent voters everywhere are asking: from where is all this big money coming?

The Prime Minister in his Gwallor speech exposed the gang and its aim in these words: "It was a strange tamasha how the Swatantra Party, symbolising reactionary and socially backward groups, the Praja Socialists, professing socialism, the Jana Sangh, a rank Hindu communal organisation and the Muslim League, a rabid Muslim organisation, fanatically opposed to one another had come together to oppose our Government, our basic policies of non-alignment and socialism".

Without directly linking up the two, the Prime Minister also exposed the real masters of the ignoble Trimurti, Swatantra, PSP, Jana

accustomed to the slander that we are out to sell the country. It has now come to such a pass that the Prime Minister has to bemoan "it is being said that the Defence Minister is a Communist and is going to sell the country. What is this strange tamasha?" (Hindustan Times, February 21).

"The reactionaries, money-bags, newspapers and communalists", Pandit Nehru stated, in his Connaught Place speech in New Delhi "have stooped to the lowest depth of falsehood, deception, low and mean tactics to frighten the people by calling Menon a Communist or a crypto-Communist". He denounced as "fraud and deception" the

We are a serious revolutionary party, devoted to our people and dedicated to the Indian nation. We foresaw the crisis coming and warned our loudest all over our vast land.

OUR WARNING

Even in the current elections, irrespective of the hostile Congress attitude towards us, we are giving all our support to Krishna Menon and hurling our entire strength against Acharya Kripalani.

In the New Delhi Parliamentary seat, which the Congress lost to the Jana Sangh last, we are helping the

memory and experience will conclude that what the Prime Minister is saying now, the Communist Party was the first to warn the nation against.

The Communist Party through its election manifesto has outlined policies and a tactical approach which really helps to realise in practice what Pandit Nehru has started preaching aloud.

We are sure that in the coming elections the people will feel it their first and foremost duty to strengthen their utmost the Communist Party and award it many more seats so that the Indian people's struggle against Indian reaction can be carried forward to final victory.

Wipe Out Reaction!

Sangh combine, "there were some foreign powers who were prowling around like crocodiles to eat up India. They may not eat us, but they are trying to put a lot of pressure against all that is happening to take India towards socialism".

The readers of the New Age can fill in the details from their own memory.

NEHRU'S ANGER

The Communist press, parliamentarians, agitators, activists and supporters are the happiest that the big truth about Indian reality, as to who are for India and who against, is coming out and from the Prime Minister's own mouth. We have been lone in warning the nation along these lines.

The danger is real and has grown and grown till the wisest among the leaders of the ruling party, the Prime Minister, has to speak out loud and long and make it the main theme of all his election speeches during the last two weeks.

We have no doubt that his words would be heeded in time and our good people will demonstrate through the ballot box that they know now better than before who are the best fighters for India and who its worst enemies, and who are slow of understanding, full of partisan passion, and afraid to fight for what they once stood and even today who only chant national mantras.

We Communists are long

propaganda that they liked his policies but Menon was distorting them.

The Prime Minister was forthright in denouncing Indian reaction for introducing McCarthyism in India. "It must not be forgotten that McCarthyism did harm to the United States and if it came to India, it will spell our ruination," he warned.

It has happened in other countries with tragic results. It is now happening in our own country. The current

by
P. C. Joshi

elections are India's big opportunity to lay the ghost of the alien outlook, McCarthyism.

It all began with raising, Goebbels-Hitler style, the ghost of anti-Communism against the Communist Party of India itself. The evil ghost was given the long rope. It has now donned the McCarthy suit, cut to size, duly tailored in and imported directly from the Dollarland. The tallest champions of Panchsheel, anti-colonialism, plan and the public sector, progressive democracy and secularism are denounced as crypto-Communists.

We, Indian Communists, in this hour of crisis do not adopt the self-righteous attitude and with a we-told-you-so adopt the passive attitude and watch the fun.

Rehabilitation Minister Mehar Chand Khanna to defeat the Jana Sangh Balraj Madhok. In all the Corporation seats in the capital, where we are not contesting the Congress, we are supporting the Congress against the Jana Sangh.

The Indian Express (February 17), reports that the U.P. branch of the Communist Party decided to collaborate with the Congress in the elections "in a giant crusade against the Jana Sangh and communalism".

In the two prestige constituencies of Balarampur where the Congress candidate Subadra Joshi is fighting against the Jana Sangh leader Atal Behari Vajpayee for the Parliamentary seat and in Jaunpur City Vidhan Sabha seat where the Raja, the Jana Sangh leader in the U.P. legislature is fighting against Finance Minister, Hargovind Singh, the "Communists have lent their full support to the Congress".

We Communists do not place the narrow interests of the Party above those of our ancient nation. We do not hang on to the sad memories of the past when the call to battle comes. We do not let our thinking get clouded by the bile within. We know how to differentiate between our patriotic friends and fellow-fighters even when they misunderstand and slander us and the common enemies of both, the reactionary politicians representing the vested interests and Western imperialism.

We are confident that the Indian people from their own

Indian reaction is all set to change India's independent foreign policy. Crisis after crisis during the last five years has proven that the Communist bloc inside the Indian Parliament is the stoutest and firmest champion of India's foreign policy of Panchsheel and anti-colonialism and international co-operation.

The Indian vested interests and the reactionary politicians are out to change the progressive features of the plan and to remake it to serve their selfish interests ever more. The Prime Minister in his Bombay speeches has himself owned that during the last 10-15 years India's industrialists have made more money than during the last 100 years of British rule.

The big monopoly of power in the hands of the Congress rulers has meant unprecedented opportunities for the rise of Indian monopoly and now they are extending their greedy arms for increasing collaboration with foreign monopoly.

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNS

The Communist Party has advanced policies as it has initiated national campaigns, fought popular struggles to ensure that India's plan is tuned to the aspirations and needs of the Indian people and leads to their welfare.

The original sin was committed by the Congress when it embraced the League to help overthrow the Communist-led

* SEE BACK PAGE

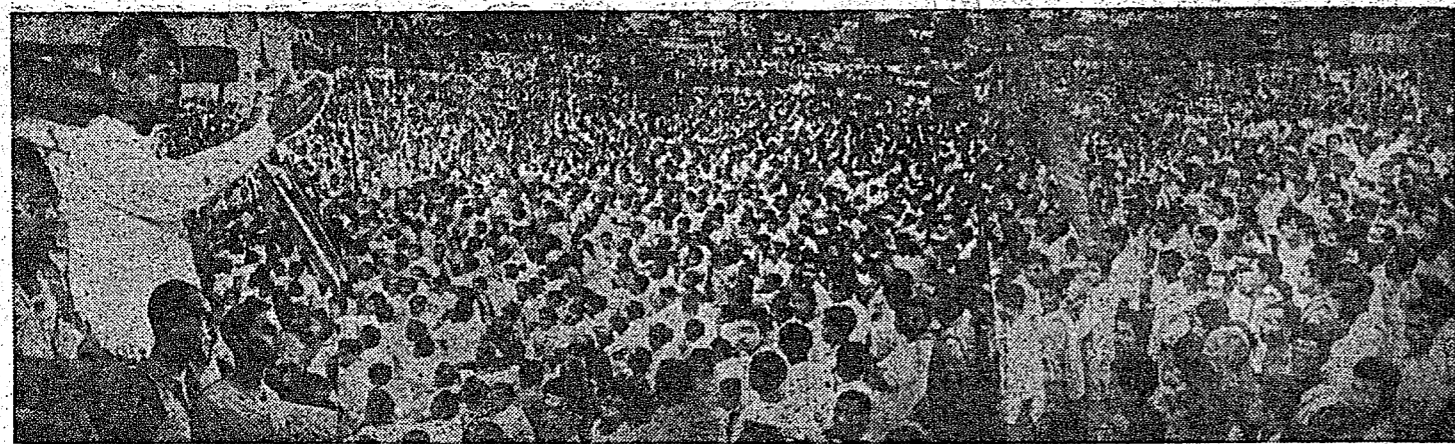
NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X, NO. 8

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 25, 1962

25 nP.



Jyoti Basu's passionate oration before a huge audience—a typical scene of W. Bengal Communists' magnificent campaign.

B. C. Roy Shaking In His Shoes

From AJOY DAS GUPTA

Calcutta's Chowringhee area is quite well-known throughout the world as the fashion centre of the city. It has again shot into prominence with the decision of Dr. B. C. Roy to contest from this seat.

IN the last two elections Dr. Roy contested from his home constituency Bowbazar. In the first general elections he defeated the late Satiya-priya Banerjee, one of the top leaders of the Forward Bloc by a margin of more than four thousand.

In the second general election Dr. Roy was opposed by Mohammad Ismail, the veteran Communist trade-union leader. To Dr. Roy and his entourage, Ismail was a non-entity in comparison to Dr. B. C. Roy, an all-India figure, with a halo of strength and efficiency.

But little did they know that the name of Mohammad Ismail is a household word among the city poor, whose most beloved leader he is. So as the election campaign mounted an upsurge swept the Bowbazar area and Dr. B. C. Roy somehow scraped through with a bare majority of 540 votes.

And it is widely believed that a large number of postal ballots from the central police barracks situated in this area, did his part in securing this slender majority.

This election result gave a severe jolt to the prestige of Congress and of Dr. B. C. Roy personally. The ageing Chief Minister this time did not dare to face Ismail in the Bowbazar constituency. So a search ensued for a safe seat in Calcutta and Chowringhee was chosen after much scrutiny.

What is the calculation behind this choice? The voters' composition in this area is considered to be most favourable to the Congress and to Dr. B. C. Roy. This is the most cosmopolitan area in the whole of Calcutta. Here in this area are the big luxurious hotels and restaurants, fashionable shops. That exclusive portion of the city known as "South of Park Street", inhabited by the foreign and Indian "Sahibs", is also within this constituency. The Chief Minister of West Bengal has chosen a constituency with only 12 per cent of Bengali voters.

Another factor, perhaps weighed with the Congress. That is the organisational weakness of the working people and the Communist Party in this area. In fact, before

Calcutta with the police, which is using it naturally enough, to restrict the Communists from approaching the voters. Referring to a judgment of the Calcutta High Court, the police said that it could not give permission to use loudspeakers in the streets, or for that matter in any property of the Calcutta Corporation, unless the latter gave permission.

On this plea permission was refused and when a meeting was held the police lodged a case against the Secretary of the Chowringhee Branch of the Communist Party. Later on when the permission of the Corporation was obtained and some meetings held, the police

forward. The thelawallas (cart pullers) a large number of whom live in this area hailing from Bihar and U.P. villages and who are traditional followers of Congress, found out the character of the Congress on their skins. The Government issued an order prohibiting plying of thelhas in Calcutta on and from October 31, 1961. The Congress-dominated organisation did nothing to save the thelawallas from complete loss of livelihood. It was the Red Flag again which came to their aid and assistance.

A union was formed which staged a one-day strike and led a deputation to the Government and the order has been kept in abeyance till March 31, 1962. A section of the thelawallas realise that putting the Congress back in power means the end of their livelihood after March 31, and that is why they are now listening to the Communist exposure of the Congress policy of making the rich richer and poor poorer, of creating unemployment and poverty.

The Harijans, mostly mochhs (shoemakers) have also been a close preserve of the Congress. In a concentrated area in this constituency live nearly 4,000 mochhs, most of them voters. Now various factors, like high prices of raw materials and implements, lack of marketing facilities and the overbearing attitude of the Congress backed leaders of their community have created discontent among many of these people, on whose vote the Congress is counting so much here. Here, too, the Communist workers have made contacts and already some people have come up from among them to work for the Party.

Discontent is also evident among the workers in the tailoring shops who have no security of work and low wages, the rickshaw-pullers, small shop-keepers, bistis (water-carriers), basket makers and various other types of workers who live in innumerable, dark, damp, congested bastees in this area, and somehow eke out a precarious living.

This wind of change has made Dr. B. C. Roy and his entourage jittery. As this area is populated mostly by minorities—religious and linguistic—the Congress is trying to cajole and intimidate them. On the one hand, a running thread of Congress campaign is that it is the saviour of the minorities—“Communists will

drive away the non-Bengalees, destroy religion and all that”.

When Communist workers point out that it was the Congress which not only failed to give protection to the minorities in Jabalpur, Aligarh or Assam, but connived at outrages against them in many places and it is the Communist and the left forces which prevented the breaking out of communal or linguistic riots in West Bengal and other places where they are strong and the people listen to them, then intimidation is resorted to.

Sly hints are dropped that Muslims will be forced to migrate to Pakistan if they do not vote Congress, others will be made outcaste and all sorts of things. Among the Anglo-Indians, who are mostly Catholics, the Church is being pressed into service.

At the same time Dr. B. C. Roy is trying to overwhelm the voters with a terrific Yankee-type publicity barrage. Wherever you go in this area you will find huge hoardings with portraits of the “great man” in different poses looking down on you.

From the Chowringhee and Red Road such hoardings have found their way into small lanes and by-lanes and a joke has become current in Calcutta that a new star—a new Uttam Kumar—has arisen. Even the pro-Congress Yugantar has ridiculed this publicity stunt.

He is also pressing the Intelligence Branch force in to service to take charge of his campaign.

The news that the notorious ex-I.G. Chief Satyen Mukherjee has been called back from the Andamans to supervise these arrangements, has not been contradicted, though published in Swadhinata quite a few days back. It is now learnt that people with a record in the police list are being pressed to campaign for Dr. Roy—otherwise they will be in for trouble; they are being told.

However, the “safe and sure” seat of Chowringhee is no longer so and a Congress boss is reported to have said that the Congress is in rough waters even here, where they expected smooth sailing and they would have to sweat to win. But the Communist and leftist workers are working hard to create a situation where even the “sweating” of Congress will not be of any avail.



Biswanath Mukherjee opposes B. C. Roy.

came out with a new point. They now refused permission on the ground that the Calcutta Corporation had not issued a public notification regarding temporary closure of roads.

But this police restriction applies to the Communists and leftists alone. Meetings with loud-speakers are being held in support of Dr. B. C. Roy on the streets and long in to the night, though the Communist Party is forced to shut up shop by 10 p.m. This created further problems as during the Ramzan (which falls this month) meetings in Muslim mohallas have to be held after 9.30 p.m., i.e., after the evening prayer.

But all these obstacles were overcome and the Communist campaigners reached the people with their message of an alternative Government in West Bengal and increased strength in Parliament.

Things began to change in this area also. The hotel workers in this area, who threw out the INTUC leadership and joined a Red Flag union a few months back came

DANGE Exposes Congress "Socialism"

From Our Bombay Correspondent

S. A. Dange, said here recently that socialism propounded by the Congress was “pure and unadulterated capitalism”. He was speaking at a packed meeting called by the local progressive group on “the coming elections and the Communist Party of India”. But this capitalism was different from the 19th century capitalism. “It is a 20th century capitalism—that is of monopoly concentration”, he added.

Similarly, India had to face disappointments regarding the establishment of steel mills. Nehru was turned down by America in this regard. “Western gentlemen came forward only after USSR had started the Bhilai steel plant”. This gesture on the part of Russia, was not out of profit motives. “As India was an underdeveloped country and economically backward, they had come to its help”, he said.

CAPITALIST PATH

Under Congress raj, which is essentially a capitalist party, the concentration of wealth in few hands is on the increase. “A man”, he said, “at the age of 66 holds some 50 to 60 directorships and still hopes to acquire more”. The findings of the Tariff Commission in 1925 still hold good, Dange said. The Commission had found that most of directors were ignorant of their own concerns.

A similar impression is got from the studies undertaken by the Planning Commission. This was direct violation of the Constitution, which forbids concentration of wealth in few hands. “This situation has led to the most abstract form of owning wealth called Benami holding of wealth”, Dange said and added: “This is a most wonderful creation of the Indian bourgeois mind”.

But, it did not mean that Communists rejected plans as a whole. Planning and its concept were correct. Indians never dreamt about certain things which were now being produced in the country, he said. But this achievement was not without weakness. Planning by the Congress was incomplete and it did not embrace all aspects of life.

“Everything that is produced is subject to market conditions and this is the great lacuna in the planning”, he added.

Further, all the finance and resources got from the western imperialists was incomplete, “like in machinery and as the Japanese did during pre-war days, an essential percentage of the imported machinery is held back by Western monopolists”.

The Britishers had said that the First World War was won “on the rails of Tatas”. “But the engine was not ours”, Dange said. The monopolists would be most happy to see us in the same position even today, he added.

“The oil monopolists like the Stanvac and Burmah-Shell, who had to go out of the country long ago, had tried to stop oil coming out from the soil”, Dange said. “But, Communist Rumania—however you may hate Communists—found oil for us”.

The Jana Sangh is not only

They say, that the national income of the country has risen to 42 per cent but, the question remains unanswered, who benefited from this, if someone or a certain group of people increase their incomes it does not decrease the common-man's hunger or thirst”, he added.

Besides the Congress persists in its anti-labour policies. “A worker who adds a surplus value of 239 per cent is paid a rupee as his reward”.

In the name of the Pay Commission, bogus things and ideas were being perpetuated. Workers were forced to win “their livelihood” through bitter struggles—police-firings and shootings on the workers was not uncommon in Congress raj.

Further, it was a fact that the present-day economy of the country was either based on Keynes or some other western economist. “Everything from the parliamentary procedure to the education of a clerk is taken from outside the country.”

MARXISM AND INDIA

In this connection Dange mentioned Bombay State Labour Minister Shantilal Shah, who is fighting election from a North Bombay Assembly constituency. “Of all the men I want to see him defeated at any cost”, he said. Shantilal Shah is not only “a bad man but a bad Congressman, betraying his own Congress Chief”.

The Communist Party supports the “peaceful foreign policy of the Congress”. It stops the dirty machination of international imperialism and their “ambition to swallow us” as the Socialist camp is

always ready to help us unconditionally.

Referring to the “allegations that Communists look beyond frontiers”, Dange said that it was true in a general way. “But”, he explained, “we are not governed or dictated by outside world, as is the case with the followers of free enterprise”. The New York Exchange holds the destiny of these people, he said.

Besides as a “question of tactics”, the Samiti had found that its nominee in the election would not be able to get elected, he said. Nevertheless, the alliance formed in North Bombay by PSP, Swatantra and Jana Sangh “shows the height of opportunism and also betrays their basic loyalties that is to imperialist reaction forces in the world”, Dange said.

That is why the Samiti and the Communists were “resolved to defeat them at the polls”, he added.

SAMITI'S ROLE

Earlier Dange refuted the arguments that after the formation of Maharashtra the existence of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti was illogical. “The Samiti stands not only for the Maharashtra but also for a democratic and socialist Maharashtra and so it is there to fulfil its mission”.

COMMUNALISTS ON THE RAMPAGE

from our delhi correspondent

WE witness in the Capital of India, tragic scenes these days. Militant communalism which led to the cold-blooded murder of Mahatma Gandhi parades the city throughout the day.

A difference, though, is there. Communal reaction armed with the fascist-ideology with obscurantism as its main weapon is presenting itself today in the popular garb of “candidates” for the General Elections.

As you go to the far-flung corners of the expanding City, you observe saffron-coloured flags with the symbol of a Deepak (lamp) in various colonies. At places even the Congress tri-colour is outnumbered. It is difficult then to avoid questioning yourself: from where is this huge amount of money coming to the coffers of the Jana Sangh?

The thousands of yards of cloth and tons of paper which is being used for the election campaign by the Jana Sangh in the capital creates doubts about its so-called “Bharatiya” nationalism. Then there are rumours that this party of anti-Nehru crusade is blessed by some Western countries.

The Jana Sangh is not only

While asking for votes for themselves the Communists in Delhi are openly advising the people to vote for the Congress in those constituencies where the CPI has not put up any candidate and thus give a smashing blow to the Jana Sangh. In the New Delhi Lok Sabha constituency where the Congress candidate is Meharchand Khanna, the trade unionists and CPI members are openly canvassing support for the Congress.

In a conversation with New Age Farooq, Secretary of the Delhi Party, again emphasised that the Delhi State Council of the CPI has not put up its candidates for the Parliamentary seats of City, Sadar Bazar and Subzimidli simply because it did not want to divide the secular vote. The Party wants the Jana Sangh to be defeated at all costs in all the constituencies.

The Jana Sangh in Delhi is especially concentrating in two constituencies—both candidates are old and tried leaders of the RSS who have Gowalkar's blessing, Prof. Balraj Madhok and Prof. Mahabir. Most of the RSS volunteers are concentrating in these constituencies.

The Jana Sangh propaganda machine has employed a cartoonist working in the All-India Radio. This gentleman is producing rabid-anti-Nehru stuff for cartoon posters. His initials, very clear on

the posters, are done in the reverse order (the last alphabet of the name comes first). He is being paid a handsome amount.

It has employed another organisation—Refugees United Front—for issuing leaflets and posters for indulging in character assassination of the Congress candidate. One of the “sins” of the Congress candidate, is the “murder of Hindus”. The creation of Pakistan is another charge against him.

The citizens of the capital are receiving first-hand knowledge of Nazi party in miniature. And yet they need to be told more about it. The Congress in Delhi is not meeting this challenge fully as it should do. There is already a scare in some localities, where the Jana Sangh has put up hundreds of its flags. The honour of the tri-colour itself is at stake. The Sanghites have started creating confusion in Congress meetings (one such incident took place in Paharganj recently).

On poll day the citizens of the capital will have to act discriminately by voting for the Communists against the Congress and for the Congress against the Jana Sangh. The Communists in Delhi are the only force who can answer the challenge of Jana Sangh reaction and communalism and simultaneously fight for the people against Congress misrule.

E. M. S. Unmasks Congress Claims

BEYOND the Western Ghats, we find the Congress and the PSP fighting each other in the name of programmatic conflict. In Bombay the PSP is spearheading the opposition to V. K. Krishna Menon alleging with all reaction and communalism and vested interests, but here we find them hand-in-glove talking aloud of democracy and asking people to vote for both", stated E. M. S. Namboodiripad in a spirited speech at Ernakulam where Communist lawyer M. M. Abdul Kader, is fighting A. M. Thomas, the Deputy Food Minister.

Referring to the opportunistic alliance the Congress and PSP have forged in Kerala to retain their power, Namboodiripad stated that the parties here were competing in opportunism only and had nothing concrete to show to the people.

That was why they were relying on the Pastoral Letter of Bishops openly condemned by Pandit Nehru; they were violating all common laws by utilising governmental machinery to catch votes and we had the spectacle of the PSP Chief Minister running up to Madras State and asking people to vote Congress so that

Congress-minded people in Trivandrum would vote for the PSP candidate here in Trivandrum, who also happens to be his son-in-law.

Namboodiripad challenged the Congress or the PSP in Kerala to stand alone and fight the election. In that case the Congress could not even win 25 Assembly seats and the PSP not even one. If Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas had to face opposition from the Church, the Nair Service Society, and their ilk, the opposition that the Communist Party is facing today, where would have been their position? E.M.S. asked.

The Communist Party was in no hurry to come back to power in Kerala by hook or crook, he stated. But if the Congress and PSP ruled for another three years they will have no need or chance to face the electorate. People in Kerala had got so fed up with the rule of nepotism, corruption and communalism of the last 23 months, he concluded.

Bishops' Outrage

In a statement issued on the 19th at Ernakulam the Working Committee of

the Kerala Catholic Congress has expressed disagreement with Pandit Nehru's open disapproval of the Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops of Kerala.

It will be recalled that Panditji on more than one occasion in his speeches during the one-day visit in Kerala had stated that it was wrong for dignitaries of the church to ask voters to vote this way or that.

The Kerala Congress leaders including Panampillil Govinda Menon had lost no time in expressing disapproval of Panditji's stand and had gone to the extent of publicly stating that the Pastoral Letter should be heeded to and acted upon not only by Christians but all alike.

Now the Kerala Congress has brought pressure on the official organisation of the Catholics, the Kerala Catholic Congress, to restate the direction in the Pastoral Letter and disapprove the stand taken by the Prime Minister.

The statement of the Catholic Congress reads: "For the Catholic and only genuine Christian, Communism embodies a philosophy based on atheism, irreligion and totalitarianism. Therefore, they are necessarily anti-Communist."

Shameless Use Of Official Machinery

We give below extracts from news items that have appeared in the local dailies of the last week. They illustrate what is going on in Kerala and to what extent governmental machinery and funds are misused to catch votes contrary to all canons of Election Law or the Constitution.

Trivandrum, February 17: One measure of rice and four pounds of topioca per ration card holder have been distributed to the dwellers in the coastal area in Trivandrum district from Poonthura to Kazhakkootam, utilising the amount allotted to Famine Relief in Coastal area from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund. (Kerala Kaumudi).

Alleppey, February 18: It is learnt that the midday meals committee connected with schools around the town have regretfully taken the decision to stop the supply of midday meals from next week. But in view of the present situation the Government are expected to intervene and help in the matter (Dinamani, Congress Daily).

Kottayam, February 16: The authorities have issued instructions that supply of rice to ration card holders will be reduced one measure per card holder from the first week of March.

"Even if Communism is found good to the whole world, the Christian can never become Communist. To bring into power the political force of the Communists will amount to helping the destruction of freedom of religions conviction of the Christians."

The supply of two measures per card holder will continue till elections are over (Janakeralam).

February 18: The Government have decided to extend the old age pension benefits. The age limit will be brought down to 60 or 65 (instead of 70 as at present) as is existing in Madras. It is worth remembering that the Communist Ministry could not conceive such a humane scheme during their 23 months (Dinamani, Congress Daily).

Alleppey, February 18: It is learnt that the midday meals committee connected with schools around the town have regretfully taken the decision to stop the supply of midday meals from next week. But in view of the present situation the Government are expected to intervene and help in the matter (Dinamani, Congress Daily).

Kottayam, February 16: The authorities have issued instructions that supply of rice to ration card holders will be reduced one measure per card holder from the first week of March.

"And that right to conviction is enshrined in our Constitution. Hence, the Archbishops and Bishops are entitled to issue instructions to the Christian Community on a matter like this."

-SHARMA

Police Savagery In Bhopal

From Our Correspondent

The Madhya Pradesh police adopted fascist methods to terrorise and demoralise the strikers of the Heavy Electricals Ltd. (HEL). Policemen in hundreds entered the hostels of the trainees who are the vanguard of the struggle of the HEL employees, beat them up severely, dragged them out of the hostels, forced them in to the vans and rushed them to prison.

This organised attack was condemned by all in the city. An all-party delegation, excluding the Congress, which visited the scene of this tragic drama found the floor full of blood-stained spots which made it clear that the police attack on the peaceful employees was most cruel and ruthless.

The employees, on strike from February 13, were conducting their movement in the most disciplined and peaceful manner. They were picketing the main gates of the project to appeal to the wavering elements not to attend work. On February 16, when the picketing was going on peacefully the police started a vicious lathi-charge. They did not spare even the women.

After that the employees were assured through the all-party delegation, which met the Governor requesting his intervention, that negotiations to consider the demands would begin on February 17.

But instead of starting the negotiations the management gave a free hand to the police to deal with the

situation. The concerted and organised attack by the police came as a surprise to the employees, who were preparing themselves for the negotiations.

Even the President of the Servants Union, Handa was about to issue a peace appeal requesting the strikers to maintain tranquillity and calmness for the period of the negotiations. But by resorting to this repression the management broke its faith with the employees.

SHOCKING BEHAVIOUR

The total number injured on February 17 is about two hundred, many of whom received severe injuries. The total arrested is about 700.

The police also entered the quarters of the employees and misbehaved with the ladies of the houses. Even the children were not spared from their wrath. The police behaved like devils and took away the belongings of the trainees, which included watches and fountain pens.

The police also opened fire and the employees allege that two deaths were caused by the firing. They fired tear-gas shells many times to disperse the picketers and the mounted police charged indiscriminately. Terrorised by this police savagery many trainees, mostly in their teens, have left the hostels and have taken shelter in city or in the nearby jungles.

It may be recalled here that the employees of the HEL had many grievances against the management. They prepared a charter of 49 demands presented it to K. C. Reddy and also to Lal Bahadur Shastri during his recent visit to Bhopal. The employees also staged demonstrations during their visits.

The leaders of the Servants Union also presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister when he visited Bhopal on February 13 during his country-wide tour. But instead of considering the demands the Prime Minister condemned the strike and dismissed it as a political stunt of the Communists. Such wholesale condemnation gave encouragement to the police and the management to adopt the most repressive measures.

But during his speech Nehru said that the demands of the employees should be considered and they should get more of that was justified. The management forgot this part of the speech.

Abdul Ali, Deputy Labour Minister, Government of India

also came to Bhopal on February 17. He did not care to visit the HEL township and meet the employees representatives. He only performed his duty by hurling abuses at Communist Party.

The HEL township continues to be tense and employees are panic-stricken. The Communist Party along with the other opposition parties have taken up the issue. They met the Governor twice and requested him to intervene. A statement issued by the all-party representatives have asked the police to stop its atrocities forthwith. On the all-India plane the ATTUC has already moved in the matter.

"We strongly protest against the action of the Government and urge upon the Central Government to stop all this violence and repression at once. The authorities of the Central Government concerned should give up their present unreasonable and hostile attitude and try to solve the dispute peacefully. It would be a sad day for our public industry if the Government resorted to such methods of violence and terror against their workers."

Bhupesh Gupta also sent a telegram to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of India. The telegram reads "Urging stop police repression against Bhopal Heavy Electricals workers. Please try settle dispute peacefully. Arrested workers must at once be released."

S. M. Banerjee, MP has also sent a telegram to the Chairman of the HEL. In his message Banerjee has said: "Intervene and settle workers' grievances without delay. Repression would serve no purpose. National interests demand contentment of workers and resumption of work. Willing offer any services for just settlement."

The strike in the HEL continues. The management is unwilling to settle the dispute. Shaker Ali Khan and Balkrishna Gupta daily visit the project area to acquaint themselves with the fast deteriorating conditions. Without any valid apprehension of breach

COMMUNIST PROTEST

Bhupesh Gupta has also issued a statement condemning the mass arrests of the strikers and said "I have just received a trunk-call from Bhopal informing me that the police has resorted to wanton firing and mass arrests of the workers of the Heavy Electricals in order to suppress their wholly lawful strike. Curfew has been imposed and the homes of workers are being raided by the police. It is simply shocking that the Government should have taken recourse to such violent methods against workers in an important public sector undertaking instead of peacefully settling the dispute."

* SEE PAGE 13

FEBRUARY 25, 1962

Slanders Answered

As reported by the Times of India (Feb. 5, 1962) J. B. Kripalani declared in Bombay, "that 'eternal vigilance is the price of freedom', that every citizen had to pay that price if he was to make sure that the scourge of Communism did not descend on the nation'."

He also alleged "that the Communists in India had covertly joined the Congress to corrode democracy from within". "We do not want a Communist regime. I tell you this is the thin end of the wedge", he added.

"From the pro-Menon posters pasted in North Bombay", he went on "it was evident that the Communists were backing Mr. Menon as the latter was a friend of the Communists".

Old Lies

Kripalani is neither very original nor particularly clever in bringing forward this time-worn charge of infiltration of other political parties and movements by the Communists.

The charge of infiltration by the Communists repeated ad nauseum has never been substantiated. Kripalani himself has not produced any shred of evidence against Menon.

In fact, whenever the Communists support any political party on specific issues or join a front of several organisations for any special campaign as they often do, they always do so openly and not clandestinely.

The purpose of such slanders is to divide the progressive forces of a country by driving a wedge between the Communists on the one side and radical democrats, progressive nationalists and honest socialists, on the other.

The defection of Kripalani, this ex-nationalist and erstwhile Gandhite, to the camp of Indian reaction and obscurantism is a phenomenon that does not make us happy at all.

What shocks us, indeed, is the low level to which Kripalani and his strange bed-fellows have stooped in denouncing his opponent in the heat of the election campaign. They call him a "crypto-Communist", an agent of the Communist Party planted inside the Congress organisation for "corroding it from within", and a Defence Minister "who represents China rather than India."

As regards the personal beliefs of Menon, we do not feel quite competent to answer and leave to Menon himself to enlighten his too inquisitive rival on this point.

We only know that he has never been a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, where he worked for India's national independence in the best traditions of Dadabhai Naoraji, and sometimes drifted towards the Labour Party politics, nor of the CPI at any period of his life.

We also know that as a loyal member of his party, he campaigned against the Communists in the crucial Kerala elections and was a member of the Central Cabinet, that unjustly dismissed the Government led by us in the same State earlier.

Should we remind Kripalani that we opposed Menon in the last general elections and supported the Samiti-backed PSP candidate, Peter Alvarez, from the same constituency?

Should we tell him that we also supported without hesitation some KMPP candidates in the first general elections held in India, as we sincerely wanted a democratic opposition in India to grow. At that moment, Kripalani was a leading light of the KMPP.

Kripalani Earlier

After this happy influence of cooperation with the Communists—happy in its result for Kripalani's KMPP—Vigil, Acharya Kripalani's own weekly, pub-

UNITED FRONT OR "INFILTRATION" ?

lished in its issue of February 23, 1952 an anonymous article, "Attitude to Communists", which was generally ascribed at the time to the pen of the Acharya himself.

The writer pleaded for the abandonment of an attitude of suspicion and hostility towards them and concluded: "therefore, the liberal and progressive elements of our body-politic must guard themselves against falling a victim to the scare-mongering and vilification indulged in by interested parties."

"And such of those as are still sceptical and doubtful of Communists' intentions and professions should concentrate on eliminating the conditions of poverty, squalor and mass misery rather than advocate their isolation from the nation's policy. That would only help the already entrenched vested interests of our society to wipe out all the vestiges of democracy and establish a fascist dictatorship."

Who was responsible for breaking up the KMPP? Certainly, not us! It was Kripalani himself, who led his sacrificial goat to the altar of Washington-orientated "Praja-Socialism" and later succumbed himself to the Pied Piper from Disney-cum-dollar land.

We are sorry that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, of which we are a loyal constituent unit, could not find a strong candidate, who might have defeated both Menon and Kripalani from this constituency. Had we entered the contest in spite of this, it would have helped Kripalani by splitting the progressive vote.

In view of Kripalani's anti-deluvian allies and imperialist backers of the dollar-land, the choice for us was not hard to make.

We naturally preferred a loyal Congressman to a floating independent, a steady nationalist to a vacillating ex-patriot, a believer in the democracy of socialist pattern to a convert to the "Forum for Free Enterprise", and an Indian who holds high the banner of freedom for Asia, Africa and Latin America in the councils of the world to a person who befriends the dictator Ayub, and who parades the foreign Yankee flag dipped in the blood of Cuban, Congolese and Korean patriots in order to score a point against his rival in a suburban constituency of Bombay.

American Game

We were not surprised when the American magazine Time (February 2, 1962) published a highly tendentious report on the

coming elections in India slandering the Indian left in general and Menon in particular.

"No matter how remote Himalayan tigers or even Calcutta Communists", the Time declared, "the Americans have an important stake in this outside election. During the past 15 years, the US has funnelled \$2.4 billion in aid into India."

It denounced our parliamentary form of government as "Dhoti Democracy", where Congressmen have cashed in on the freedom movement with "patriotism, plus 20 per cent." It then indulged in a malicious attack on the personality and politics of Menon, reserving its praise only for that holy trinity: Jaganram-Bhagwan Das Kripalani, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and the "beauteous Maharani of Jaipur".

Three major (?) parties of India, as the Times, was happy to note, are backing J. B. Kripalani and "to combat this alliance, Bombay's Communist Party has put its organisation at the disposal of Congress candidate Menon."

Menon's electoral defeat—or even a marginal success—would be, according to the Time, "the most dramatic repudiation of Nehru's aggressive socialism and left-leaning neutralism since India's independence". An overwhelming majority for Menon, it pointed out, "would seriously dishearten Indian conservatives and measurably strengthen the pro-Communist left".

Policy Battle

So it is crystal clear that Kripalani is fighting America's battle against Nehru's "aggressive socialism and left-leaning neutralism" and that the Jana Sangh, the PSP and the Swatantraites, who oppose Menon, are consciously playing the American game of subverting our independent foreign policy and thwarting the development of our independent national economy.

The Congress organisation and its ideals face subversion not from its left-wing elements who loyally adhere to its programmes. The real danger comes from people like Morarji Desai, who are Swatantraites in their ideology and Congressmen by accident, or from people like Dr. Raghuvira, who are Jana Sanghis in spirit but would reveal their true colours only at the opportune moment, or individuals like Sucheta Kripalani, who walk in or out of the Congress as it suits

their political convenience, or corrupt political bosses like Atulya Ghosh, C. B. Gupta and Pratap Singh Kairon.

It is these uncertain, opportunist and corrupt elements, who constitute the real Trojan horse in the Congress and the sooner the Congress gets rid of them the better.

If Indian democracy is to be saved from our future Baistas, Chingis and Ayubs, this is exactly the time for building a strong national democratic front, embracing progressive Congressmen, honest socialists of the PSP and Socialist Party and the Communists.

Cooperation with the Communists, instead of weakening other democratic parties, will strengthen them further by arousing a new political upsurge in the country, shaking conservatism and reaction at its roots and preparing the nation for a social and economic revolution.

The pitiable plight of the banana peel party, the PSP today is living proof of this reality. For years the PSP has refused to cooperate with other left parties out of alleged fear that the Communists would infiltrate its ranks and destroy it.

Plight of PSP

Instead, the PSP leadership has taken recourse to splitting a popular left front whenever the masses had forced it upon the local leaders of the party. Well, the net result is before our eyes.

The top leaders of the PSP have already started preparing the ground for the burial of their party after the people have rejected it in toto at the polls!

Not cooperation with, but blind opposition to the Communists has led to this sorry state of affairs for this once popular party. In fact, cooperation with the Communists would certainly have led to its growth, the erstwhile anti-Communist Lohia is now coming to realise.

If we really want that the ghosts of pro-American Swatantrism or Jana Sangh fascism should never stalk our land, we have no choice but to strive for the functional unity of all democratic forces in our country, including the Communist Party.

We hope that a hundred Kripalanis will not succeed in reversing this inevitable trend in the political development of our nation.

— B. K. MITRA

Assam—Congress Crimes

From Madhusudan
Bhattacharyya

Sometime back Phani Bora, Secretary, Assam State Council, Communist Party of India, raised the question of evolving a code of conduct for the political parties in Assam during the election campaign, on the lines of similar codes evolved in some other States. The occasion was a joint meeting of the committees of Assam Assembly.

CHIEF Minister Chhalha said that it was a matter that could be taken up on the party level—the Government had nothing to do with it. The Assam Pradesh Congress Chief pleaded helplessness in the matter. His argument was that unless he received any specific instruction in the matter from the High Command, he could do little about it.

Observers concluded that both the State Government and the Pradesh Congress leadership were clearly unwilling to abide by any code of conduct. It was inferred that this unwillingness to enter into any agreement with the other parties about a mutually agreed code of conduct was an indication that the ruling party would unscrupulously utilize its official power for party ends.

Facts have since confirmed that suspicion. To take but one of the recent instances of official power, one might refer to the use of the State Legislative Assembly building for the ruling party's election office.

The Congress candidate for the Shillong seat, has been frequently holding meetings of his election workers in the room allotted to the Congress Legislature party in the Assembly premises.

One such meeting was held on February 6 last under the chairmanship of a retired top Government officer.

That retired officer, it may be mentioned, was involved recently in a shady deal. He was allowed to have encroached some Government land in Shillong and it was said that he "sold" that land to some individuals, including some Government employees, who purchased that land with advance from the Government.

As some of these buyers began to construct houses on that land, the alleged fraud was detected and the victims of that alleged fraudulent transaction were asked to dismantle the houses that they were constructing.

Some of those who were, thus, cheated wanted to go to court to recover their money. High level pressure was exerted on them to refrain from going to court and an attempt was made to settle the matter outside the court. No wonder, therefore, that the said official should now become an election organiser of the Congress, though he continues to enjoy Government pension.

In the said meeting of the election workers of the Congress, it is learnt, some top officials also participated. The local Congress candidate is reported to have exhorted the officials to exert their influence with the subordinate officials to not only vote for the Congress candidate, but also work for him. Following that meeting, it is said, the "official duty" of some top canvassing officers has become

mess speaking residents found by their side. He, with his district Congress organisation, was rather a party to that fanatical campaign. It was the Communist candidate who stood by those who were in danger.

The Congress leader realised that he had touched the employees on the wrong spot and changed his tactics. With the help of some one at the top, he has now been trying to mobilise the top officials to influence their subordinates among the Assamese-speaking people to rally them behind the Congress candidate.

Instances of gross abuse of official resources for the interest of the ruling party are

far too many to be enumerated.

The most common feature that has been noted by observers is the subtle combination of the official "duty" of Ministers with electioneering at public expenses. Long pending applications for rehabilitation loans are being expeditiously disposed of now on the assurance that the votes of the beneficiaries would be cast in favour of Congress candidate in the respective area.

In one such case in Shillong itself a refugee colony (with 250 votes) has been assured of a grant of Rs. five thousands immediately after the election.

A report from Sibsagar where a Deputy Minister (PWD) is pitted against Pramode Gogoi, a member of the Secretariat of Assam State Council of the CPI, shows that the Deputy Minister has been freely using Government vehicles for his election purposes. It is also alleged that a number of Government employees in the department of PWD have been engaged by the Deputy Minister for canvassing votes for him.

The Sibsagar District Council of Communist Party has lodged a complaint with the Government about this serious malpractice which is a flagrant violation of the Representation of People Act.

Attempt To Kill Communist Leader

A dastardly attempt was made by a gang of goondas on the life of Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, leader of the Communist group in the State Assembly who is the Communist candidate for Gauhati Assembly seat.

According to report reaching here, the goondas burst into the Central Election office of the Communist Party at Gauhati in the evening of February 6 when Bhattacharyya and other comrades were working there. Comrades, however, repulsed the goondas. Two persons are reported to have been arrested in this connection, but the ring leaders are believed to be still at large.

These goondas are believed to have been engaged by some political opponent of the Communist Party. It may be mentioned that the

Gauhati Assembly seat has been held by Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya ever since the first general election. In the bye-election after the first general election for this seat Bhattacharyya came out successful with a higher margin of votes than in the first election.

In the second general election he defeated his rivals (numbering four) by a still bigger margin. Incidentally, he was the first Communist member of Assam Assembly after Independence and during 1952-57 he was the only Communist member of the House.

His performance in the Assembly enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party as powerful fighters in the legislature for the cause of the common masses of people.

This time there are as many as eight contestants of Bhattacharyya for the

Gauhati seat. Most of these contestants, it is believed, have a tacit understanding among them to secure the defeat of Bhattacharyya.

Gauhati, it may be mentioned, is considered the political nerve centre of Assam. That this seat should be held by a Communist is always taken by the Assam Congress as a thorn by its side. No stone has been left unturned to unseat the Communist leader. The current attempt of physical assault on him is, therefore, considered a part of the diabolical political game of the anti-Communists.

It may also be mentioned here that in July, 1960 Rakhai Das, a popular Communist leader of Cachar who was the Party's prospective candidate for the Lok Sabha was brutally murdered in his sleep by agents engaged by interested party that found in him a formidable rival.

Shameless Appeal To Communalism

FINANCE Minister Fakrudin Ali Ahmed who is said to be the main election campaigner of the Congress or its Ministerial group, has, perhaps, surpassed all in his ingenious anti-Communist.

Addressing a public meeting at Srikona, Silechar, organised by the Congress for election propaganda on February 6, he said that while the people everywhere had been performing prayers and yagnas for propitiating the planets, eight of which had a conjunction recently, the Communists kept aloof.

The Communists, according to the Minister, do not have "proper marriage!" So he exhorted his listeners not to vote for the Communists.

One wonders if a responsible public leader could stoop lower than this. This speech of the Minister has been rightly interpreted as an attempt to catch votes rousing the people's religious sentiment, which is forbidden by the Representation of People Act.

Another Congress leader of the locality, addressing the

same meeting, tried to out-Herod the Herod. He told his listeners that the Communist Ministry of Kerala "had to be dismissed" by the Centre, because that Ministry had been "demolishing temples and mosques!"

When that Congress leader was making this shameless speech the Finance Minister was present in the meeting. So, this is the type of "principled" political propaganda that the Congress leaders of Assam have been carrying on. Pandit Nehru who called upon his party men to conduct the election campaign on a political level may kindly take note.

The Cachar District Council of Communist Party has drawn the attention of the Election Commissioner to these speeches of the Finance Minister and the other Congress leaders, which amount to exploiting religious sentiment of the people for election purpose which is forbidden by the Representation of People Act.

The said meeting was held in a predominantly Muslim peasant area.

It may also be mentioned

here that the election tour of the Finance Minister to Cachar was officially notified by the office of the Finance Minister to different Government and semi-Government authorities of Cachar.

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,
5, Chandernagore Estate, M. K.
Road, New Delhi, and published
by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address
MARXBADI
Phone: 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

ENGLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.

All cheques and drafts to be
made payable to S. MADHAVAN
and not to NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 25, 1962

Coimbatore's Contest

"If the number of cars is to decide who should win, then the Congress no doubt comes first with the Swatantra a good second", commented one of the leading organisers in the election battle for the Coimbatore Parliamentary constituency.

AND this was amply borne out by the personal experience as I drove through a rather thinly populated stretch of thirty miles and counted on the way 26 cars with the Congress flag, 15 with the Swatantra blue star, five with the DMK emblem, three with the PSP flag and one each belonging to the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

The Congress candidate this time, P. R. Ramakrishnan, is the sitting MP from the neighbouring constituency of Pollachi. But as he had to make room for the Madras Finance Minister, C. Subramaniam, standing this time for Lok Sabha, Ramakrishnan, one of the leading business magnates of the South, is fighting for the Coimbatore seat, now held by the Communist MP Parvati Krishnan.

In a Congress election leaflet, complete with a 1962 calendar, the Congress MP is introduced as the Managing Director of Ramakrishnan Industries Private Ltd., South India Viscos Ltd. (Producing rayon); Madras Aluminium Co. Ltd. (a concession to private sector, as in the case of the Birlas in UP); Jayalaxmi Mills Private Ltd.; Jyothi Mills Private Ltd.; besides being the managing editor of a daily and the head of an Institute of Technology.

Himself an M.Sc. and M.T., he opened his mouth in the Lok Sabha at least once—I could not recount any other occasion—when he opposed wage rise for the workers lest it would lead to inflation.

But the South Indian Millowners' Association—next to whose imposing building stands the beautiful mansion of the Congress candidate—is this time split because another very powerful industrial magnate, G. K. Sundaram, is challenging as the Swatantra candidate.

Rajaji's Find

Owner of nearly a dozen factories, this textile King is known as Rajaji's prize find for the Madras State. What is interesting is that in several concerns—like the rayon factory, the Viscos in collaboration with the Italian firm—Sundaram's interests are interlinked with those of the Congress candidate, Ramakrishnan. The result has been that a bitter feud has begun between the two chiefs of Coimbatore's Big Money.

In the workers' area, once an INTUC stronghold, I was told the Swatantra candidate offered that he would himself get a badly-needed road built at once provided, of course, the votes came to him. The workers' little nonplussed held hurried consultation among themselves and turned down the offer saying that they would prefer to have the road built after the elections.

Similarly, the promise of building a temple is being held out at many places—no small bait for the voters in a backward area. The common Swatantra theme that the Congress runs a Permit Raj, and that corruption is rampant under it—

ticket was naturally disliked by the Swatantra circles, and the candidate wisely calculating that discretion in favour of his financial interests is definitely the better part of the valour of being a Congress candidate, withdrew his name, and in his place, a bus magnate was put up as the Congress candidate for one of the Assembly seats.

I saw one of his buses, used for Congress election purposes, carrying a band playing, straining hard to attract passersby.

DMK has got an extraordinary strange bedfellows in the Muslim League; with whom it has struck a State-wide alliance. But really speaking, this is not a strange alliance, since both try to work up a communal appeal. Everywhere one could see the DMK flag flying along with that of the Muslim League.

But I learnt that one group of the DMK is actually supporting the Swatantra Parliamentary candidate, Sundaram, despite the fact that an official DMK candidate is contesting for the same seat.

But a bigger plight faces the PSP. A deal has been struck between the PSP and the Swatantra by which the PSP supports the Swatantra mill-magnate candidate for Parliamentary seat in return for Swatantra support for PSP candidate for Palladam Assembly seat, Chinnadural, the

From Our Special Correspondent

60 miles from north to south, is buzzing with activity.

As one enters the town from the airport, every Congress banner across the road has its counterpart a Communist Party banner. Local artists, quite a few unknown to the Party units, have come forward to paint the CPI emblem in beautiful colour combinations at street corners.

Despite the appalling lack of funds, the Communist volunteers are combing the entire constituency.

Tireless Worker

The sitting Communist MP, Parvathi has been making an almost non-stop campaign: I looked up her daily itinerary and found that on one day, February 1, she held 18 meetings starting at 7 in the morning and ending at 11 at night. On February 2, she addressed 21 meetings starting at 7.30 in the morning and ending past midnight. This is the way it has been daily.

A feature of this year's election campaign is the house-to-house approach by the candidates themselves, which sounds like a physically impossible proposition for a Lok Sabha candidate. Until February 8, I checked up that she

Chairman of the Municipality for 25 years at a stretch.

In 1957, he defeated his Communist rival Ponnalingam by a very big margin, and the people of the place thought it was foolish to challenge KNP's monopoly leadership of the town.

No longer do they say so for, much has happened in these five years.

In Tirupur Municipality itself, CPI and independents supported by it equalled in strength to the Congress, and in the lottery for the posts of Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, the Congress lost and the joke spread in the town that even the gods were on the side of the Reds!

In the last five years Tirupur has seen the birth of a powerful trade-union movement under the Red Flag leadership in which a prominent part is played by 10 thousand women workers in the cotton spinning and spinning mills. The AIITUC-led union has fought for minimum wages for them.

Hosiery workers have also been organised there. The union owns three buildings of its own here, where a housing coop. society has been organised by it.

In 1960 was held the women workers' conference at Tiru-

MASSWORK Vs. MONEY BAG

Chairman of the Tamilnad PSP.

This entente has led to the resignation of many a PSP leader, including the Secretary of its District unit.

This has not deterred Chinnadural, whose campaign slips could be found pasted on to the big bill boards of the Swatantra candidate. But the price he has paid for this alliance is not confined to public discredit alone; it has completely smashed up the unity of his party.

While one group of the PSP is campaigning with the Swatantra, another is helping the Congress candidate while a third is working for the Socialist Party candidate. Some of the PSP workers on the trade-union front are reported to be working for the Communists. A section of the PSP has in fact gone completely inactive.

P.S.P. In A Mess

The PSP discomfort because of the Swatantra alliance was brought home to me by a rather amusing episode:

A PSP cycle procession was arranged for the Republic Day. As it proceeded towards Chinnadural's constituency, it had to pass through a working-class area. Just before entering it, the PSP captain ordered the processionists to put into their pocket the Swatantra flag—lest they would be booted by the workers—which was put up once they had safely crossed the working-class belt!

It is against this combined offensive of Big Money and its opportunist crumb-seekers that the Communist Party has been putting up a magnificent fight.

A Lok Sabha constituency of more than five lakh voters spread over an area, 100 miles from east to west and nearly

had covered over 150,000 voters by house-to-house approach alone.

It was quite an education to accompany a mobile mike squad of the Communist Party.

In a colony of handloom weavers, the speaker pointed out that two big millowners—the Congress and the Swatantra candidates—were fighting and both would hardly care for the handloom weaver, while the Communist Party wanted price control, rebate to handloom weavers, reservation of special variety of cloth production for the handloom.

The same squad when it went to a middle-class area, dealt with the question of tax evasion under Congress Raj; while lawyers and doctors of humble means are harassed, big millowners go scot-free. The Communist Party wants reduction in indirect taxes, celling on prices, and punishment of big tax-evaders.

The Communist candidate fighting the PSP chief, is K. Ramaswamy, once a worker himself, who has dedicated himself to the trade-union movement.

While printed posters of the Congress, the PSP and the Swatantra might plaster the walls of the small town of Palladam, its working-class and the down-trodden section would never deny their allegiance to Ramaswamy, whose leaflets ask them to vote for the Communist Party with the four slogans to strengthen democracy, defend people's rights, defeat the power of Big Money and to ensure the equitable distribution of the fruits of the Five Year Plans.

Thirty miles from Coimbatore City, Tirupur presents the picture of a new awakening among the workers, the sitting Congress MLA, K. N. Palaniswamy Gounder, was

pur, the first of its kind to be held in Tamilnad.

In the adjoining rural area, too, the Communists have built a foothold among the small cultivators.

Communist candidate Ponnalingam himself is a noted kisan leader of the area. As the sitting MP of the place, Parvathi's influence among the hosiery mill owners is also unquestioned, as she has moved Government for their requirements like the supply of hosiery needles and the extension of the Railway shade for their goods.

So, Tirupur this time is going to see a big battle in which the Red Flag will play a worthy part.

As we were driving back to the city in the magnificent glow of the sun setting in gorgeous hues behind the picturesque Nilgiris, the words of the half-famished woman textile worker came back to my mind.

Against Opportunism

At the Tirupur union office, they came from their shift break for deciding on their individual quota of donation for the CPI candidate, the lean woman worker interrupted. The Union President with an almost angry sparkle in her eyes: "Why do you suggest the minimum of Rs. three per head as donation? Make it more!"

It is the hard-earned rupee given out of the sweat of the worker that is fighting the general elections today against all the gold of the mill-owners, whether labelled Congress or the Swatantra, or its underling, the pathetic PSP.

Coimbatore's working class provides the surest tonic for a noble fight and the best antidote against electoral opportunism.

MIGHTY CALCUTTA

Calcutta goes to the polls on February 25. Counting of votes will continue till March 1, when the last batch of results is expected to be announced. The city's 15 lakh electors in 26 Assembly and four Parliamentary constituencies will cast their votes in 2,000 polling stations spread over an area of 37 square miles.

CALCUTTA'S electorate is truly cosmopolitan in composition. Of its total population of 29,26,494, about 54 per cent are people who have come from other parts of the country—Bihar, U.P., Orissa, Punjab, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Tamilnad, etc.

The overwhelming majority of these "immigrants" are from Bihar and U.P. Forced out of their homes by economic distress, they have come to this great industrial and commercial city in search of a living.

COSMOPOLITAN CITY

The population also represents a cross-section of the religions in the country—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Zoroastrians. The Muslims, who constitute about 14 per cent of the population are the largest religious minority in the City.

About 27 per cent of the population or over nine lakh people live in 3,615 slums. Refugees from East Pakistan constitute nearly 20 per cent of the total population.

In the first general elections the Congress captured as many as 17 out of 26 Assembly seats. The remaining nine went to the Opposition, the CP having secured four. Of the four Lok Sabha seats, two were won by the Left (CP; USO; one), and the Congress and the Jana Sangh got one each.

In the 1957 elections, however, Calcutta decisively swung to the Left. The Congress was reduced to a minority and the CP emerged as the first political party in the city. The Left secured 18 out of the 26 Assembly seats, the rest going to the Congress. Of these 18 seats, the CP alone won 10. Two of the four Lok Sabha seats were annexed by the CP and one by an independent supported by the Left.

Asoke Sen, present Union Law Minister, managed to get himself elected from one seat by a margin of only 5,927 votes from an electorate of 414,217 about 51 per cent of whom exercised their franchise.

Two by-elections, which took place in course of the next three years were, equally significant.

Siddhartha Ray, who was returned on Congress ticket from Bhowanipore Assembly constituency and was made the Judicial Minister, resigned from the Cabinet and also from the Congress. Supported by the Left, he was re-elected in August 1958, as an independent, with a thumping majority.

The election of Biren Roy, left-supported independent from Calcutta South-West Parliamentary Constituency was declared null and void.

In the by-election in May 1960, Communist leader Indrajit Gupta defeated the same Congress candidate who had opposed Biren Roy, by a bigger margin than in 1957.

In the present elections, 98 candidates are contesting from the 26 Assembly seats and 11 from the four Parliamentary constituencies.

For the 26 Assembly constituencies, the allotment of seats to the constituent units of the United Left Alliance (ULA) has been as follows: CPI—16; FE—3; RSP—2; Marxist FB—2; Bolshevik Party—1; Progressive Independents—2. The CP is contesting all four Lok Sabha seats.

There will be straight fights in six Assembly and two Parliamentary constituencies in the sense that only the Congress and the ULA are in the field. But in other constituencies also, the main contestants are the Congress and the ULA, despite the multiplicity of all possible hues.

Communist leaders contesting the elections are Banen Sen, Indrajit Gupta and Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, for the Lok Sabha and Somnath Lahiri, Bishwanath Mukherjee, Niranjan Sen, Ganesh Ghose, Manikuntala Sen and Md. Ismail for the Assembly.

The Congress big guns in the field are Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy and Bijooy Singh Nahar, former Secretary of the BFCC. The ruling party's nominees in only six constituencies are known outside their respective areas.

The majority of others are newcomers with hardly any political past or any record of public work. Some of them have become the butt of ridicule of the local people for their buffooneries!

With barely a week left for the polling, Calcutta would appear to an outsider to be still slumbering. He would be struck by the absence of the "election tempo" which he would expect of a politically conscious and left-minded metropolis like Calcutta.

But, this is a deceptive appearance. The election tempo in a number of constituencies, especially in North Calcutta has already risen to a high pitch, and the rest of Calcutta is expected to swing into the battle four or five days before the polling. It has been the tradition of Calcutta to hear, to accumulate experience, to sift the grain from the chaff, and then to go into action with a bang.

TERRIFIC CAMPAIGN

Even now, the poster and cartoon war is already on. Festoons and small paper flags, displaying the names of candidates and their election

symbols, have been hung across many streets. House-to-house approach and the final round of scrutiny to ascertain the political views of the electors have been practically completed in most constituencies.

Scores of group and mohalla meetings are being held daily, particularly by the ULA. Squads are being taken out. Only two days ago, a procession of 5,000 hand-cartpullers was brought out in support of Md. Ismail, Communist candidate in Bowbazar constituency.

Along with the mass campaign, crucial organisational jobs are being tackled. The writing out of voters' slips, reminding them where, when and how to register their votes, has been completed. In some areas, delivery of these slips to the voters' houses has started. Boothwise organisation also is being set up.

CRUCIAL ISSUE

Although this is the general picture of Calcutta today, a sharp battle has been already raging in two constituencies—Calcutta North-West Parliamentary and Chowringhee Assembly constituencies. In the Parliamentary seat, the Union Law Minister, Asoke Sen, is facing a formidable rival in the Communist candi-

Relying primarily on them and also on sections of the Muslim minority, the Congress could get away with eight Assembly and one Parliamentary seats in 1957. This time, too, it is banking on the support of these communities.

But the position today is not what it was five years ago. Significant shifts have taken place since then.

The political influence of the Congress over the non-Bengali working people, particularly organised workers, has considerably declined during the past five years.

Their own living experience of the mounting miseries of the common folk under Congress raj, two token general strikes, in the three-lakh strong jute industry, powerful impact of the democratic movement in the city, and the effective election campaign of the CP over the past two months, have helped the process of disillusionment with the Congress.

Secondly, the majority of the Muslims have now largely overcome their fear of the ruling party.

A few typical instances will suffice to show the process of polarisation that has been going on apace.

About 46,000 out of 56,000 voters in Burrabazar Assem-

Pre-Poll Survey by Jnan Bikash Moitra

date, Snehangsu Kanta Acharyya, Dr. B. C. Roy is having another scare of his life from Communist leader Bishwanath Mukherjee in Chowringhee constituency.

The crucial issue on which the election battle is being fought out in Calcutta is whether the Congress will be able to retrieve its lost political position in the city or will be further isolated from the people.

Indications are already there to show that the influence of the Congress can be further eclipsed if the constituent units of the ULA, particularly the members and supporters of the CP, are able to rouse the people to action, and build up the requisite organisation for the poll day.

Non-Bengali Hindus, especially Hindi-speaking people, and the Muslims are spread out in the majority of the constituencies. Hindi-speaking voters constitute the majority or near-majority in some constituencies, while the Muslims occupy the same position in a few others. In some constituencies again, these two sections together form the majority or hold the balance.

The Hindi-speaking people, who are comparatively backward in political consciousness, have been the weakest link in the city's democratic movement.

ly constituency, commercial centre of Calcutta and part of Calcutta North-West Parliamentary constituency, are non-Bengali Hindus, including a large number of Marwaris. The CPI has put up a Marwari youngman in this seat. Many Marwari youth are working for him.

This event indicates significant changes in the situation. As an old fruit-seller, who has been a supporter of the CP for over two decades, put it: "Leaving aside all other questions, I had never imagined that a Marwari Communist could contest from Burrabazar".

There are many more new features in the situation: The most important of them is that a broad front, from a section of the national bourgeoisie to the toiling people, is developing against the Congress.

A section of the national bourgeoisie, and large numbers of medium and small businessmen are strongly against the growing monopolisation in industry and trade, speculative activities of the business tycoons and the grabbing of export-import and other licences by them.

As such, they nurse bitter feelings of resentment against the Birlas, who represent the most powerful monopoly group in West

Bengal. They are, therefore, making common cause with sections of the toiling people to work for the defeat of Asoke Sen, whom they consider to be a stooge of the Birlas.

SPECTACULAR SHIFT

Of course, Snehangsu Acharyya himself is a big factor in the situation, because these sections think that he will be the fittest man to fight for their just cause in the Lok Sabha. Moreover, some of them do think that if a Left Government is returned to power in West Bengal, it will give due attention to their specific problems and legitimate demands.

Little wonder that the influential Bullion Merchants' Association has brought out a printed life-sketch of Snehangsu. The Amratala Businessmen's Association, of which a Marwari trader is the President, has adopted a resolution to support him. Almost all the big market centres in Burrabazar have gone over to the Communist candidate.

In 1957, Asoke Sen had his central election office in Babur Bazar in this area. But this time he has not been able to open any office or hold any bathak meeting here. He was also heckled and hooted in several group meetings.

The response from the masses of people—poorer sections of Marwaris, shop employees, domestic hands and Hindi-speaking people generally—has been far more than that in 1957. The CP has succeeded in penetrating into new areas and among new sections of people.

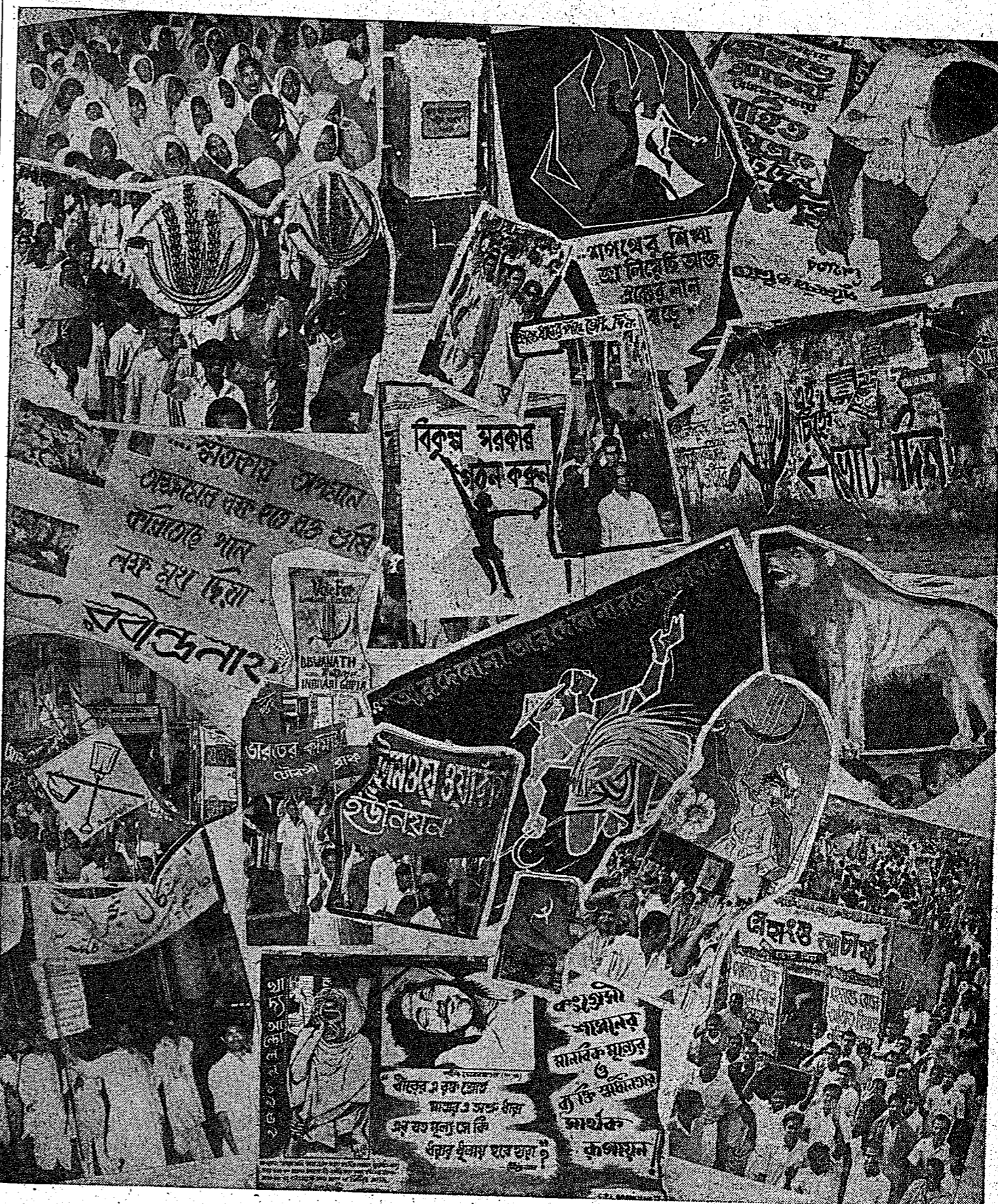
The majority of over 2,000 Gujaratis living in Bhowanipore constituency generally used to vote for the Congress. But this time they recently held a meeting and decided to vote for Siddhartha Ray, ULA-supported independent candidate from the constituency.

MASS MOOD

Among the Muslims, too, big changes are taking place. In Entally constituency, where Dr. Gani is the Communist candidate, the Muslims, who constitute about 48 per cent of the electorate, are evincing tremendous enthusiasm for Dr. Gani.

The voters of Tanti Bagan have thrown a challenge to the voters in an adjoining area in the same constituency to enter into a competition to poll the maximum number of votes. Over 500 Muslim women in burqas assembled in meeting to hear Communist leaders. It was the first meeting of its kind in the history of Calcutta.

The Congress is putting tremendous pressure on the Muslim voters in Chowringhee constituency, where the Chief Minister himself is the Congress candidate. Yet, the indications are that the majority of them will vote for the Communist candidate.



THE POSTERS, DEMONSTRATIONS, MEETINGS—CALCUTTA'S PROTEST AGAINST CONGRESS RAJ. THE UNITED LEFT ALLIANCE IS POISED FOR TRIUMPH.

(Photos: Sambhu Bannerjee and Alok Guha).

In the same constituency, mochis (shoemakers) constitute a big chunk of the slum population. Till recently, they were a close preserve of the Congress. No one was allowed to hold meetings in the area. The election workers of the CP have now broken into this stronghold, have held meetings and have set up an office there. Some local people also have come forward to work for the Communist candidate.

tion of the voters of minority communities and lavish expenditure of money.

As the CP has mounted a powerful campaign of exposure and has been effectively putting across the positive perspective of a way out of the 14 years of Congress misrule, the ruling party has naturally made the CP the main target of its attack.

The vituperative campaign conducted by the Congress and the dirty means adopted by it are to be seen in their crassest forms in Calcutta North-West Parliamentary constituency.

The cover page of a booklet, giving a life-sketch of Asoke Sen, shows him shaking hands with N. S. Khrushchev. But, at the same time, posters depicting the "plight" of "refugee" mothers after Soviet intervention against the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, posters on "high prices" of essential goods in the Soviet Union, etc., have been displayed on a wide scale.

A leaflet-size poster with the caption "Nuclear tests near Kazakhstan in Soviet Russia has endangered lives of millions of Muslims", has been distributed in thousands. It shows N. S. Khrushchev laughing like the Nero while thousands of

Muslims lie dead and dying after a nuclear test.

The Muslims are also being told that their co-religionists in the Soviet Union are not permitted to practise their religion and that they are forced to eat pork!

This is not the end of the sordid story. A nicely got-up brochure with 30 anti-Soviet, anti-Chinese and anti-East German pictures have been brought out. It is reliably learnt that the USIS fellows have produced the brochure.

This is the level to which the Congress has degenerated. It is, however, a measure of its utter political bankruptcy.

Calcutta is entering the final phase of the election battle. Yet, it is difficult to hazard a very definite forecast about the outcome of the Congress-ULA contest, because, political shifts in favour of the Left are still taking place among considerable sections of the electorate.

It is, however, widely believed here that the Left will not only retain its existing seats; it will be able to wrench the Calcutta North-West Parliamentary seat from the Congress. The eclipse of the Congress in one or more Assembly constituencies also is not outside the range of possibility.

TEJA SINGH SWATANTRA —DAUNTLESS PATRIOT

A unique contest is underway in the border constituency of Ferozepur for the Lok Sabha seat. A man who devoted almost thirty years of his life for freeing the country, but who has not been able to bask in the sunshine of freedom even for six months, is making a bid to enter the Parliament and, thus, get his fourteen years' old warrants for arrest cancelled.

THE man is Teja Singh Swatantra, the well-known Communist leader and one-time Secretary of the Punjab unit of the C.P.I. Teja Singh was born in a patriotic poor peasant family and he was only a school kid when he first came into contact with the secret literature of the Ghadar Party. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy drew him into full-fledged activity, when he organised a student strike on the call of Dr. Kitchlew. That strike brought his career as a student to an end and he actively plunged into the campaign of organising Congress Committees in Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts.

PATRIOTIC YOUTH

The tragedy of Nankana Sahib roused great anger among the Sikh masses and Teja Singh's father, S. Desa Singh, offered himself, wife, daughter and son for arrest.

Teja Singh's first activity in the Akali movement was to organise a batch of three thousand volunteers for liberating the Gurdwaras in his district. His well-planned action in liberating the Teja Wadhwa Gurdwara brought him great fame and gave his present name, Teja Singh (he was formerly known as Samund Singh). It was in September 1921 that Teja Singh renamed his Akali Jatha as Swatantra Jatha and himself became Teja Singh Swatantra.

The Swatantra Jatha was for liberating the greater Gurdwaras that is the country itself and only those could join the Jatha who handed over all their property to Jatha and pledged to devote their whole time in the service of the country.

This Jatha won great fame in the Gurukh Bagh Morcha as well as other actions in the Akali movement.

Early in 1922, Teja Singh came into contact with the Ghadar revolutionaries, who had recently been released from the Andamans.

These meetings fired young Teja Singh with new revolutionary fervour and he took upon himself the delicate assignment of establishing a chain of dens between Amritsar and Kabul to ensure safe land passage for the revolutionaries residing abroad.

Teja Singh was sent to Kabul as a Sikh preacher and on the way organised such efficient revolutionary dens that they lasted till the time of partition of the country.

It was through the chain of dens that Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was taken from Calcutta to Kabul during the early period of the Second World War by Teja Singh's associate, Achhar Singh Chhinna (who is pitted against Deputy Defence Minister Surjit Singh Majithia in the Taran Tarn Lok Sabha Constituency).

It was in Kabul in 1923 that the five famous revolutionaries, Baba Gurmukh Singh and S. Udham Singh Kasel (both of them were Ghadarites who broke jail to gain their freedom), and Bhai San-

tokh Singh and Rattan Singh Dabba (both of whom came from the Soviet Union after establishing a liaison between the Ghadar Party and Communist Party of Soviet Union) and Teja Singh Swatantra came to Ghadar and drew up a long-term plan for revolutionary actions to liberate the country and to take it on the socialist path.

According to this plan Bhai Santokh Singh was assigned the duty of bringing out a Marxist paper and organising a revolutionary party around it in the country. The Monthly Kirti was started in July 1926 as the first Marxist monthly in our Punjabi language. Bhai Rattan Singh Dabba was assigned the task of keeping contact with anti-British Governments of European countries and the Communist International, as also working in the anti-imperialist league.

Baba Gurmukh Singh was asked to proceed to U.S.A. and to re-organise the Ghadar Party on sound lines.

Bhai Udham Singh Kasel was to man the Kabul den and co-ordinate the entire activity. Young Teja Singh was called upon to proceed to Turkey for getting military training with the help of revolutionary government of Kamal Pasha.

To-day almost 40 years after those historical decisions, three of the five revolutionaries have fallen martyrs on the post of duty (Bhai Udham Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh and Bhai Rattan Singh), while the other two, Baba Gurmukh Singh and Teja Singh Swatantra are carrying on their revolutionary work in an exemplary manner and are leading members of the Communist Party.

It was during this period that he was elected unopposed in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in May 1937.

In May 1942, Teja Singh was released after almost eight

years in jail and was coopted into the newly organised Punjab State Committee of the C.P.I.

He was soon elected, the President of the Punjab Kisan Sabha and the Vice-President of All India Kisan Sabha. He was also for some time the editor of Communist Party organ Jange-Azadi, before taking over the Secretaryship of the Punjab Party in 1944.

He was also a zonal president of Postal Telegraph Workers' Union.

It was during the period of his membership that the great Tenants' struggle of Montgomery district and Patiala State was fought. During the 1947 riots, Teja Singh and his companions played a notable role in preventing riots and helping refugees.

In March 1948, soon after the Calcutta Congress of the Communist Party, a warrant for the arrest of Teja Singh was out. Since then he has been leading the life of a hunted revolutionary. In 1951, he was entangled in the Ram Nagar Dacoity case.

The case was launched as a conspiracy case and Teja Singh was charged with being the brains of the conspiracy. Though the police failed to

prove the conspiracy, the warrants against Teja Singh were not withdrawn.

Long underground life has shattered the health of once hefty Teja Singh who is stricken with diabetes. He has lost 65 pounds of weight and is reduced to a skeleton.

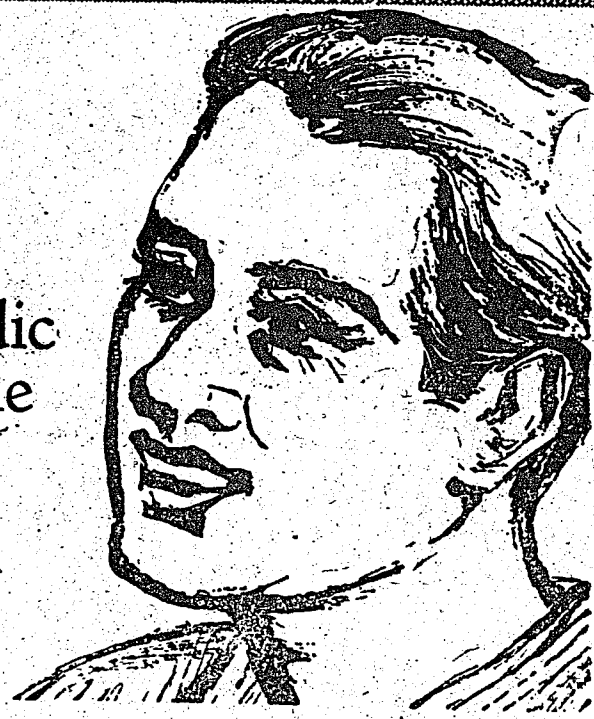
In the period between 1923-34, Teja Singh lost his two daughters. During his incarceration of 1935-42, he lost his only son. During last 14 years of underground life, he has lost his youngest and only daughter and his father and mother.

His ancestral home was destroyed by floods in 1955. His only younger brother is serving a life sentence in the Ram Nagar case.

Despite all these sufferings and trials, he remained undaunted. Devotedly serving the cause of the toilers, he has offered himself for the elections from the underground. His candidature has roused great enthusiasm in cities and villages alike. His success can lead to his liberation from the trials and tribulations of the underground.

Such a selfless patriot must be sent to the Lok Sabha and given greater opportunities to serve the people.

for pure ayurvedic medicine depend and rely on...



SADHANA AUSADHALAYA DACCA

(Branches throughout India)

36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road

Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE

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

After 1958 this is the second time that the citizens of Delhi are going to elect their representatives to the Delhi Municipal Corporation. On this occasion the Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party of India has issued a Manifesto, the summary is being published here:

DELHI'S 14 lakh voters will go to the polls on February 24, 1962 to elect the 80-member Municipal Corporation. The people of Delhi naturally attach great importance to the civic election because they have been deprived of the right to an elected legislature. Now, the Municipal Corporation is the only elected forum through which they can assert their democratic right.

In 1954, our Party, for the first time, entered the civic body. Two of our candidates won from General Seats and two others from the two Special Labour Constituencies. Though a small group of four, the Communists made a deep impression in the former Delhi Municipal Committee and won considerable respect for their good work.

In 1958, in the first election to the Municipal Corporation, the Communist Party put up 14 candidates (12 Party members and two independents on Party Symbol) and won eight seats. Our victories surprised the non-party political circles, but these confirmed with our pre-election estimates.

Now, in the present election our Party has nominated 21 candidates and we are confident of considerable improvement on our existing position. This confidence is based on the selfless work of our group in the Corporation as well as on the untiring work of hundreds of our Party workers in the various fields of civic activity.

It is the opinion of our Party that the coming election for the Corporation is of crucial importance from the point of view of the development of democratic traditions in Delhi. The struggle that has been going on inside and outside the Corporation for enlargement of democracy will have to be carried forward in the course of the present election campaign and also afterwards.

The success or failure of this struggle will depend on whether or not a sufficiently large number of such representatives are elected to the Corporation who really believe in the enlargement of democratic powers to the elected wing of the Corporation. The electorate, therefore, has a special responsibility to ensure this.

CONSISTENT STAND

Our Party can claim with pride that it has been a consistent defender of the rights of the elected wing of the Corporation as against the powers of the Executive.

People will remember that neither the Congress nor the Jana Sangh showed any keenness in this respect.

It has been our Party's effort during the last four years to build up such conventions in the Corporation by which the supremacy of the elected wing can be established. Our Party fully supported Aruna Asaf Ali's steps to establish such conventions. But every one knows how Aruna Asaf Ali was forced to

leave the Corporation because of the tactics of Congress and Jana Sangh. The struggle for democracy then received a set-back.

Our Party will pursue this struggle with more vigour. In order to ensure its success, our Party makes the following demands:

BASIC DEMANDS

The elected wing of the Corporation should be vested with effective powers with the Mayor as the real head and the Executive subservient to it.

The various Committees of the Corporation should be vested with effective powers, thereby bringing the decentralisation of the administration.

The various advisory Committees of the Chief Commissioner and the Home Minister should be abolished and till a democratic set-up is established in Delhi, the Corporation should be the only advisory body with regard to legislation, etc., concerning Delhi.

New Delhi and Cantonment should be merged with the Corporation, for the interim period. New Delhi

should have an elected Municipal Committee.

The Corporation was established with the declared aim of doing away with multiplicity of authorities. But as every one knows the aim has not been achieved, thanks to the undemocratic attitude of the Government of India vis-a-vis the people of Delhi.

We have a Master Plan for Delhi now which will be the basis for the development plans during the next 20 years. But the Corporation has been scrupulously kept away as far as its formulation and execution are concerned. For this, the Delhi Development Authority (D.D.A.) is supposed to be responsible.

Our Party demands:

—Abolition of D.D.A.
—Entrusting the Corporation with powers to formulate and execute the various plans under the Master Plan.

Our Party also demands that:

—all Nozai land should rest in the Corporation;

—there should be no change in the existing land use.

Under the Master Plan, it appears to be a part of the Government of India to discourage the growth of industries in Delhi. In fact a certain amount of de-industrialisation of Delhi is now going on. If this process continues, then practically all the important industries would have shifted to other States during the course of next few years.

This policy is tantamount to denying employment facilities to the people of Delhi.

The Communist Party will demand that the policy be given up and Delhi should be developed as an important industrial Centre in the North.

According to the report of the Taxation Inquiry Committee the incidence of taxation in Delhi is already the highest compared to other States. It is evident, therefore, that what the people of Delhi need is a little relief from taxation.

As before, our Party will continue to oppose any increase in Municipal taxes and rates. We will demand abolition of scavenging and water taxes as also the unpopular cycle-tax.

The local bodies in India are permanently in a state of financial crisis. The Communist Party demands an end to this state of affairs. It is the responsibility of the Government to give enough financial assistance to the local bodies so that they can meet their obligations to the citizens.

The Communist Party also demands statutory powers to the Corporation to abolish or reduce any tax or rate that it wants to.

Our city has expanded as perhaps no other city in India has. But the civic services have not improved. In fact in certain respects they have deteriorated. We want our city and our rural belt to develop its civic services like those of any other modern city of the world.

The manifesto demands improvement of the water supply of the city, better supply of electricity and power, introduction of an electric system to link the suburban areas with the centre of the city, better health facilities and sanitary conditions.

To implement the scheme of free and compulsory primary education in Delhi, the Party will demand that the Central Government pay 100 per cent grant to the Corporation.

The Party stands for the municipalisation of the entire school education—from primary to Higher Secondary, in Delhi. The Corporation should also have the power of recognition of private-aided schools—a power which now vests with the Education Directorate of the Delhi Administration.

The Party also demands that no school should remain in tents and that all children, in primary schools should be supplied with free milk.

The Party takes the position that children whose parents have an income of Rs. 200 or less should have the right of free education upto the High School.

HOUSING MESS

In recent years the housing problem has become very acute for the low-income group. Added to this is the problem of growth of slum-areas as well as the problem of those who live in jhuggis, jhopris—and of those who have no roof of any kind over their heads.

Delhi Communists' Election Manifesto

This is a major problem of the city and its solution brooks no delay.

Our first demand is that housing should be taken over from the Delhi Administration and the Municipal Corporation should be the authority for its administration. It follows from it that the D.D.A. should be abolished.

The manifesto further demands that developed plots should be allotted on no-profit-no-loss basis.

Unauthorised colonies should be regularised and civic services provided immediately; all unauthorised constructions upto 31st December, 1961 should be regularised; small plot-holders must be allowed to build. A quick machinery to sanction lay-out plans should be evolved; Government and private colonies should be taken over by the Corporation; the Corporation should acquire all the 'amle-dari' lands; in the slum areas the Corporation should build houses for giving them on hire-purchase system; the Corporation must carry out schemes of slum-improvement as far as possible; the Corporation must provide shelter for the roofless; the Schemes

and the Government of India must provide technical and financial assistance to tackle this problem.

The Communist Party has been a foremost champion of the rights of Urdu language in Delhi.

While recognising the place which Hindi occupies in our national life, as well as in Delhi, it has to be admitted that Urdu has a certain place in the life of the people of Delhi. No political party can ignore this fact. Every political party including the Jana Sangh, has to issue its propaganda literature in two languages—Hindi and Urdu, in order to reach the masses.

It is good that the Corporation has now finally taken a sound position with regard to Urdu. The Communist Party has worked for it, along with other sections. We must now see to it that the decisions of the ad hoc Committee are implemented in the spirit in which they have been taken.

There should be no conflict between Hindi and Urdu in Delhi. Both should be encouraged. This way both the languages will gain.

Our Party in the Corporation has always championed the interests of the nearly 25,000 employees of the Corporation. While other parties have wavered, we have never. This is known to the employees of the Corporation.

Our Party will continue to fight for the legitimate demands of the Corporation employees. The immediate demands which must be met are:

—Benefits of "A" Class City;
—Payment of arrears according to Pay Commission Report;

—Proper service rules regarding recruitment and promotions;

—Recognition of Unions.

The Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party of India places this programme before the people of Delhi. This is a programme which can be carried out, provided there are enough people in the Corporation who are determined fighters for the interests of the masses.

COMMUNIST PLEDGE

The Communist Party makes a solemn pledge to fight for this programme in the course of the next four years.

The record of the Communist Party is a proof positive that it has always stood by the people.

The Communist Party appeals to the voters to return to the Corporation a large number of Communists than before to ensure the success of the struggle for this programme.

REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

Paris, February 14

IN GUJARAT...

With less than a few days remaining for polling to commence (Gujarat goes to polls on February 21, 23 and 25) election campaign of different political parties in the three regions of the State—Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch—has warmed up.

INSPIRE of this warmth, however, the electorate seems to be cool and unaffected. They are non-communicative, though willing to listen to workers of all the parties when they are approached.

This is particularly true of the capital city of Ahmedabad where leaders of the different parties including Congress, Janta Parishad and Praja Socialist Party, have now started door-to-door campaigning. Voters, shrewd as they are, try to please each and promise to oblige each and everybody. The same is the experience of canvassers in the countryside.

This attitude on the part of the electorate has introduced a considerable measure of uncertainty as to the likely results. Scales appear to turn every now and then in favour of this or that party. Even experienced pollsters find themselves at sea.

In this context, the Gallup poll survey undertaken by the School of Social Sciences, of the Gujarat University has come as a complete surprise. The School conducted survey in the two constituencies of Jamalpur and Khadia—traditionally PSP strongholds—in Ahmedabad, and found that about 20 per cent voters were undecided, while the majority of the remaining 80 per cent was in favour of voting Congress Party.

The University survey unit had covered one thousand voters from each of the two constituencies for their purpose. This was the first survey of its kind undertaken in Gujarat.

However, few here accept the results of the survey. The Praja Socialist leaders in Ahmedabad are still confidently claiming that these two constituencies were still reliable for their candidates. Another striking feature of the eve-of-polling atmosphere is display of a deeper political approach of the electorate, which appears to be constantly weighing the programmes of all the political parties. While baffled by reticence of the voters, most observers also hold that percentage of voting in Gujarat this time will be larger than in the previous two general elections.

The election campaign of various parties is in the final stage. During the week-end, Prime Minister Nehru and Swatantra Party leader Rajaji

confabulations are already on about the shape of things to come early next month, particularly as to the next choice for the leader of the Congress Assembly party in Gujarat.

Much against the general impression outside that the leadership issue had been settled in favour of Balwantra Mehta at the stage of selection of the Congress candidates, reliable Congress circles here maintain that for the first time in Gujarat, instead of unanimous choice as hitherto, contest for leadership of the Assembly party was likely.

These sources reveal that Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who successfully fought the battle over the much-publicised and controversial ten-year rule till the last minute, would, in all probability, be in the fray once again, after the elections, against the line-up of Morarji-Balwantra-Thakorebhai Desai, in the Gujarat Congress.

It is held that during the selection of the Congress candidates, Dr. Jivraj fought for a principle and won his point though he achieved little by

CONGRESS FACING STIFF CHALLENGE

Swatantra Party leaders, all India leaders of other parties have not toured Gujarat for the poll campaign. Nutan Janta Parishad, Republican Party, Praja Socialist Party and others have been carrying on their election drive on their own.

Judging from the present trends which obviously are very uncertain, Congress is likely to lose about 40 seats in Assembly and some five or six Lok Sabha seats in the State. Praja Socialists and Swatantra Party would form the main Opposition block in the next Gujarat Assembly.

The Congress is facing tough fight in at least half a dozen Parliamentary constituencies—Kutch, Rajkot, Sabarkantha, Broach, Banaskantha and Kaira. On all these seats, Opposition is mostly from the Rightists. Yet one more fight that is being keenly watched between the two giants—Indulal Yagnik and S. R. Vasavada of the INTUC—is being fought in Ahmedabad city. Last time, it was between Yagnik and Khanubhai Desai and the latter was defeated by Yagnik with a very big margin.

With the Congress sure of a comfortable majority in the legislature and even though the election campaign is in full swing, behind-the-scene

H. E. L. Strike

* FROM PAGE 4

of peace or damage to the project the Government continue to impose curfew, causing innumerable difficulties to the residents of the locality. Worst hit by the strike are the daily workers who are facing starvation.

It should be noted that those who were arrested had to suffer the indignity of being handcuffed while being led away to the police lock-up. Some have now been released but tension is still palpable in the atmosphere.

Everybody in Bhopal knows that the strike need never have taken place and that when it did a speedy settlement was fully possible. The

workers were quite ready for it and even the Government seemed willing.

The fly in the ointment is the INTUC leadership and, above all, Dravid. It is this worthy "labour leader" who is the real culprit. It is he who is responsible for the shedding of blood and the loss of national production. It is he who stepped in and prevented the Government from meeting the workers half-way. He is reported to have said that the very existence of the INTUC would be jeopardised should a speedy settlement be reached.

Such are the devilish calculations of this enemy of the workers and of the nation.

individual militants by exposing and isolating persons who collude with the OAS.

The anti-fascist movement is gaining ground not only at industrial enterprises, in residential sections and educational establishments. Republican soldiers, non-commissioned and commissioned officers are also rallying their forces. The number of anti-fascist committees in French Army units is increasing.

Paul Laurent next emphasized that the struggle for power in Algeria was closely linked with the struggle against fascism. The continuation of the war in Algeria is one of the main sources of the intensification of the fascist threat.

Alongside the struggle for peace in Algeria and against fascism, it is imperative to press for a solution of problems of vital importance for the maintenance of peace: a solution of the German problem and progress in the cause of general disarmament.

In the conditions of the bankruptcy of the regime of personal authority, and of the growing movement of the masses for democratic reforms, Paul Laurent stressed, the role and responsibility of the French Communist Party increased still more.

Therefore, the prime duty of the Party, of its organizations and members, wherever they may be, is to intensify their explanatory propaganda work.

We oppose the fascist threat, the position of the government and the disruptive machinations, Paul Laurent said, with a policy of unity of action of all anti-fascists in order to render harmless the OAS, all its masterminds and accomplices; to force the government to arrest and severely punish all OAS ringleaders; to secure the resignation of the men who like Frey (Minister of the Interior—Editor) and Papon (Paris Police Prefect—Editor) bear the personal responsibility for carrying out the government's policy; to secure a purge in the army and the machinery of government and to give the workers and democratic organisations the right and facilities for an effective protection of their headquarters and militants and for holding demonstrations.

Oppose De Gaulle
We oppose De Gaulle's desire to preserve the colonial

privileges which is responsible for the continuation of the war in Algeria with the demand for the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty on the basis of an effective application of the right to self-determination.

He noted that Communists everywhere are fighting in the front ranks, without sparing their strength. Further he pointed out that the correction of opportunistic mistakes which were advocated by Servin and Casanova was highly important. The Party's ties with workers, with youth, with women, with all the working sections of the population are growing ever stronger. This is attested by the influx of 15 thousand new members, by the establishment of 650 new Party cells, by the great success of the campaign of collections of the Party fund.

Only the unity of the working class, Paul Laurent said in conclusion, the unity of all national democratic forces, will make it possible to put an end to the fascist menace, will enable our nation to re-establish order, to restore and renew democracy.

To Communists there is no honour greater than that of being the best fighters. The alliance of all working people, of all republicans will ensure the victory of democracy.

Fascism will not pass!

Announcement

The next issue of NEW AGE goes to press on March 1. Since we are not sure if all results will be available and as there will be no time for analysis, the issue of March 5 will be an eight-pager. March 11 issue will be an enlarged one.

Along with stepping up explanatory work, Paul Laurent pointed out, the most urgent task is to develop united anti-fascist action, to establish a united front.

For this purpose we must, as before, concentrate our efforts at industrial plants, in residential blocks, schools, universities. Acknowledging the success already achieved in this field, we declare that the main task now still is to create and intensify the activities of thousands of new anti-fascist committees.

The task is to increase the vigilance of the masses and thus forestall the attacks of the plotters and to ensure protection for premises and

geoisie, using again the slogan of the so-called "third force" as a cover.

Without encroaching in any way on the system of personal authority they propose capitulation to some of the demands of the OAS plotters, for the sake of so-called "pactification".

Speaking of the decisive contribution made by the French Communists to the unfolding of the anti-fascist struggle Laurent pointed out that the efforts by the republican forces to reduce the fascist danger and to expose the latest machinations of the reactionaries encounter increasing resistance. However, the domestic situation is characterized by the stepping-up of the anti-fascist struggle of the broad masses.

Paul Laurent next said that the progress made was due to the decisive role which the French Communist Party had played in the present situation.

In face of the criminal intensification of the activity of the "Ultras" the French Communist Party has in recent months courageously guided the anti-fascist movement in the country, proclaiming precise

spheres of the nation's life the situation has grown worse. In his foreign policy De Gaulle, while continuing to boast that it is he who raises the main obstacles to negotiations on the German problem, is concerned in the main to ensuring best the interests of imperialists, spending tremendous sums for the development of an atomic shock-force.

He also exposed those people like the Right-wing socialist leader Guy Mollet who are trying to minimize the fascist danger. The threat of fascism, he explained, is real, serious, and any attempt to underrate it is to increase this danger.

Criminal Government
It is true that, as before, fascists have no real base among the people. Their political aims are: preservation of the worst kind of colonial oppression in Algeria and the

establishment of a fascist dictatorship in France. Their terroristic methods are condemned by the overwhelming majority of our nation.

The Party has always exposed the complicity of the authorities and the stratagems of the splitters. The idea of systematic rejection of joint actions with the Communists had become groundless. The activity of the Right-wing socialist leaders attests to the difficulties they encounter in carrying through their policy of refusal to build up a united anti-fascist front.

It should be re-emphasized that the choice before France is not between capitalism and Communism, but between democracy and fascism.

The task is, Paul Laurent said further, to rapidly develop the progress achieved. In view of the present complex conditions, the Party as a whole and all Communists should keep up their constant explanatory campaign, explaining to the broad mass of the people the nature of De Gaulle's authority, exposing the splitting policy and class co-operation of the right-wing socialist leaders.

Further, Laurent analysed the behaviour of different political forces of the nation in the face of the fascist menace. Speaking about the position of De Gaulle and his government on this question, Paul Laurent noted that facts bear evidence to their "connivance and actual collusion with the fascists."

"To De Gaulle and his government" he declared, "softness towards fascists is the logical consequence of the existing power of monopoly capital and big banks".

The new phase of the general crisis of capitalism, as the CPSU Programme notes, involves unparalleled intensification of reaction on the part of the bourgeoisie, Paul Laurent went on.

He called attention to the fact that in the present conditions, some political leaders of the bourgeoisie, including Right-wing socialist leaders, alarmed by the growing difficulties encountered by the capitalist monopolies in conducting their anti-popular and anti-national policy, are trying to gild the tarnished coat-of-arms of the bour-

geoisie, using again the slogan of the so-called "third force" as a cover.

Without encroaching in any way on the system of personal authority they propose capitulation to some of the demands of the OAS plotters, for the sake of so-called "pactification".

Speaking of the decisive contribution made by the French Communists to the unfolding of the anti-fascist struggle Laurent pointed out that the efforts by the republican forces to reduce the fascist danger and to expose the latest machinations of the reactionaries encounter increasing resistance. However, the domestic situation is characterized by the stepping-up of the anti-fascist struggle of the broad masses.

Paul Laurent next said that the progress made was due to the decisive role which the French Communist Party had played in the present situation.

Stop Sabotage Of Public Sector

THE Gujarat Fertilizers was one of the four public sector fertilizer plants about which details have not yet been worked out. This was the information contained in the documents about the public sector industries circulated to all who attended the Central Advisory Council for Industries recently held in New Delhi.

Now news has reached our hands that in Gujarat a company has already been formed with a Board in which the State Government holds only 49 per cent of the shares while 51 per cent has been issued to the public.

Our readers will remember that the men of the private sector inside the Planning Commission and the various Ministries dealing with Economic Affairs had very strongly urged that the "people" be associated with the public sector and its shares sold in the market.

The Communists, along with other progressives, raised a storm against this sell-out of the public sector and that too, in the name of getting the people interested in the fortunes of the public sector enterprises.

The result was when the Third Plan was being finalised, the Prime Minister threw his weight on the right side and the above plot was scotched and could not be embodied as general policy in the draft of the Third Plan.

Vidyanagar University and is contesting Assembly seat from Cambay, while Indumati Chimanlal is at present President of the Ahmedabad Congress Committee and is contesting from one of the constituencies in the Capital.

Two other names that are being mentioned are Vijaykumar Trivedi and Mohanlal Vyas—both INTUC stalwarts. Vyas is contesting Assembly seat from Dariyapur Shahpur constituency

The Government of India with the information at its disposal and on the basis of its policy, recorded the Gujarat Fertilizers being in the public sector.

Now the question arises how has this fertilizer plant gone from the public to the private sector, without the knowledge of the Government of India?

Obviously M. M. Shah, Minister for Industries who was an ardent advocate of the policy of selling the public sector shares in the stock market, has given the green signal to the sharks of the private sector and their men inside the Gujarat State Ministry and they have successfully made a break-through, on a major sector of national economy, the fertilizers industry.

The Central Government owes an explanation to the Indian people. M. M. Shah has to be made to explain his disloyal conduct. The conspiracy of the private sector tycoons can yet be foiled if the new MLAs from Gujarat take up the issue in the very first session of their legislature.

If they fail just because the big seths dominate the Gujarat scene and control everything in Gujarat's life, the newly-elected MPs must take the matter in hand to see that the national policy of developing fertilizers in the public sector is saved and the guilty men, inside the Gujarat State Government and the Indian Union Government, who serve the interests of the private sector, despite the declared policy of the nation and the Indian Government, are brought to book.

and is involved in straight fight with Dinkar Mehta, Secretary, Gujarat Communist Party. Trivedi is contesting from Mehsana district.

The claim of INTUC for representation to labour wing in Gujarat Cabinet is long overdue. All these probable Ministers are supporters of the organisational wing of the Party, headed by Morarji Desai and Thakorebhai Desai. (TPA)



Women's procession in Bombay's Bynulla led by Usha Dange, Abalya Rangnekar and Vimal Ranadive.

In an interview to your correspondent, Henry Winston, the prominent U.S. Communist and well-known Negro leader, made a moving appeal to all the progressive and democratic forces of India to rally in support of all those Negroes, who are defending freedom and human rights in the United States.

INDIA has always responded to issues of this kind and even here the Indian progressive forces can play a powerful role. The United States tries to present a democratic front to the outside world and if international pressure is brought to work upon it they are sure to give results," he said.

Winston himself has spent seven years in prisons in the United States under the hated Smith Act. He fell seriously ill during his detention, developed tumour of the brain and suffered horrible pains but when he wanted to see a doctor he was asked to take a pill.

Only when his illness reached a critical stage, his legs were affected and he

was on the verge of death, countrywide protests forced the authorities to send him to a hospital. But by now the tumour had become too large and during the operation they had to cut a nerve which made him blind. Winston is now undergoing treatment in the Soviet Union.

Winston said "today the Communist Party is engaged in its greatest struggle in the United States to defeat the attempt of the extreme Right and ultra reactionaries to destroy the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

"If the timetable of reaction has been upset it is not only due to the struggle in the United States but also due to

U. S. Communists' Appeal

the support the U.S. Communist Party has received from all over the world.

"U.S. Embassies abroad should be flooded with telegrams, delegations of leading liberals and progressives and leading lawyers should go and protest and the attack on freedom in the U.S. should be given wide publicity," Henry Winston said.

With all this on their hands the U.S. reactionaries dare attack India on her liberation of Goa, he added.

In the middle of January, the editor of the New York Worker, Jackson, and other members of the staff were summoned to appear before the so-called Grand Jury which was an institution like the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. One could not even have an advocate to defend oneself

before it. And one can even be punished for contempt of court for not answering questions the way they want it.

January 20 was the deadline for the membership of the Communist Party to register under the McCarran Law but not a single person registered.

Then they wanted to start proceedings against the Party on February first and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall and other leaders were to be brought before the court.

It is significant that they wanted to hold the trial in Washington. Probably the Federal Government wants to have direct control over the proceedings.

The aim, of course, is to prove that the Communist Party is the agent of a foreign power, which is a baseless charge brought to silence all

criticism of American war policies.

Winston said that worldwide protests have so far prevented mass indictment of the Communist Party members.

"The struggle in America today is difficult indeed and we appeal to everybody to heighten the protest campaign and demand the repeal of the hated McCarran Law."

"They want to silence not only the peace movement and demand for disarmament now growing in the United States but also the struggle for democratic rights in general and of the Negroes in particular. Everyone must act immediately."

Winston expressed his sincere grief at the sad demise of Ajoy Ghosh and wished the CPI success in the elections.

A career in life insurance selling—!

DO YOU DREAM OF A LUCRATIVE JOB?

The good things of life can be yours too by working as a Life Insurance Agent.

- Your income begins with the very first policy you sell. The life insurance agency helps you build up a regular income.
- Training for this profession is free. What is more, you earn while you learn.
- Your annual income will increase automatically even if the results achieved each year remain the same.
- No matter how young you are, your income will depend upon your work.
- The prospects are excellent. There are millions of people yet to be insured.

The offer is open to men and women. You may take it up on a full-time or part-time basis. A university education is not essential. However, you should have an aptitude for selling.

Fill up and post the coupon alongside to:

Divisional Manager,
Life Insurance Corporation of
India,
New Delhi Division,
Industrial & Prudential Bldg.,
Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 1.

Please send me details of life insurance agency.

Name and address (in block letters)



Life Insurance Corporation of India

NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 25, 1962

In Tamilnad

Congress Violates The Code Of Conduct

Below is the text of statement of the Secretariat of the Tamilnad State Council of the CPI:

"The Madras Congress Ministry held a meeting of political parties contesting the third General elections, on December 20, at which a Code of Conduct was adopted for ensuring peaceful atmosphere during election campaign. At the same meeting, a Government order No. 1933 issued on November 21, 1961 was read out and it was considered that the Code of Conduct laid down for Government servants in that Government order was adequate.

"THE proceedings of this meeting were given wide publicity and it was made to appear that the Ministers were taking steps in earnest to ensure free and fair elections and to maintain a high level of electioneering campaign.

"Assurances to the same effect were given on the floor of the Assembly also by the leader of the House, C. Subramaniam, on December 15, during his reply to the debate on the Interim Budget.

Planned Stunt

"It is time to judge how far these 'Code of Conduct' and assurances have been implemented on the part of the Government.

"Judging from what is happening in the election campaign, we are pained to state that the Ministers have taken recourse to these 'Code of Conduct' as a planned propaganda stunt to cover their methods of using their administrative machinery during the election campaign to the advantage of the ruling party.

"Regarding the Ministers' participation in inaugural and opening functions, the order issued on November 21 states as follows:

"The Government have decided that from the December 15, 1961 the Ministers will not accept invitations for formal inaugurations, openings, etc., of Government-sponsored institutions, buildings, roads, etc., which will involve their addressing public meetings, lest any criticism should be levelled against them, that such functions are utilised as party propaganda for election purposes."

"In utter disregard of this, the Ministers have continued to participate in scores of functions sponsored by the State and Central Government departments even though they had ample time to finish their pre-planned list.

"The Chief Minister and the Finance Minister have all participated in such functions as could be seen from the daily papers. Functions like inaugurating the Salem-Bangalore Railway line, opening a new bridge, etc., have been pre-planned in the constituency where the Deputy Minister for Railways is contesting.

"The Chief Minister has participated in these functions. As a return obligation, the Deputy Minister for Railways and the Chief Minister would very soon 'inaugurate' the construction of a new line between Virudhunagar and Manamadurai in the constituency of the Chief Minister.

"At Tambaram, another function to inaugurate the extension of electric traction up-

to Vandalur was held on January 8, in which the Chief Minister participated. This is obviously meant to help the election campaign of O. V. Alagesan.

"Although the scheme is for extension up to Chingleput, it was carried out in a hurry up to the next station Vandalur which is hardly about two miles and the inauguration had been so planned to fit in the election campaign.

"As a matter of fact, a number of functions have been created to fit in into the campaign of electioneering especially in constituencies where the Central and State Ministers and some of the 'prospective Ministers' are contesting. For consideration of space, we are limiting such instances.

"Not a day passes without some news of either inauguration or opening some scheme or other, either by Central or State Ministers. The Ministers are open to the charge that they are blatantly engaged in flouting the order which they themselves had issued.

"Not satisfied with the use of such functions for election propaganda, some of the Ministers are actively engaged in pressing into service for their election campaign, the panchayat union machinery.

"Although officials are not expected to accompany the Ministers during election campaigns according to the Order cited above, several allegations have been made to the Government that revenue officials and block development officers have been used by the Congress candidates.

"Several complaints about the sub-collector, Pudukkottai, alleging partiality towards Congress candidates, have been made to the Government, both by the Communist Party and the DMK. This is the area where Minister Ramiah is contesting. These complaints have not been heeded to by any authority.

"Regarding the Code of Conduct for the political parties, it is the ruling party which is open to the charge of flouting the Code at the earliest instance.

"One has to only listen to the tape-recorded speech of one of the Secretaries of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, which contains indecent attacks against the opposition parties.

"The Congress leaders have devised another clever method of attacking the opposition parties, using filthy language. They are utilising the Dravida Kazhagam for such purposes.

"Obviously, the Congress leaders might explain that they are not responsible for what is happening on the platform of another party which has not participated in the all-party meeting.

"Some of the speakers supporting the Congress candidates had gone to the extent of issuing threats of violence against people belonging to a particular community that they should not go to the polls.

"Judging from these facts, it appears as though the Code is only intended to gag the opposition parties and to gain as much freedom as possible for the ruling party to indulge in filthy attacks against the opposition parties.

"The Madras Ministry has, thus, defeated the very purpose for which a Code of Conduct was thought of.

"No wonder that the Ministers were the first to allege that some opposition parties had flouted the Code of Conduct. If this was true, why do the Ministers fight shy of convening a meeting of the committee appointed for implementing the Code.

"The Communist Party and the DMK have demanded the convening of such a meeting. No such meeting is in sight.

"At least two of the Ministers are not contesting the elections and it should be possible for them to find time to convene a meeting of the Implementation Committee and to examine the complaints and allegations of violations.

"Perhaps, guilty conscience is preventing them from doing what is straight forward. So all the facts given above and a number of allegations reaching our Party headquarters go to show that the Congress leaders especially some of the Ministers are only mindful about their results and not the means. They had failed to inspire confidence in the minds of opposition parties that election would be free and fair.

"It was reported by a DMK candidate at a meeting convened by the Collector of Tiruchirappalli, that the list of personnel posted for manning a constituency during the election, has reached the hands of a Congress candidate. This was not refuted. Information has reached us that a Minister is trying to influence the selection of personnel for polling stations in his constituency.

"Under these circumstances, it is well nigh impossible to ensure free and fair elections. Those who are in authority are emboldened because of the division of the opposition parties.

"The Chief Minister's repeated boast that they would get 170 seats is only intended to play on the nerves of the officers and to make them obliging tools of the Congress party. Even though the opposition parties may have their own differences, the Communist Party would appeal to all the opposition parties and all individuals interested in saving democracy, to raise their voice of protests against the highhanded activity of the leadership of the ruling party in flouting the principles of democracy with a view to continue in power."

WATCH THIS CHAMELEON

SURESH DESAI is a member of the Rajya Sabha, one of the leading lights of the PSP from Gujarat. He was a paid employee of the Birlas before and has continued to remain one after becoming a M.P. His job with the Birlas is to act as their contactman in New Delhi, with the various Ministries and the departments of the Government.

He was close to Morarji Desai from Gujarat and their relations have become closer still after Sureshbhai became a M.P. and came to New Delhi. He is also a very close pal of Asoka Mehta. The latest is that he has written a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru express-

ing the desire that he wants to join the Congress, but after the elections. We reliably understand the Prime Minister sent back the routine answer, if you want to join the Congress you are welcome.

Suresh Desai, however, does not want it to be known that he is going into the Congress while the elections are on.

The Asoka Mehtas, Morarji Desais and the Birlas have obviously decided that it is more necessary than ever before to strengthen their lobby inside the Congress Parliamentary Party and Suresh Desai's leaving the PSP joining the Congress is just one example. More will follow suit after the election results are out.

NO SUPPORT TO CONGRESS

By M. R. Venkataraman

MR. VENKATARAMAN, Secretary of the Tamilnad Council of the CPI has issued a press statement, clarifying his party's stand with regard to supporting candidates of other parties in constituencies where the CPI is not directly involved.

Authorised version of the statement which incorporates the decision of the Secretariat of the CPI's Tamilnad Committee is given below:

"The CPI appeals to the electorate to vote for Communist candidates and those supported by the CPI officially.

"In constituencies where the CPI is not involved, it appeals to the people fervently not to support under any circumstances the reactionary Swatantra and the communal Muslim League and Jana Sangh. It is equally open to the District Councils to refrain from supporting any candidate, if such a line warranted by the prevailing local conditions."

Venkataraman has appealed to the democratic sections of the population to beware of the machinations of the ruling party and the reactionary forces to split the growing democratic movement by a sedulous process of magnifying minor differences among opposition parties.

"It is necessary that even when we discuss and debate ideological differences, as among the progressive parties in the opposition, we should take care not to allow the Congress to take advantage of our differences to perpetuate its rule.

"We would also remember that while the elections are of a transitory nature and would be over very soon, the political parties have to play their allotted roles among the public, more enduringly.

"They will continue to exist, elections or no elections. So much so, the Communist Party is doubly anxious not to do anything that may come in the way of unity of the democratic forces and mobilisation of the masses behind a progressive political and economic programme."

"Taking this (pro-Swatan-

Italy—New Phase

From S. BENSASSON, Rome.

THE cabinet crisis which just started in Italy towards the end of January was certainly not just any sort of crisis but marked an important stage and opened up a new phase in Italian political life. Beyond and further to all parliamentary arithmetical calculations, this crisis had its roots in a deep contradiction which has ripened between the needs of the country and the new consciousness of the masses on the one hand and the old methods and policy formulas of the party in power on the other.

The "centrist" formula, taking in its scope the liberals, on the right, to the Social-democrats, on the left, and gathering in the Christian-democrats and the Republican Party, had allowed the Christian-democrats to govern uninterruptedly for about a dozen years.

But this was a formula of "immobilism"—given its heterogeneous nature—which took its inspiration from the principle of "live and let live."

The increased power of the monopolies and its negative consequences; the persistence and the worsening of the old and unsolved problems (such as the backwardness of the South, for instance, or the inadequateness of public instruction for a modern form of society, etc.), awoke in the masses, both Catholic and those with a socialist inclination, a new consciousness—that it was necessary to "go left."

This explains the crisis of the "immobilist" formula of "centrism" and of all the other expedients through which the Christian-democratic Party has tried, during these last years, to remain in power, as in the case of the clerical and fascist government of Tambroni, overthrown by the masses in June 1960, or in the case of Fanfani's "neo-centrist" transition government which resigned on January 27. This explains the new Christian-democratic line

of forming a three-party left-centre government (Christian-democrats, Republicans and Social-democrats) supported by the socialists.

In an interview which appeared in the *Unita*, Pietro Ingrao stated that the party in power has felt the necessity for a change in Italian political life under the influence of a double pressure.

On the one hand, the pressure of some of the strongest and most dynamic capitalist groups, which have recognized the necessity—both for internal and external reasons (ECM)—of guaranteeing a greater stability. In one word, the exigency of planning, of coordinating and rationalising the impetuous capitalist development now in course.

But, at the same time, the party in power has felt the pressure of the people, of their struggles, of their demand for a shift to the left.

Two serious limits of the Christian-democratic "New Deal" have been pointed out by Pietro Ingrao.

First, the conservatism in foreign policy. It is true that the necessity for East-West negotiations has been considered, but no Italian initiative in this sense has been announced.

Secondly, the lack of an anti-monopolistic policy. Instead of going to the roots of the inequalities and contradictions of Italian economy the new line wishes to correct and regulate the negative consequences of the present monopolistic expansion, with the aim of limiting only the privileges of certain particularly backward bourgeois groups and of making certain concessions to the working class so as to lessen its opposition and to widen the division between the Socialists and Communists.

Pietro Ingrao concluded his interview expressing the opposition and the criticism of the Communists towards the new line and stating that the Communists will struggle to attain a real shift to the left.

BOMBAY SWINGS TO SAMITI

Greater Bombay's 20 lakh voters go to the polls on February 25, to elect 24 Assembly and four Parliament Members. Of these the Samiti is contesting 21 and three respectively. The results will be known only on 28th but the last days of campaigning have amply demonstrated where popular support lies.

TWO lakh strong Shivaji Park rally on Sunday, which came to be held almost spontaneously and without any serious preparation because candidates and workers in all constituencies have already got busy streamlining their organisation for actual poll, showed tremendous support that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti enjoys against all opponents and has come definitely on top of them.

Repeated applause punctuated speeches of S. A. Dange, G. K. Manay and P. K. Atre, main speakers at the rally. Senapati Bapat, respected veteran of the national movement in Maharashtra, blessed the Samiti and called on people to vote for it and none else.

The PSP and dissident Republicans (Kamble group) held a meeting in Shivaji Park a few days earlier and hardly 15 thousand attended. Congress has not held any rally there except when Nehru was here last.

Innumerable area meetings with which it is difficult to keep pace were being held every evening by the Samiti and it is invariably true that other parties, meetings held in the same place before or after Samiti's were poorer and stand no comparison.

Fact is that in this last phase of election campaign the people of this great city have been immensely roused and become aware of issues as never before. That is what is behind the great upsurge for the Samiti that is now on. That is again why in this latest phase tremendous support swelled up for V. K. Krishna Menon.

Last few days have seen the people of Bombay giving smashing rebuffs to Kripalani and his polyglot crowd of supporters. High water mark in this was last Saturday's 15 thousand rally held in Villeparle under the auspices of Support Menon Committee. It was in this rally that spontaneous indignation of the

masses found expression in the call given by some officials of Bombay PCC for the morcha against and the bonfire of Indian Express which took place two days later, February 19.

It was a unique event indeed. Over five thousand people, mostly young men—students and office employees—had gathered at Martyrs' Memorial, Flora Fountain. Raising slogans against the millionaire press and their darling Kripalani and his imperialist backers, they made bonfire of huge heap of copies of Indian Express.

They then formed into a procession and marched towards the Saseon docks office of the Express group, burning copies all the way and raising among others a slogan branding Frank Moraes as "Amiriki Kutta". On reaching its designation again the procession made a bonfire of another pile of papers.

From
Ziaul Haq

Characteristically enough this belated expression of popular anger which had restrained itself for such a long time, was described by a PSP leader as "interference with the freedom of press". None is so out of tune with the people today as these gentlemen.

Meanwhile Kripalani, losing fast whatever popular support he ever had, is furiously roping in religious and communalist organisations' support. Catholic church has gone into action in a very big way, Muslim League is shouting itself hoarse and DMK has also joined the bandwagon. All these having joined Jana Sangh, Swatantra and PSP in supporting him is described by Kripalani as 'national integration' that he has brought about.

More sinister, however, is big industrialists' pressure on their employees on pain

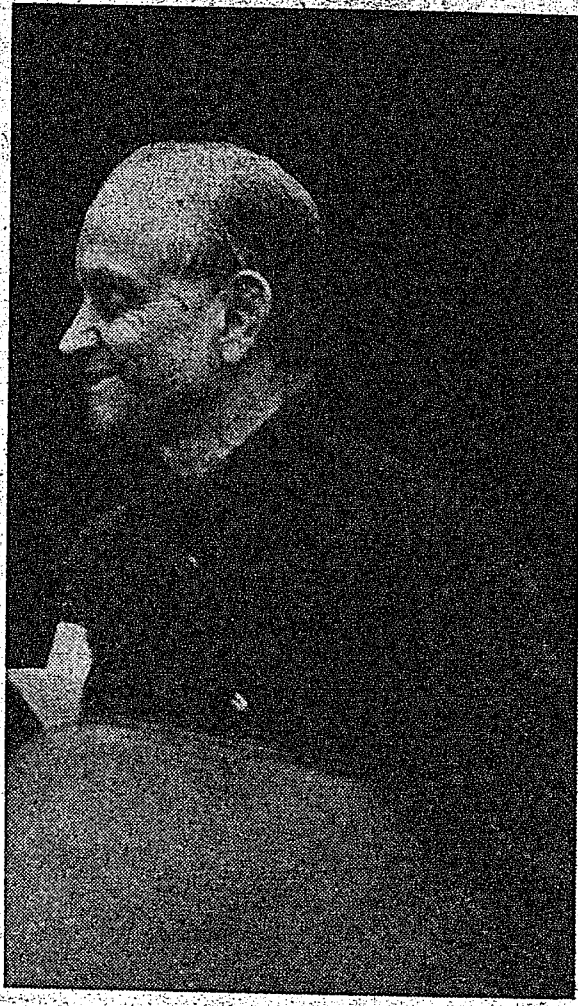
of reprisals to vote and work for Kripalani. Godrej, for example, has gone to the extent of not allowing Menon supporters to enter the workers' residential quarters owned by them. Apart from spending fabulously on Kripalani's publicity, they are paying one rupee for every Menon poster torn. Huge bootleggers' population of the suburbs has been bought over for vote getting.

Although Shantilal Shah has come out with a statement denying his working against Menon, yet the fact is that he has stepped up sabotage. His workers were campaigning only for himself and were privately telling people not to vote for Menon. His own anti-labour policies have thoroughly exposed him in his constituency. His powerful Samiti opponent, Communist candidate B. S. Dhume, has published detailed charge-sheet giving at least nine concrete instances where Shantilal Shah has brought untold sufferings on the workers in the constituency by his openly pro-employer attitude.

Even in midst of elections he has not desisted from this. In his efforts to impose an INTUC union on Burmah Shell employees, he has had 19 workers sacked against which 3,000 workers went on strike for almost a fortnight and 150 have courted arrest in course of the satyagraha. These, and another 1,020 workers of Dhiraj Pen Factory, belonging to a friend of his, who have been locked out for months, are now constantly parading in his constituency.

Among the underhand tactics of Kripalani's gang has been concerted effort to confuse pro-Samiti voters in that constituency. They have been trying might and main to see that a Samiti voter, if he doesn't vote for Kripalani, should waste his vote by casting it for the Hindu Sabha candidate who has set himself up in that constituency. Some constituents of Samiti, though unimportant in the area, have also been made to declare support for him.

To counteract this sinister game, S. A. Dange, in his capacity as Chairman of the Samiti's Parliamentary Board has come out with a statement that the Samiti has



S. A. DANGE

nothing to do with the Hindu Sabha candidate. He says that while the Samiti has candidates in each of the six Assembly constituencies below, it decided deliberately not to set up a candidate for Lok Sabha.

As for the two candidates, Menon and Kripalani, he says that while Menon belongs to Congress, Kripalani belongs to a front forged by the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, Muslim League and PSP, which is

"still more reactionary and counter-revolutionary. Not only this. That front has the full support of the American and British imperialists. The Samiti, therefore, took the decision that counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist front and its spokesman Kripalani must be defeated. . . . Meaning of that resolution is clear. In the interest of the defence of democracy and independence, it is necessary that Kripalani should be defeated".

Communist Call

* FROM FRONT PAGE

Ministry in Kerala with the inevitable result of the rise of Muslim, Hindu, Sikh communalism and various disruptive forces of all reactionary hues, throughout our fair land.

The Communists have proven over and over again during the last two years that it is the most unflinching fighter against communalism, casteism and all fissiparous tendencies and that it does all in its power to unite with other secular, democratic, and popular forces.

Where the Congress is inconsistent, the Communist Party is consistent, where the Congress compromises with the vested interests, the Communist Party is unrelenting.

Now that Indian reaction has opened its broadside not only against the Communist Party, but the progressive policies and honoured top-most leaders of the Congress

Party itself, the Communist Party sees it as a new historic opportunity for all the healthy, forward-looking forces of the nation to come together to liquidate Indian reaction from the national life.

We have no doubt that in the elections India's voters will vote Communist more than ever before, for a stronger-than-ever Communist representation inside the Indian Parliament in New Delhi and the various State legislatures of our vast country.

That is the best guarantee of continuing the struggle against Indian reaction to its final victory through a persistent and patient unfolding in real life of the tactic of bringing all the honest, healthy and bold fighting forces of the nation together, who alone can translate into practice the clear-cut warnings and the imaginative and constructive call of the Prime Minister, while there is time.



Maharashtra's women are roused as never before—a scene from Byculla, Bombay.