

CLEARING THE DECKS

The New Age was among the first to note the important political shift in the tactical orientation at Patna Congress session when the Prime Minister concentrated his fire against the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh, the forces of the Right, while he was mildly critical of the Communists. The election campaign began soon after and has been gathering momentum.

Those who have directly heard the Prime Minister or read his speeches in the newspapers have noted the continuance and even growth of the welcome shift, that the old anti-Communist posture was yielding place to a new, anti-Rightist posture, directed against Western imperialism policy aims and ignoble pressures against our country. Early this month, addressing an election rally in Balarampur, Eastern U.P. when Pandit Nehru was recounting the achievements of the Congress regime "during the last 14 years", he was told "by local Congressmen that even today people were being beaten and terrorised by former talukdars and their henchmen here" (Times of India, February 2).

In an "angry tone", he expressed his "anger and amazement" at the continuance of the old type of feudal repression and terror and promised to enquire "who were doing it and what the officials were doing."

The Congress rulers can manage to escape such ugly realities in normal times. It is during the election time that realities have to be faced, at least to get the votes.

The life of the people around does not accord with the Congress song about the socialist pattern. Against disconcerting realities, the Prime Minister thumps the table, during election period. The Communists, however, persistently expose feudal remnants and their evil deeds all the time and spend their life struggling against the same.

It is the Communists who base their propaganda on existing social realities and concentrate their activities in fighting for social justice. They cannot be easily attacked frontally, face to face, before the people. The Prime Minister had to promise that he would "enquire" and bring the officials to book, 14 years after the Congress raj!

Unholy Combine

The North Bombay election has acquired not only national but international significance. It is not only a battle of giants but of two alternate policies before the nation. Acharya Kripalani is supported by the reactionary Tri-murti-Swatantra, Jana Sangh, PSP combine—directly or indirectly supported by the press owned and run by the Indian monopolists, all champions of a pro-western orientation of Indian policy.

They attack Krishna Menon for being loyal to India's independent national path. He is not only the most controversial Congress candidate, disowned by his own Right, supported the hardest by the Prime Minister, but the Communists and all progressive, patriotic elements in Bombay are working for his victory.

The popular U. S. news magazine, Time, of last

week, contains evidence galore of American imperialist interest in Krishna Menon's defeat. The USIS office of Bombay is reliably reported to be ringing up for news of the election battle every three hours!

The scandal has gone so far that the Prime Minister had to publicly warn that "outside people" representing some foreign countries were not only interested in the Indian election but were also trying to interfere with it according to their cold war interests" (Hindustan Times, February 12).

The warning was so timely and effective that the very next day, February 13, Hindustan Times editorial duly termed the Prime Minister's statement as "ill-advised".

Jaya Prakash Joins In

With all his sanctimonious Sarvodayite piety, JP joined the fray in a statement made "in his personal capacity".

"Menon has willingly allowed himself to be used for all his worth by the Communist Party for the purpose of securing a commanding position in the very heart of the Central Government and the Congress Party."

"Even though Menon happened to be a Congress candidate and had the Prime Minister's support, his victory would in fact be a victory of the Communist Party."

After the above, the anti-Communist blinkers should fall from all Indian eyes. Even the naive should be able to conclude for themselves that behind Kripalani stand all the reactionary elements in Indian national life aided and abetted by the imperialist West while behind Krishna Menon can be seen the new rising vision of Indian national democratic front in being.

The active cooperation of progressive national elements forged for the victory of Krishna Menon must not be allowed to fall apart after the elections are over. We Communists have not only ardently desired it but actively worked for it. We hope the experience of these elections will make anti-Communism among honest Congressmen a thing of the past.

The Hindustan Times has challengingly asked the Prime Minister to produce his evidence about foreign interference. For once the New Age joins hands with the Hindustan Times with the confidence that if the Prime Minister and the Home Minister gave out all the facts at their disposal, not only about the ideological political interest of Western countries in the current Indian elections but their financial and other aid to their favoured politicians and their parties, it will greatly help the Indian people to bring about a new historic demarcation in Indian national life with the

NOTES OF THE WEEK

anti-national reactionary pro-Western elements cast aside by all the national, popular and progressive elements getting together, against the menace the former constitute, and as dramatically symbolised in the North Bombay Constituency.

In the coming days, the Kashmir issue will be stoked up again by the Western powers through Pakistan. A stronger Communist representation inside the Indian Parliament is the best way to strengthen India's far-sighted guardsmen over Kashmir.

It is common knowledge among those who know about the worries of the Congress High Command that even the Central Congress leadership is getting concerned about Dr. B. C. Roy functioning autonomously.

We had commented earlier in these columns about his pursuing a coal policy of his own and ganging up the other States to oppose the national coal plan and the expansion of the public sector.

During his foreign trip last summer, he managed to meet President Kennedy on his own, by-passing New Delhi.

The Prime Minister is reported to have issued a circular to all Chief Ministers suggesting that others need not emulate Dr. Roy's example!

Dr. B. C. Roy's Government is also dealing directly with the various U.S. agencies over the Master Plan for Calcutta. A State Chief Minister's dealing with foreign agencies on his own is damnation enough of him who does it and his like but also of the New Delhi leaders who permit it. It is a dangerous portent.

Another example is the ex-Orissa Chief Minister Mahatab's unopposed election to the Lok Sabha with the support and openly expressed expectations from the Ganatantra Parishad, that in New Delhi he will help to achieve what he had earlier done within Orissa, Congress-Ganatantra alliance, which is New Delhi setup would mean, Congress-Swatantra alliance. Mahatab is also an American favourite.

Pakistan's Role

So far it was only our Party that has been emphasizing the basic difference in our disputes with China and Pakistan. Both India and China are anti-imperialist countries. When our national interests clash, national passions do get inevitably roused. The very fact that we are both anti-imperialist prevents a bursting-up and the very fact that we are co-authors of Panchsheel gives the basis for a peaceful and principled settlement of our common dispute, however hard and long the negotiations and agreement may take.

The very fact that Pakistan is an ally of the imperialist powers places our differences on an entirely different footing. Pakistan being in Seat and Cento, is not only the favourite recipient of military and economic aid from the West but the imperialist powers, and especially US, can and do operate through Pakistan against India. After the liberation of Goa, Kashmir is the only political pressure point left for the West to operate against India and Pakistan is its convenient agency. And they have again shown their laws.

We are confident that the Indian voters will recall that it is the Congress leadership,

with its old faith in Anglo-American bonafides and friendship that led them to take the Kashmir issue to the U.N., and the Communist Party was alone in warning the country against the dangerous course.

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The most significant aspect of the one day tour of the Prime Minister was his outspoken disapproval of the Pastoral Letter issued by 16 Archbishops and Bishops to the Catholic voters.

The repeated disapproval of the Pastoral letter appears to have caused chagrin among the Congress bosses who the moment Panditji left Kerala, continued to hobnob with such practices violating the sanctity of the vote.

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The main fire of Panditji's speeches in Kerala was concentrated on Hindu and Muslim communalism and communalism of all types. He lashed against these forces as disruptive and appealed for a great national effort to build the country.

But hardly had the echoes of his message died down than his own Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas (Congress candidate for Ernakulam) and R. Sanakar (the Deputy Chief Minister of Kerala) convened a special conference of representatives of Latin Christian community to woo them to vote Congress.

Press Trust of India reported that this conference which lasted till the early hours of next day was successful in getting the Latin Catholic community agree to decide to vote Congress. It will be recalled that the Latin Catholic community as a whole have turned their faces away from the Congress P.S.P. coalition out of their

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COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

Manjunatha Rao is well known as one of the veterans in the Communist and Trade Union movement in Malabar. As a Councillor for many terms, and as a lover of sports and public activities, Rao has carved out a niche for himself in the hearts of the people of Kozhikode where he is fighting the Congress and the League simultaneously.

Free distribution of rice and tapioca to the poor fisherfolk in coastal areas

-P. C. JOSHI

KERALA POISED FOR POLL

From SHARMA

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The Code of Conduct of political parties evolved in certain States insist that Ministers should not have any official functions such as laying the foundation stone, etc., for at least one month prior to elections.

Free distribution of rice and tapioca to the poor fisherfolk in coastal areas

in Trivandrum District by the Congress Mayor C. R. Das and ex-Mayor E. P. Eapen of E.S.P. The grant of loans and advances to fishermen to buy nets and repair boats made specially during the last two weeks, and, above all, including the Nadar community in the list of backward communities with a view to ensuring the Nadar votes, are instances of the Congress-P. S. P. coalition openly and shamelessly utilising the machinery and Governmental power for Electioneering, contrary to Constitution, Election Rules and all ethics.

The Congress-PSP coalition has not stopped with this. It has become common knowledge that the present coalition of the Congress-PSP Government has beaten even their previous Ministries in the matter of not only political opportunism and nepotism but also corruption.

From the members of the Congress and PSP ruling parties charges of corruption have been levelled against the Chief Minister and the FWD Minister during the last Budget Session of the Assembly.

Later grave charges of utilising the office of the Ministers to advance private ends were levelled against the Finance Minister and the Industries Minister a couple of months back.

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Chief stated that he would propose a judicial en-

quiry in case the Opposition could bring specific charges against the Ministers.

Communist daily Viswamekhal came out with photostat copies of letters that passed between Tata, Mercedes-Benz Co. Bombay and their local Agent referring to the issue of two Mercedes-Benz trucks to be operated by him only.

The letters made it clear that the Deputy Chief Minister at least allowed his office to be used to get a priority over others in the matter of getting the trucks.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad challenged the Ministry to constitute an enquiry into these.

Instead of agreeing to this only right course the Cabinet decided to launch a prosecution against the editors and publishers of four Communist dailies, i.e., Viswamekhal (Trivandrum), Deshabhmani (Calicut), Navjeevan (Trichur) and Janayugam (Qullon).

By this prosecution on the eve of the elections, the Congress-PSP leaders hope to silence the opposition press, for hereafter reference to these charges would amount to contempt of court.

If this is the record of Congress and PSP leaders during the last one month of electioneering, the Communists and the Independents supported by them are steadily moving forward with the positive political slogan—Send

Communist and Independent to Lok Sabha to champion the State's interests; pronounce your verdict on the dismal record of the Coalition Government."

The first round of campaign by all India party leaders like Bhupesh Gupta and P. Ramamurthy was linked up with meetings addressed by M. N. Govindan Nair, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, and other State leaders.

In certain constituencies prominent leaders of the RSP, Ex-PSP leaders and independents, are campaigning for the Communist-Independent bloc.

A renowned writer and novelist P. Kesavadev who was in the forefront of the Liberation Struggle against Communist regime has come out against the coalition as the enemy of all culture, art and letters and in more than half a dozen election meetings has asked voters to vote against the coalition candidates.

V. R. Krishna Iyer, M.L.A. S. Kaswara Iyer, M.P. and Prof. Joseph Mundasser are also adding their weight to the powerful campaign that is getting unfolded as election dates are getting nearer.

Though it is too early to forecast election results, it is clear that the polling will be far less than 1960 and even less than 1957. There has been lack of enthusiasm and tempo so far among the people. All the parties are now striving hard to improve their position and heighten the tempo.

E. M. S. Rebukes Nehru

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Secretary, Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

If the Communist Party had made a mess of Kerala when it had the opportunity to form its Government here, as Pandit Nehru asserts, the question arises: Why did he not allow the constitutional process of the electorate giving its verdict at the end of the five-year period?

The Constitution allowed that Government to continue to rule this State for five years unless, in the meantime, it lost its majority in the Legislature.

The Prime Minister and his party, however, had not the patience to wait till that period was over, but resorted to unconstitutional methods to overthrow that Government.

One would like to respectfully ask the Prime Minister whether it would not have been constitutionally proper and regular for the voters to be given the opportunity, at the end of the five-year period, to decide as to whether a mess had been made by the Communist Party.

The Prime Minister himself had, at that time, justified the method adopted by his party on the ground that the Communist Party had lost the support of vast sections of the people who had stood behind it in the 1957 elections.

That, according to him, was the meaning of the "mass upsurge" which he saw in June, 1959. Under these circumstances, he had then argued, the proper democratic method was to arrange a mid-term election.

That election completely disproved the theory advanced by the Prime Minister. For, it was found that, instead of losing support, the Communist Party actually got 12 lakhs of votes more than in 1957.

It is also conceded by all that the Party would have secured larger number of seats in the Legislature, had not his party thrown all the principles of secularism to the winds and made electoral pacts with the leaders of the Nair, Christian and Muslim communal organisations.

The people of Kerala know very well that, if anybody has made a mess of Kerala, it is the Congress party.

Total disregard for the interests of Kerala, absence of any principle to guide their public life except naked lust for power and pelf, shameless internal quarrels on how to share power, perpetual squabbles leading to ministerial changes and crises—such is the record of the Congress in Kerala from 1948 to 1957 and from 1960 to 1962.

It was this disgraceful record of the Prime Minister's

colleagues in Kerala that made the electorate here defeat them in successive general elections. There has not been a single election after the adoption of the Constitution in which the Congress was able to secure a majority of seats in the Legislature, not to speak of a majority of votes polled.

Even in the 1960 mid-term elections, it is known, the Congress was able to secure an absolute majority in the legislature only because it was supported by those very forces of communalism against which the Prime Minister has been campaigning throughout his life.

Even today the Congress in Kerala has been reduced to such a sorry state that it has to campaign for that very party which is joining hands with the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh in order to defeat Krishna Menon in the North Bombay constituency.

Such being the mess made by his party in Kerala, it would have been better if the Prime Minister had cleared the mess in his own party before attacking our Party.

So far as we are concerned, I can assure him that we are proud of the work that we did when we were in office; proud also of the fact that the people in this State reposed their confidence in greater measure in 1960 than in 1957.

In Andhra

Jittery Congress Takes To Goondaism

With 136 of its candidates contesting for the Assembly and 20 to Parliament and offering its support to about 20 independents to the Assembly and about four to the Lok Sabha, the Communist Party in Andhra is in the thick of the election campaign, to dislodge the Congress from power, or at least strike at its monopoly of power and slash its majority.

ONE might laugh at the Communists at their apparently amateurish idea of dislodging the Congress from power by contesting not even half the number of seats. Congress leaders have already started phoophooing this slogan of the Communists of dislodging Congress from power as "utopian", since in any case Communists cannot win majority of seats and since those who are not in power cannot deliver the goods.

The Communist Party in Andhra, as every one knows is a mature party and has been at the head of every mass political movement in the State. In the 1955-mid-term elections, it emerged as the biggest political party in the former Andhra districts of the State. To attribute such amateurishness to it as to make a bid to capture power by contesting only 136 seats—Congressmen are to be sympathetic for the loss of their thinking facilities.

respondents to tour the districts, have been filing reports corroborating the impression that the Congress would just scrape through with a bare majority.

So, the question today is not what has already been conceded by the public, i.e., that Congress majority would be steeply reduced, but whether the chance exists to dislodge it from power and form an alternate Government.

The impression of the people as well as the press is not merely based on some heresy. In contrast to the Congress, which had not held a single public meeting until almost the middle of January because they could not decide upon the candidates, the Communist Party was in the field a full month before that. It held thousands of meetings not only in towns, but in far-away nook and corner villages, taking the election policy and programme of Communist Party to the people.

From
V. Hanumantha Rao

For instance, in Kothagudem of Khamma district, the Congress could not hold a single public meeting, not even a street corner meeting until Dhebar visited that town sometime in third week of January.

Again, in the constituency of T. Nagireddi in Anantpur district, while he addressed as many as 60 public meetings, the Congress candidate could not hold even a single public meeting until Sanjeeva Reddi visited that constituency on February 9. Such instances can be easily multiplied.

The number of people that attend these meetings is also a feature that needs to be noted. For instance, while Dhebar could hardly get one hundred people in an in-door meeting in Khammam town, E. M. S. Nambodiripad addressed a gathering of over 25,000 people in the same town, only a few days later.

In Kothagudem mining town, Dhebar could get 2,000 people, that too, after transporting people from neighbouring villages by lorries while Nambodiripad attracted more than five thousand people at a very odd time, that is, about 4.30 p.m. when most of the employees would be at their desk or in the mines.

The inevitable and only topic that Congressmen take up in their public meetings and speak about is the India-China border dispute. They hurl some time-worn slanders against the Communists, present Nehru as the deliverer of India and ask them to vote for the Congress.

They feel shy to talk about the State itself, the problems it is facing, the difficulties of

the people, how to solve them and all that. Consequently, the illiterate voter becomes no wiser by attending Congress meetings; the literate, conscious voter gets bored with this gramophone record speech about Chinese "aggression".

In contrast, Communist speeches are educative, instructive in that they take up issues like industrialisation, development of agriculture, increased production, planning and explain how Congress policies have failed in these spheres and why. While this reasoning appeals and enthralls the traditional Communist voter, it sets the uncommitted voter as well as the traditional Congress voter thinking.

The public response to the Communist Party is something which even it did not expect in the beginning. As the elections are approaching, there is a rising tempo of Communist activity and more and more people gather to hear Sundarayya leaders.

As Sundarayya put it the other day: "I have addressed meetings in over 500 villages during the last two months. Whether we win or lose is another matter. But the love and affection with which people came from far off villages to our meetings, the joy and enthusiasm in their faces—it is this that gives us courage and confidence and we fully rely on the robust good-sense of the people".

Financing the election campaign has become a bit tough this time for the Communist Party. For, only in April last, thousands of rupees were collected from the people for the all-India Party Congress. Just before that, in the beginning of the year, there was the usual round of collections to maintain the Party apparatus. Then, there was the one-lakh Visalaandhra Fund call, which was very generously responded to by the people and which enabled the Party daily, to shift to the new buildings and get printed on the new press on January 28.

It is against this background that the elections came and naturally it was not so easy to collect funds. There was considerable hesitancy at the start. But, once the tempo started rising and when it became increasingly evident that the Congress was getting more and more isolated, funds started pouring in.

To quote one revealing instance, the coal miners of Kothagudem contributed as much as ten thousand rupees to the Communist candidates, Parsa Satyanarayana for the Assembly and T. B. Vithalrao, sitting member of the Lok Sabha.

Seeing the rising tempo of the Communist campaign and increasing chances of its resounding successes the Congressmen are in jitters. Stray incidents are reported from all over the State of tearing off Communist election posters, pulling down Red flags, beating up of Communist workers when they are found alone.

Holy Church Enters Fray

Editorial

THE PASTORAL LETTER dated January 28, 1962 jointly issued by sixteen Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Kerala and which was caused to be read out from the pulpit in all the churches on February 4, a Sunday is a flagrant breach, and a cynical disregard of the Indian law relating to corrupt practices in elections.

This joint exhortation though called an appeal amounts to an ex Cathedra command of the "Holy Church" itself, a wholly illegal and immoral use of the name of the Church and of God.

It is necessary to keep clearly the legal position. A priest is also a man, a citizen. He is not denied the right to influence other men. This he can do also with all the veneration and respect he may command as a person.

But he shall not appeal to fears, terrors or superstitions. He shall not appeal in the name of religion or the Church or God and, thus, suggest that divine pleasure and displeasure is attracted by the free exercise of the vote. He shall not suggest that it is a sin to vote differently to what he says.

The pastoral letter unmistakably commands Catholics in the name of the Holy Church not to vote for Communists. It is a gross exercise of undue influence to portray voting for Communists as a sin.

It is "the moral responsibility of every Catholic" it says to exercise the vote for the country's good and his own conscience. We all know that according to Catholic dogma the conscience of the Catholic is in the keeping of the Church.

It goes on to say that because people "acted in a wrong way deliberately" disasters and harm have been caused to the "Holy Church", thus, clearly underlining that the right way is to vote as the Holy Church suggests.

"It is because of this that our divine fathers firmly appeal to us that we Catholics should... exercise this valuable right with care, vigilance and full sense of responsibility. In this matter, clear direction of our Holy Church is to do so in right time and manner."

"We desire to state clearly and categorically that we should not vote for Communist candidates or those whom Communists put up.... This is a position we should firmly take due to uncompromising opposition that Catholic church has towards Communism...."

These extracts are more than enough to show clearly two things: first that the priests are no longer sure of their individual hold over their flock and had to combine all together; secondly, that even then they had to appeal in the name of the "Divine Father" and "Holy Church".

This is a flagrant violation of Sec. 123 of the Representation of Peoples Act which forbids, and outlaws any attempt to induce any elector to believe, that he will become or be rendered an object of divine displeasure or spiritual censure.

It is a violation of the section which also says that there shall not be any systematic appeal by any person to electors on grounds of religion or by appealing to religious symbols.

This is a dangerous game that the Catholic priests are playing. In a massive secular democracy like ours such a game should be crushed at the very start.

For on the basis of religion, using the authority of the church, mosque or temple straight political and economic issues will be distorted into religious questions, religious passions will be roused and conditions of general anarchy will be fostered.

We, the Communists, are not afraid of the priestly influence. We can and do have complete faith in the independent spirit of Indian Catholics who will choose candidates whose life and work demands their support.

But we expect the Press in particular to fulfil its proper role in condemning this move which is fraught with dangers alike to the political life of our people and the continuance of faith in the Church itself.

The Pastoral letter is a Canute command vainly and blindly attempting to stop the advancing waves of human progress. It will fail. But it must be unequivocally condemned by all who want secularism and democracy to become stronger in our land.

But a concentrated effort is being made in Nagonda district, with no less a person than the Chief Minister as the leader, to beat down the morale of the Communists and threaten Communist voters with dire consequences.

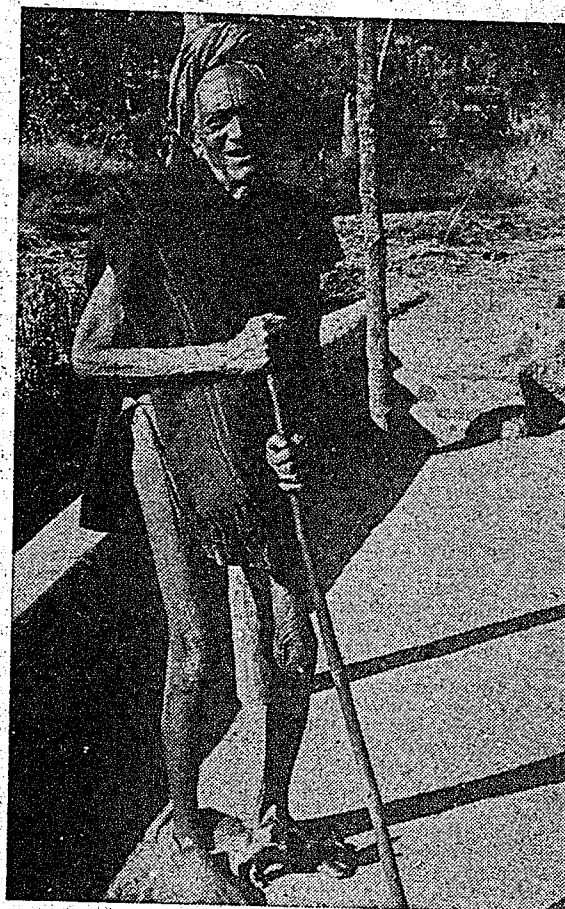
The number of rather serious attacks on Communists on their leaders and meetings reached a climax, when on the night of February 9, Congress goondas attempted to ambush the jeep in which Sundarayya was coming to address a public meeting in Miryalguda town in Nagonda district.

The police were there. They were in fact, alerted three days in advance of this possible attack. They

made preparations as if to meet any eventuality, but were looking on, while Sundarayya's jeep was attacked and damaged, Communist workers were beaten, his meeting disturbed to such an extent that it could not be held and the house in which Sundarayya went to stay attacked.

Sundarayya challenged the Chief Minister to hold an impartial enquiry with a judge in whom he has also confidence and promise him security of his job, and he could prove that it was the Chief Minister, who instructed the officers to indulge in such behaviour and let Congressmen go scot-free.

From DENIS OGDEN, Moscow



An old Goan peasant who worked with the commandos.

The liberation of Portugal's Indian colonies was a major defeat for the Salazar regime, the General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, said in an exclusive interview on February 4.

ATTEMPTS to maintain Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere were imposing great burdens on the already impoverished Portuguese people and bringing the country to the verge of national disaster.

"The liberation of Portugal's colonies is inevitable. It will come soon. The Salazar regime may not last that long. But, even if it does, it will mean its downfall," said Alvaro Cunhal, who is receiving medical treatment here.

"Salazar proclaimed national mourning following the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. In fact, the Portuguese people have cause for satisfaction," he added. It had strengthened opposition to the dictator, even among the ruling elite.

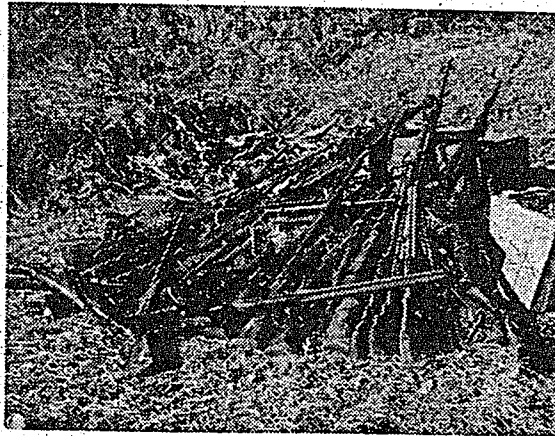
Unity, he said, was the key to the success of the Portuguese people's struggle. A

very important step had been taken with the establishment of the Patriotic Junta uniting all trends of opinion, including liberal Monarchists, Progressive Catholics, Republicans, Socialists and Communists.

Alvaro Cunhal described anti-colonialist actions taken even by Salazar's own soldiers. Servicemen had refused to entrain or embark on troopship bound for Angola; collective desertion was on the increase; there had been collective protests at ceremonial parades at which departure for Angola had been announced.

"There had been mutinies in which equipment had been set on fire and officers' messes wrecked, while last November servicemen had gone over to the side of demonstrators attacked by police.

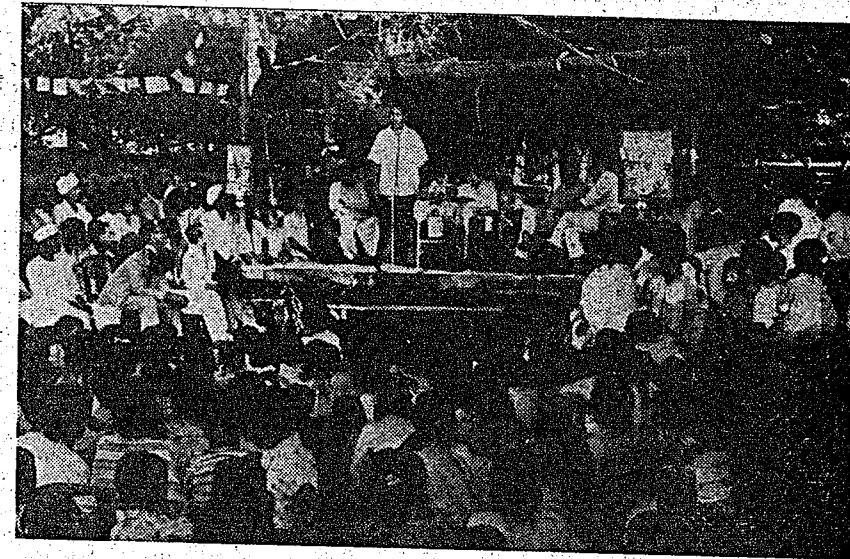
In grim contrast to the idyllic pictures of travel agency brochures, he told of



Arms turned over by one detachment of Goan commandos.

FEBRUARY 18, 1962

Portuguese Communists Greet Goa's Liberation



Lawande addresses public rally in Goa.

the real Portugal, where the average industrial worker gets less than seven shillings a day, farm labourers are unemployed six to eight months in the year, T. B. is a national scourge and one in every five children dies before reaching the age of five.

Over all hovers Salazar's gestapo, the dreaded PIDE,

a message of hope to Communists still in jail.

He recalled the second major breakout of Communist prisoners last December, when eight escaped from the prison fortress of Caxias, seizing a police armoured car once used by Salazar himself and making a dash for freedom under a hail of bullets.

"These escapes are the fruit of long and careful preparation. They testify to the prisoners' own determination to rejoin the struggle and to our Communist Party's ability to mobilise every resource to aid them.

"Some members of our Party have been in jail for over 20 years. The Communist Party has not forgotten them and they have not forgotten the Communist Party."

No other party has waged so consistent a struggle against the Salazar regime and none paid so grim a price, he said recalling that the Portuguese Communist Party has been underground for 35 to 40 years of existence.

"Despite repeated claims by Salazar and his Ministers that the Party has been wiped out, it has never ceased to operate and publish its paper," said the 48-year old ex-lawyer General Secretary, who himself spent 13 years in Salazar's jails.

Cunhal expressed regret that democratic forces in exile had not always been able to

build the same unity that had been built in Portugal itself, but cited Portuguese democrats in Britain as an example to others in this respect.

He expressed gratitude for the support that anti-Salazar movement is receiving from wide sections of British public opinion. This, he declared, is all the more important in view of the backing the British Government continues to give the Salazar regime through Nato.

He urged support for the campaign to secure an amnesty for Portuguese political prisoners that is daily gaining momentum in Britain, France, Italy and many Latin-American countries.

"Without the backing and aid of the Anglo-U.S. bloc and his West German friends, Salazar could not continue his colonial wars or even continue in power," Alvaro Cunhal declared.

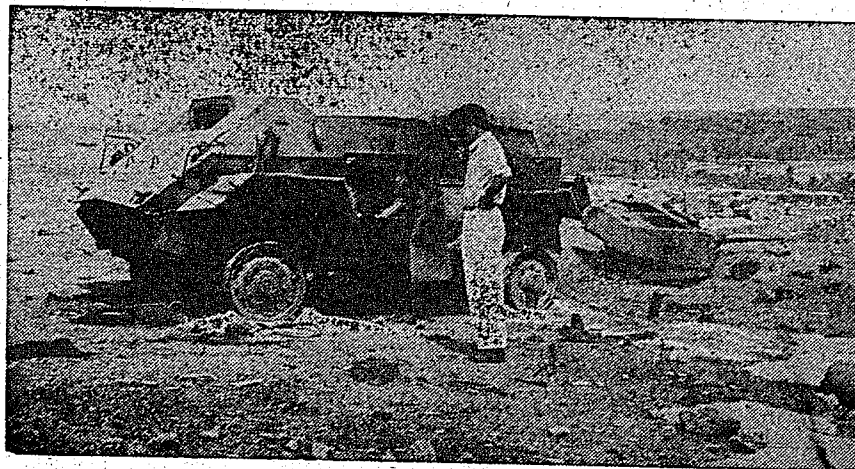
NEXT WEEK

Goan Commando Tells His Story

for, as Alvaro Cunhal explained, struggle on economic issues immediately becomes political. There are only the fascist-run unions, strikes are forbidden and any collective action is a crime."

Alvaro Cunhal, who with nine other Portuguese Communist Party leaders made a daring escape from the Feni-che prison two years ago, sent

Cunhal expressed regret that democratic forces in exile had not always been able to



Armoured car destroyed by Goan commandos.

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

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PAGE FOUR

NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 18, 1962

The decks are now clear. With the phase of nominations and withdrawals having ended on January 25, the vast electoral scene in Uttar Pradesh is warming up. The wrangles in the Congress delayed and held up the process. But now the battle to woo 3.66 crores of voters in the State has begun.

FOR the 86 Lok Sabha and 430 Vidhan Sabha seats there are 441 and 2,623 candidates respectively in the field. Apart from a large number of Independents (76 for the Parliamentary and 702 for the State Assembly seats), nine parties are contending for people's support.

The party-wise break up of the candidates for the Parliamentary and the State Assembly seats is: Congress 86-429 (Malkhan Singh, Minister for Industries having died before the withdrawals, the Congress has no candidate in his constituency); Praja Socialist Party 47-288; Socialists 50-268; Communist Party 18-146; Republican Party 23-125; Jana Sangh 76-378; Ram Rajya Parishad 11-46; Hindu Mahasabha 17-76; and Swatantra Party 32-167.

The strength of the parties represented in the present State Assembly is as follows: Congress 303, PSP 46, SP 21, CPI 10, Jana Sangh 15, Swatantra 19 and Independents 16.

The Ram Rajya Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Republican Party have no representatives in the State legislature, nor are they in

fact expected to improve their position very much in the present elections.

The Swatantra Party in the State Assembly was made up, as is generally known, of those independent members who came from the zamindar and taluqedar class. S. K. D. Paliwal, their group leader, though not coming from their class, had got linked with them on his wife's side.

Utilising Discontent

Not all, but some of them are expected to retain their positions by capitalising the discontent against the Congress regime. But that is nearly all that can be said about them. They constitute no serious challenge or menace to the State's political life. Despite all the efforts of Raja of Mankapur, their actual leader, they have not been able to throw any deep roots in the State.

The main battle then is between the Congress, the PSP, the SP, the Communist Party and the main party of the

DESPERATE BID BY

right reaction in the State, the neo-fascist Jana Sangh backed by the hordes of the RSS.

The number of independents this time, though smaller than in 1952, is larger than in 1957 and some of them will put up good fights and win an odd number of seats. Quite a few of these are those who have left the Congress after their request for a ticket had been turned down for factional or other reasons.

As these parties enter the fray, the Congress continues to be as divided as ever. Because of the uncertain and mercurial loyalties of a large majority of Congressmen, it is almost impossible to tell how the seats have been divided between the two main groups in the State Congress.

Yet, it is widely believed that the Gupta group has secured a quota of about 60 per cent of the seats and that remaining 40 per cent have gone to Sampurnanand group, now being led by Kamalapati Tripathi. Only a handful of seats have gone to the splinter groups of Charan Singh, Girdhari Lal and Ajit Prasad Jain.

Both the main groups in the Congress feel confident of getting a majority in their new legislature party and this, apart from vast common re-

sources and backing, is one of the main threads that keeps them bound together in the same organisation. Otherwise, for all practical purposes, they are fighting the elections as two separate parties.

The hope of the dissidents, led by Tripathi and his allies, is that a large number of the elections as they are either notoriously unpopular or are new converts to the Congress, and thus their own group will become a majority in the party.

Out of over 125 Congress "rebels" who are fighting in the elections against the official Congress candidates, about 80 per cent are reported to belong to the group of dissident Congressmen. If an equal number from the Ministerial group has not come out to oppose their parent organisation, the main reason for this must be their confidence that their group leader, C. B. Gupta as Chief Minister will somehow provide them with equally lucrative alternatives.

Out of the 125 "rebels" fighting the Congress are ten sitting MLAs, nearly 20 members of the PCC and at least one member of the AICC. The others too are people who have been holding important positions in the Congress organisation. To the time of writing, over a hundred of these have been suspended from the Congress by the PCC President, Ajit Prasad Jain.

But no matter whether the members of the two groups are still inside the Congress or outside it, they are exerting their might and main to bring about the downfall of one another. To succeed in this objective, they are willing to join hands with anyone and they are doing this in many constituencies.

P.S.P. in A Bad Way

From the point of view of morale, the PSP is in a very much worse position. The New Age was the first in the country to note that the old halo of the PSP had disappeared, and that, although, in these years, it had shifted considerably to the right, the right itself had lost considerable interest in it. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangh specially the latter, had begun to provide them with a more effective and attractive alternative platform.

The number of those who have, in the past few months, left the PSP to join the Jana Sangh is, commensurate with its strength, quite comparable to the number of those who have left the Congress to go over to the Jana Sangh.

Quite a few others, who got a chance or who were more secular or democratic minded, have joined the Congress. These include two of the most important PSP leaders of eastern U.P. They have been duly rewarded by the Congress: both have been given Parliamentary tickets.

Still some others, whom it is not easy to classify, like Shibhan Lal Saxena who changes his party label every year and Ishaq Iml, editor of the most rabidly communal daily, Riyasat, have with their groups, left the PSP to join the handy

bandwagon of Lohite Socialists. In places, mass resignations have taken place from the PSP, like Lakhimpur Kheri, Haldwani (Nainital), Gorakhpur, Ghazipur etc.

While leaving, the members have levelled concrete and grave charges of communalism, casteism and unbridled opportunism against the PSP leaders. In some cases, they have left the party having been worsted in the factional struggle.

The PSP legislator from Lakhimpur Kheri, Banshidhar Shukla, while deciding to quit the party, has thrown a challenge to its leadership to try and get even a single seat from his district which is regarded by the PSP as one of its strongholds.

Although the State Secretary of the PSP, Chandra Shekhar Singh has claimed that they are going to win at least 100 seats, the situation in the PSP camp is so devoid of enthusiasm that serious doubts are being expressed whether even their leader in the State Assembly, Triloki Singh will be able to retain his seat from Lucknow, although the obscure Congressman who has been set up against him does not have a status higher than that of a municipal councillor.

Last time Triloki Singh, with the assistance of other democratic parties, notably the CPI, had won this seat against C. B. Gupta by a crushing majority of over 10,000 votes.

Like the Congress, the PSP, too, is riven with internal dissensions. There is an open talk of "Bhumihar" and "Kayasth-Muslim" factions. Kisan leader Genda Singh, who has brought Asoka Mehta to Deoria, and Chandra Shekhar are said to be the leaders of the Bhumihar group, which is in power today, and Triloki Singh and Dr. Faridi are represented as the leaders of the minority Kayasth-Muslim group in the PSP.

Due to all these things, as also due to its splitting and anti-struggle activities in the past few years, much of the thunder from the sails of the PSP in this State, has departed and a party which held out the promise of becoming an alternative party before the people has begun to be felt and described as a Paralytic Socialist Party. The tens of thousands of rupees pumped into its arteries by Asoka Mehta & Co. are also not yielding any spectacular results.

Sad Case Of Lohia

The position of the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia is equally sad. With its avowed policies of adventurism, quixotic and quizzical slogans and methods of "struggle", and of "going it alone", it has dispersed and destroyed a great deal of the precious harvest of good-will and support of the people which it had reaped as a result of undoubted heroism and sacrifice of its fighting militant cadres.

Despite the fact that it has set up a very large number of candidates and despite the claims of some of its leaders to win at least a 100 Assembly seats, today the Socialist Party seems to be the most lonesome and anchorless party in the

COMMUNAL REACTION

democratic camp. In the place of zealous spiritedness which its ranks used to radiate, a dull, exhausted spiritlessness seems to prevail among them.

And, although, this time in selecting and enlisting candidates, it has shown lot of opportunism, the Socialist Party does not possess even the advantage of the PSP's well-practised tradition of opportunism which, in the past, has, in the latter's case, acted as a magnet for opportunists, careerists and self-seekers of all hues.

The tactics which Socialist Party has adopted in the context of present elections are sadly in keeping with its earlier tactics. It claims that it has set up candidates only where it is strong and where it has a good chance of victory, are palpably wrong.

Scores of instances could be quoted to prove this. The indiscriminate manner in which it has propped up people for 50 Lok Sabha and 288 Assembly seats will only serve to divide the democratic opposition vote to the advantage of either the Congress, or worse, to that of the Jana Sangh. It will also, by scattering its meagre resources, act as a boomerang and harm it as its past tactics have done in the past.

Even if it had agreed to combine its forces with those of the Communist Party—(with which some of its leaders have loosely been talking of a merger), even for the limited purpose of eliminating mutual conflict in the elections, not only the future of the Socialist Party, but, fairly largely, the future of the State's politics in the post-election period could have proved to be much different. It might have helped to give a much needed healthy turn to the affairs in the State.

But today even the talk of so-called merger is being made to serve the ends of slandering and defaming the Communist Party and is thus, keeping up the game of weakening the democratic opposition.

Pitiable Result

The pitiable result and culmination of these tactics is seen in Allahabad where Dr. Lohia is fighting against Prime Minister Nehru.

First of all, before deciding to contest this seat, Dr. Lohia made a public statement that if he had to fight only to be defeated, why should he not fight to be defeated by Pandit Nehru. He made it clear he was doing this out of sheer desperation, because he had not a ghost of a chance of winning from anyone of the 50 odd seats that his Party is fighting in the State.

It was the same sorrowful tactics all over—the tactics of staging what amount to stunts to seek cheap publicity, stunts which do immense harm to the cause of progressive policies. Hence few are taken in by the talk of his fight being a fight for high principles. Or all the earthly issues he has chosen the issue of the liberation of Goa to ventilate his grouse against Prime Minister Nehru!

It might have been better for him and for all the leftist

and socialist forces if he had instead given some thought to the questions which have brought his party to its present state.

Secondly, and as a direct consequence of this, he is relying in this fight against Pandit Nehru mainly on the Jana Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad. It is known in the capital to almost everyone that before deciding to announce his candidature he had held a number of meetings with Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari, the Ram Rajya Parishad man who had contested against Pandit Nehru in the last election.

He had also sought and had been assured of the fullest support of the Jana Sangh, with whose leaders, too, he had a number of consultations prior to jumping into the fight. In fact, I was told by Jana Sangh sources that Dr. Lohia had even asked its leaders not to mind any remarks that he might have to make against them in the elections.

Wooing Communalists

Dr. Lohia met nobody else, neither the State leaders, of the Communist Party, nor the leaders of the Praja Socialist Party:

Though deeply regretful and shocking, this is the logical end of the policies which he and, under his leadership, the Socialist Party has pursued in the last few years.

Of course, he will not win, he does not expect to do so; but it will also not be surprising if Raj Narain Singh, leader of the SP in U.P. and now its All-India President, and Prabhu Narain Singh, SP's MP from Varanasi, too, come to share the same sad fate. No body likes to make unpleasant predictions, but there would not be many in the State who expect that the Socialist Party would improve its present position in the elections.

It is in this setting of disunity among the democratic opposition, in this atmosphere of increasing disintegration and considerable despiritiveness in the political life of the State that the Jana Sangh is making an all-out bid to snatch the position of being the second party from the PSP.

All the last few years, since the policies of the Congress have begun to seriously disillusion the people and affect them deeply, the Jana Sangh has been preparing and working to this end.

Not only negatively, but also positively the policies and practices of the Congress leaders and their Government have lent support to the Jana Sangh. Unfortunately, not a few of the Congress leaders in this State have looked at the growth of this communal fascist organisation with benevolent neutrality and even secret approbation.

Often enough, in elections and on reactionary political issues, they have joined hands with the Jana Sangh.

And, as for the PSP, it has almost always, on almost all political issues, been found to be in the company of the Jana Sangh in the last nearly three years. The commonest plat-

form of the two has been anti-Communism.

On the issue of working up a hysteria in connection with the Chinese problem, for months together the Congress, the PSP and the Jana Sangh worked hand in hand. They attacked Communist Party offices and meetings together. And now both the Congress and the PSP find that they have created a Frankenstein.

The Jana Sangh, mainly based on merchants and business men of the towns in U.P., has to some extent, in the recent past, penetrated the middle classes, clerks, teachers, lawyers, students, small civil and police officers' etc. and imbued them with the communal poison. The rich Sindhi refugees and ordinary refugees from the Punjab also constitute its support. The RSS supplies its war sinews. In the name of "Indian culture" and "aggressive nationalism", thousands of young men have been drilled to become fascist gangsters.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS have made a special bid to win over Hindu women on the basis of their backwardness and religiousness. In the present elections also in most towns it is able to get more women to work for it than any other party.

The way the last riots in U.P. were dealt with by the authorities has, instead of breaking the fangs of the Jana Sangh and the RSS and creating a feeling of revulsion and anger against their anti-national ideology and vermin-like activities, tended to make of them heroes and saviours of the Hindus among the backward sections of the people.

Reaction's Offensive

By and large the present generation of Congressmen does not possess the old passion for communal unity and it is not politically armed to fight against those who thrive on communal discord and tension, if not actual riots. Therefore, their fight against the Jana Sangh, now, for the purposes of elections, also is mostly listless and ineffective.

The PSP hardly bothers to fight against it. At one stage it even tried to come to some secret understanding with its leaders. The effort failed because of the vaulting ambitions of the Jana Sangh and because of the highly exaggerated sense of its leaders about their own strength.

But there are reports that on local scale, the PSPers and Congressmen both are trying to make adjustments with the Jana Sangh—to the extent of supporting its candidates, either to defeat their own partymen, or to enlist its support for themselves in some other place.

The SP too, as we have seen, is far from reluctant to take its help wherever possible. The Socialists, too, were Jana Sangh's comrades-in-arms in their anti-Communist crusade.

As a result of all these things, the Jana Sangh has

entered the election arena today in a most aggressive and noisy manner.

Their organisation is good, as good as organisation based on such an anti-national and anti-people's ideology can be. Its workers work with communal passion. It has put on the roads a large number of men and women workers, quite a few of them young people.

Primitive Appeal

They have little known past to live down and they appeal to the most primitive and superstitious instincts and impulses of man. The Government having done nothing to curb the nefarious cowardly and underhand activities of the classes which support the Jana Sangh and the RSS, they do not suffer from any lack of funds, even apart from the other secret funds they may have received from alien sources which are also known to be financing the PSP.

They are assiduously trying to create the impression that they are already the second party in the nation, that the real fight in the country is between them and the Congress and that they are fully capable of taking over the country's administration and running it.

The amorphous political situation, in which not only there is no united front among the democratic parties of the opposition against the ruling class, or such dark forces, but in which every party except the Communist Party is torn with dissensions and conflicting ideologies and interests from within, also, suits the Jana Sangh very well. The open war between the two groups of State's Congressmen helps it to create a false image of itself and its strength among the people.

But that is how fascist forces bluff, blackmail and bludgeon the people and democratic forces must not be taken in either by the bombastic claims of the Jana Sangh and its accomplices, or by their grandiose effort to show off their might by setting up an inordinately big number of candidates for the Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections.

Despite everything, despite what the Congress has done in recent years and despite the unpardonable opportunism shown by those who have called themselves socialists and democratic socialists, the anti-communal tradition of our people is very deep, the national democratic sentiments and training of the State's tolling millions are very strong.

And, negatively, the lot that constitutes the core and substance of the Jana Sangh and the RSS is thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people, they have no service of the people or the nation to boast of, and their ideology cannot face the sunshine of open debate, it does not make of them great heroes. They can flourish only in the back-woods of our society or in unenlightened consciousness of our people.

It is a pity that, with scarce exceptions, none save the Communist Party is giving a principled and political fight to these forces of national

destruction. The Communist Party is campaigning against the Jana Sangh, the RSS and such other forces, with all its strength, whatever it is.

It has not shied in coming out to lend a helping hand to good secular Congress candidates where they are pitched against notorious Jana Sangh or RSS candidates and where the Party is not contesting the seat itself.

The experience shows that wherever the Party has been able to take up the issue of exposing the real character of these fascist organisations or where others, compelled by the immediate needs of the elections, have been led or forced to give a battle to them on the ideological plane, they have been silenced, thrown on the defensive, and even routed.

This is being seen even in such a strong Jana Sangh area as that of Balrampur where Subhadra Joshi is fighting against the sitting M.P., Atal Behari Bajpai, General Secretary of the All India Bharatiya Jana Sangh and a capable demagogue.

In some ways the elections in U. P. are being fought in rather a complex situation in which the noisy rise of the Jana Sangh, which is only the outer "democratic" facade of the fascist RSS, has tended to cloud the real issue of fight against the evil doings of the ruling Congress Party.

Little Choice

The Congress is today more unpopular than ever. Few are willing to give it the certificate of any altruistic motives. Its leaders who can still command people's genuine respect or affection are countable on one's fingers, perhaps even the ten fingers are too many for the purpose!

A Congress candidate has no shame today in declaring in a meeting that since he has already grabbed so much, he cannot grab very much more, "but new-comers are hungrier than us and they, if voted to power, would chew up even your bones..."

Besides, it is a totally divided Congress, as stated earlier. It would have been so easy, normally speaking, to bring down its strength say by half.

But, on the one hand, there is no other party which can come out as an alternative, not even a combination of parties, and thus—very largely due to the disruptive policies of the PSP and, to a lesser extent, of Lohia's S.P.—the electorate has little choice, its real democratic urge and desire find no satisfying outlet and, therefore, the Congress is able to retain its superior position.

On the other, the fear of the Jana Sangh, which will destroy the country if not curbed, deprives a large section of voters the opportunity of a free and unfettered choice.

The Muslims, who constitute about 14 per cent of the State's population, are specially affected by this fear. The advantage, due to this, accrues overwhelmingly to the Congress among secular democratic parties.

Hence the prospects are



THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW

Milk. Food. Children grow straight and strong. Today's care. Gentle as with a flower. Today's protection. The shelter of mighty effort. Tomorrow... a little less of care, a little more of joy. And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today. In the milk plant and research laboratory, in the factory and office. Work, patience, care to serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs with products that grow better and better.

TODAY AND TOMORROW... HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS

PS. 18-321

MISERY & HORROR OF CONGRESS RAJ



Forward To a Left Government To Build Sonar Bangla. (Photo: Sambhu Bannerjee).

Shattered Health

AS regards problems of health, it is well-known that epidemics like cholera, dysentery, jaundice, small-pox, etc. are plaguing the country periodically.

In fact D. P. Karmarker, Minister for Health, had to admit in his address to the Eighth Meeting of the Central Council of Health held in Jaipur in October, 1960 that "in so far as the doctor/population ratio was concerned, the country was at present practically where it was in the First Five-Year Plan because the out-turn of doctors had only just kept pace with the growth of population".

The Second Five Year Plan fixed the following norms as the minimum to be aimed at in the matter of medical facilities:

- 1) One hospital bed for every 1,000 population;
- 2) One nurse and one midwife for every 5,000 population;
- 3) One health visitor and

one sanitary inspector for every 20,000 population. The following table gives the position as it was in 1950-61 and to-day:

	1950-51 Number Available	1960-61 Number Available	Number Required
Doctors	59,000	70,000	95,000
Nurses	17,000	27,000	88,000
Midwives	18,000	19,000	88,000
Health Visitors	600	1,500	22,000
Health Assistants			
& Sanitary Inspectors	3,500	6,000	22,000
Hospital Beds	113,000	160,000	438,000

(Source: Third Five-Year Plan Report)

The Congress Election Manifesto states: "There should be no village at the end of the Third Plan without adequate provision of drinking water, primary school and proper approach road". And this is important for the health of the villagers.

That this promise will not be redeemed as far as water supply is concerned is clear

and Sanitation Programme so far. This is during the First and Second Plan periods.

During the First Five Year Plan, 134 Rural Water Supply Schemes were approved under the Programme. During the Second Five-Year Plan, 64 Schemes were approved. This brings the total number of approved schemes to 228 covering 14,000 villages with a

population of over 5,000 each. They are estimated to cost Rs. 17.7 crores and will cover a population of only 0.5 crores of the rural population.

If the entire village population is to be provided "adequate drinking water", the programme is expected to cost not less than Rs. 600 crores. At the rate of which the progress has been made, it will take more than a century to achieve this.

from the facts of the situation. Of the 5.6 lakhs villages in India, only some 14,000 villages have been covered by the National Water Supply

According to her survey, in the 1,020 instances of police firings in the first ten years of independence, 840 persons were killed and 3,137 injured. As many as 840 firings were on demonstrations or crowds of a political nature. Students' demonstrations were fired upon 30 times while workers faced bullets on 52 occasions.

LESS FOOD

ACCORDING to the Nutrition Advisory Committee, the per capita availability of cereals was 16.3 oz. per adult per day during the pre-war years. According to Dr. Aykroyd, in an all-cereals diet, the cereal consumption should be 16.8 oz.

Against this, the per capita availability of cereals in ozs. during the last four years is given below:

1957	13.0
1958	12.0
1959	13.7
1960	13.1

(Economic Survey, Ministry of Finance)

It would, thus, be seen that we are still below the pre-war level of nutrition.

Similarly, take the second most important necessity of life, cloth. The pre-war availability of cotton cloth was 16 yards per capita per annum.

We give below the situation during the Second Plan:

Per Capita availability of cloth during the Second Plan	
1956-57	16.4 yards
1957-58	16.3 "
1958-59	16.2 "
1959-60	15.9 "
1960-61	15.5 "

Hence, it would be clear that the mass of our people are no better clothed than they were before the war.

POLICE KILLERS

THE recurrent police firings under Congress dispensation have attracted no doubt wide attention. Even the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was forced to give expression to the popular uneasiness when in November 1960, he remarked in the Governor's Conference that there had been more police firings in India since independence than there were during the days of imperialist rule.

In 1957, Idravati Kelkar of Hyderabad conducted a survey of police firings in India during the ten years from 1947. She complained that since reports based on Government hand-outs did not give the correct figures, her survey was far from complete.

According to her survey, in the 1,020 instances of police firings in the first ten years of independence, 840 persons were killed and 3,137 injured. As many as 840 firings were on demonstrations or crowds of a political nature. Students' demonstrations were fired upon 30 times while workers faced bullets on 52 occasions.

A list of police firings, compiled by our office, during 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961 (up to August 1961) shows that during these 56 months, there were 74 instances of police firings in the country resulting in the death of 205 persons and injury to numerous others. The total number of injured cannot be fully accounted for since many Press reports only say "several" injured, without specifying the number.

This shows that on an average there was a police firing almost every three weeks in the country. Every eighth day of Congress, one citizen succumbed to police bullets. And almost every day one person has been injured by police bullets.

"Somehow the police force, in general, barring a few exceptions seems to have come to the conclusion that crime cannot be investigated and security cannot be preserved by following the law, and this can only be achieved by breaking the law".

It is about this trigger-happy police that Mr. Justice A. N. Mulla, recently delivering a judgement at the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, said:

"I say with all sense of responsibility that there is not a single lawless group in the whole country, whose record of crimes is anywhere near the record of that organised unit which is known as the Indian police force".

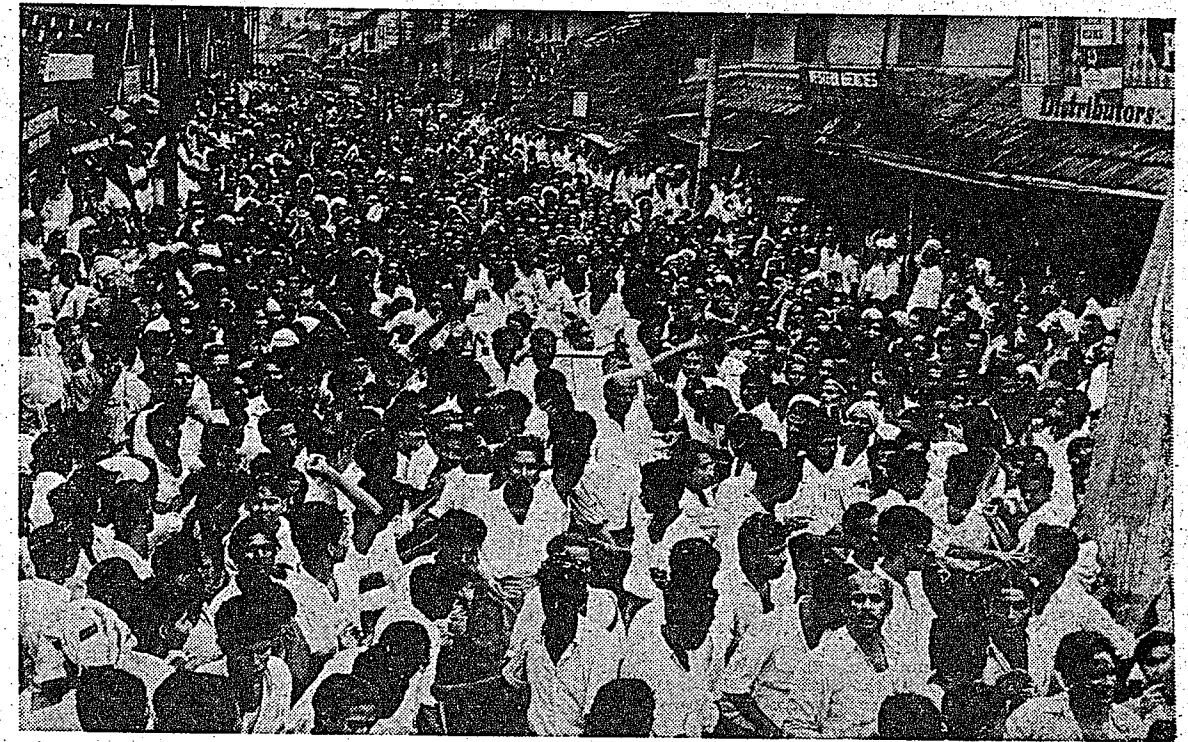
The case in which he was delivering judgement related to the conduct of a Station Officer of the Shahabad Police Station against whom the court had ordered issue of notice on the ground that he had fabricated false evidence with intent to produce conviction in a case of attempted murder and house trespass, a crime for which the offender could have been punished with transportation or imprisonment for life.

In the course of the judgement, Mr. Justice Mulla said:

"Unfortunately their conduct is not looked down upon by most of their superior officers or this type of crime would not be so rampant. If the department heads would only frown upon such conduct and see to it that an officer who behaves like this will not be promoted in service, perhaps it would stop this tendency, at least to a certain extent.

"But most of the superior officers close their eyes even when such fabrications come to their knowledge, and I am prepared to say that some of them even connive by closing their eyes, if not by actual encouragement.

"Somehow the police force, in general, barring a few exceptions seems to have come to the conclusion that crime cannot be investigated and security cannot be preserved by following the law, and this can only be achieved by breaking the law".



Kozhikode poured out to welcome E.M.S. Ministry.

UNEMPLOYMENT SCOURGE

AT the beginning of the Second Plan it was estimated that there were 5.3 million unemployed in the country, of whom 2.5 million were in the urban areas. It was said that another 10 million would be added to this number during the plan period, including 3.8 million in the cities.

The Second Plan is over and the total unemployed today number nine million. It is also estimated that about 15 to 18 million more are under-employed, i.e., get work only partially. Apart from all these there would be an addition of 17 million job-seekers during the Third Plan.

The Second Plan promised to find employment for about eight million people as against the required jobs for over 15 million. But the target could not be reached. It fell short by about two million.

The jobs required during the Third Plan would be about 26 million. But the Third Plan holds out a promise of only 10.5 million jobs. Of these jobs, railways, road transport, organised industries, mines and small industries will account for 3.4 million, while ter-

tiary sector like trade and commerce would provide 3.8 million jobs.

The Second Plan had failed the Indian working class on the question of providing employment. The Third Plan openly declares that it would fall them in this respect even more.

We know through our bitter experience of the Second Plan period, how the bulk of employers "cooperated" with the planners in raising the employment potential.

The textile magnates and the jute bosses took to speed-up and enhancement of work-loads rendering a large number of workers unemployed.

The employment provided by the Plan includes those

Thousands of women workers have been ousted from their traditional employment avenues.

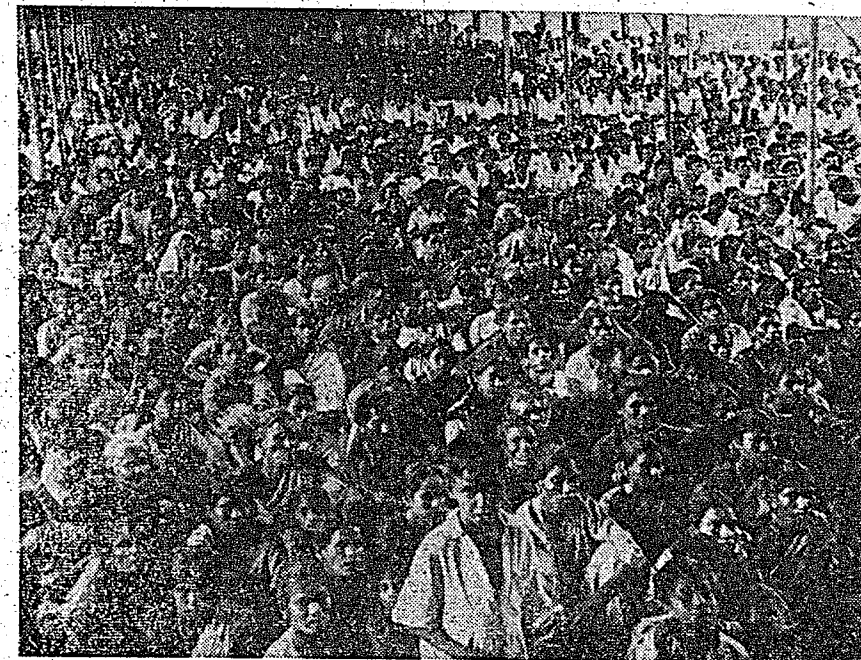
The workers resisted this. The textile and jute workers have fought large-scale struggles against rationalisation and workload. What did the Congress government do? Did it protect the worker and his right to work? Or did it help the employers in getting their schemes through?

In West Bengal, in jute industry alone, the employment has fallen by 50,000 between 1955 and 1959.

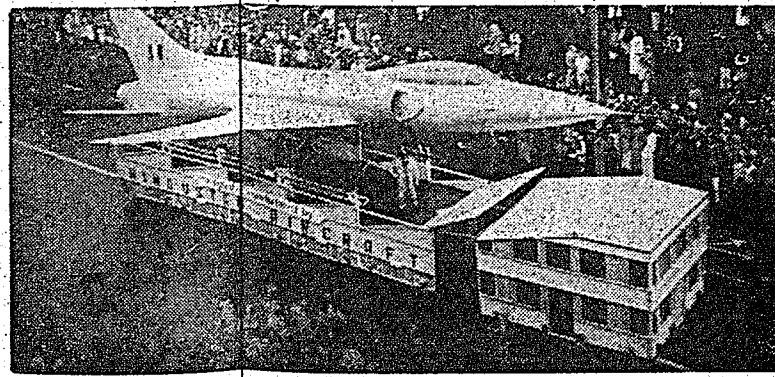
The employment provided by the Plan includes those

engaged for construction work in projects. But due to the wayward and anarchic manner of engaging this labour, tens of thousands of workers are periodically thrown out on the streets and have no continuous employment.

It is a sordid story of how the thousands of workers who built up the big dams, factories and steel plants, etc. were left in the lurch by the Government departments and contractors, the day the work was over. The demand of the trade unions for establishing a National Pool of Project Workers has not been accepted by the Government.



Tamilnad's kisans will not rest till the land is theirs.



The builders of this aircraft in Bangalore are out to defeat Industries Minister K. C. Reddy. (Photo: Suraj Joshi).



The people in the Capital brave rains to celebrate Republic Day. They will fight for a new India. (Photo: Suraj Joshi).

The "trial" of the U.S. Communist Party under the infamous McCarran Act, scheduled to begin on February 1, has now been postponed until the spring. The postponement took place to enable the Government prosecutors to prepare their reply to the Communist Party's legal motions for a complete dismissal of the case.

MADE necessary by protests in the United States and abroad this postponement only means that if the courts decided to reject the Party's motions in April, the "trial" will start in May.

Meanwhile the Justice Department has initiated proceedings under the McCarran Act to stop the publication of the Communist Party's weekly, the New York Worker.

All this is taking place in the background of an ultra-Rightist and openly fascist campaign all over the United States. In his statement on The Worker and several of its staff members being subpoenaed, Editor James E. Jackson pointed out to this background. He said:

"Senator Strom Thurmond, the blatant Negro-hater and democracy-hater from South Carolina barked in the Congressional record that The Worker should be suppressed because it dared initiate the exposure of the pro-fascist John Birchite conspiracy, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy has hastened to bring him his bone".

Characterising it as a "shockingly brazen assault upon the freedom of the press in contemptuous violation of the Constitutional safeguards", he said that the step had been taken by the Administration "to further appease and accommodate itself to the ultra-Rightist pressures of the most reactionary forces in American life who are parties to a continuing conspiracy to turn back the wheels of social progress at home and escalate all international tensions abroad into a war situation".

BRASSHATS' CLAMOUR

As a step further in the same direction, the House of Representatives a few days later adopted a motion to prevent Americans receiving mail from Socialist countries.

The President, in the meanwhile, has yielded to the clamour of the brasshats that they were being muzzled. A Senate Sub-Committee has been appointed and is carrying on hearings on the ultra-Rightist militarists' demand that they should have the right to make political pronouncements and openly preach anti-communism in the armed forces as well as outside. Former President Eisenhower has publicly supported this demand.

It is a new wave of McCarthyism and hysteria that is sought to be foisted on the American people from above. The Kennedy Administration, with the two brothers—the President and the Attorney-General—in the forefront, are open accomplices and promoters of this hysteria. And this is no accident.

Robert Kennedy is an old hand at the game. He started his career in the Department of Justice at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, working in close collaboration with FBI boss, J. Edgar Hoover. Robert Kennedy's first assignment was building a fake case

on the basis of material supplied by the FBI, against the liberal scholar, Professor Owen Lattimore.

Later on, in 1954, when the control of the Senate passed into the hands of the Democrats and Democratic Party's senator—McClellan succeeded to the chairmanship of the McCarthy Committee, Robert Kennedy was promoted to be its chief counsel.

Very appropriately today as the Attorney-General of the USA, he is the chief enforcement officer for all the anti-Communist and anti-labour laws of the United States. It was only within four months of his assuming charge that the Supreme Court upheld, on June 5, 1961, the monstrous McCarran Act.

Known precisely as the United States Internal Security Act, it was on September 23, 1950, that this Act was promulgated as a weapon against the Communist Party and other progressive organisations.

LONG STRUGGLE

Among those who opposed it then and now are the AFL-CIO, the Railway Brotherhoods, the National Association of Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), the National Lawyers' Guild, professors of law at Harvard, Yale and other universities, the Governors of Colorado and Montana, and more than 20 major newspapers.

For more than 11 years now the Communist Party of the United States has been waging a struggle against this monstrous, undemocratic law.

It has twice appealed to the Supreme Court to declare it unconstitutional.

The rejection of these appeals means that the Communist Party must register as a "Communist Action Organisation".

The penalty for non-compliance is a fine of 10,200 dollars for each day it does not register.

If the Party, as an organisation, fails to register, its officers are next ordered to register within 30 days.

The penalty for failure to do so is a 10,000 dollars fine and five years in prison for each day of non-compliance. If the officers fail to register the Party, its officers and its members, then individual members are ordered to register themselves within 60 days or face the same inhuman penalties.

"Registration" under this law has its own special meaning. A built-in verdict of guilt of many crimes is written into the law in the form of a definition of a Communist Action Organisation as one "acting under such control, direction, and discipline... to carry out the objectives of the world Communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments and setting up Communist totalitarian dictatorships which will be subservient to the most powerful existing Communist totalitarian dictatorship".

The McCarran Act further states that the Communists

KENNEDY LETS LOOSE HOUNDS OF REACTION

are organised on a "secret conspiratorial basis" and that they carry out their purposes by "trickery, deceit, infiltration, espionage, sabotage, terrorism and any other means".

Nor does the Act apply to the Communist Party alone. Its sphere of application is defined as follows:

1. "Communist Action Organisations", allegedly operating "to advance the objectives of the world Communist movement";

2. "Communist Front Organisations", defined as allegedly dominated and controlled by "Communist Action Organisations"; and

3. Organisations into which Communists have "infiltrated".

"Communist Front Organisations" include like the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (who fought in Spain against Franco). J. Edgar Hoover has threatened to cite 200 more such organisations, besides those already on the list and Senator Clin Johnston has urged that the law be applied to those who fight for the rights of Negro Americans in the South and to opponents of U.S. intervention in Cuba.

Besides "Registration" in by no means exhausted with

the above sense, much more is involved. All literature, papers, pamphlets, circulars, even post cards and letters, sent out must be labelled "Distributed by a Communist Organisation" which involves the sender and the recipient. Printing equipment, mimeograph machines, etc., must be reported.

Further, no Communist is allowed to work for the Federal Government or in any private capacity which involves "defence plants or facilities". This creates a universal blacklist of all alleged Communists. It is illegal under the McCarran Act for a Communist to apply for or to use a passport.

In the last appeal which was rejected two members of the Supreme Court dissented with the majority decision. One of them, Justice Hugo L. Black, characterised the decision upholding such a law as "a fateful moment in the history of a free country".

As mentioned in the beginning, fresh motions filed by the CPUSA have resulted in postponement of the trial set for February 1 to April. This is so, because the legal battle against the McCarran Act was

the June 5, 1961 decision of the Supreme Court upholding the registration section of the Act.

Apart from the fact that it did not deal with the other sections, it left open the constitutionality of the Act in respect to the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, when this privilege is invoked.

The Communist Party and its officers have already claimed the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, but the Attorney-General, instead of honouring this privilege, has sought and secured an indictment against the Communist Party. And the issue is, therefore, now before the Supreme Court for litigation.

The CPUSA has repeatedly declared that it shall never register and thus plead guilty to the charges of State and other crimes levelled against it. It has declared that the battle it is fighting is the battle of democracy for all Americans. During the last eight months it has won increasing support from diverse sections of the American people and a mighty protest from all over the world has risen.

Advertisement for Saribadi Salsa, a blood purifier. It features an illustration of a woman holding a bottle, with text describing its benefits for various ailments like skin diseases, liver issues, and general blood purification. The product is listed as available at Sadhana, Ausadhalaya, and Dacca. Contact information for the Delhi branch is provided at the bottom.

PSP THROWS OFF SOCIALIST MASK

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Never before has the Praja Socialist Party exhibited its many-sided policies and the reactionary content of its slogans more than during the present general elections. From Kerala to Kashmir, its policies and allies present an amalgam of reactionary interests of every shade.

IN every State in the country, the PSP has not only tried to divide the anti-Congress votes on the one hand and the anti-communal votes on the other, but has also allied itself wherever possible with the most reactionary and communal parties and elements.

In Kerala, the PSP has got an alliance with its ruling partner, the Congress, for the parliamentary elections. Out of the 18 seats in the State, the PSP is contesting four and supporting the Congress in the remaining 14 as per the understanding between the two parties.

UNPRINCIPLED ALLIANCE

While the PSP Chairman, Asoka Mehta has been raving mad against the Congress in the rest of India, in Kerala could be seen the curious spectacle of his exhortation to the people to vote for the Congress.

In Bombay, on the other hand, the PSP has aligned itself with two of the arch-reactionary parties in the country, namely the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh, to defeat the Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon.

This alliance between the PSP, Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party is not confined to opposition to Menon, it extends to the Assembly elections in Bombay too. There is a no-contest agreement between the three parties covering the entire Bombay election scene.

Even while the followers of the PSP are engaged in abusing and decrying Menon as a "crypto-Communist" and "Chinese agent" in Bombay, reports have come from Trivandrum of the PSP Chief Minister of Kerala, Pattom Thanu Pillai, showering praise on the Defence Minister. This may seem strange in the case of any political party in this country to achieve this double role, but not so for the PSP.

The PSP's alliance with the Congress in Kerala and the line-up with the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh in Bombay are quite well-known affairs; but its attempt to come to terms with the anti-national Plebiscite Front in Kashmir is, perhaps, not known to many people in the country.

With the narrow objective of getting some seats in the Kashmir Assembly, the PSP leaders even went to the extent of trying to revitalise the Plebiscite Front and persuade its leaders to contest the elections.

In the Jammu province of the State, the PSP had taken initiative to bring about an electoral alliance between itself, the Akali Dal and the Harjjan Mandal. With this triple alliance as its trump card, the PSP is making all efforts to split the anti-communal votes, thereby paving the way for a Praja Parishad victory there. The Praja Parishad is the name by which

the local unit of the Jana Sangh is known.

The best example of this is provided by the two Jammu constituencies, where the main contestants are the National Conference and the Praja Parishad. The three-party alliance, under the leadership of the PSP, has put up a candidate in the Jammu city south constituency, though none of its constituents has any backing there.

The result is that the anti-communal votes in the constituency will be divided and the National Conference will have to work hard to win the seat, against the Parishad nominee. Such a set-up automatically calls for side-tracking some of the energy which the National Conference is concentrating in the Jammu city north constituency, from where the Praja Parishad chief, Prem Nath Dogra, is seeking election.

Praja Socialist leaders in the State are making no secret of their hope that

their campaign in the city south constituency will provide ample relief to Dogra. They further hope that by their clever tactics, the Praja Parishad would be able to walk away with both seats in Jammu city.

This insidious role of the Praja Socialist Party was further brought to light when its leaders made open overtures to the Plebiscite Front in the Kashmir Valley. In the name of filling the vacuum there, the PSP tried to revitalise the Plebiscite Front and enter into an alliance with it to contest the elections. Prolonged talks were held between the leaders of the PSP and the Front both at Srinagar and New Delhi to come to an understanding with regard to the joint opposition to be put up to the National Conference.

KASHMIR'S ENEMIES

PSP Chairman, Asoka Mehta, even went to the extent of defending Sheikh Abdullah in his efforts to forge an alliance with the Plebiscite Front.

At Jammu, addressing a public meeting, Mehta declared that his Party would at all costs support Sheikh

Abdullah, because he had been placed in a very difficult situation. Perhaps on second thoughts about the repercussions of his declaration, Mehta added that even if Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was placed in such a situation, he (Mehta) would be the first man to support the Bakshi.

Ultimately, however, this sinister move on the part of the PSP could not materialise into the reality of an alliance. Not because the PSP was not willing or wanting to "make sacrifices", but because the Plebiscite Front chose not to enter into the election fray.

In Orissa, the picture is the same, but with one difference—instead of a communal ally, the PSP has got a feudal ally. Its leaders are hobnobbing with the feudal overlords and Maharajas of the Ganatantra Parishad. Covert support has been extended to the Ganatantra nominees in return for their support to the PSP nominees.

As a result, in some of the prestige constituencies, where the PSP is fighting against the Congress, the Ganatantra Parishad has not put up any candidates. A ready example is that of Kendrapara constituency, where PSP leader Surendranath Dwivedi is fighting against Surendra Mohanty

of the Congress Mohanty, it may be recalled had only recently defected from the Ganatantra Parishad.

In Gujarat, the Praja Socialist Party had initiated talks with the Swatantra Party for an electoral alliance. Unfortunately for them, the talks did not bear fruit because of the adamant attitude of the Swatantra Party that it should be given the "privilege" of fighting against the Union Minister for Planning and Labour, Gulzarilal Nanda. The PSP, however, was not prepared to concede this particular "privilege".

Though the first round of talks failed to bring about an understanding these were again resumed, at least to achieve an understanding in the so-called marginal seats. This also did not bear any fruit, it is said, not because of the PSP's unwillingness or readiness to sacrifice, but because of the tall claims of the Swatantra Party.

COMMUNAL FRIENDS

In Punjab, the PSP has forged an alliance with the Akali Dal of Master Tara Singh and his Sikh communal followers. Despite general secretary's denial of such an alliance, the fact remains that the PSP has put up its candidates in consultation with the Akali Dal leaders, and the Dal on its part is supporting the Praja Socialist candidates. Conversely, the PSP is also extending its support to the Akali Dal nominees.

Besides, it is a well-known fact that the Praja Socialist Party is actively supporting the communal demand of the Akali Dal for the Punjab Suba. Many times has Asoka Mehta, its Chairman, publicly declared his support to the Suba demand of the Akalis. Triki Singh's denial is considered to be on the good side of the Hindus in the rest of North India, on whose goodwill and to whose communal appeal, the PSP is dependent for its votes.

In many parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, where the Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad have good following, the Praja Socialist Party has tried to come to terms with these Hindu communal organisations also. Reports have also come of some local understandings in parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh between the PSP and these communal organisations.

In Assam, the appeal of the PSP is to linguistic chauvinism. The Party's liberal support to the Assamese linguistic chauvinists is well-known and had resulted in the liquidation of the Party in the Bengal-dominant areas of the State. It had adverse effects even on the PSP unit in West Bengal.

Asoka Mehta during a recent visit to the State made a supreme effort to revitalise the PSP in Assam, again on the platform of linguism, but met with failure, according to available reports.

From all accounts, the Praja Socialist Party is emerging from its garb of socialism and progress into a many-headed dragon emitting the poison of communalism, linguism and reactionary ideals.

In Assam—PSP Relies On Fanning Chauvinism

The Assam PSP appeared on the election scene this time a bit earlier than other parties. It, perhaps, wanted to spring a surprise with its slogan for an alternate Government in Assam. It was with that end in view that the PSP announced its decision to contest 70 Assembly seats and nine or ten Lok Sabha seats (the Assam Assembly has 105 seats and 12 seats in the Lok Sabha are from Assam).

Even while the followers of the PSP are engaged in abusing and decrying Menon as a "crypto-Communist" and "Chinese agent" in Bombay, reports have come from Trivandrum of the PSP Chief Minister of Kerala, Pattom Thanu Pillai, showering praise on the Defence Minister. This may seem strange in the case of any political party in this country to achieve this double role, but not so for the PSP.

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anti-ministerial group of Congress leaders as representative of more conservative, more reactionary views inside the Assam Congress.

However, the PSP leaders of Assam had to realise that life does not move at their bidding and after the party boss Asoka Mehta's visit to this State, the Assam PSP had to abandon its earlier slogan for an alternate Government and now announced its decision to contest 55 Assembly seats.

A hunt for candidates willing to take PSP ticket began and eventually they could procure 48 candidates for Assembly seats.

How these candidates have been selected and what political criterion guided the party in its selection of candidates, the PSP leaders alone can say.

But observers have noted that in their search for candidates, they have given its ticket even to a retired civilian who must have served the cause of PSP's "socialism" under the former alien rulers and later on, after independence, under the Congress Government.

In selecting their constituencies, it appears, one of the considerations of the PSP has been securing the defeat of the Communist candidates, if possible, by splitting anti-Congress votes, no matter if it meant their own defeat also. That is, perhaps, the reason why the PSP put up a candidate even for Gauhati constituency that has always returned the Communist group leader Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya. The PSP knows that its candidate here does not have even a ghost of a chance. Similar consideration has guided the party in selecting some other constituencies also.

From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

FSP leaders, perhaps, also counted on the support of the anti-ministerial group of Congress leaders with whom it seems to have had an unwritten agreement.

It was because of that agreement, according to competent observers, that the PSP has withdrawn its candidate from Nowgong town constituency where a veteran of the anti-ministerial group has been pitted as Congress candidate against Phani Bora.

The basis of the understanding between the anti-ministerial group and the PSP, it is said, is the unalloyed communalism of both. Some observers consider the

SLANDERS ANSWERED

"Vijayawada, February 4. Nehru said here today that the negative policies of the opposition parties like the Communist Party, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh would not help the country on its onward march to progress and prosperity" (Times of India, February 5, 1962).

FIRST of all, we are surprised at Nehru taking recourse to the "negative" tactics of lumping together such dissimilar parties as the leading left party of the country and the leading right-wing and reactionary parties.

However, the charge that the Communist Party follows "negative" policies is repeated by the Congress leaders so often that it needs to be answered at length.

National Slogans

Now, all sensible people would agree that the only criterion for judging the positive character of different political policies can be the extent to which they help "the country in its onward march to progress and prosperity".

Luckily, our national movement from its inception, including the writings and speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have furnished us with the broad outlines of policies that should be followed, and of changes that need be brought about in the existing structure of our society, if this goal is to be progressively approached.

First, our agriculture should be revolutionised on the basis of the slogan "Land to the Tiller", an end put to rural indebtedness, and feudal and semi-feudal exploitation eliminated. Secondly, our country should be rapidly industrialised on the basis of a rapid growth of heavy and machine-building industries and the ending of the foreign capitalists' stranglehold on our industry.

Thirdly, the social goal of eliminating the existing inequalities of wealth and preventing new inequalities from rising has to be kept uppermost in our economic planning. Fourthly, the corruption and decadence of our social structure has to be fought, leading to: (a) the regeneration of the socially oppressed sections of our society, namely, women, youth, oppressed castes and backward tribes; (b) elimination of the communal cankers, a heritage of imperialist domination; (c) freeing of the people's minds of superstitious and religious obscurantism.

In all these respects the policies put forward by the Communist Party from the very outset have been more positive than those of the Congress. Our Party has consistently advocated and organised the struggle of the peasants for distribution of land to the landless and against the exploitation of the peasantry by the money-lenders and landlords.

It has again and again raised its voice for a more rapid pace of industrial development. To achieve this aim, it has advocated ex-

tening of foreign trade with all countries of the world and the procuring of economic aid from all friendly countries.

It strongly criticised the First Five Year Plan for ignoring the steel and machine-making industries. At that time our criticism was brushed aside in favour of the friendly "advice" of Chester Bowles and his American employers.

It was after the fiasco of the First Plan that the worth of our criticism was recognised by the Government and the Second and Third Plans gave due recognition to the claims of heavy industry.

Even then, the machine industry was sacrificed during the Second Plan under American pressure. Our Party once again raised its voice of protest at that time.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Indian working class has given full cooperation to, and performed wonders of labour and skill, in various public sector projects.

Unlike the parties of the Right and even reactionaries of Nehru's own party, the Communist Party has not ever criticised the Government for going too fast in industrialisation or tried to impede its existing pace, it has always exerted pressure to hasten the existing meagre pace of industrial growth.

Moreover, our Party consistently fights for the expropriation of the existing foreign capital, opposes the new inroads of private foreign capital into our industry and calls for the most rapid extension possible of the public sector so that it can quickly capture the commanding heights of the economy.

Party Of The Poor

It is axiomatic that ours is a poor man's party and that it stands for an egalitarian order of society. It opposes the growing concentration of wealth and property in India, leading to the growth of monopoly capitalism in industry and landlordism in agriculture. It fights for the right of industrial workers, agricultural and other employees to get higher wages and for the rights of the poor peasants to get land from the landlords.

To stop concentration of wealth, our Party has repeatedly proposed nationalisation of banks, plantations, sugar mills, the strengthening of the public sector in industry and complete reversal of the present taxation policy of the Government.

Our Party's record in the struggle against communalism, for the raising of the status of women, for unleashing and utilising the energies of our youth, for abolishing the caste system in its entirety, for preserv-

Who Is Negative ?

ing the cultural continuity of the tribal people, and against obscurantist social and intellectual survivals, is truly unmatched.

In fact, in no field of national endeavour leading to our "onward march to progress and prosperity" are the Congress policies and practice anywhere as positive as those of our Party. And, in no field does our positive national outlook shine more brightly than in our attitude towards the policies and practices of the ruling party. We refuse to play the "pure" opposition and negatively criticise them as all "negative", as seems to be the practice of Congress leaders when evaluating the policies of our and other parties.

Principled Struggle

We recognise the positive features of Congress policies and we support them—since we had very often advocated them, in the first place. Our only "sin" is that we press the Congress party and its Government to implement them.

And when we find the Congress leadership hesitant in implementing its own policies, or when we see the positive content of these policies being sabotaged from within, we not only raise our voice and give warning to the people and honest Congressmen and leaders but also mobilise the people against such attempts.

Thus, our struggles and agitations, designed to save and strengthen the positive aspects of the Congress policies themselves, are declared by Nehru to be "negative".

Of course, we also carry on struggles and agitations to change the negative and anti-people aspects of Congress policies and put forward our own alternatives. But that is precisely the task that is assigned to a genuine opposition party in politics.

Lastly, we would like to point out that if large parts of our policies remain on paper and are not put into practice, it is not because of these being "negative" or "impracticable" but only because of the political fact that we do not hold the reins of power in our country.

After all, only a Government party can frame plans and execute them! Only political tyros will criticise an opposition party for not constructing a steel mill, a railway station, a power dam or a canal.

But, luckily for the people of our country, the Communist Party of India did get a chance to form a State Government in Kerala. Our record there is a beacon-light to our people who are tired of political parties which don't even try to redeem their election promises.

This is not the place to narrate this glorious record. But who in our coun-

try does not know that the Namboodripad Ministry set up an all-time high record of political and administrative honesty in a State that was before it, and also after it, ridden with nepotism and corruption; that it put a limit of Rs. 1,000 per month to higher incomes in the State while raising the incomes of low-paid government servants; that it increased the minimum wages of workers and assured them trade union rights; that it took the first steps taken anywhere in the country towards the transformation of our police from an anti-people to a people's police; that it improved the lot of the teachers; and that it passed an Agrarian Law that was acknowledged by all as the best, and most pro-peasant legislation enacted in India since 1947?

And we might ask, parthenetically, what was the Congress attitude to the Namboodripad Government? It was entirely negative. The Congress Party refused to extend even limited support to the positive measures of the Communist Government. More, it resorted, in a wholly illegal and undemocratic manner, to a "liberation struggle" of the Government.

—B. K. MITRA

U. P. SCENE

* FROM PAGE 9

that, though somewhat weakened in strength, the Congress will still emerge as the biggest party. Last time it lost about 146 seats to the opposition in a House of 430; this time it may lose a score or two more, but it will still be able to ride roughshod over the State's people for another five years.

There is keen competition for the second position between the Praja Socialist Party and the Jana Sangh and opinions and estimates on this question are sharply divided.

The chances, however, still seem to be that the PSP, with somewhat reduced strength, will continue to be the second party in the State's legislature. The Jana Sangh is likely to emerge the third party, leaving the S.P. behind. The S.P. should be happy if it can retain its present strength of 21.

The only party of the democratic Opposition which is sure to increase its strength is the Communist Party. Nobody should be surprised if its strength of 10 becomes doubled after these elections. At present it has only one member in the Lok Sabha from U. P.—Sarju Pande. Apart from this seat, the CPI is almost sure to win the Azamgarh seat also, from where Jai Bahadur Singh is contesting. Then there are a number of other marginal seats, like that of Major Jai Singh in Muzaffarnagar, which hold out good prospects.

Formerly, when the Party used to fight only a limited

number of seats, the Congress used to mobilise its strength against the contesting Party leaders. This time it will not be so easy.

Besides, despite everything, the position of the Party and of these comrades has also improved; and it is expected that well-known leaders of the Party like S. S. Yusuf, Rustom Satin, Z. A. Ahmad (who is contesting an assembly seat from Mau in Azamgarh district) will come out triumphantly this time. The Party further hopes to retain all or almost all of its present seats, including that of Jharkhande Rai, leader of the group in the Assembly.

The position of the Party in the eastern districts has become stronger than ever and these districts: Ghazipur, Ballia, Azamgarh, Varanasi, etc., should give the Party many more seats than before. The Party also expects to win a seat each in Jaunpur, Sultanpur and Deoria.

In the Western districts, the Party feels certain of winning at least one seat each in Meerut and Muzaffarnagar. There are a number of other seats which are considered good by the Party, but they are too many to be named.

The Party's slogans as probably everywhere are: Down with the political monopoly of the Congress; Rout the Jana Sanghite and other communalists and Swatantraite reactionaries; Strengthen the Party contingent in the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha and, Strengthen the democratic and progressive opposition.

From Ziaul Haq Bombay, Feb. 14

With only 12 days to polling it is clear for all to see that in Maharashtra including Bombay, it is the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti that has emerged as an effective challenge to the Congress and the latest tactic adopted by the Congress all over the State to meet this, is setting up of independent candidates in large numbers everywhere in all such constituencies. It is locally well-known that the so-called independents are nothing except Congress stooges, many of them having received their deposit money as well as campaign expenses from the Congress coffers.

EVEN so the Congress has been caught in contradictions of its own creation: 63 dissident Congressmen are contesting as independents having openly broken away from the Congress.

The worst debacle that awaits any party in these elections is going to be that of the PSP. They are being cursed by the common man as criminals and fools for having broken away from the Samiti.

Defeat the Samiti and especially the Communists in it and defeat Menon—these seem to be their main objectives. If ever there is a banana peel anywhere, it is the PSP here in Maharashtra.

The Swatantra which is trying to make an impression by spending tons of money on posters and publicity does not exist and is not known outside Bombay and here, too, in terms of winning any seat it is difficult to believe how even their most hopeful ones can have any hope.

The Jana Sangh which has a hard core of its following has not been able to break out of it. Despite a noisy campaign they would hardly figure in Maharashtra.

Down among the people all over it is either the Samiti or the Congress. Everyone else is regarded as having come on the scene to split the Samiti vote and help the Congress win. Hence the rising sentiment is that every anti-Samiti vote is a vote for the Congress, hence "Down with splitters".

The slanderous campaign continuously run by the Congress, PSP, etc., that the Samiti is a Communist front did not work because it was just not true.

The fact is that, perhaps, Maharashtra alone is one such State in the country where there are, besides the Communist Party, other powerful Left parties who have a radical left viewpoint and work together with the Communist Party.

DANGE'S INTERVIEW

* FROM BACK PAGE

claim that they would emerge as the main opposition is not based on reality. But as I said they will get a few more seats.

"That is because many elements in the Congress in fact sympathise with these two parties and the Congress leadership has been more busy with its anti-Communist than fighting the most counter-revolutionary reaction as represented by the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh.

The reason is that the Congress dare not attack the vested interests from whom it draws its own support and who also support the Swatantra and Jana Sangh. Hence, the danger."

"The Swatantra is not a recognised party in the Parliament today as it did not exist in the last elections. Their

Maharashtra Scene

Samiti Challenge Unnerves Congress

victory of Kripalani, the Samiti would most determinedly refuse to walk into that trap.

That has been the Samiti's stand from which it has refused to budge, despite all tricks and subterfuges that have been employed.

The response to this stand of the Samiti is tremendous as I could see in a public meeting held last Sunday in Anaher, where the Secretary of the Bombay Trade Union Congress, Dhume, is a Samiti candidate for the assembly against Labour Minister Shantilal Shah. In that part of North Bombay Parliamentary constitu-

cy, over 5,000 people kept cheering S. A. Dange for two hours as he flayed Kripalani and the gang behind him.

In his own constituency in Central Bombay, Dange and all the six Samiti assembly candidates have mounted a powerful campaign. It becomes ever more intense and vigorous as the day approaches. All forces to split away the Samiti votes have been thrown in the field, here, too.

The worst feature is the appearance of the Muslim League with its direct appeal to religion: Posters issued by them call upon the Muslims

in the name of Islam not to vote Communist.

Mullahs are being called upon to issue a fatwa to that effect. Soon we might have another pastoral letter, its Islamic version.

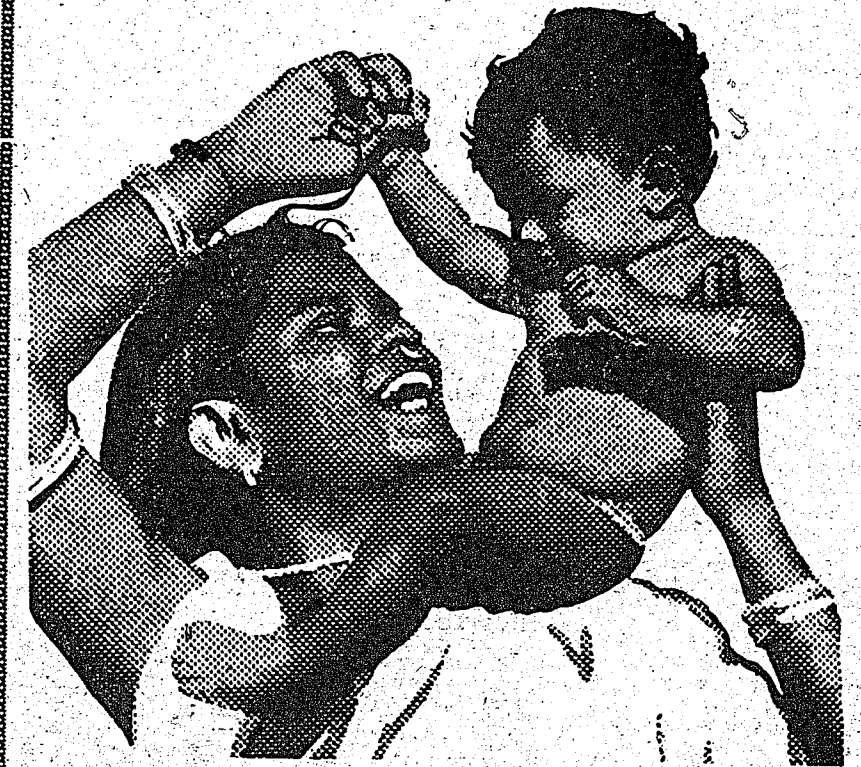
A remarkable feature in this constituency is the upsurge among women, including Muslim women. Thousands of them gathered on the huge roofs of the chawls to listen to the Communist and Samiti speakers.

From all indications, Bombay and the whole of Maharashtra is on the eve of another big step of democratic advance.

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W. BENGAL ALL SET TO ROUT CONGRESS

JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Feb. 11

With only five days left for polling to begin in this State, the election campaign is now at its peak. In many constituencies, the curtain will be rung down on the two-and-a-half months of electioneering with central rallies on February 13 and 14.

The first round of elections takes place on February 18, and the last to go to the polls on February 25 will be, among others, the city of Calcutta, the political nerve-centre of the State.

Before coming to the main contestants let us briefly examine the smaller parties. The main election platform of the PSP is a vitriolic campaign of lies and slanders against the Communist Party. It is also making desperate efforts to "justify" its gross betrayal of the historic food struggle in 1959 by ridiculing it as a tamasha! Its consistent treachery to the democratic movement is still green in the memory of the people, and tons of lies will not serve to whitewash their conduct.

Splinter Groups

The PSP has chosen to set up its candidates in 75 Assembly and six Lok Sabha seats. In the last elections the PSP, which was a member of the then United Front, secured 21 Assembly and one Lok Sabha seat.

This time, however, the PSP leaders are driving the last nail into their coffin by having refused to join the ULA, admitting publicly their past mistakes and giving a guarantee of good behaviour in future. There is little doubt that in the coming elections the party will be virtually wiped out.

It is a tribute to the democratic consciousness of the masses of people in this State that communal and reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and the Swatantra Party have hardly any influence here and, as such, they have not the ghost of a chance of winning any seat.

The Biplobi Parishad is a mushroom organisation with absolutely no record of public work or political standing among the people. The chances of non-party Independents, who are not allied with the ULA, are practically nil.

The Socialist Unity Centre, an ultra-left group whose influence is confined to a small area, is expected to retain its existing two seats in the Assembly. Another left group of the same complexion, the Workers' Party, is a "party" of a few individuals. The question of its securing any seat does not arise.

It is evident from what has been said above that although there are many parties in the field, the main contestants are the Congress and the United Left Alliance (ULA). The Congress has put up its candidates in all the 252 Assembly and 36 Lok Sabha seats. The ULA also is contesting in almost all these seats. It has not put up its nominees only in a few constituencies, where Independents

are opposing Congress candidates. These Independents have not sought the support of the ULA, but they are, nevertheless, anti-Congress. The main issue that now completely dominates the election scene in West Bengal is that of the alternative Left Government. "Will the Congress be thrown out of power?" "Will the Centre allow a Left Government to be formed in this State?"—these are the questions that are being widely discussed in urban as well as rural areas.

It is in this context that the powerful campaign conducted by the ULA has created a deep impression on the people. It is not, however, just a negative campaign of exposure. The leftist leaders not merely nail down concretely the Congress claims of having raised the standard of living of the people and having served the cause of the entire nation; they also rouse the people by showing them positively that the situation in the urban, as well as rural areas of West Bengal today is such that they can throw the Congress out of power, if they so will.

An indication of the mass response to the election campaign of the ULA is provided by the nearly two-lakh strong rally held in Calcutta on February 3. As the main Opposition Party in the State and also as the leading partner in the ULA, the Communist Party is naturally carrying on the most intensive and extensive campaign on behalf of its own as well as of other candidates of the ULA.

Mass participation in the election meetings of the Communist Party has been unprecedented. Even in rural areas, gatherings of 5,000 to 8,000 have been a normal feature. In some places, 15 to 20 thousands people have attended the party's meetings. There are yet other areas, where the Muslim or the Adivasi people dared not come to Communist election meetings in 1957. The situation is now radically changed.

Mass Shift

The possibilities of an alternative Left Government are far brighter today than a couple of months ago. This is particularly so because of the shift among the masses in the countryside.

In the first place, the rural people, bearing from their own experience of the hoax of zamindari abolition and the "beneficial" measures of the Congress Government, are no longer prepared to believe in the Congress election pledges.

Secondly, the social and political influence of the headmen and the rich people in the villages over the rural masses has waned at a rapid pace.

Thirdly, in 1957, the Congress was able to exercise tremendous pressure on large sections of the rural people by holding out the threat that the machinery of the State would be used against them in case they voted against the Congress. But, now, their fear of harassment and repression has virtually gone.

Fourthly, there has been a shift among the Muslim masses. Although basically anti-Congress, large numbers of them had voted for the Congress in 1957 under terrific pressure and threats of being transported to Pakistan, harassment by the police, etc. That situation, however, no longer obtains at present. The Muslim masses have largely overcome their fear of the Congress.

Muslims Move

Lastly, the continuing social and political disabilities of the Adivasi people and the savage repression of their kinsmen in Malda district have created a deep sense of resentment among large sections of them all over the State.

That the Congress leaders no longer feel sure of retaining their monopoly of power is proved by the fact that Atulya Ghose and Dr. B. C. Roy, the "Lord of Bengal" and the "Iron Man" respectively have been forced to go to all districts and even to remote rural areas to address election meetings.

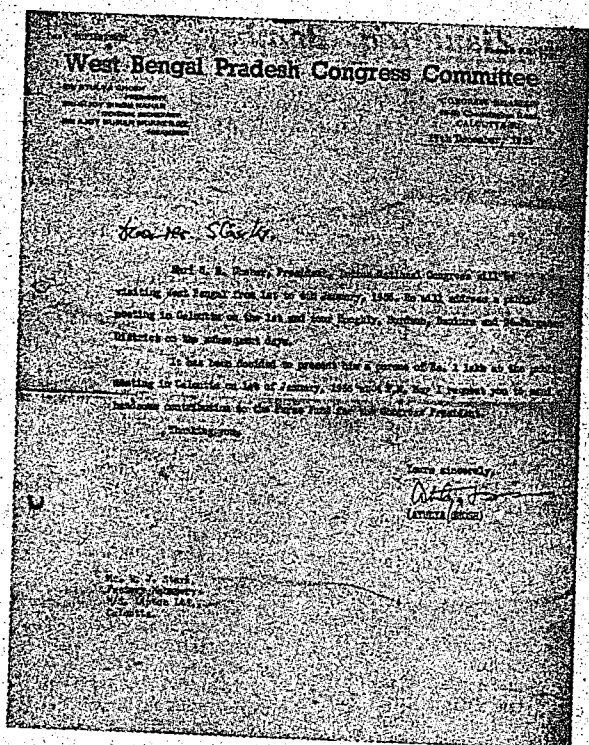
Not only that Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Bhandananda Jha, Abid Ali Jafferboy and Sucheta Kripalani have been imported to influence Hindi-speaking voters. Pandit Nehru himself had addressed an election rally in this State about one and a half months ago.

The Congress has naturally made the Communist Party the main target of its attack. Congress leaders have been spouting venomous slanders against the Party, especially on the India-China border issue. But, in the face of the Party's withering counter-offensive on this question as well on the tall claims of "achievements", the Congress leaders have been forced to change their tone and the line of their propaganda.

They have now ceased talking politics. Blatant lies and filthy slanders have become the only stock-in-trade of their election campaign. To cite an example, the Muslims are being told: "If you vote for Communists, they will shave your beards, demolish your mosques and defile them by slaughtering pigs there!"

Congress leaders feel no compunction of conscience when they go about belching the most venomous slanders against the Soviet Union, a country which has given such selfless aid to India and which maintains the most friendly relations with it.

Tarun Kanti Ghose, a Minister of the State Government, is amply reciprocating the great hospitality shown to him by the Soviet Government during his recent tour of the country by telling his electorate that



BEGGING FROM BRITISH BOSSES

SWADHINATA, in its issue of February 11, published the above photostat copy of a letter written by Atulya Ghose, President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, to W. J. Stark, Factory Manager of the Lipton Co., a British-owned monopoly tea concern in the country, begging for a "handsome contribution" to the Congress fund.

The letter was written at a time when the biggest ever strike of the tea workers of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in North Bengal was going on. The police of the Congress Government shot down five workers, including two women!

While a terror regime had been clamped down on Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, the Government allowed a free-hand to the British employers of the Lipton Co. to retrench their workers in Calcutta. The Government further rejected the charter of demands of the 'Lipton Workers' Union on the very same plea which had been trotted out by the employers.

It could not have been otherwise. How could the Government go against the British masters when the Congress had eaten their salt?

he has seen with his own eyes in Tajikistan that men and women there are herded together and are forced to work like slaves with ropes tied round their waists!

The Congress leaders are also holding out an open phalasing to the people by emphasising the point: "Since the Congress Government in the Centre will remain, it is idle to talk of forming an alternative Left Government in this State".

Attempts to intimidate politically backward voters to terrorise the minority communities have begun in full swing. Along with the adoption of these "democratic" means, money has started flowing like water. Two instances will suffice to give an idea of the scale on which money is being spent by the Congress.

In the Chowringhee Assembly Constituency in Calcutta, where Dr. B. C. Roy is the Congress candidate, scores of big hoardings, carrying oil paintings of the Chief Minister in different poses, have been put up at many places. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 40,000!

Tarun Kanti Ghose's constituency has been literally flooded with several lakh printed posters in different colours. Twelve jeeps, ten hired taxies, a fleet of vans and cars belonging to the

Amrit Bazar Patrika and the Yugantar, both of which are owned by Tarun Kanti's father, have been pressed into service.

The Congress, however, has not rest content with all this. Notorious goondas and other anti-social elements are being mobilised to provoke disturbances on the days of polling and to prevent left-minded voters from going to the booths, particularly in those constituencies where the ULA candidates are expected to win.

It is learnt on the highest authority that only a few days ago a "conference" of the goondas of Calcutta was held in the South-eastern part of the city. The sponsor of this unique gathering was a Deputy Minister of the West Bengal Government! All these dirty tactics, however, are not going to help the Congress to get away with the electors.

Correction

In our report of the Calcutta rally on February 3 we wrongly reported the name of some donors. The true report is that a purse of Rs. 501 was presented by Shyama Pada Majumdar on behalf of the Bata Calcutta Offices Employees' to Biswanath Mukherjee. We regret the error.

HARKISHEN SINGH SURJEET

Interviewed By O. P. Mehrotra

It is really difficult to measure the mass discontent against Congress misrule in the Punjab without studying the attitude of the people in the countryside. The picture in the towns is rather confusing. Nevertheless the large number of candidates, independents and others nominated by the various political parties, who are seeking election this time clearly indicates that the Congress influence in the State is at its lowest ebb.

The complex political situation that exists in the Punjab today is the direct result of the opportunist and anti-people policies of the Congress rulers, headed by the hated Kairon and Durbara Singh clique. This was pointed out to me repeatedly by the Secretary of the State Council of the CPI, Harkishan Singh Surjeet when I interviewed him on February 12.

In Punjab today, Surjeet told me, the democratic values are at a stake. The Congress has ruled the State in a most ruthless manner. The huge taxes that the Congress rulers have imposed on the State (Rs. seven crores of sales tax only), its anti-people policies and absence of civic liberties have given rise to mass discontent among the people. Hatred against Congress rule is the dominant factor in the present political situation of the Punjab.

Congress Sins

After giving the background of the last five years Congress rule Surjeet touched on another aspect of the present political situation. He said "This Government is responsible for the present communal situation, because the rulers in Punjab have never taken a secular and democratic stand on the language issue. It tries to encourage one group at one time and another at other time.

"The Congress has taken no step to fight communalism ideologically. Whenever there is a movement it meets it with severe repression.

"As a matter of fact in Punjab it is the Communist Party alone which has always stood firmly against communalism. Our Party has opposed communalism on all occasions, from whichever quarter it has come, whether during the Hindi agitation or during the Akali agitation," he said.

Commenting on the character of the various political parties in the Punjab

Surjeet pointed out "The Congress in Punjab is controlled by the Kairon-Durbara Singh clique for whom principles do not exist. The landlords of Punjab do not require the Swatantra Party for they find in Congress Party their best friends.

"In this situation the dominant question is: Can we get rid of the Kairon clique? Whether you ask a worker, an agricultural labour, middle-class employee or professional, every body wants to get rid of Kairon rule. Even the Congressmen want a change. On many occasions they have levelled serious charges against the present Congress Ministry."

Asked how the Congress maintains its rule, Surjeet replied:

"The Congress rule is maintained with the help of political bribes: the issue of permits, quotas, licenses, etc., jobbery and corruption are widespread. Repression of mass movements and all those who are opposed to Kairon rule, even Congressmen, is order of the day," he said.

Even in the elections, Surjeet pointed out, the Congress is using official machinery for its party ends. "The Communist Party has already informed the Election Commission about widespread complaints of official interference in the elections in favour of the ruling party," he said.

To my question regarding the PSP he said, "It is a nominal force. The PSP is known only in some areas and it has no mass base. Some individuals are contesting on PSP symbol. There were two PSP members in the State Assembly. One has already deserted them."

Reactionary Parties

Then Surjeet took up the question of communal and reactionary parties.

About the Swatantra Party he said, "It has not been able

PUNJAB On The Eve

to make much headway. Feudal elements are divided. Most of them are in Congress. Some of them are loyal to Akalis. Few of them support the Swatantra Party, which has no mass support. The strength of the Swatantra Party in Punjab is its power to spend money. Each Parliamentary candidate has been given Rs. 40,000 each. It is actually depending on Akali support," he said.

"The Jana Sangh is a party of aggressive Hindu communalism. It is strong among certain Hindu sections and opposes Punjabi as the mother-tongue of all people in Punjab region. It has some influence among refugees from West Pakistan. In the Harijania area some candidates have adopted its symbol with an eye to capture the votes of West Pakistan refugees. In spite of all its agitations on communal lines it has not increased its strength," he said.

Referring to another communal organisation, the Akali Dal, he said "It has a good following among a section of peasants in Punjab-speaking area and Sikh-traders.

"Because of its old political background when Akali Dal launched big struggles in the historic Gurdwara Reform movement of 1921-25, which had anti-imperialist and anti-feudal edge, it has created a deep impression on the Sikh population. Akalis also join the common movements of the peasants. In spite of the bungling in the last morchas it moves the people on the basis of its communal appeal," Surjeet said.

Another organisation in the field is the Republican Party. "Republicans," Surjeet said, "have influence in certain districts of the Punjab-speaking region."

"They appeal in the name of lower castes and down-trodden but during the last five years they have joined the movement launched by the democratic parties.

"Thus, the Communist Party in Punjab is the only political party which gives no allowance to caste and creed. It is the only secular party which fights against communalism," Surjeet stressed.

When I pointed out that certain bourgeois newspapers and Congress leaders are alleging that the Communists in Punjab have forged an alliance with Akalis, he replied "It is absolutely false that we have any alliance, pact or understanding with Akalis, Swatantra or PSP. There has been no such meeting where the Communists have discussed election strategy with Akalis or Swatantraites."

He mentioned many facts to show that Communist candidates in majority of cases are involved in contests with Akalis or their supported candidates of PSP, Swatantra and Independents.

"Out of the 47 Assembly seats that the Communist Party is contesting there are as many as 12 where there are also Akali candidates. In 13 there are Swatantra Party candidates and it is well-known that the Swatantra Party has an alliance with the Akalis. The Akalis are supporting three PSP candidates against the Communists. Eight of these seats are in the Harijania area where the Akalis have no influence.

"Thus, there are only ten other seats and these are precisely those where Communists are a major force to be reckoned with. Here the Communists are the only force which can defeat the Congress.

"Communists," he repeated, "have no alliance with Akalis but they cannot go on asking people not to vote for them."

He pointed out that the Communist Party is supporting some Independents and candidates of the Republican Party:

Communist Platform

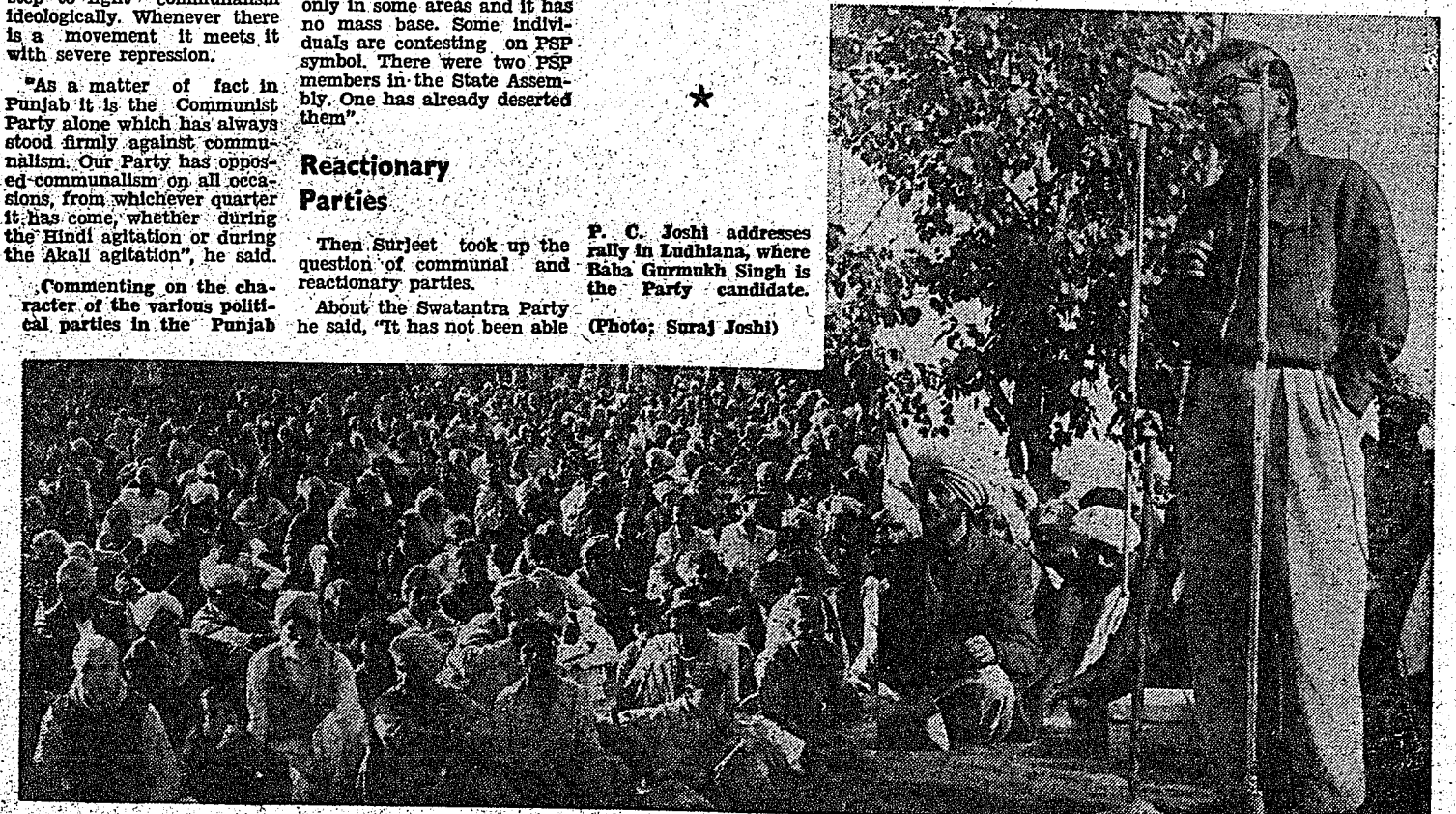
"We have emphasised it time and again that the Congress can only be defeated on a democratic and secular platform. In such areas from where notorious Ministers of the Congress are contesting we have tried to get some seats vacated by the Akalis for the democratic parties. And our efforts have partly succeeded."

He pointed out the following examples: "against Industries Minister, Mohan Lal we support Gurbachan Singh Bajwa; ex-Education Minister, against Amar Singh, the General Secretary of the State Congress the CPI is supporting Mohan Lal Dutta; a staunch Gandhite; against Minister Gurbanta Singh it is supporting Republican candidate; against Han Raj Sharma, Congress Parliamentary Secretary, we are supporting Agnihotri, an ex-Congressman.

"As a result of our talks the Akali Dal has not put up candidates in any of these constituencies. The elections in these places are being fought on a democratic and secular basis.

As to the outcome of the elections, Surjeet pointed out "we shall improve our position". And there are many comrades who agree with his estimate.

F. C. Joshi addresses rally in Ludhiana, where Baba Gurmukh Singh is the Party candidate. (Photo: Suraj Joshi)



"COMMUNISTS WILL REMAIN THE MAIN OPPOSITION" SAYS DANGE

"North Bombay today has become the battleground between forces inspired by foreign imperialists and their agents, reactionary vested interests in India on the one hand and the democratic, anti-imperialist masses on the other. Krishna Menon may not be even consistently democratic but Kripalani is consistently anti-democratic. No wonder that the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, PSP and the American press have chosen him as their symbol."

THIS was stated on February 13 by the leader of the Communist Party, Dange, referring to the crucial battle in the course of a special interview to the New Age.

Replying as to why, of all places, Kripalani should have chosen North Bombay as his constituency and contest Krishna Menon, he said:

"Acharya Kripalani chose North Bombay constituency not because there is anything particularly favourable for him here. It was because Krishna Menon refused to leave it in spite of threats held out against him by the leadership of the Congress itself in Bombay.

"It is not really Kripalani that is the main force against Krishna Menon in this area. It is Kripalani's allies in the Congress leadership that are the main force working against Krishna Menon.

"The top leadership of the Congress had no guts to ex-

pose these hidden allies of the Swatantra and Kripalani in the Bombay Congress leadership. Merely telling some of them that are bold enough to resign 'to go to hell' is not enough. Nehru should have sacked the Congress leadership here and arranged their being sent to hell in a proper way.

"More airy slogans given by Nehru do not work very much, particularly in Bombay. For example, it is well known that Shantilal Shah, an avowed protector of Anglo-American companies in Bombay has been working against Krishna Menon.

"If the Congress is serious in opposing the Swatantra-Jana Sangh-PSP combination against Krishna Menon, then the Chief Minister of Maharashtra should have removed Shantilal Shah from the Ministry and the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee should have removed him from the Congress. The top leadership of the Congress dare not do this because he is backed both by the monopolists of the Swatantra group like Shroffs and Modis but also by the Tatas and Birlas.

"So the fight in North Bombay constituency has gathered momentum because not only the monopolists in Bombay are interested in the success of this reactionary front represented by Kripalani but even American imperialists are also interested in the defeat of Krishna Menon.

"It is Anglo-American imperialism which has been very much displeased to see the Portuguese thrown out of Goa.

They think it was Krishna Menon who persuaded Nehru to do it.

"They forget that it was demanded by the Indian people. They cannot openly vent their vengeance on the whole people. They take it out; therefore, on Menon, and to hide their real aims, they paint Krishna Menon as a crypto Communist. The Swatantra and Jana Sangh joined the same bandwagon and Kripalani agrees to lead them.

"This North Bombay constituency has unwittingly become the battleground between the forces inspired by foreign imperialists and their agents, the reactionary vested interests in India on the one hand and the democratic, anti-imperialist masses on the other.

"As has been seen in other countries, the imperialists always label the democratic forces as representing Communism. Krishna Menon may not be even consistently democratic but Acharya Kripalani is consistently anti-democratic. No wonder that Swatantra-Jana Sangh-PSP and American press have chosen Kripalani as their symbol."

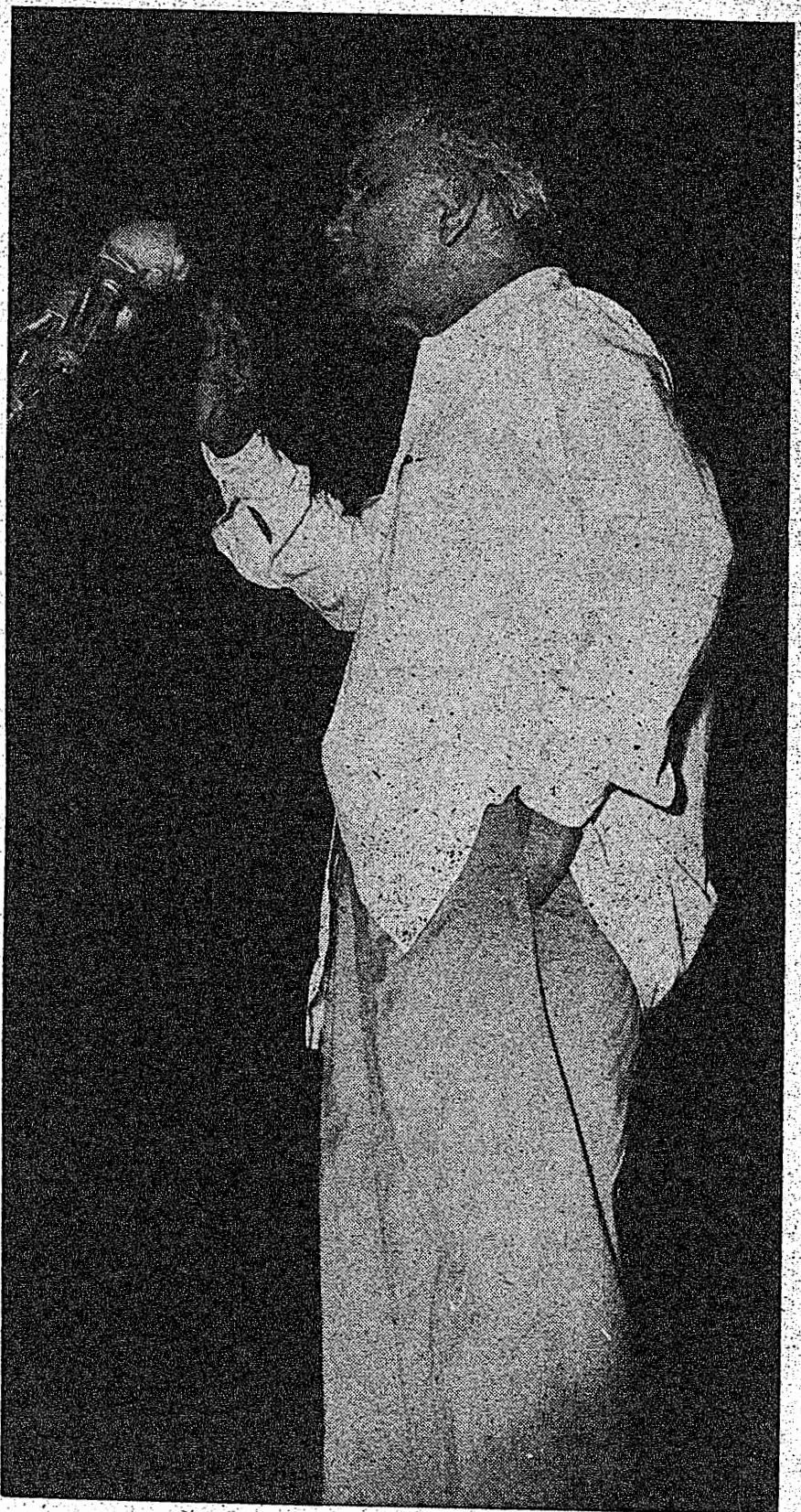
Dange then proceeded in brief to refer to the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti's position vis-a-vis the ruling party in the State and of the latter's claims of being in a position to "trounce" the Samiti.

He declared with pride and confidence that in Maharashtra it is the Samiti that continues to command the confidence of the democratic masses and will demonstrate this at the polls. The Samiti, said Dange, "is a real democratic front of all toiling people against the Congress".

Detailing the issues the Samiti is emphasising in its campaign, the response and prospects Dange said, "The main issues that the Samiti emphasises are—the failure of the Congress to improve the condition of the toiling people, its siding with vested interests in every struggle of the working class, deliberate attacks on the trade unions of the Left, incompetence of the regime as revealed in the Panshet Dam tragedy and all ruin following from it, the failure to give the kisans all relief that they needed, the ferocious attack on the Government employees when they struck work and so on.

"All the seven parties," he declared, "that are in the Samiti front expect to maintain their position".

Asked regarding the impression he had formed about the prospects of the Communist Party at the polls as a result of his tour of the various parts of the country in the course of the election campaign, Dange said:



S. A. DANGE

"I could not go to all States in the present campaign. I was in a position to visit the biggest industrial centres in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

"The working class in all these centres is quite conscious of the issues involved in the election. From the look of the meetings I can say that the Communist Party will not only retain its position as the main opposition in the Parliament but improve upon it.

"The one single question that dominates the minds of the workers, apart from all other issues, is if the country has prospered so much as the Congress claims, where has all that prosperity gone? And the workers' own answer to that question is that the big sharks of capitalism have swallowed it for themselves."

When invited to comment on the PSP's claims that it would emerge as the main opposition, Dange said he

thought those claims are exaggerated and "put out to give a pep to the PSP" following. I think the PSP as such, despite its unprincipled alliances, is going to get a severe beating in many States.

"The little good reputation that they had formerly when they arose as a party talking of socialism has been wiped out to a large extent because of their friendship and flir-

* SEE PAGE 13

From
Ziaul Haq