

The eagerly awaited election results are yet coming in as we go to the Press. That the Congress Party would again be returned to power in almost all the States and the all-India Centre was never seriously in doubt among responsible and knowing folks. The election results are only proving what was, thus, known before, in broad outline.

Such, however, was the sense of guilt among the ruthless machinemen and the drugged-with power politicians, who mostly head the Congress organisation and its Governments today, that they were not at all sure of what the ballotbox will produce, though they bragged a lot to impress the voters.

T HEY are now regaining their self-satisfied posture but it is very significant that attempts at victory celebrations. have been miserable failures. Tractors and trucks from the countryside around the Capital came shouting "Congress ki jai," "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ki jai", "Choudhury Brahm Prakash ki jai" but the mass of, citizens, passing on the roads, did not even stop to have a look at them, leave aside cheering them.

It is one of the realities of the Indian situation that though the mass of the Indian people are not happy with the not at all mean a popular vote of confidence in the pro-vested interests policies and the undemocratic practices of the Congress Governments, of which our people have their own bitter experience. The undoubtedly big and significant Congress victory, beyond even the dreams of the Congress leaders and their publicists, constitute a national patriotic rally against the Rightist danger.

This is dramatically symbolised in the North Bombay election where Krishna Menon is leading by two-to-one majority. But the issues that beable to exploit it for their own nefarious ends while in others the forces of the Left and progressive independents have headed it to draw national attention for a way out. What the election results spotlight is the simple fact that though the Indian people are not yet ready to reject the Congress as the ruling party they are not satisfied with the results of its rule, in terms of their own life and its continuing sufferings.

Another very significant form in which the widespread discontent has effectively expressed itself is in the mas-



Toiling women demonstrators for the Red Flag. Their support helped us maintain our position.

tional situation inside their own State Legislature parties.

The negative features of Congress rule assume the organisational form of acute group rivalry and unprincipled faction fighting within. The majorities won during the current elections have not solved but only inthe Congress candidates. Now their prospective Chief Minister Balwantral Mehta as also his second-in-command the G.P.C.C. President Trakurbhai Desai both have lost the elections. In Gujarat it is the spectacle of majority of Congress MLAs finding themselves at a loose end, without their lea-



It was the sins of omission and commission by the Congress rulers that encouraged all the forces of the Right represented by the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and the rest to challenge the Congress with desperate boldness and breath-taking vigour.

Prime Minister Nehru is not only the most respected and loved national leader, but also the biggest vote-catcher for his declining, ailing, ageing party.

#### DANGER SEEN

He spot-lighted the danger from the Right as the main issue before the country, campaigned that the Congress was leading them towards economic progress despite all the shortcomings, etc., while the Right was out to restore the status quo, that the Congress had won independence and wanted to continue pursuing an independent foreign policy, which was the greatest guarantee of national independence itself while the forces of the Right represented allen imperialist interests and forces, in short that they were the crocodiles out to deyour India.

Our healthy and patriotic people readily responded against the call to India's danger, even forgetting for the time being their own long list of grievances against the Congress regime.

The Congress victory does

came spotlighted in North Bombay were the issues that permeated and pervaded everywhere, even where they become diluted, and led to Congress victory.

The Congress victory in the current elections is only one aspect of the reality. Another integral part of the same reality is the big cut in Congress majorities in most of the States.

In Punjab, the popular discontent against Kairon-shahi has reduced the Congress seats from 122 in the last Assembly to 89 now.

In Madras the Congress seats are now only 136, 18 short of its earlier position.

In Andhra, the Congress seats are down from 239 to 178. In M.P. 288 results are out. The Congress has so far got only 122 but no absolute majority is possible.

In Rajasthan it is a neckto-neck race as yet-again no absolute majority. Such is the general phenomenon except in a few States.

#### POPULAR DISCONTENT

This cut in Congress majorities constitutes living evidence of wide popular discontent against Congress monopoly of power. In some States the Right has been

sive defeats suffered by a large number of Congress Ministers and leaders.

"The massacre of Ministers, speakers, party bosses and others in authority continued unabated to-day. Nearly 30 Ministers have been unseated so far including seven from Mysore, six from Rajasthan, three each from Andhra, M.P., U.P. and West Bengal, two from Funjab, one each from Assam and Bihar.

—by-P. C. Joshi

"One Chief Minister Dr. K. N. Katju has been defeated while two prospective Chief Ministers, Balwantrai Mehta of Gujerat and S. Nijalingappa, President, Mysore PCC have been put out of the run. "The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the U.P. Assembly and the Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Legislature have been retired by the electorate" (Times of India, Feb. 28).

The Congress spokesmen have talked the most about the Congress alone being able to guarantee the stability and the security of the country. Now they are faced with moreunstable-than-ever organisatensified the organisational problem facing the High Command, which has summoned an emergency meeting right now to be followed by a full-fiedged meeting of the Parliamentary Board on March 6 and 7.

The problems which the general elections have thrown up for the Congress are many. We pinpoint below only the most acute and urgent ones.

In M.P. Dr. Katju was given a majority at the time of Congress nominations. He has, however, himself lost. The majority of the Congress legislature party will find itself without a leader , and ranged against it will be a very strong minority supported by the dominant leadership of the Pradesh Congress Committee. The two have been long at logger-heads. No patch-work will easily help, and a leader of Dr. Katju's stature is just not available in M.P.

#### SQUABBLES AGAIN

Gujarat is faced with a similar problem but from a different end. The dominant Morarji group to get rid of Chief Minister Dr. Jivaraj Menta, had ensured the majority of its nominees to be der to become the new Chief Minister but his hated rival face to face with them again. The amount of horse-trading that will soon follow is anybody's guess.

#### KAIRON'S PLIGHT

In Punjab, (Chief Minister Kalron has not only been cut to size but all his claims of winning a greater majority for the Congress and reducing his rivals and the opposition to dust have been falsified, all along the line.

The Congress circles are even discussing the possibility of the opponents of Chief Minister /Kairon from inside the Congress Legislature Party joining with bigger, than-before opposition, just to get rid of Sardar Pratap Kairon.

His advisors are even prepaned to invite the "rebels" who contested as independents back into the Party. Other Minister Kairon has been humbled already, he 1 in for humiliations, in various orms in the days ahead. He is the headache of the High Command that patronised and supported him before.

The electoral results from Andhra are being counted

### PUNJAB REBUFFS CONGRESS

Failing to reach even the ninety mark, as against 120 seats won in 1957, the Congress party in the Pun-jab and more particularly the Kairon clique has suf-fered, probably, the worst set-back compared to any other State in the present General Elections.

AVING alienated popular support by the rampant corruption that Sardar Kairon himself encouraged and by his high-handed and arrogant methods of running the admi-nistration, Sardar Kairon found himself pitted against not only the organised com-munal reaction but also mass discontent and every healthy trend of popular opinion in trend of popular opinion in the State

While the success of the Akali Party at the polls can cause genuine concern in so far as it demonstrates the deep hold of communal forces in the Punjab, the real significance of the elec-tion battle lies in the suc-octs scored by the Commu-nist Party, the Socialist Party and the large number of independents who attrac-ted summer of the electronic ed support of the electorate ause they represented in their eyes goo s and d as against corruption id unscruplousness with hich their Congress opponents were so closely asso-

In the category of such in-dependents might specially be mentioned such old Congre men and veteran figures of

The Communist Party has also improved its position markedly in the elections. In the last elections it won only six seats out of which two were from the Hindi - region where Communist candidates had won purely on account of favourable local factors and not as a result of Party's in-herent political strength.

In the present elections nine Communists have been returned from the areas of Party's political influence in the Punjabi region. Of spe-cial significance is the succial significance is the suc-cess of four Communists from the PEFSU area, there-by regaining largely the position the Party held at the merger of PEPSU with the Punjab. The return of another Communists from Rupar where the peasants, particularly tenants' move-ment has grown during the

Generally speaking, so far as the Punjabi region is con-cerned, the results are a re-turn to the 1952 pattern which was grossly distorted and cea-sed to reflect the true alignsed to renect the true align-ment of forces in 1957 when the Akalis had joined the Congress and the last-minute. revolt of Mastér Tara Singh could not make any appre-clable difference. In 1952, the Akalis had won

22 seats in the Punjab Assem-bly. They have won 19 now as well as three Lok Sabha seats. The three Swatantra candi-dates who have won represent in the Punjab situation no-thing but an offshot of the Akalis.

Thus, through the twists and turns of the last ten years, with its morcha and counter-morcha and in spit of all the tall claims m Kairon of having given a fight and undermining the Akali Dal, communal reaction in the Sikh minority community re-

of the election results in the Lal Punjabi region is that the An important, probably Jana Sangh has not been able the most important, aspect of to make as good a showing as many feared. In fact, it has Hindi region is the success been able to retain only two of its seats in the Amritsar city but, has lost seats in Ludhiana and Jullundur, But reading too much into the Jana Sangh's reverses in the Punjabi region. An important, probably the most important, aspect of the seats in the scored by the independents, a good part of them being rebel congressmen. The four Socia-Ludhiana and Jullundur, But ist candidates who have been returned to the Vidhan Sabha and one Socialist who Sabha for the first time. had Punjabi region.

porting Congress.

That the Jana Sangh remains a disturbing factor in the Punjab is evident from its penetration into the Hariana region, where it has succeeded to some extent in distorting into communal channels and exploiting the genuine grievances of the people of the region for more equitable treatment in spheres of development and administration.

The success of the Jana Sangh is highlighted by the return of two its candidates to the Lok Sabha from the This must give food for Hariana region an thought to all democrats in the relations of co the Punjab and beyond and Jana Sangh was Hariana region and also by counting are enough of a the relations of cooperation commentary on Sardar Kai-Jana Sangh was able to ron's conduct.

 last few years also repre-sents a major gain for the Party.
 particularly to the Congress High Command.
 establish with the Hariana Lok Samiti and the rebel Congressmen led by Ch. Devi Lal.

From Our Correspondent

Hindu communalism re-mains strong and the Jana Sangh could not win seats because the Akali challenge was used by the Congress to induce Hindu voters into sup-porting Congress. Sabha for the first time had

Kairon who prided him-self for being a capable and ruthless trouble-sheoter and who constantly created situations of tension throushout his tenure as the Chief Minister by provoking one agitation after agita-tion, is shown up for what he is worth both as a leader of his party and as a per-son in relation to the people. His own "victory" from Sar

hall with a majority of 34 votes and the grave allega-tions that have been levelled against him during the test and specifically d conduring

# KERALA TRIUMPHANT



Gopalan-always with the people. LEFT: at the time of the padayatra in Kerala in 1961. RIGHT: with EMS. in Amritsar. FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT .

The complete rout of the Praja Socialist Party and the consolidation of Communist strength are the two significant factors that have emerged from the such is the first provisional estimate made. MPAPTTAL

step by step. Meanwhile, the Muslim Lea-

gue broke away from the coa-lition, following the Congress decision not to support any League candidate for the Par-

League candidate for the Par-liament elections. Engaged in bargaining for their own share, the PSP could not sup-port the Muslim League's de-mands for seats and in the process found itself bitterly attacked by the League lea-dership for "treacherr"

cial PSP candidate, in Trivan.

chair PSP candidate, in Trivan-drum at the hands of P. S. Nataraja Pillai, a former col-league of Pattom Thanù Pillai. in the PSP Cabinet in Travan-core-Cochin has been the big-gest blow to the PSP. Natoraja Pillai, and the big-

Nataraja Pillai, who had

considerable personal follow-ing the Capital district, was

supported by the Communists and the RSP. The contest was

personal defeat for the Chief Minister whose influence had

been the mainstay of earlier PSP successes in this district.

In the last mid-term elec-

ed with great excite-

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MPARTIAL observers have drawn the conclusion that this is bound to produce a further strain for the Con-for the Conthis is bound to produce a further strain for the Con-gress-PSP coalition in the State which arose out of their common · conspiracy against the Communist-led Ministry about two and half years ago

The success of the Muslim League in possibly two cons tituencies , though not a sur prise, is taken here seriously since it shows that the Muslim League continues to Muslim League continues to be an effective factor in Kerala's politics. Noverthe-less, it is pointed out that the Communist Party has made big strides among the Muslim masses and emerged as a serious challenge to the hitherto considered supreme Muslim League. The total defeat of all the four PSP candidates is taken here to signify that the party as lost more ground since it assumed partnership in the Sovernment and is no longer n a position to command in-

here to signify that the party has lost more ground since it assumed partnership in the Government and is no longer in a position to command ine with any sizeable section of the electorate.

This is bound to weaken its position in the coalition unless the Congress is prepared to ignore its partner's failings and carry on as before for the sake of appearance as well as its more overriding considera-tions of somehow meeting the Communist challenge.

Observers who have closely followed the ups and downs of the Coalition since the midment and was considered a prestige fight, in the full sense of the term. term election in the State in 1960 now recall that the rot had set in the PSP much ear-The defeat of the PSP can-didate in Trivandrum is des-cribed as both a political and lier than it began to set in the

Coalition as a whole. Thus, it was that dissen-sions and open revolt against the Chief Minister-Chairman of the State PSP affected that party soon after it joined the Ministry. PSP leaders themselves came forward with al-legations of corruption against the Chief Minister and some of his partymen in Government.

In the last mid-term elec-tion four Assembly seats within the area of Trivan-drum Parliamentary seat had been won by the PSP. But in the present election all these four constituencies have overwhelmingly voted for Natarala Pillal. Congress leaders found their Ministerial partner an uncomfortable burden on their shoulders and there were Another major reverse for the PSP is from Badagara, where a top leader of the Party and sitting M.P. K. B. Menon fell at the hands of a Communist-supported indeofficial protests from the KPCC against the "autocra-RPCC

#### M. FAROOOI Interviewed by MOHIT SEN

Questioned shortly after the results were anno-anced in the capital Farooqi, Secretary of the Delhi State Council of the CPI said, "We have to congratu-late the people of Delhi for having inflicted such a crushing defeat on the forces of militant Hindu communal reaction". He felt that this was a great gain for the democratic movement in the capital, opening up big opportunities for further democratic advance.

B ALRAJ MADHOK had tion tour of Pandit Nehru, issued a statement shortly after the results were unced, where he claim that the Congress victories were due chiefly to the mass scale "bogussing" indulged in by the Congress. He also alleg-ed that all manner of undue pressures were brought to bear on the electorate by the Con-

Farooqi pointed out that the Sans Sangh did not lag behind a bit in adopting "bogussing" and unviue pressures. He pointed out that this was simply trying to escape the issue. What had triumphed at issue. What had triumphed at the polls is a definite political The Communist Party in its trend — of democracy and secularism. Precisely for this reason the Communist Party. It, too, called upon the people welcomed the results, despite to do their utmost to rout communal chauvinism and to

the own loss of seats. The percentage of voting was high. As a matter of fact Farooqi pointed out it was higher than expected by any of the parties. It is this high percentage of voting which adversely tilted the balance. The percentage of voting swas high. As a matter of fact farooqi pointed out it was for the last few days Aruna Asaf Ali entered vigorously into the fray. She also high-lighted the danger that the adversely tilted the balance. The percentage of voting against the Jana Sangh. He mit out of the stated that where a Commu-nist was opposing the Conagainst the Jana Sangh. He pointed out, however, that the and large its previous votes. The mass base of this neofascist party still remain When questioned as to

when ductioned as to how such a big section of the neo-ple came to the polls and voted as they did, he said that there were two reasons for

FIRST, the vigorous campaign against the commu-nalists. The whirlwind elec-

PAGE TWO

tion four of Pandit Nehrn, where he came out with rare vigour against commu-nalism had a very big im-pact. It should be noted that Panditji had never previously addressed so many election meetings in the capital. His speeches roused a vast section of the people to the dangers of communalism and reinforc-ed their determination to tiple-member to single-mem ed their determination to combat it. It also had the had the effect of bringing to the polls a big number of people who are normally indifferent to elections and position and also made some advance

due, above all, to the fact that civic issues went very much to the background. Because of the simultaneous polling for the Lok Sabha and the Cor-poration and because the Communist Party was scarseed out, however, that the nist was opposing the Con-Sangh has retained by gress people should vote Com-large its previous rotes. munist, but where it was a mass base of this peo-st party still remained, the Jana Sangh people should nen questioned as to how give their ballot to the Con-a big section of the peocely a contender in the Parlia-mentary battle. its vote was adversely affected even as far as the Corporation seats are-concommend gress. Her campaign was extremely effective.

SECONDLY, Faroogi attributed the Jana Sangh de-bacle to the Jana Sangh propaganda itself. This was vulgar in the extreme. Pan-dit Nehru was personally

NEW AGE

If the elections had not been held simultaneously he

felt the results may well have been different. In this

connection he pointed out that in four or five seats we lost by a narrow margin of some 500 votes.

attacked, shown as a cow killer and as an object of hatred. Dreadful appeals were made to the basest instincts. This kind of pro-Another adverse factor was constituencies the change from multiple-member to single-member wards. In view of the overwhelming issue of Congress versus Jana Sangh many a voter who might have given his second preference to us (if there had been distri-butive voting as in multiple-member wards) now cast his single vote for the Congress. Farcood wished to draw the attention of our readers to a rather disturbing phenomena. paganda boomeranged. It roused antipathy among all decent people. The Jana Sangh-RSS holl-The Jana Sangh-RSS holi-ganism in many localities also created a bad impression among those sections of the people, who normally were indifferent to politics.

DELHI ROUTS JANA SANGH

Asked about the position of the Communist Party, Farooqi-said that we had polled 45,000 votes in 21 Corporation consti-tuencies. Since the constituen-cies had been split from mul-tiple-member to cincil accord rather disturbing phenor This was the conolidation of the Muslim voters on a com-munal basis, irrespective of partie

He took as an example the Ballimaran constituency. The Congress in this constituency ber wards, comparison with the previous election was difficult. Still it could be said that the Communist Party had retained its previous mass Congress in this constituency frankly and openly whipped up Muslim communal feel-ings. They put up a Muslim candidate and the handbills issued in his support openly apealed to the religious senti-ments of the Muslim voter. Fantastic charges were made against the Communist Party —that they would abolish re-He pointed out that it was a significant fact, which needed emphasising that the needed emphasising that the organised working class was the main force which had stuck to the Communist Party inspite of every thing. The loss of seats, he felt was due, above all, to the fact that -that they would abolish re-ligion, abolish mosques, etc.

The result was that the Muslim voted for the Muslim Congress candidate in the Corporation election and for Mirza Ahmad Ali (opposing the Compace) the Congress) for the Lok Sahha

Farooqi felt that such utilisation of Muslim communal feelings was harmful. It was no use fighting the Jana Sangh communalism in this

sangh communalism in this manner by a kind of counter-communalism. Asked about the future prospects Farooqi said that it was too early to say anything detailed. The whole matter would here to be taken would have to be taken up in the State Council meeting which would convene shorily which would convene shortly to review the election results.

now it could be pointed out that there should be no complacency regarding the Jana Sangh. As pointed out earlier it has retained its votes and a long vigourous and sustained campaign against communalism would be required to really breach be required to really break the Jana Sangh as a mass force. Such a mass campaign a mas mass campaign on responsible mocernity was the cor was the common responsibi-lity of all democratic and secular parties and persona-lities. The Communist Party would certainly do its best to carry out its duty in this connection. He said that already there was a widespread

However, he felt that right

among the people that the Congress had become rather ome rather Congress had become rather too strong and the opposition rather too weak. The fear was that the Congress would try to ride roughshod over the people. People remarked the days of the Brahm Prakesh Ministry, when too, there had been a small Jana Sangh opposition. At that time the Congress had misbehaved. and acted in a oppressive manner. And this the Jana Sangh had utilised to build up its mass ba

It was necessary for the Communist Party and, of

course, for the Congress to see that such a situation did not arise again. It was necessary to launch mass struggles and campaigns to compel the Congress to implement its programme and to win the demands of the

People. Farooqi ended by saying that there was every chance for such a campaign and such struggles to develop success-fully. In short, new opportunities had opened up for the democratic movement in the canital.

MARCH 4. 1982

MARCH 4, 1962

pendent with a very big mar- Service Society of Mannath

Four in the Malabar area, the PSP keeping it company, is a significant factor which has come in for much comment. Out of seven Parliamentary seats in the Malabar area, two are likely to go to the Muslim Loccus and the Muslim League and the re-maining five to Communists or Communist-supported In-

or Communist-supported In-dependents. What is most significant about the success of the Con-gress is that all the six cons-tituencies where they have won are situated in the "Ca-tholic belt" in the State. The Catholic Church and the Nair

Padmanabhan have largely helped the Congress to secure these victories.

Apart from the weakness of the Coalition resulting from internal dissensions, one of the main reasons for Congress and PSP reversals in the elections, is the failure of the Government to do anything about the mass demands and d tions which had rocked the State recently.

The kisan agitation led by communists for amendment The kisan agitation led by Communists for amendment in the Kerala Agrarian Rela-tions Act and against evic-tions of tenants from forest and temple lands was one of the telling factors which help-ed the Communists to win their spectacular successes.

The Contraction of the Contraction

Also the failure of the Coa-Also the failure of the Coa-lition Government to get a, better deal for Kerala in the Third Five Year Plan had given rise to resentment among many. The Commu-nists were the only people who consistently carried on a Campaign operative when consistently carried on a campaign against the discri-mination against Kerala by the Centre.

Lastly, there have been a spate of allegations in recent months about corruption in high circles, including charges against a number of Min-isters. When faced with the demand for a judicial enquiry, the Ministry took to the more convenient course of institut-ing judicial proceedings aga-inst a number of Opposition these papers who publicised

"Clear Verdict Against Coalition Govt."-E.M.S.

THE irresistible con-clusion of the electo-ral results in Kerala was that it may a clear yer-with PSP getting no seat munalism. (and perhaps, its that it was a clear ver-dict against the two-year old misrule and maladministration of Congress -PSP coalition and a call PSP. to the Centre not to neg-lect Kerala, observed E. M. S. Namboodiripad when asked to comment on Kerala election results so far known.

From the number of votes candidates had gain-ed so far it was clear that Congress had only retained its strength of six. But, PSP, its partner has lost even the one seat it had. On the other hand, the Communist-RSP. Indepen-dent bloc had ten seats on their side. In two seats whose results could not be judged, Muslim League had at present a narrow lead From the number of at present a narrow lead over the Communists and Congress candidates were

as well as Chief Minister,

with PSP getting no seat at all, was nothing short of a verdict against the rule of Chief Minister and un-ashamed opportunism of DSP

The areas where the Con-The areas where the oun-gress had won its present six seats, Namboodiripad stated, were of such a na-ture that, the conclusion was inescapable that the only mass base the Kerala. Congress was left with was where the combination of the Christian clergy and Nair communalism could Nair communalism could operate and this had to be buttressed by pastoral let-ters, directions from pulpit and mass corruption by distribution of patronage

distribution of patronage and concessions based on communalism. The Congress whose seeds were sown first in Malabar forty years ago had no seat in Malabar today.

Congress candidates were nowhere in the picture. Namboodiripad stated that the crucial fight for gue had annexed Kozhi-the capital's seat (Trivan-drum), which was a pres-tige seat for the Minister. Swell as Chief Minister. Namboodirinad said that Namboodiripad said that

sm (and perhaps, its ed representation in increased representation in Lok Sabha) should be placed squarely on the Kersia Congress alone. The Kersia Congress chief had refused congress chief had refused the Communist offer of a forging a united / front to fight the League with par-ticular reference to these two seats.

Namboodiripad that the Communist Party had improved on its posi-tion of 1957 generally and also among Muslim and Christian masses, and per-centage of yotes polled Cristian masses, and per-centage of votes polled would be higher than in 1957. The Party was happy that it had been able to broaden and widen unity among Communist, RSF and Independents on a and Independents broad democratic communal plane.

Firther strengthening of this unity to get Kerala's demands heard in the Lok Sabha and arrest and reverse misrule, and maladministration of the State Government was the mediate task before people of Kerala. im-the

NEW AGE

PAGE THOPP



One of the many small meetings which victory in Andhra.

### Tamilnad-Congress Hopes Dashed

Tamilnad is one of the States where the Congress has Tamilinad is one of the States where the Congress has suffered a reduction in its strength. As compared to the 151 Congress MLAs elected in 1957 only 136 could get through the polls this time. It should be remembered that Kamaraj had openly boasted that he would obtain 175 seats for the Congress. The strong silent Congress boss must now be regretting his arrougent outburst.

A NOTHER happy feature of representative to the Assem-the election this time is bly. the thorough trouncing of the A spectacular feature of this bly. A spectacular feature of this

A spectacular leature of this election result is the big leap forward of the DMK from 12 Swantantra. This, too, in the s Macchiavellianism. He may rai was defeated. League and the DSP, Mushomeland patron "saint". Rajaji tried all his Macchiavell lim League and the DMK-he the DML obviously cutwit-ted Rajaji. They cashed in on the statements which he had made in support of the DMK after the failure of the Com-munist-DMK negotiations. would have manoeuvred with the devil himself. He tried the trick of offering others more munist-DMK negotiations. They were also cunning en-ough to utilise the Muslim League support. Assembly seats in the hope that in this way he could bag more Lok Sabha seats for his

own party. But all these ended in a but all these ended in a miserable failure. At  $\cdot$  the time of writing the Swatan-tra has won only six Assembly seats and none so far for the Lok Sabha. It should be embered that the Swatantra was 20 strong in the last Assembly. The shameless alliance of

the PSP with the Swatantra, which was aimed against the Communist Party, boomerang-ed on the PSP. Its leader Chinnadorai was defeated. The Muslim League was also unable to send even a single

1. Place of Publication

Nationality Address

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Address

The Communist Party suffered heavily in the present elections. Only two of its can-didates for the Assembly was successful and the same numsuccessful and the same num-ber for the Lok Sabha. Its sit-ting M.P.s. Parvathi Krishnan and K. T. K. Thangamani lost by big margins.

Kalyanasundaram was elected for the third time from Trichirappalli with a margin of over 8,000 votes while A. K. Subbiah, a Harijan kisan leader, was elected from the Tanjore district in from the language district in a straight fight with the Congress, with a margin of 10,000. The new Communist M.Ps. Anandan Nambiar and R. Umanath, both elected Trichy district, won with a margin of 9,000 and 30,000 respectively. respectively.

The ruling party, in particular, was out to defeat as many Communists as possible. For this they freely used money, State power and caste. M. R. Venktaraman, Secre tary of the Tamilnad State Council of the Communist Party of India interviewed shortly after the election results were announced, made the following points in a very brief interview:

First, it is a welcome sign that the Congress majority in the Assembly has been reduced. In no sense can the Congress claim its present majority as a big victory

The Congress had hoped to win as many more seats by the wrong use of state power, mo-ney, caste prejudices, etc.. But the anti-Congress feeling

raj was more than usually among the people had increas-evasive, merely stating that ed so much that this was of no there was no pact with the avail. Kazhagam.

After the elections it scarce-In needs underlining that if the democratic opposition par-ties had joined together on the basis of a minimum democratic programme, as proposed by the Communist Party, the Con-gress would have suffered quite a heavy defeat in Tamil-

The emergence of the DMK as the first and major opposition party in the State is due, above all, to the manner in which it capitalised on the big anti-Congress sentiments among the very large sections of the people. It can be said that in most places the anti-Congress vo-tes went predominantly to the DMK, as the voter felt that this would be the most effective manner in which he can register his protest against Congress misrule.

Of course, the opportunist understanding of the DMK with the Muslim League and Swatantra helped to win it many seats but scarcely en-hanced its reputation.

The Communist Party has suffered a defeat in this election. It feels, however, a mea-sure of pride that it fought the elections on the basis of prin-ciples and a consistent policy. Learning from the election results the Communist Party will strive to work still better for the well-being of the toil-ing people and the democratic

The election result this time contain surprises for all political parties and it will still take some time before a comprehensi and complete analysis can be made. Right at the m ent only a mere tentative assessment can be attempted. Nevertheless certain broad contours of the new political map in Andhra can be mentioned.

forecast of their future beha

viour. Much would depend on

A fortunate feature of this election is the rout of Mus-

lim communalism in Hude-

rabad. The way they cam-paigned gave the impression

radga. The way may may apply a source of the impression that the Razakars would come out as a significant force in the Andhra Capital. This has not happened.

As far as the Jan Sangh is

concerned the people are counting the number of depo-sits they have lost rather than the seats they have won. They

have not even gained a single

The Congress camp presents a sorrowful spectacle. Quite a number of rebel Congressmen defeated official candidates.

Four Ministers made their

spending well over Rs. two lakhs.

through - despite

seat. :

THE Congress which h as many as 239 seats the legislature of Andhra A new feature of the elec-tion this time is the larger number of Independents this time not even reached the Congress has no doubt turned-51. This feature absent both in the 1952 as well as in the 1957 elections, to say nothing of the 1955 mid-term dhra by a very consider margin. But the signific point is that its strength elections. been reduced. It can be stat that the Congress power m nopoly in Andhra has been r duced—and from the left. Apart from the Independents supported by the Communist Party, about whom we have written a little earlier, a good number of the Independents

Then, mention must also are Congress rebels and those made of the near debacle t that the Swatantra Party suffered. It has managed who have no particular party affiliation. About both these latter categories of Independ-ents it is difficult to make any win so far only 19 seats against the 140 that it cont ed. It seems to have beer classical case of a brave sh but with little performance. how the various political forces in the State align and realign appears that even the land section decided to go to Congress rather than emit the new party.

The Communist Party improved its position con-derably. It contested seats out of which it has u 51 and lost as many as with a narrow margin of low 500 votes. Fourtée dependents supported by Party have won. The seems to be no doubt th the overwhelming majori of these Independents w throw in their lot with th Communist Party and with the Communist bit The Communist bit The Communist Party has far won seven Lok Sab seats out of the 20 contest One Independent support by the Communist Party I also won.

#### communist or Independent rivals. Another Minister barely It is a matter for great prio for the Communist Party th it was their candidate who to scraped pled the Swatantra chief N. Ranga.

In this connection it shou be remembered that after the 1957 elections the Communis Party had only 37 seats in the Assembly and four in the Pa liament. This fell far behin the expectation not only of the Party but of the people in g neral. To some extent th sorry state of affairs has no been remedied.

It has been estimated that the Congress has spent over Rs. 75 lakhs for its candidates. Every effort was made to cor-rupt the electorate. Needless to say Government influence and the entire official machinery was pressed into the ser-vice of the Congress Ministers and leaders.

Not satisfied with this, the scale were adopted, particu-sure that the Party v larly in the Nalgonda and always, stand by them Krishna districts. But no- what may.

RAJASTHAN-SAD

THE Congress in Rajasthan was never in such a disgraceful plight as it is today. Th results declared so far clearly show that Congress by itself cannot get an absolute majority in the State legislature.

On the side of the Opposition is a strong force of Swatantra and Jana Sangh, in addition to independent Rajas and Ranis.

Before the elections and during its years of power the Congress leaders themthe Congress leaders them-selves pampered the rulers and gave them all sorts of concessions. The Mahara-jas and Maharanis have emerged as a big force to-day, ready to cut the roots of democracy and progress of democracy and progress.

The people have, however, also returned five Communists to the State Assembly. Among them are Swami Kumaranand, a veteran of the freedom struggle and a respected trade-union leader of Bea-



MADHYA PRADESH-RIGHT MAKES MENACING ADVANCE

THE most pleasant news for the pro-gressive electorate in Madhya Pradesh came from Indore where Homi Daji, Communist leader, standing as an Independent gave a crushing de-feat to the INTUC leader, Ram Singh Bhai Karam Singh, the sitting mem-ber in the Lok Sabha.

Daji's election to the Lok Sabha was celebrated in Indore amidst wild scenes of jubilation. People in their thousands lined the

streets to greet the procession which was brought out on hearing the result of the election.

Congress had to pay the heaviest penalty for its internal dissensions and reactionary anti-people po-licles when Chief Minister Katju was defeated in his-home constituency. home constituency, Jaora, by a Jana Sangh candi-

Katju's defeat has creat-ed a big problem for the High Command. The results announced so far indicate that the Congress

cannot obtain an absolut majority. The Jana Sangh has moved shead in a most menacing manner.

Three Communist leaders have been elected to the State Assembly. They are Gendalal and Bhairay Bharati, kisan leader and, of course, Shakir All.

Four deputy ministers of inet have been defeated. Jana Sangh has got well over 30, SP 22 and the combined independents 33. The Communists lost The Communists lost their present two Assembly seats—Indore and Gwallor.

2. Periodicity of its publication Weekly 3. Printer's Name D. P. Sinha India 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi. 4. Publisher's Name D. P. Sinha 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi. 5. Editor's Name P. C. Joshi Indian 7/4 Asaf Ali Road New Delhi Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital: Com-munist Party of India 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

The Communist Party

tered the election battle on its own and consequently faced stiff opposition from all sides.

The Dravida Kazhagam

openly campaigned for the Congress and in several pla-ces the tricolour fluttered to-

gether with the Kazhagam flag. When questioned by pressmen about this, Kama-

7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

I, D. P. SINHA, hereby declare that the particulars and sher

Statement about ownership and other particulars about

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NEWS FROM STATES ANDERA's Big Advance

thing availed and the Cong-ress monopoly of power suff--ered dimunition.

The comrades of Andhra feel particular pride in the manner in which the people have de-monstrated their love for the Party of the Red Flag. They fed special joy that thanks to their success the national p Not satisfied with this, the stige and influence of the Congress in a number of Communist Party will be consi-areas let loose their gooda derably enhanced. The people gangs. When even this failed, repressive measures on a big scale were adopted, particu-larly in the Nalconda an autory strend by the party will, as

## STATE OF CONGRESS

war; Ramanand Agarwal from Alwar and Hari Ram from Tigara (Reserve) constituency who defeated his Congress rival by more than 10,000 votes.

Also elected with Communist support is an in-dependent for the Lok Sabha, Lala Kashi Ram from

The Communists mem-bers to the State Assembly are the strategic balancing force between the Congress and the Right—the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and other feudal elements elec-ted as independents.

Their's is an important role of not allowing reac-tion to ride roughshod as well as to fight for peo-ple's interests against the Congress rulers. The Con-gress must reckon with them.

The formation of a new government in Rajasthan will be watched with in-



### LATE NEWS

I N WEST BENGAL, at the been the comparatively poor time of going to press the Communist showing in Cal-trunk-telephone informs us cutta. that 49 Communists have IN UTTAR PRADESH our been returned to the Assemb-ly and two to the Lok Sabha. In the phone that the Com-The United Left Alliance al-munists have already won 12 ready commands about 70 seats in the Assembly and seats in the Assembly. It will three Independents supported be remembered that there by us have also won. One of were 47 Communists in the last Assembly. A surprising feature of the elections has are also ours.

cutta. IN UTTAR PRADESH our munists have already won 12 seats in the Assembly and three Independents supported by us have also won. One of them defeated the Speaker of

#### U. S. Diplomat Expelled

U NITED States diplo-try was considered prejudi-cial. lowing the Government of India's objections to his activities, it is reliably learnt.

Although the U.S. diplomat was not named persona non grata, the Government is reported to have made it clear to the United States Mission here that the diplomat's activities amounted to interference in India's domestic affairs and his continued stay in this coun-

cial. The Government is re-ported to have conveyed their strong objections re-garding the diplomat's acti-vities to the U.S. Charge d'Affaires during the ab-sence on leave of the Ame-rican Ambassador, Gal-braith. Prompt withdrawal of the U.S. diplomat from India is reported to have India is reported to have been effected by the U.S. authorities following the U.S. ing Government's objection

-(IPA)

Bhupesh Gupta addressing election rally in W. Bengal where we have maintained our strength.

6



Shakir Ali addresses striking workers at Bhopal.

I was invited to Bhopal by our comrades to add-ress the last election rally on February 23. I had already read in the newspapers that an employees' strike in Bhopal's public sector showpiece, the Heavy Electricals Plant, was also on, which was at once upsetting and exciting.

candidates gather as many votes as possible and also and bring its news to the New Age readers. It is a grim tale of gross injustice and horror untold beyond words.

#### NUCLEUS FOR GROWTH

The Heavy Electricals Plant at Bhopal is the first one of its kind in the country. It ufactures switchgears transformers, etc., all the equipment needed to enable our country to manufacture. complete power houses with our own hands, cutting out imports which are no more possible because of lack of foreign exchange.

Everybody knows that the power programme is lagging behind, which is like a dark cloud over our industrialisa tion plans. A strike in such a situation should have been avoided at all costs but so bureaucrafic and blind are the powers concerned with the Heavy Electricals Limited that Heavy Electricals Limited that bag. they have done everything in their power to provoke the strike: HE Employees' Union is the NTUC racket with literally no strength among the mass

As Indian industrialisation As Indian industrialisation got going in a big way during the Second Plan, it was deci-ded had the Government that the Bhopal blant, which is aided by the british, will not be enough to serve Indian needs of power equipment and two more similar plants, one to be aided by the USSR and another by Czechoslovakia were decided upon for being set up during the Third Plan period.

beriod. The workers and techni-claus of the Bholal Plant are the nucleus around whom heavy electrical work-er cadres are to be raised. The Bhopal strike has taken who a seriore time. such a serious turn that then such a serious turn that not only the production in Bhopal is badly threatened but even the expansion plans for setting up the other two power equipment manufacturing mans man manufacturing seriously fall far behi

Thus, settlement of the Bhopal strike is not only im portant in itself but vital fo India's power plants expansion programmes.

fortunate enough t e Chairman of th meet the Chairman of Line Board of Directors of the HEL Mathur and also the Resider Director, Saranganani, They,

PAGE SIX

So I readily accepted the admitted that the strike took invitation to go to Bhopal, them by surprise and promis-help get our veteran comrade Shakir All and other Farty back to work, everything back to work, everything would be settled amicably. They obviously did not see that after all that had hap-pened this offered ho way out. After meeting the above officials, I met the strikers

Instead of verifying the membership of the various unions and interrogating their leaders, the management under Labour Minister Draand above all, their leader, Handa, President of the most popular union. He was underground but I managed vid's prodding pressure recog-nised the paper INTUC union to spend half the night with him and get the full story. After hearing Handa, there was no doubt left in my mind that this strike could

have been easily avoided and how must be settled very soon indeed. This strike would never have taken place if the Congress Ministers concerned were not so insistent, about imposing their own puppet INTUC union over the HEL

workers. There are four trade unions operating. One is HE Factory Workers' Union, it has passed from the PSP to Jana Sangh hands and does not wield influence over more than 40 or 50. One Holkar struts about with this union in her hand bag.

of workers, except for the few henchmen from the bullies the very weak among the workers, artificially fed and nursed from outside the HEL. plant.

The third is the HE Karamcharl Union under Dr. Luther, which has mostly members among the construction workers of the contractors.

#### TRADE-UNION RECOGNITION

The mass of workers are The mass of workers are behind the HE Servants' Trade Union which is an in-dependent TU with no poll-tical affiliations. It applied for recognition in October 1961 when there were 4,503 members of its roll, a dis-tinct majority of the total workers on the HEL rolls and the vast bulk of arti-sans, draughtsmen and trainees, who matter the most for production.

most for production. The real origin of the trou-ble is the issue of TU recogni-

"We applied for recognition heard nothing in reply so far", stated with great anger, Pre-sident Handa of the HESTU. Why? "MP Labour Minister ident Hand

NEW AGE

## TALE OF FERROR

on any demand and the management refused to accept arbitration. "We don't recognise you", became the recur-ring mantram from the offi-cial side. Under the existing law, after conciliation fails, and if no arbitration is fixed, the employees can go on strike, even without notice,

within the next 10 days. the Co In this case, the HEL Work-gulla! ers sent a telegram to Union Labour Minister Nanda and Prime Minister Nehru that after December 4 (last per-missible date) the HEL employees may go on strike any day. After December 4, legal strike could be launched within the next two months. The Union leaders called

a press conference on De-cember 9 to broadcast the news that, they were being forced to go on strike and explained the elementary justice of their 49 demand The pressmen asked them I even now the Governmen intervened would they call STRIKE off the strike. Their answer was an unambiguous YES. BEGINS Soon after the Union leaders received a letter from the MP Labour Department that the dispute had been referred to Labour Court for arbitra-

Actually, the whole dispute was not referred but only a part of it, i.e., 13 out of 49 demands. Out of the remaining 36 demands, 24 are such

without any legal redress, in the present circumstances.

They approached the Govern

On January 12, Union Min-ister for Commerce & Indus-



Two of the hunger-strikers. (Photo: Surai Joshi)

cognition to the INTUC for which the workers are left Union and it was done in January this year under the Code of Discipline in Indus-try and not under the MP Industrial Relations Act ment with a memo making out the case to refer all de-mands to arbitration and in-tervene to save the situation. which is the law on the subject. Handa's argument was that

(Photo: Surai Joshi)

Dravid, you must be knowing

Javid, you must be knowing, is such a Labour Minister who dare not contest in the cur-rent elections from an indus-trial labour-majority seat. "He and his Labour De-

ble and his Labour De-partment naturally, are all out to deny us our basic rights, guaranteed to us under the law of the land and the policy declarations of the Government (tself."

Handa stated that this was admitted by the Resi-dent Director before Cabi-net Minister Reddy, that

there were orders from the

MP Government to give re-

instead

Handa's argument was that the MPIR Act came into force from 31st December 1980 and thus the Management had no right to give recognition in January under any other pro-

January under any other pro-January under any other pro-Handa went on to say that after thus arbitrarily and to the INTUC, the manage-ment refused to talk to them. No legal channels were, thus, to the INTUC, the manage-ment refused to talk to them. He drew attention to any tert for us to ventilate our grievances and get out de-management The. Even before applying for-tember and forwarded them to the management. They tember and forwarded them to the management to they were referred to the concilia-to two concluded the pro-to the management was achieved NEW AGE January under any other pro-tert for us to ventilate our the trade union will have to the delegation that he starving. The demand for some action was becoming to who concluded the pro-to was due to visit Bhopal on KEW AGE March 4, 1962 March 4, 1962

came to Handa to enquire what were the workers' plans. He was assured that the workers wantd to submit a memorandum and they did so, but Shastri tried to import party politics into the affair, when he said in his public superbility that the campaign and speech that the campaign and movement was also a part of the Communist election halfa-

"Malaviya took the sue and came to plead with us not to strike because of the lot to strike because of the elections and that we ran the danger of people calling us Communists", Handa stated. He added that he told the official, who is trythat if the management and the Government settled the issue of 27 suspended "A" grade artisans the workers will keep quiet on their 49 demands for the time being. up to one month, till the elections were over.

The administration had made the issue of the artisans a prestige issue of the artisans were told that for three days they will have to work under chargemen and then all the 27 would themselves be made chargemen as was their due and paid for the suspension

and paid for the suspension period as well. The workers were objecting to working under chargement when they had all been trainqualifications, etc. The work-ers agreed to save the pres-tig of the management. of the management. But officialdom said that it the will give nothing in writing from their side. Tricky nego-tiations went on, tiring the workers' patience. Besides these 27 another 32

"A" grade artisans gave no-tice of hunger-strike from February 10. The Resident Director contacted Labour Minister Dravid at Indore but nothing come out of the nothing came out of it. On February 12, the artisans

of the third batch the loter or the third batch, the latest lot, went on strike on the issue of quarters being sup-plied to them according to the rules made by the manage-ment itself.

The House Allotment Committee set up by the management had unani-mously decided that whatmoisly decided that what-ever quarters, of the type elaimed as a right, were available be given to the workers and the rest to stay in the hostels with the trainces. The minutes of this meeting were suppress-ed and the employees refu-bed to go on facing one pin-prick after another. After this partial strike, the Union sent a telegram to the

MARCH 4 1082

rport, and handed over a tailed memo. In his public eeting, he said "the emploes should get justice, more an justice. If the officials e bad, they should be transrred. The demands are not tch as over them a strike hould be resorted to. If the rike has been organised for y benefit, its effect has been

pistol" (drawing Handa's

on February 15 morning, more arrests took place, the Hitavada representative came

to Handa to ask if the Gov-

ernment gave some interim relief would the strike be call-

On February 16 about 20 mo-

thers and wives of workers

began picketting. More arrests took piace. Lathi-charges be-gan. The mounted police started roaming all over the area. No peace had been dis-turbed, there was no provo-ation term the methent do

cation from the workers' side

Handa described what fol-lowed in these words: "Our boys were surrounded from all sides by the mounted po-lice and then began lathl-charges, three massed ones, many more in groups. Three rounds of firing.

"The boys became very excited. We tried to divert

their just anger into a pea-ceful demonstration. It be-came a 1,000-strong de monstration marching to

We met the Governor who

Government House."

ed off. He agreed.

BRUTAL

METHODS

rounds of firing

e opposite After the the Prime Minister's After the Prime Minister's seech the Union withdrew he hunger-strike of the 54, s a conciliatory gesture, per-litting only five workers to smain fasting. The management, how-

ever, chose to rely upon that one part of the Prime Min-ister's speech that suited them. On February 14, the Chairman of the HEL issued an appeal for unconditional withdrawal of the strike. The employees were in no mood to bend the knee withmood to bend the Knee water out getting anything in re-furn. They organised a 8,000 and and and strong demonstration and their slogan was based on the second part of the Prime Minister's speech against bad and unwanted officials! Four of the top and popular ders of the Union had been prested that morning and his brought the mass of brkers out to demonstrate

the mass to control the situa-the mass to control the situa-that the next day talks would lon. The DM's reply was typi-cal. "Hath men aye shikar rahin chodthe". (We don't the management and the dis-trict authorities will meet.

give up the game in hand)) trict authorities will meet. Deputy Superintendent of "I went home but came face Police Mishra went one bet-ter, "we do not know con-ciliation, we do not believe was waiting for. me and I. in negotiations, we trust our ° disappeared.

1

MARCH 4. 1962

The transformers at HEL

try Reddy came to Bhopal and a workers' deputation met him with a memo. He promi-sed to look into the matter and said that the trade union



HEL's deserted entrance with police guards- a photo take inspite of great official obstruction. (By Suraj Joshi)

for a peaceful settlement there was a serious lathi-charge, tear-gas and firings. No one i has count of the casualties.

attacks. There was no need there. for it and we strongly sus-pect that the curfew was men had been ordered to wash imposed to dispose of the away the blood from the dead. The workers of the verandahs of workers' quarters is attacks. There was no need there. Into police atrocities, A judge of all-India re-pute to verify the creden-tials of the various Unions for recognition. Gas Plant told us that when and remove other signs of it was started, the smell of atrocities committed. burning flesh came out of it. "The public leaders of the "The boys were beaten all town including Communist he way up to the police Con-MLA Shakir All saw blood and the way up to the police Con-

trol Room. The police also



the Governor.

"Face to face with them and after hearing that they had seen many worse things than I myself knew of, I broke down when I met his Excellency and cried aloud, 'Agar marne hai to hum sabko ek satho mar daliye'

"On 17th instead of talks (if we have to be killed, let independent us all be killed together.) "The Governor was also moved and wanted to himself

We all were on the run. "Curfew was also imposed said the situation was not yet soon after the brutal police safe for His Excellence to safe for His Excellency to go An independent enquiry there. into police atrocities,

plenty of it all over, they in-formed the Governor about it and issued a joint statement to the Press. "It must be admitted that after the last and most seri-

The spread that the trainees while not of the eritisans are also to control the situary sound and the mass leaders back among e mass to control the situary and the Sentior Laboratory the trainees in mass leaders back among e mass to control the situary and the Sentior Laboratory the trainees in the trainees to control the situary and the Sentior Laboratory the trainees in the trainees to control the situary and the Sentior Laboratory the trainees to control the situary and the Sentior Laboratory the trainees to the traine the trainees to the trainees trainees to the trainees to the trainees trainees to the trainees to the trainees traines trainees traines trainees tr 700 to 800 are hiding in neigh-bouring villages and jungles, having come from various parts of India they do not know people in the city. "The police is not sup-

pressing the workers as in other strikes, it is hunting down the HEL workers as if they were animals to be tracked down and killed."

Another round of peace talks followed, after the 17th February brutalities. The Divi-sional Commissioner called Handa on February 21 and offered the formula: Call off the strike, the Chief Minister will help. Handa demanded at least the five trade union leaders in jail be released so that he could consult them. He is the only top TU leader out and underground. The Commissioner refused even Commissioner this much.

#### **IMMEDIATE** DEMANDS

Raiya Sabha member, A. D. Mani, who is also the Editor of the local English Daily Hitavada, met which-ever workers' leaders were available to him and wrote a sympathetic and construca sympathetic and construc-tive article in his paper, dis-approving of the strike as a tactic but squarely placing the responsibility for pro-voking the strike on the shoulders of Labour Minis-ter Daraford ter Dravid.

Handa immediately and positively responded to Mani's suggestions. He only demand-ed what any sensible workers'

leader sincerely seeking settle-ment would demand: . Release of the arrested, withdrawal of all cases, no victimisation.

Workers' major demands to be looked into by an

committee Chief Minister Katju or Union Minister K. C. Reddy so that Labour Minister Dravid is not able to go on disrupting industrial peace and amity in the HEL.

recognition.
 Suspended 'A' Grade artisans to be reinstated.

#### RENDER

JUSTICE

Handa really offered resto-ration of the status quo, a sensible way out of a very sorry situation. If the settle-ment is delayed, the conse-quences will be very damag-ing indeed, for the HEL itself. Let the high and responsible ones in Delhi take note of Handa's warning which is no threat but plain truth: "Our boys are very young.

"Our boys are very young, they have suffered a lot, they will not surrender, they are educated youngsters and technically well-trained. Even the British specialists have ad-British specialists have ad-mitted that their skill is as good as of their British counter-parts. "They can get higher wages

anywhere else. The private sector is also going into heavy electricol

"They have been humi-liated, wounded, but they cannot be starved them into submission. They have told me that they can wait up to 27th or 28th. if the Union cannot bring about a settle-ment by that time, they will

pack up and go home". If this calamity happens. HEL work and production can-not be seriously resumed, it will take another two to three years to train up new Running a heavy e' plant is not the same a textile mill. Dre knows 'textile mills does not care for production nor th sector nor knows ho

electricals plant is the ele HEL is Now over. HEL is national proje attention mus solving the ur pute. The has shown not playin tions. V mun of

stoke It i tion

Resp opini strop Prime tive t in ter for th in our

NEW AGE

#### **REGD. NO. D597**

### nmunis

#### FROM FRONT PAGE

with deep anxiety at the Jantar Mantar not because the Congress President hails from there but because San-Jeeva Reddy is going back home wanting to be the Chief Minister again. His rivals, the present Chief Minister Sanjeeviah and back the His and have Brahmananda Reddy already been elected. The problem is to estimate how many supporters of each have got in and the ensuing balance of power within the ruling party. Three major groups are at

daggers drawn and sub-groups within each to upset all balances struck.

all balances struck. In Mysore the prospective Chief Minister Nijalingappa has also suffered defeat. The present Chief. Minister Jatti was neither popular within his own party nor with the High Command. The above are not the only problem States as the final

problem States, as the final results and the coming meet-ing of the Congress Parlia-

mentary Board will reveal. Instability, uncertainty, political crisis in State after State, the Centre of course in-cluded, will grow in the postelection period. The Congress rejoicings over electoral vic-tories is pyrrhic. Honest and principled Congressmen will be called upon not once and not in one or two States but over and over again and all over the country to clean up the Augean stables. The next five years is their last chance. The Morarjis within wanted to get rid of one Krishna Me-nom now in alliance with the Rightists outside. It is the remaining Kripalanis within who have to be routed and ousted from positions of po-wer by Congressmen them-selves, if the Congress is to loyally implement what the not in one or two States but selves, if the Congress is to loyally implement what the people voted for them for.

#### RIGHT STRONG

The Congress leadership The Congress leadership has been able to save its majority throughout the country but it has failed to rout the parties of the Right. The rise in electoral influence and political wei-ght that the parties of the Right have registered is a "asure of the rot that has Right have registered is a asure of the rot that has l inside our political cause of the way the ss has run the coun-

> eater-than-ever rise al status registered int is reflected in the which should shake otic democratic Inin the majority the Indian Union, out of 14, the will be led by n. party or the

> > leadership he hands of Ganatan decided rissa. It osition

d Gu-u the inata 1957 1 has I.Raoppo-of its ore. In same of the

desh, and the most desh and the most populous one, Uttar Pradesh, it will be the Hindu communal Jana Sangh that will lead the opposition. In U. P. its strength has jumped from 17 in 1957 to 42 now, in M.P. from 10 to 35. In Rajasthan, it is close behind Swatantra, having more than doubled its members from six

in 1957 to 14 now. In Madras and the Punjab Opposition will again be led by specifically local brands of separatist reaction. In Mad-ras, the DMK has jumped from 12 to 50, more than a from 12 to 50, more than a four-fold increase. It has poll-ed 27.13 per cent of the total votes as against 46.26 per cent of the Congress. In Funjab the Akalis, despite the flascos of their communal politics have been able to acquire 19 seats, an additional three Swatantrites being their pro-teges. teges.

#### P. S. P. DECLINE

The P.S.P. has functioned in alliance with Swatantra almost openly and with communal reactionary par-ties hardly veiled. It has minous defeat. It is, however, yet to be liquidated.

#### COMMUNIST BATTLE

The Communist Party has fought the hardest battle, with its back to the wall, and all alone. It heroically faced cross-fire both from the ruling party and the Right. The parties of the Right, in Rajaji's teil-tale words, characterised us as the enemy No. 1. The Con-gress, its leaders, agitators, campaign organisers also treated us as enemy No. 1, despite the Frime Minister's belated efforts to treat the Right as enemy No. 1 of the faced cross-fire both from Right as enemy No. 1 of the whole nation.

From the reports available at the time of writing, we are keeping up the position of the main opposition party in the Parliament.

We have done very well in Kerala avenging our artifi-cially manufactured defeat in the mid-term elections. The Congress set out to win 14 Parliamentary seats. It has got only six, not even half the target. The PSP was allotted the struggle for just principle

U.S. Inf. Ag

We have also done very We have also done very well in Andhra Pradesh, wiping out the weaknesses of the past, significantly in-creased our parliamentary seats and in the State As-sembly jumped from 35 to 51, and emerged a stronger and more mature opposi-tion party. tion party.

We have registered minor success in some State Assem-blies, e.g., from six to nine in Punjab, one to five in Rajas-than, one to three in Mysore, from nine to 12 in U.P. We have also suffered in Assam where we had four members, we lost them without gaining We lost them without gaining any new. In Bombay we were 14 and are now only six, in Bihar we were seven and are six at the time of writing. In W. Bengal, we are rough-ly maintaining the position of the leader of the opposition— as also, it annears the num-

as also, it appears, the num-ber of our MLAs and MPsthough the results fall short of expectations.

Reaction whether inside the Congress or outside went full tilt to wipe out our Party. It has failed which is a measure of the impregna-



A typical election rally scene of the Communist Party. Our supporters have stood by us

magnificently.

been the worst casualty of the present elections. Its all-India spokesman, Ashok Mehta, claimed that his was he banana peel party. He has badly slipped on the peel of his own slippery po-litics. Its Maharashtra lea-der and former M.P. Goray is also defeated. Its U. P. chief Triloki Singh has lost his deposit. The Bihar PSP Chief Basavan Singh is also knocked out.

The PSP seats in its muchvaunted stronghold U.P. have come down from 44 to 28 and it has lost the position of Opnumber of the position of Op-position leader to the com-munal Jana Sangh. Same is the picture from Bihar where its 31 in the last assembly are reduced to 18 now, with the leader himself beheaded. In Bihar, it has lost the opposi-Bihar, it has lost the opposi-tion leadership to the Swatan-Bihar tra

The unprincipled PSP, embodiment of all the worst in-side the ruling party and the ally and unifier of the various Rightist parties outside the Congress has suffered an ignothe a Prafour seats by the Congress, it

lour seats by the Congress, it has been wiped out. If the two Muslim Leaguers have been returned from Ke-rala, everybody knows the responsibility rests on the Congress and the PSP alone. If our offer of a joint 'fight had been accepted, the Lea-gue in Kerala could baye sue in Kerala could have have been routed. And it is from there that the President of the All India Muslim Lea-gue will now come to the nation's parliament.

The two Communist candi-ates who fought the League dates all alone put up a grand fight. In Kozhikode, Manjunatha Rao lost only by about 700 votes and in Manjeri P. K. Mohd. Kunhi lost by a little over 4,000 votes.

The Communists have won six, one RSP leader was sup-ported and similarly three independents, good and res-pected men, loyal to the peo-ple of Kerala and true to India

Kerala Communists have demonstrated how to selflessly share parliamentary seats in

ble strength of the Indian Communism and its deep

roots in Indian soil.

#### **REACTION'S** PLANS

India's big political battle, the general elections are over, but is no more than clearing the decks for greater and numerous battles ahead for th welfare of our people, the defence of national sovereigndefence of national sovereign-ty and winning greater laurels for the country abroad. The past concessions, from the Congress rulers to the

vested interests have made the crisis of the Plan chronic. Its targets in the very first year are lagging behind. Eco-nomic imbalances have grown, vested interests have made Burdens on the people are due to increase in the name of raising resources.

Reactionary elements will demand more and greater and greater concessions to the monopolists both native and foreign as the only way to save the national economy.

The Communists can be trusted to demand bold and urgent policy changes in the interests of the common peo-ple and to achieve a higher ple and to achieve, a higher rate of economic growth. The mass of Congressmen and their leaders will have to de-cide whether they go on put-ting up with the surrender to the vested interests or enforce the vested interests or enforce a turn in favour of the people.

Dsition

Last year, the Prime Min-ister woke up to the dan-ister woke up to the dan-gers to national integration. The forces of communal and other disruption drew in their horns for a while but their horns for a while but in the elections. They are in the field again. The Com-munists have been and will continue to be at them all continue to be at them all the time. Congressmen and, above all, the Prime Minister will have to decide whe-ther the national integra-tion conference becomes a memory of the past or will be activised to end the shame of communalism, castelsm and religious bigo-try, from our fair land. 25.5

TASK AHEAD

The Communists were ac-cused of looking a little too much abroad. It was, however, the Prime Minister who had to find fault with the other side, complain about Western interference in Judian interference in Indian elec-Interference in Indian, elec-tions and ask a U. S. diplomat to quit India for dabbling in the North Bombay elections. If the imperialist side dar-ed to interfere in our general elections, it was no isolated case. CASE

The soft-spoken but devilishly cunning Chester Bowles has been here the very week has been here the very week the poll was on, to size up the Indian situation. A number of U.S. aid delegations are in the country and more are due.

The challenge of the Right and the machinations of the West remain to be faced and crushed. It is the Congress who have to make up their minds and decide which way to turn. to turn.

We Communists have tire-lessly championed the tactic of building a national demo-cratic front in our country. We will continue to do so in all humility because the stakes are great and the cause noble and common to us all who and common to us all love India and its people as their own.



EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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