

# NEW AGE

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

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

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

It is one of the realities of the Indian situation that though the mass of the Indian people are not happy with the

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

This is dramatically symbolised in the North Bombay election where Krishna Menon is leading by two-to-one majority. But the issues that be-

able to exploit it for their own nefarious ends while in others the forces of the Left and progressive independents have headed it to draw national attention for a way out. What the election results spotlight is the simple fact that though the Indian people are not yet ready to reject the Congress as the ruling party they are not satisfied with the results of its rule, in terms of their own life and its continuing sufferings.

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



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

sional situation inside their own State Legislature parties.

The negative features of Congress rule assume the organisational form of acute group rivalry and unprincipled faction fighting within. The majorities won during the current elections have not solved but only in-

the Congress candidates. Now their prospective Chief Minister Balwantrao Mehta as also his second-in-command the G.P.C.C. President Trakurkhai Desai both have lost the elections. In Gujarat it is the spectacle of majority of Congress MLAs finding themselves at a loose end, without their lea-

## ELECTION REVELATIONS —FIRST THOUGHTS

Congress Raj at all but yet they vote the Congress to power.

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

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

### DANGER SEEN

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

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

The Congress victory does

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

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

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

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

In Andhra, the Congress seats are down from 239 to 178.

In M.P. 288 results are out. The Congress has so far got only 122 but no absolute majority is possible.

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

### POPULAR DISCONTENT

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

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

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

by  
P. C. Joshi

"One Chief Minister Dr. K. N. Katju has been defeated while two prospective Chief Ministers, Balwantrao Mehta of Gujarat and S. Nijalingappa, President, Mysore PCC have been put out of the run.

"The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the U.P. Assembly and the Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Legislature have been retired by the electorate" (Times of India, Feb. 28).

The Congress spokesmen have talked the most about the Congress alone being able to guarantee the stability and the security of the country. Now they are faced with more-unstable-than-ever organisa-

tensified the organisational problem facing the High Command, which has summoned an emergency meeting right now to be followed by a full-fledged meeting of the Parliamentary Board on March 6 and 7.

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

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

### SQUABBLES AGAIN

Gujarat is faced with a similar problem but from a different end. The dominant Morarji group to get rid of Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta, had ensured the majority of its nominees to be

der to become the new Chief Minister but his hated rival face to face with them again. The amount of horse-trading that will soon follow is anybody's guess.

### KAIRON'S PLIGHT

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

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

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

The electoral results from Andhra are being counted

\* SEE BACK PAGE







# Communists Maintain Position

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

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

Three major groups are at daggers drawn and sub-groups within each to upset all balances struck.

In Mysore the prospective Chief Minister Nijalingappa has also suffered defeat. The present Chief Minister Jatti was neither popular within his own party nor with the High Command.

The above are not the only problem States, as the final results and the coming meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Board will reveal.

Instability, uncertainty, political crisis in State after State, the Centre of course included, will grow in the post-election period. The Congress rejoicings over electoral victories is pyrrhic. Honest and principled Congressmen will be called upon not once and not in one or two States but over and over again and all over the country to clean up the Augean stables. The next five years is their last chance.

The Morarjis within wanted to get rid of one Krishna Menon now in alliance with the Rightists outside. It is the remaining Kripalanis within who have to be routed and ousted from positions of power by Congressmen themselves, if the Congress is to loyally implement what the people voted for them for.

## RIGHT STRONG

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

water-than-ever rise al status registered ht is reflected in the which should shake otic democratic In- in the majority the Indian Union, out of 14, the will be led by party or the

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desh and the most populous one, Uttar Pradesh, it will be the Hindu communal Jana Sangh that will lead the opposition. In U. P. its strength has jumped from 17 in 1957 to 42 now, in M.P. from 10 to 35. In Rajasthan, it is close behind Swatantra, having more than doubled its members from six in 1957 to 14 now.

In Madras and the Punjab, Opposition will again be led by specifically local brands of separatist reaction. In Madras, the DMK has jumped from 12 to 50, more than a four-fold increase. It has polled 27.13 per cent of the total votes as against 46.26 per cent of the Congress. In Punjab the Akalis, despite the fiascos of their communal politics have been able to acquire 19 seats, an additional three Swatantrites being their proteges.

## P. S. P. DECLINE

The P.S.P. has functioned in alliance with Swatantra almost openly and with communal reactionary parties hardly veiled. It has

minous defeat. It is, however, yet to be liquidated.

## COMMUNIST BATTLE

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

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

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

the struggle for just principles.

We have also done very well in Andhra Pradesh, wiping out the weaknesses of the past, significantly increased our parliamentary seats and in the State Assembly jumped from 35 to 51, and emerged a stronger and more mature opposition party.

We have registered minor success in some State Assemblies, e.g., from six to nine in Punjab, one to five in Rajasthan, one to three in Mysore, from nine to 12 in U.P. We have also suffered in Assam where we had four members, we lost them without gaining any new. In Bombay we were 14 and are now only six, in Bihar we were seven and are six at the time of writing.

In W. Bengal, we are roughly maintaining the position of the leader of the opposition—as also, it appears, the number of our MLAs and MPs—though the results fall short of expectations.

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

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

Last year, the Prime Minister woke up to the dangers to national integration. The forces of communal and other disruption drew in their horns for a while but made new and bolder bids in the elections. They are in the field again. The Communists have been and will continue to be at them all the time. Congressmen and, above all, the Prime Minister will have to decide whether the national integration conference becomes a memory of the past or will be activated to end the shame of communalism, casteism and religious bigotry, from our fair land.

## TASK AHEAD

The Communists were accused of looking a little too much abroad. It was, however, the Prime Minister who had to find fault with the other side, complain about Western interference in Indian elections and ask a U. S. diplomat to quit India for dabbling in the North Bombay elections.

If the imperialist side dared to interfere in our general elections, it was no isolated case.

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

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

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



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

been the worst casualty of the present elections. Its all-India spokesman, Ashok Mehta, claimed that his was no banana peel party. He has badly slipped on the peel of his own slippery politics. Its Maharashtra leader and former M.P. Goray is also defeated. Its U. P. chief Triloki Singh has lost his deposit. The Bihar PSP Chief Basavan Singh is also knocked out.

The PSP seats in its much-vaunted stronghold U.P. have come down from 44 to 28 and it has lost the position of Opposition leader to the communal Jana Sangh. Same is the picture from Bihar where its 31 in the last assembly are reduced to 18 now, with the leader himself beheaded. In Bihar, it has lost the opposition leadership to the Swatantra.

The unprincipled PSP, embodiment of all the worst inside the ruling party and the ally and unifier of the various Rightist parties outside the Congress has suffered an igno-

four seats by the Congress, it has been wiped out.

If the two Muslim Leaguers have been returned from Kerala, everybody knows the responsibility rests on the Congress and the PSP alone. If our offer of a joint fight had been accepted, the League in Kerala could have been routed. And it is from there that the President of the All India Muslim League will now come to the nation's parliament.

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

The Communists have won six, one RSP leader was supported and similarly three independents, good and respected men, loyal to the people of Kerala and true to India.

Kerala Communists have demonstrated how to selflessly share parliamentary seats in

ble strength of the Indian Communism and its deep roots in Indian soil.

## REACTION'S PLANS

India's big political battle, the general elections are over, but is no more than clearing the decks for greater and numerous battles ahead for the welfare of our people, the defence of national sovereignty and winning greater laurels for the country abroad.

The past concessions, from the Congress rulers to the vested interests have made the crisis of the Plan chronic. Its targets in the very first year are lagging behind. Economic imbalances have grown, Burdens on the people are due, to increase in the name of raising resources.

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

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