

# FACE TO FACE WITH THE RIGHT DANGER

After the national and State election results became available this week, the entire press of the country, every political party and all politically conscious persons are passionately discussing the post-election perspective, before the country. This is a healthy sign for the growth of Indian democracy.

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

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

In the Lok Sabha the Congress poll has declined from 47.78 per cent to 45.06 and its seats from 372 to 348. In all the State Assemblies put together, the Congress seats have declined from 1,913 in 1957 to 1,768 in 1962.

The Congress publicists are stressing the improvement in Congress position in the four States of Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal.

The emerging challenge to Congress rule, from various sources are, "the serious losses which the Congress has suffered in eight States all the way from the Punjab to Madras, the defeats have been most grievous in Madhya Pradesh where its present massive majority of 174 in a house of 288 has been converted in a minority of four and in Rajasthan where its strength has been reduced from 119 in a house of 176 to 88". Such is the editorial estimate of the pro-Congress Hindu, (March 3).

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

## Communist Vanguard

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

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

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

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

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

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

by  
**P. C. Joshi**

editorial on the electoral verdict as "Quit ticket to the PSP".

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

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

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

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

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

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

up the alliance with communalism as being necessary to fight Communism.

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

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

He regretfully admits that "another significant feature of the elections was the relatively good showing of the Communists at the centre compared to the rout of the PSP".

He bemoans the fact that "The P.S.P. comes nowhere in the picture", and is very sorry for "the defeat of Ashok Mehta".

He is wild against Pandit Nehru. "Since Avadi the Socialist guns have been spiked by the Congress, and it is significant that in this election, Nehru's fire was not concentrated on the Communists as one would have thought it should be, but on what he is pleased to dub the reactionaries and the feudalists."

Hopeful eyes are rightly cast towards Morarjibhai. "Whether Morarji Desai can retrieve the situation or let things ride for the moment, is anybody's guess".

## New Stirring

The pro-Western Right wants to palm off its McCarthyite anti-Communist drive against India, its independence and progressive future under the cover of national unity.

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

There are new stirrings of thought in the country against

# C P I REMAINS SECOND PARTY

## Position of Parties

	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Votes Polled	Percentage
Congress	485 3*	353	5,12,47,168	45.06
Communist Party	138**	30**	1,14,73,384	10.08
Swatantra	195	18	89,47,618	7.86
P. S. P.	166	12	78,19,088	6.88
Jana Sangh	198	14	72,63,514	6.38
Socialist Party	107	5	included in others	
Others	691	53	2,69,67,947***	23.72
<b>Total</b>	<b>1980 3</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>11,37,18,719</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* Uncontested returns

\*\* Includes Homi Daji elected from Indore-Dhar as Independent

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

## 1957

	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Polled Votes	Percentage
Congress	490 12*	359	5,75,79,593	47.78
Communist Party	117**	29	1,17,98,467	9.73
P. S. P.	194	19	1,25,42,666	10.41
Jana Sangh	133	4	71,49,824	5.93
Others	659	71	3,14,43,365	26.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>1593 12*</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>12,05,13,915</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* Uncontested returns

\*\* Includes 8 Communist Party members who contested on PDF symbol in Telengana.

† Includes 2 Communists elected on PDF symbol.

(The larger number of votes recorded in the 1957 elections is due to the system of double-member constituencies which was given up in the present elections.)

## Communist MPs

- G. Yellamanda Reddy (Markapur) Andhra
- Veerachandri Vimaladevi (Eluru) "
- Ravi Narayan Reddy (Nalgonda) "
- K. Laxmidas (Miryalguda) "
- Kolla Venkayya (Tenali) "
- Y. Eswara Reddy (Cuddappah) "
- Narayanawamy Madala (Ongole) "
- Homi Daji (Indore) Madhya Pradesh
- K. K. Warriar (Trichur) Kerala
- A. K. Gopalan (Kasergode) "
- P. Kunhan (Palghat) "
- E. K. Imbichi Bawa (Ponnani) "
- P. K. Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha) "
- M. K. Kumaran (Chirayinkil) "
- Sarju Pande (Rasra) Uttar Pradesh
- Jai Bahadur (Ghosi) "
- Dr. Udaykar Mishra (Jamshedpur) Bihar
- K. Anandan Nambiar (Tiruchy) Madras
- R. Umanath Rao (Pudukottai) "
- Hiren Mukherjee (Calcutta-Central) W. Bengal
- Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta-South-West) "
- Ranendra Nath Sen (Calcutta-East) "
- Dr. Saradish Roy (Katwa) "
- Mohmed Elias (Howrah) "
- Renu Chakravarty (Barrackpore) "
- Sarkar Murmu (Balurghat) "
- Dinendranath Bhattacharya (Serampore) "
- Probbhat Kar (Hooghly) "
- Dashrath Deb Barman (Tripura-East) Tripura
- Biren Dutta (Tripura-West) "

## INDEPENDENTS SUPPORTED BY CPI

- A. V. Raghavan (Badagara) Kerala
- S. K. Pottakkat (Teilicherry) "
- P. S. Nataraja Pillai (Trivandrum) "
- Mandali Venkataswamy (Masulipatam) Andhra
- S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur) U.P.
- Lala Kashiram (Alwar) Rajasthan

















for Avissawella (D.R.P. Gunawardena). The Times is one of the main ideological centres of the attempted coup d'etat.

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

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

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

The honourable member for Avissawella (D. P. K. Gunawardena) said that Sidney de Zoysa was not only the Business Manager of the Times. I know that I have a circular here issued by Felix Goonewardene, which was displayed on the notice board, authorising Sidney de Zoysa, whom he describes as his "Personal Assistant", to carry out surprise visits, to report breaches of discipline and, in actual fact, gives him almost complete powers in the Times of Ceylon.

In view of all this, it is absolutely essential that, just as you look into the matter of the letter of C. E. F. Jayasuriya, you should also go very deeply and fully into what has been going on in the Times of Ceylon.

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

They talk so much about democracy. They want to save democracy not only

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

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

By background, inclination and training many of these people are hostile to progressive developments and more at home in the state of affairs that existed under the colonial

the centres of political reaction in the armed forces.

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

For many years, officers of the Ceylon Volunteer Force have in the main been recruited from among the executives of foreign and local mercantile firms and the products of a few snob schools.

That is why we say: While you continue your investigation into the military and police aspect of this coup d'etat, we ask you, equally firmly, to carry on with the investigation into the political aspect.

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

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

There are, however, many hurdles to negotiate. From Governor Pataskar downwards, everybody in Bhopal wants this strike settled as soon as possible. The workers have been rendered so bitter on the basis of their own past experience that they refuse to take the management at its word. I have been meeting the strikers and their leaders.

The workers say that no effective machinery for settlement of grievances ever existed. The Staff Committee first established was completely bogus. In 1957, orders came from above to

# HEL Strike Entirely Management Provoked

From Our Correspondent

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

The workers' strike remains firm and they are eager to settle it on honourable terms. The Management is now prepared to negotiate. It is reliably understood that the directive that has gone from the Ministerial end is a speedy settlement should be sought. Both sides are keen and the victorious Kanpur M.P., S. M. Banerjee, is helping the two sides to come together.

There are, however, many hurdles to negotiate. From Governor Pataskar downwards, everybody in Bhopal wants this strike settled as soon as possible. The workers have been rendered so bitter on the basis of their own past experience that they refuse to take the management at its word. I have been meeting the strikers and their leaders.

The workers say that no effective machinery for settlement of grievances ever existed. The Staff Committee first established was completely bogus. In 1957, orders came from above to

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

Fifteen out of 20 elected members resigned. They also sent wires to the Prime Minister, Home Minister and the Labour Minister that the Government rules were not being followed in the plant, company rules were not being framed, no code of discipline was accepted and hence employee-management relations were getting strained.

The 45 workers, who had resigned, were pressurised to withdraw their resignations, but eight stood firm. They were transferred and harassed. New eight were nominated without any more elections.

This Staff Committee met every month but without any results.

In 1960, elections were held again. The old Staff Committee members dared not stand for elections, only two dared and were duly defeated. Handa was unanimously elected and so were others who had earlier resigned as a protest.

Again they suggested that the constitution of the Staff Committee be formulated but nothing happened. Since there were independent-minded representatives in the Committee, it was made defunct, not functioning at all. They wrote to the Management, but it all went into the files, without a reply.

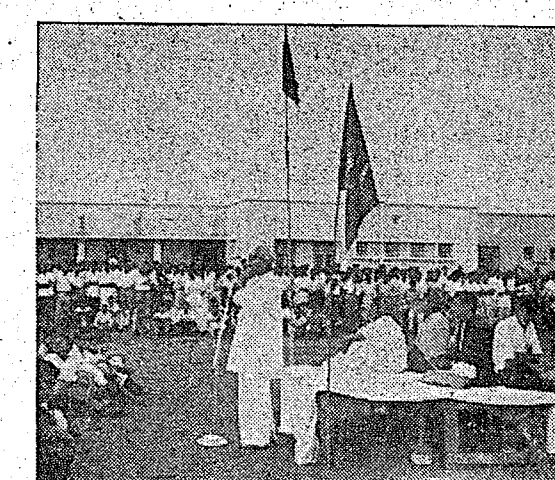
It was such wooden bureaucratic attitude on the part of the management that made the strikes inevitable. The first strike took place on October 13, 1960. The first batch of trainees had been sent to the factory for production but were being given the wages of trainees. They demanded full wages. They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

The second strike was of the U. K. returned engineers, about more than 60 of them, about re-fixation of their pay. Again it was only after the strike that their pay was increased, Rs. 100 to Rs. 200.

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

The Security Guards felt awful at this neglect of the of the management and struck. The District Authorities intervened and listened to the Guards' grievances. The management began to weep out the ex- army personnel who being more advanced had shown boldness.

The fourth strike took place in May 1951. It concerned the



Shakir Ali addresses HEL workers. (Photo: Suraj Joshi)

second batch of artisans, more than 600. They had already gone through their pre-absorption tests but the Management did not announce the results and wanted them to appear in the tests again. Against these repeated tests, strike took place. Two went on hunger-strike.

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

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

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

Under such a bureaucratic management, production

plans could not but be in a mess. The switchgear that was first inaugurated by the Prime Minister was not manufactured in India but brought from the U.K., so was the thermic welder inaugurated by Industries Minister, M. M. Shah.

The production plans fell behind schedule and the workers boldly exposed the reality. It was only in December 1961 that the management accepted that they were behind schedule in production, but put the blame on lack of material not having been received from abroad and the workers not being peaceful.

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

The more I talk to the HEL strikers, the more I am convinced that this strike, has been provoked by the Management and that if it is settled honourably and satisfactorily and the workers' co-operation sought for boosting production, this first plant of its kind, in the much-needed power production machinery for our country will become a model national project of which any country could be proud.

## MASS TRIUMPH

\* FROM BACK PAGE

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

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

Did the Communists work for Menon? They worked as much as any other democrat. Dange on behalf of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti had declared that Kripalani, as the mouthpiece of reactionary forces, must be defeated.

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

A word should be said about the Support Menon Committee, a non-party body which rallied leading intelligentsia of Bombay and worked tirelessly for Menon's success. Krishna Menon himself never spoke from its platform,

strictly behaving as the official candidate of the Congress. But this Committee on which prominently worked Dr. Ballig, Rajani Patel, Balraj Sahni, Ramesh Sanghvi, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and a host of others, did signal service in rousing the patriotic fervour of the Bombay public and made no small contribution to this grand defeat of Reaction's first organised offensive in Free India.

Dust had set in when we took off for the flight back to Delhi. Glancing through the newspapers, my eyes caught an odd bit of news: The Chinese press had discovered that Schlesinger, Chester Bowles and other American VIPs had been visiting India to help Nehru win the General Elections!

How lop-sided the world looks to some people! I only wished that this ingenious press commentator had come to Bombay and witnessed the mass upsurge against the U. S.

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

# CEYLON—COMMUNISTS CALL FOR UNITY

from Communists but also from other Leftists and even from the SLP. But this "free" press has not one word of condemnation for a reactionary coup. It has not said one word against attempts by reactionary conspirators to overthrow the democratic institutions of this country.

I tell my friends opposite: you have given these people far too much rope. I hope those of you who were having second thoughts about the question of breaking the capitalist monopoly of the press will think again...

While pledging once again our support to the Government in all its efforts at unearthing and smashing the reactionary forces behind the attempted coup d'etat, the Communist Party wishes to stress the need for the following particular steps being taken.

In these special circumstances, there must be special measures.

Thirdly, in this difficult and dangerous situation, we of the Communist Party ask the Government to take all necessary steps to have a thoroughly reliable person occupying the post of Governor-General. The present incumbent of this high post must be asked to go.

In view of what was said by the Government yesterday and by a number of honourable members on both sides of this House, I am surprised that the Governor-General has not submitted his resignation.

We cannot afford to wait in this matter. If the Governor-General will not go, he must be asked to go. In this dangerous situation, it is essential that a person who, like Caesar's wife, is above suspicion should occupy the highest and, perhaps, the most decisive post in this land.

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

regime. They have no sympathy for national cultures or for the aspirations of ordinary people.

There are loyal and patriotic persons in this Force too, but I am sure that they will realise that, in the present situation, it is inadvisable to allow matters to go on as they have up to now.

As far as I know, five of the high-ranking and commanding officers of the Ceylon Volunteer Force have been taken into custody in connection with this attempted coup d'etat—the Commandant, Col. Maurice de Mel, the Deputy-Commandant, Col. F. C. de Saram, and three others. As a matter of elementary precaution, you should disband the Ceylon Volunteer Force.

Later on when, things are quiet, you can reconstitute it on a democratic basis. But today it is dangerous to allow this situation to continue and we of the Communist Party ask the Government to take that step.

In our opinion, all these steps will greatly help in the fight against the coup d'etat. Do not think that this coup

In order to facilitate the inquiry, please realise that your best friends are the people of this country and not the armed forces. Please realise that the workers and the Left parties are your allies, whatever differences there may be between us.

Some people think that an alliance means that you must agree one hundred per cent. This is not so.

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

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

But, the real intended victims of the conspiracy were the common people, who are eternal. In the name of common people who have sent us to this highest democratic authority in this country, we of the Communist Party ask you to take the steps which we have suggested.

## Rightist Danger

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

the Rightist menace. There is rightly no panic, but great anxiety and deep worry among those who think honestly and realistically and feel and react passionately.

This big phenomenon cannot register its own reflection inside the ruling party. The machinemen and the Rightists continue not to be publicly bothered about the growth of the Rightist, however pleased they may be about it in their heart of hearts.

They continue to give traditional, partial, and thoughtless explanations about Congress defeats, for example, factionalism within, and lack of mass work by Congress workers below. They think bureaucratically and only trot out organisational reasons for Congress losses, whose significance is political and deeper.

This, however, is not all the picture as it used to be before. Rajasthan's Chief Minister, Sukhadia faced with big loss both to Swatantra first and Jana Sangh next, has been frank enough to admit it was "the critical stage" and "the question before the legislators was the survival of the Congress and its ideals in the State". (Times of India, March 6).

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

In the U.P. Assembly, Government spokesman answering

charges of interference during the elections, went on to admit "the growth of communal and fascist tendencies in the State. Those who want to democracy to succeed in this country, must join hands to meet its enemies. If we fail now, we are gone" (Hindustan Times, March 6).

It is not enough to admit the menace of the Right, even the parblind dare not deny it now. What the country awaits from the Prime Minister of the country and the national leader of the eminence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not only indignant words against the Right but a concrete and constructive plan of action to rally all the healthy forces of the nation for a united national campaign against the Right.

Anti-Communism stands blown up in Indian life and on our own soil through the electoral verdict of the Indian people. The Communist Party of India has not only maintained its strength, but increased it, dramatically in some States, marginally in other States. We have lost some, but more than gained in others.

The State spokesmen in our Party have already made constructive offers for the fight against the Right. Our national leadership will positively respond to every constructive national initiative by the Prime Minister against the Rightist menace. And when our Central Executive and National Council meet to review the election results and the task before the country, let there be no doubt that bold new initiative would be unfolded to defend all that our nation treasures and to achieve what our people dream.

## GREAT VICTORY FOR ALGERIA

THE French Communist Party welcomes the outcome of the recent talks between representatives of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government, says a statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party issued in Paris on February 22.

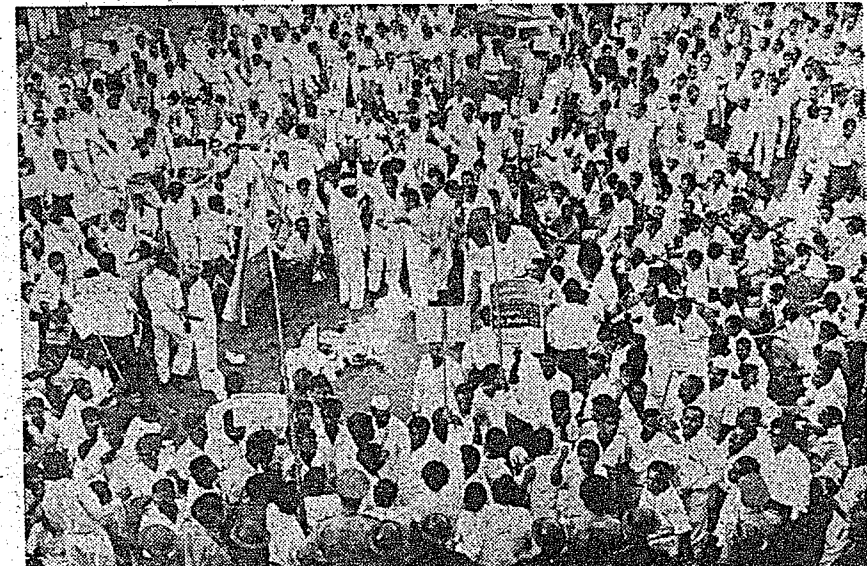
Evaluating the outcome of these talks as a "great victory for the cause of peace and national independence", the Political Bureau declares that Communists, who have always supported the just national aspirations of the Algerian people and from the time of the outbreak of the war insisted that the solution of the Algerian problem, in keeping with the interests of France, lay in negotiations with the representatives of the Algerian people, rejoice in this event.

"The vigilance of the people must not flag in the

present period", adds the Political Bureau. It is important that the popular masses continue their pressure until a cease-fire agreement is signed, the peace terms are formulated, and an independent and sovereign Algerian state formed.

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

The French Communist Party urges the working class, all democrats and peace workers to increase still more their unity and intensify the struggle against the enemies of peace in Algeria, for the speediest signing of an agreement ending the colonial war, which is against the interests and honour of France.



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

# Maharashtra—Samiti Remains Main Opposition

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

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

## Disappointing Result

The thirty-three seats won by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in the current elections have been divided among its various constituents as follows: Communists six, Peasants and Workers' Party 15, Republicans three, Lal Nishan one and Samiti-sponsored Independents eight.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*In S. K. Patil's own constituency a further testimony of the secret understanding between him and the League was provided by an unsigned handbill distributed in Urdu and Gujarati appealing to Muslims in the name of the League's anti-Communist stand that they should not vote for the Samiti supported independent Lalji Pendse but for Patil.*

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

From  
**ZIAUL HAQ**

Kamble took away 47,462 and the Jana Sangh candidate another 20,899.

A memorable fight, which also proved that where the Samiti campaign was powerfully politicalised and organised in a thoroughgoing manner it could be a formidable match to the Congress, was in the North Bombay Assembly constituency of Vile Parle-Andheri. Here on the first day of the counting it was a neck to neck race between the trade union leader B. S. Dhume and the notorious anti-labour Minister Shantilal Shah.

Another instance of the same phenomenon was the Byculla constituency, where the Communist-Samiti candidate Bapurao Jagtap, a sitting member, lost to Congress by a narrow margin.

It remains a fact that despite the outcome, the Samiti

was the most powerful mass campaign of all parties, leaving aside the North Bombay contest. The Samiti held the largest number of and the most well-attended of election rallies, S. A. Dange himself addressing ten to twelve meetings a day. Soon after the announcement of the results, the Samiti held a mass rally at Shivaji Park on March 3. The mammoth audience that attended the rally once again proved that a vast section of people remained firm in their loyalty to the Samiti.

S. A. Dange analysing the results told the rally that they had confirmed once again that the main fight was between the Congress and the Samiti. Those who tried to interpose themselves between these two had badly lost. The Jana Sangh and Swatantra, he pointed out, had failed to secure a single seat in Maharashtra. The PSP too, although it had secured nine seats, could not claim to have won. They should also ponder over this situation, Dange said.

Conceding victory to the Congress, Dange said that it did not mean that the Samiti had been "wiped out". In the last elections, Dange recalled, the Samiti had secured a little more votes than the Congress but a lot of more seats. "We did not say then that the Congress had been 'wiped out'. No. We said that though the Samiti had won more seats, the Congress still had great hold on the people.

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

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

1962 from what it was in 1957. Even a great mass inside the Congress was then angry with it over the imposition of the bilingual state and the denial of Samyukta Maharashtra. In Bombay itself 20,000 Congressmen had resigned from the Congress and joined the Samiti to fight for Samyukta Maharashtra.

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

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

"It has also shown that the Samiti stands as the main opposition to the Congress and that is why the Samiti will remain."

"We must convince the shifting mass in between about our programme and policy through day to day struggles and through live experience of the Congress rule."

## Dange's Call

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

He referred to the Congress resorting to casteism and communalism, the distribution of Taccavi loans and the misuse of the State machinery, to employment of goondas and even tampering with the ballot boxes. He said all these methods had been employed but they could not be considered decisive. The main reason for Congress victory had to be seen in the return to the Congress of the fluid mass which had come over to the Samiti.

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

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

"In Maharashtra too all progressive forces, Dange said, were united in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. It was due to this that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra had been routed, not getting a single seat.

"This yields a lesson that the progressive forces in the Samiti as also those outside it should unite and fight for the common man's needs—that is the Samiti's programme. Take up the day to day issues and fight the Congress regime.

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

## From H. K. VYAS

The results of the third General Elections have shown that the Congress Party in the State has received a serious setback. In the State Assembly it has been able to secure only 88 seats which is exactly 50 per cent of the total of 176 total seats.

COMPARED with the last general elections the Congress strength has been reduced by about 35 seats; for it had a strength of 119 in the last General Elections. The same is true of the votes that it has secured. Compared to the 44.5 per cent that it secured in the last elections, it has been able to secure only 40 per cent in this general elections.

## Feudalists Strong

This reverse that the Congress has suffered is neither entirely unexpected nor is it something which is inevitable in the political climate of the State.

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

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

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

Out of the total of 17 seats in the Jaipur District, the Congress has been able to secure only two seats, the Swatantra Party bagging as many as 13.

Similar is the situation in the Tonk district where all the four seats have been captured by the Swatantra Party. In Sawal Madhopur District, too, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party have secured more than half of the seats.

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

Another District where the Congress has badly lost to the Rightists is the Udaipur District, where in the last elections the Congress secured all the seats except one, but where in these elections it has lost eight out of 13 seats. The Swatantra got five and the Jana Sangh three seats.

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

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

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

were enormous and they, thus, amassed crores worth of assets. These concessions were continued to be enjoyed by them.

The Congress leaders of the State not only continued these concessions they even tried to better them. Thus, as late as 1956 the State Government concretised the position regarding free supply of electricity and water and it granted a concession of say Rs. 1.8 lakhs of free supply of electricity to the Jaipur Maharaja alone, let alone the concessions regarding water and concessions to the other princes: It granted and continuously increased the compensation to the jagirdars. All this was done in the name of "avoiding" an open showdown.

These economic measures were the counterpart of the political policy that the State Congress leaders followed towards these forces. Every two years some dozens of Jagirdars used to be "won over" and made to join the Congress.

Maharana Rana Harishchandra, ex-ruler of Jhalawar is one of the key members of

Added to this policy of conciliation with the feudal forces was the fact that the Congress Government had not been able to solve a single problem of the State.

High prices, unemployment, were hitting the common people hard, their struggles were being ruthlessly suppressed, while the business tycoons and the feudalists were granted concession after concession. In the overall result there was deep discontent against the regime, which these reactionary forces were able to utilise in a demagogic manner.

## Princes Defeated

It would be wrong to think that these princely houses and the feudal forces are so powerful that none can stand in their way. Actually the results show things to the contrary.

In the Fall District where a majority of the Pradhans of the Panchayat Samities had donated the banner of the Swatantra, in the elections the Swatantra Party has been able to secure only one seat.

In Jodhpur City one of the contestants was Deonarayan Vyas, son of the ex-Chief Minister Jai Narayan Vyas, who was openly and vigorously

trounced by heavy margins by Communist leaders.

Thus, Minister Sampat Ram has been beaten by Hariram in the Tijara seat by a huge margin. Similarly Minister Ram Chandra Chaudhary has been trounced by Sheopat Singh in Hanumangarh. Even the Independent candidate Satish who beat Health Minister Badri Prasad had the joint support of the Communists and the Independent group of Lala Kashiram.

The most notable is the victory of Lala Kashiram, a veteran leader of Alwar, who left the Congress and stood as a progressive Independent and who fought with the open support of the Communists, and was able to defeat the so-called invincible Shobharam of Alwar. In Alwar District, which was one of its strongest Districts, the Congress this time has lost almost half of its seats and also the Parliamentary seat.

Somewhat similar is the situation in the Ganganagar District. Out of the eight seats in this District, two have been won by the Communist Party, another has gone to a left Independent Professor Kedar, who fought the election with Communist support. Yet another has gone to an Independent allied with Professor Kedar. Other seats too have gone to Inde-

pendents, the Congress getting a bare single seat.

In the Bharatpur District a section of the Congress had joined the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia. They have been able to secure three seats out of ten. Another three have gone to the group of Congressmen led by Master Aditendra who resigned from the Congress on the eve of the elections.

But to combat these forces it was necessary that the Congress reverse its policies of hitting the common man, and giving concessions to these elements. Drunk with power, moving amongst the narrow groove of their own class policies the Congress leaders of the State adured this path, and the result is there for all to see.

Through this trend is more pronounced and still more publicised trend of the Rajasthan politics, there is yet another political trend that has emerged in these General Elections. A significant part of the mauling that the Congress has received in the State is at the hands of the left and the progressive forces. The Communist Party in this context has emerged as the strongest component of this trend.

It has been able to secure five seats in the Assembly. Besides these five it has been able to get some independents elected by its open support. The total strength of the Communists and their allies is thus, likely to be about ten in the house. Its voting percentage has gone up to about six per cent and if the votes of the Independents supported by it are taken into account the figure would even go higher.

Two of the Ministers of the State Government have been

trounced by heavy margins by Communist leaders.

Thus, Minister Sampat Ram has been beaten by Hariram in the Tijara seat by a huge margin. Similarly Minister Ram Chandra Chaudhary has been trounced by Sheopat Singh in Hanumangarh. Even the Independent candidate Satish who beat Health Minister Badri Prasad had the joint support of the Communists and the Independent group of Lala Kashiram.

The most notable is the victory of Lala Kashiram, a veteran leader of Alwar, who left the Congress and stood as a progressive Independent and who fought with the open support of the Communists, and was able to defeat the so-called invincible Shobharam of Alwar. In Alwar District, which was one of its strongest Districts, the Congress this time has lost almost half of its seats and also the Parliamentary seat.

Somewhat similar is the situation in the Ganganagar District. Out of the eight seats in this District, two have been won by the Communist Party, another has gone to a left Independent Professor Kedar, who fought the election with Communist support. Yet another has gone to an Independent allied with Professor Kedar. Other seats too have gone to Inde-

pendents, the Congress getting a bare single seat.

In the Bharatpur District a section of the Congress had joined the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia. They have been able to secure three seats out of ten. Another three have gone to the group of Congressmen led by Master Aditendra who resigned from the Congress on the eve of the elections.

But to combat these forces it was necessary that the Congress reverse its policies of hitting the common man, and giving concessions to these elements. Drunk with power, moving amongst the narrow groove of their own class policies the Congress leaders of the State adured this path, and the result is there for all to see.

# Rajasthan—Congress Mauled, Cross Trends In Opposition

ly supported by his father. He, along with another Assembly candidate, Keshao Singh, were "blessed" in a written message by the Rajdhadi of Jodhpur. Both these candidates lost their deposits.

But to combat these forces it was necessary that the Congress reverse its policies of hitting the common man, and giving concessions to these elements. Drunk with power, moving amongst the narrow groove of their own class policies the Congress leaders of the State adured this path, and the result is there for all to see.

## Wooing Rajas

Chief Minister Sukhadia openly praised the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Congress did not even put up a candidate against him. The Jaipur Prince was contacted, a meeting was arranged for him with the Prime Minister, all in the hope that concessions would "contain" these forces.

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

How can you really fight these forces, when you continuously grant them concessions and make political compromises with them? It is this policy which led to the present debacle of the Congress in the State.

Overnight it granted Congress ticket to them. Maharajkumars became Congress candidates. The Nawab of Loharu became its nominee for a Vidhan Sabha seat, even Hukum Singh of Jaisalmer who was the founder member of the Swatantra Party was "converted" into a Congress candidate overnight.

Through this trend is more pronounced and still more publicised trend of the Rajasthan politics, there is yet another political trend that has emerged in these General Elections. A significant part of the mauling that the Congress has received in the State is at the hands of the left and the progressive forces. The Communist Party in this context has emerged as the strongest component of this trend.

It has been able to secure five seats in the Assembly. Besides these five it has been able to get some independents elected by its open support. The total strength of the Communists and their allies is thus, likely to be about ten in the house. Its voting percentage has gone up to about six per cent and if the votes of the Independents supported by it are taken into account the figure would even go higher.

Two of the Ministers of the State Government have been

# PETROLEUM WORKERS' BIG ACTION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE strike of three thousand workers in the oil installations and offices of the Burmah-Shell in Greater Bombay which began on Feb. 9 demanding cancellation of the dismissal orders served on 19 workers continued till Feb. 23.

The Managing Committee of the Petroleum Workmen's Union which led the strike called it off on Feb. 23, following the advice of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. The Chief Minister had promised the look into the dispute.

During the period of the strike, 134 workers had offered satyagraha.

Addressing a rally of the workers on strike, on February 16, S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, extended the whole-hearted support of the AITUC to their struggle. He referred to the anti-national policies of the oil companies in general and of Burmah-Shell in particular which are being faced by Minister Malaviya.

He referred to the propaganda bulletin of the company issued on Feb. 16 and remarked the absurdity of the company's logic that they

have inflicted these dismissals as a matter of normal disciplinary action.

Later, on Feb. 21, addressing a meeting, S. A. Dange showed before the gathering a document—a concrete proof of the State Labour Minister's anti-labour and anti-national policies.

This was an official letter signed by Shantilal Shah, the Labour Minister and addressed to the Burmah-Shell, assuring them that the Government and he himself personally would be responsible for the police and if necessary, for military bandobust at the installation during the strike.

The strike completely paralysed the work of the Burmah-Shell in Greater Bombay. The blacklegging activities of the INTUC could produce not more than two per cent attendance.

The victimisation of the 19 workers for allegedly demonstrating for removal of Raja Kulkarni, the INTUC leader, from the office of the Sewree installations serves to illustrate the relationships between the INTUC and the foreign oil monopolies, a relationship blessed by the Maharashtra Labour Minister, Shantilal Shah.

Raja Kulkarni heads a minority union in Bombay's petroleum industry. But inspired by the Labour Minister, the four oil companies—Burmah-Shell, Standard-Vacuum, Caltex and IBP—entered into an agreement with Raja Kulkarni and his union.

Under the three-year agreement, the companies agreed to pay bonus at 9/24th of the annual basic wages for workers other than clerks and 7/24th for clerks. This formula, however, has been continuously followed irrespectively of the profits made by the companies from year to year.

On Nov. 25 last, the "three-year bondage" as the workers described the agreement signed by the INTUC, came to an end. The Petroleum Workmen's Union (AITUC) had earlier, in September, got mandate from the overwhelming majority of workers of the four oil companies to negotiate with the employers on the demands including bonus equivalent to seven months basic wages.

Further, the workers gave notice to the companies against entering into any agreements with the Petroleum Employees' Union (INTUC) whose president is Raja Kulkarni.

Under these circumstances, some of the oil companies like

the Standard-Vacuum started negotiations with the Petroleum Workmen's Union (PWU).

But in the first week of January, the employers abruptly called off the negotiations on the plea that "certain developments" have made it difficult for them to carry on further negotiations.

These "further developments", it is reported, were nothing other than the pressure from the Labour Minister and other oil companies.

When the management refused to negotiate, the PWU issued a strike notice to the companies with the specific announcement that the union "resolve to continue negotiations if a fruitful opening for such negotiations exists for a reasonable settlement".

Following this, on Feb. 16, the workers' demands were referred to a Board of Conciliation.

But during the last two months, Raja Kulkarni and his patron, Labour Minister Shantilal Shah, hectorically tried to break the unity of the workers and get recognition for the Petroleum Employees' Union.

The 19 employees who have been victimised following this incident are important office-bearers and active workers of the PWU.

Just Released

INTERNATIONAL

SOCIALIST

MISCELLANY

No. 3

Rs. 1.50

People's Publishing House  
Rani Jhansi Road  
New Delhi-1

# NORTH BOMBAY—GREAT EXPERIENCE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"Do you think Krishna Menon will be able to win?" I asked the IAC baggage steward at Santa Cruz airport. "Sure," he said, "Menon will win hands down. Do you know he has never, not even once, made a personal attack on Acharya Kripalani?"

I did not quite fully understand then how Krishna Menon's victory could be assured by his merely not attacking the Acharya. But four exciting days in Bombay before the eventful poll of February 25 opened my eyes and I could realise that it was a battle between the fascist technique of the Big Lie versus principled political campaigning for a clear-cut democratic policy.

On the Acharya's side, it was a gigantic attempt at political character-assassination. The one theme that was repeated ad nauseam through a thousand posters and leaflets—lavishly produced at whose expense nobody knows (though many could suspect!)—was that Menon was a secret member of the Communist Party.

The Prime Minister has branded this as McCarthyism, but, perhaps, it goes a step further—to the pathological limits of the Birch Society (which suspected even the Eisenhower Administration as being run by Reds!).

Menon was, of course, a "communist" since the India League days before World War II. "Evidence" galore broadcast through scores of printed sheets brought out by Ramakrishna Bajaj's (brother of Congress MP Kamalnayan Bajaj) Anti-Menon Youth Front and printed at Goenka's press.

I heard of a master plot to bring out a forgery under the late M. N. Roy's forged signature to "prove" that Krishna Menon was an agent of the Communist International. Somehow or other this time-bomb got defused and the matter was hushed up.

## Guru Gorwala

A. D. Gorwala played the ideological guru in this amazing circus. Giving a good-conduct testimonial that "Kripalani himself is doing a very fine job", Gorwala gave a clarion call to his flock: "It is time the chiefs of the political parties understood that whatever victories they may win elsewhere cannot but turn to dust and ashes if Krishna Menon is not defeated. In the lives of nations, there come certain decisive points. Everything thereafter is determined in relation to what happens then. This election is such a point!"

And Gorwala's own gurus had mustered there in full strength: not only the entire tribe of American correspondents, complete with telephoto cameras to see the Acharya beating the Red Menon, but even the American officials could be seen moving about in Consular cars.

And they overdid it to a point that, perhaps, it created sufficient revulsion in the ordinary voter as to help Menon himself.

I found Time copies with the Krishna Menon coverage being shown round with great delight by Menon supporters, for they could

rely on the healthy patriotic instinct of the public to condemn such blatant warning of a foreign agency. On the day Menon's victory was assured, a local pressman working in Goenka's outfit rang me up and said: "This is America's Second Cuba, this Menon victory!"

Attending Kripalani's meetings, one was sure to hear all the usual tirades against Krishna Menon—Chinese aggression, jeep scandal, Red agent. At times, the Acharya could be trusted to be quite unbalanced and once even said that Menon was provoking "grave discontent" inside the Defence forces. In a printed sheet handed to me in one of the Kripalani's meetings, it was written in Gujarati that "Krishna Menon is a thief". He "sleeps when China attacks". He "wears Khadi but goes about with Communists".

## Political Campaign

I went to Menon's meetings: there was only an exposition of the Government's policy of non-alignment and peace. Chavan explained at one meeting how the onslaught on Krishna Menon was meant to be an attack on Pandit Nehru's progressive policies. There was no mud-slinging anywhere.

Menon himself said: "If you throw mud, some of it sticks to you. My system is such that I do not absorb mud even if it sticks".

The nearest that I heard Krishna Menon himself referring to Acharya Kripalani's non-stop attacks on his political faith was, at a meeting of Sindhi residents, where Menon said: "It is surprising how sensitive some people are to other people's faith rather than their own. Perhaps, they have none themselves".

How blatantly unscrupulous were the Kripalani campaigners was clear from their stand on Goa.

In one of the early issues of the Kripalani Election Campaign Committee's Bulletin, it was stated: "The Acharya assailed the Government for its ineptitude in being unable to drive away the Portuguese from Goa and other Indian enclaves".

And when the Goa action actually came, the focus was changed, and a cyclostyled questionnaire meant for Krishna Menon's meetings asked: "If a tiny problem of Goa took fourteen years, how many years will be taken in solving Chinese and Pakistani problems?"

And Guru Gorwala did not spare the admonition: "The Government of India certainly has Goa, but there can be little doubt that it departed from the Charter of the United Nations which it was pledged to uphold". Approvingly he dittoed the Western charge that Nehru was a "hypocrite" over Goa. But what brought Krishna Menon the memorable victory was not the evident chinks in Don Quixote's armour. More solid than all this was the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh with the PSP playing the Man Friday to them.

In fact, the Acharya was a pathetic spectacle, playing the mascot for this axis of big money and Reaction. And as their ally stood the Morarji Group inside Bombay Congress.

## Morarji's Manoeuvre

Reports were current in Bombay that Morarji Desai used his not-too-small influence with the Jains (shades of the Foreign Exchange unmentionables?) to get their newspapers play down the Krishna Menon campaigners.

Goenka went a step further in blacking it out completely: a piece of effrontery which angered more than confused the Bombay public, and the Express sale was said to have gone down by over 10,000 copies as a result. If Kashmir M. P.

## Dange Retains Workers' Vote

Anti-Communist circles in Bombay "interpreting" Dange's defeat in the General Elections, compared to his spectacular success last time, have put forth the "thesis" that Dange does not enjoy working class confidence. But an examination of the election results shows that this is far from the truth.

THREE reasons could be cited for the defeat of Dange and the Samiti in Bombay City Central South. The constituency has less than 50 per cent Maharastrians, if one is to take into account the linguistic factor.

A Congress study for electoral tactics shows that of the five lakhs voters in the constituency nearly 82 thousand are Muslims, 20 thousand are Parsis and Christians each and 53 thousand Gujaratis. These groups are not influenced by the Samiti.

The constituency was also divided. Most of the working class which voted last time are now in the reserved seat. Dange's present constituency has only 40 per cent workers.

Secondly, the Samiti was split and the Praja Socialists went out of it after the formation of Maharashtra. The Republicans with a large and disciplined following also split into two groups. The breakaway

Kamble group put up candidates against Samiti and Republicans.

B. C. Kamble stood against Dange supported by Praja Socialists, League and Swatantra—another North Bombay gangup. They got 47,642 votes. This means 9,064 more than required by Dange to win over the Congress, Jana Sangh candidate got 20,899. This factor was absent last time.

If no gangup had been there Dange would have won despite the division of the constituency. Thus, the Congress win is not due to more following than last time.

All six Assembly seats were contested by the Communists. Patkar won in the workers and Marathi seat by over eight thousand votes. In the second seat Jagtap lost by 1,605 votes to a Congress Muslim candidate.

Except a small section attracted by the demagogy and new Maratha face of the Congress Ministry, the main body of workers voted for the Samiti and for Dange.

Also it should be pointed out that vast resources of money, State power and patronage of High Finance in the city were used for the Congress.

The North Bombay clash was reflected over the whole city. In spite of this the bulk of working class votes was not for the Congress.

Tariq had not confined the demonstration to a bonfire of the paper itself, Goenka's press would, perhaps, have been raided that day by the angry public.

The Air India International's American publicity orga-

nislation put up a poster frankly making fun of Krishna Menon and almost joining in the Red-baiting slander. Angry protests brought this poster down, no credit for a Government-owned undertaking.

Inside the Bombay Congress, BPC Chief Shantilal dutifully carried out the Morarji line and many have complained quite openly that Shah's men not only failed to campaign for Krishna Menon but actually asked people to vote for Kripalani.

## Congress Sabotage

Kripalani publicity materials could be found in BPC Office but hardly any Menon material. It was only Chavari's intervention that saved the name of the Congress in North Bombay and after the poll, a leading Congressman said: "If Menon wins it would be despite the BPC. If Menon loses it would be because of the BPC".

Reports are current that at the eleventh hour when it was known to him that disciplinary action might come because of his misconduct that Shah hurried to issue a press contradiction about his pro-Kripalani activities, but this



—Courtesy Marathi Weekly MARMIK