

NEW AGE

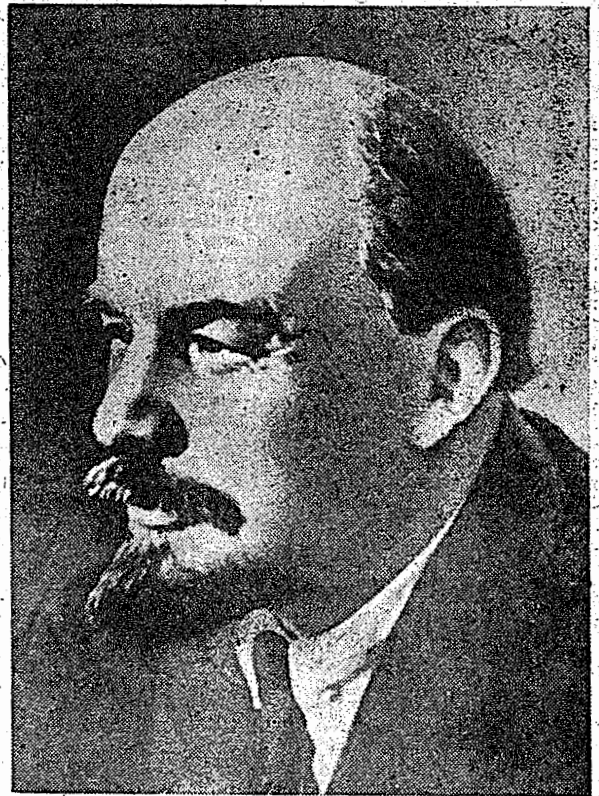
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X NO. 16

NEW DELHI, APRIL 22, 1962

25 nP.

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Long Live Lenin !



New Age pays its homage to the immortal Lenin on the 92nd anniversary of his birth on April 22.

IMPRESSIVE OPENING OF NEW PARLIAMENT

India's Third Lok Sabha got off to an impressive and promising start, the Prime Minister's steady though slow recovery contributing much to it.

As the House began to assemble on April 18 for the swearing in of members and the Prime Minister walked in, he was given a rousing and affectionate ovation. Among others, the leader of the principal opposition group, the Communist Bloc, A. K. Gopalan went up to him and wished him good health.

While unanimously electing and sincerely felicitating Sardar Hukum Singh as the Speaker the next afternoon, the House could not but take note of the fact, however en passant, that Government had coldly refused to consult the Opposition in the matter. The leader of the Communist Bloc drawing attention to the fact said:

OPPOSITION PROTESTS

"We would have liked that in the interests of healthy conventions for the growth of Parliamentary democracy in this country, the ruling party had thought it fit to consult the Opposition before nominating their candidates for the post of Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House."

Such consultation would only have enhanced the prestige of these high offices, Gopalan said. It was important that healthy traditions were built, but unfortunately "the natural tendency" of the ruling party continued to be one to ignore the Opposition and to use its steam-roller majority to that end.

"We are sure", said the Communist leader addressing Sardar Hukum Singh, "that as Speaker of the House you will vigorously uphold the rights of the House, safeguard the rights of the Opposition, and above all strive to maintain and heighten the role of this House as one of the key instruments for the growth of democracy in the country." He assured him of the full co-operation of his bloc.

The 34-member Communist Bloc had earlier at its meeting on Sunday declared that it was "strongly of the opinion that the Deputy Speaker be chosen from the Opposition."

In pursuance of this and as a result of mutual consultations, the Opposition groups and a number of Independents have decided to sponsor Jai Pal Singh, leader of the Inde-

pendent Parliamentary Group as their candidate for the post of the Deputy Speaker. A lively contest is bound to follow.

The Communist Bloc at its meeting also made it clear that there was no question of the nomination of Dr. Zakir Husain for Vice-Presidency being opposed.

It also adopted a condolence resolution on the passing away of M. Visvesvarayya, the great builder.

Independent members of Lok Sabha who have joined the Communist Bloc are S. K. Pottekat, A. V. Raghavan from Kerala, Haripada Chatterji from West Bengal, Mandali Venkatasmi (Andhra) and Homi Daji (Madhya Pradesh).

Besides electing A. K. Gopalan as its leader in the Lok Sabha, the Bloc has also elected Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and Renu Chakravarty as deputy-leaders in that House.

Bhupesh Gupta continues as the leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha, where too it has again emerged as the main opposition group, with 14 members.

India Warns U.S.-Britain Against Tests Resumption

THROUGH President Prasad's last address to Parliament India declared forcefully and clearly that it regards the cessation of nuclear tests as "a matter of most immediate concern."

Coming on the eve of the threatened resumption of atmospheric tests by USA and Britain, even as they continue

satisfactory, the Third Five-Year Plan having made "a good start", and so on—characteristically vague and complacent generalisations—dominate the address.

More specific references to development of oil refining and distribution in the public sector. "The first one-million ton unit" of the two-million ton capacity Barauni oil refinery now under construction with Soviet assistance, "is scheduled to be commissioned within the next twelve months". Solid good news, indeed.

The Lok Sabha when it meets tomorrow, the day after the President's address, will have to face up to the hateful fact of a number of police firings in different parts of the country, now even in distant and isolated Andamans.

Whatever the fate of the adjournment motions that are coming up on the subject, the facts—even the little that are available in this cosy capital—are utterly revolting.

In Port Blair, Andamans, the Central FWD staff had struck work on April 9 demanding higher wages and other facilities, as already given all over India per the recommendations of the Pay Commission.

GHASTLY KILLINGS

Not only did the Chief Commissioner turn a deaf ear and refuse to see workers' representatives, but an entirely peaceful assembly of workers was set upon the next day by 200 armed policemen first tear-gasing,

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Sardar Hukum Singh addressing the recently held Congress for Disarmament and World Peace, a few days before his elevation to Speakership. From left to right: Dr. Clovis Maksoud; Rameshwari Nehru; Onkarnath Thakur; Pandit Sunderlal.

to carry out underground tests, the warning is unmistakable and clear.

India will "initiate and support proposals" at Geneva to bring about the cessation of nuclear tests, the President declared.

"Pending achievement of general and complete disarmament" India would strive at Geneva, as indicated by the President's address, to bring about, besides cessation of nuclear tests, agreement on nuclear-free zones, and on measures to prevent surprise attacks.

"My Government", said the President, "will use their best and dedicated endeavour for speedy progress and the successful outcome, of the (Geneva) Conference."

Coming so soon after the one delivered last month, the President's address was rather scanty in policy indications, besides incorporating in itself a long list of the legislative business before the session.

Sweeping claims like agricultural production steadily moving up and the food situation in general being quite

A commentator wrote recently in the New York Times, "Southeast Asia, rather than Berlin, appears as an increasingly dangerous nuclear threat to peace." Eight years after the Geneva Agreements of 1954 which were supposed to herald peace for this region, an explosive situation has developed there which is causing serious concern.

To safeguard peace in Vietnam and ensure its freedom, unity and territorial integrity, the Geneva Conference had prohibited the introduction into Vietnam of any fresh military personnel, arms and war material, the setting up of any military base or adherence by either part of the country to any military alliance; it had said that the demarcation line at the 17th Parallel was only provisional, that it was not in any way to be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary and that eventual reunification of Vietnam was to take place through general elections to be held in July, 1956.

The advent to office of President Kennedy saw an intensification of this policy of armed intervention in South Vietnam, the policy of brinkmanship laid down by his predecessor Eisenhower and his Secretary of State Dulles.

ONE of the first acts of the new President was to send his Vice-President Lyndon Johnson in May 1961 to South Vietnam. The Joint Communiqué signed by the US Vice-President and South Vietnam's Ngo-Dinh-Diem was

crop-destroying poisonous chemicals, etc.

A number of military bases and strategic roads were built — by the end of 1960, South Vietnam had already 57 airfields (six in 1954), many of them accessible to jet planes. A big air and land base was set up in Ban Me Thuot and installations in the military ports were modernized. Many strategic roads linking these bases and a road connecting South Vietnam with SEATO member Thailand were constructed.

The Diem administration, obedient to US commands, instituted a regime of terror to beat the South Vietnam people into submission.

In seven years from the signing of the Geneva Agreements, more than 90,000 persons had been killed, more than 800,000 jailed in about 1,000 prison and concentration camps. Of these over 600,000 had been dis-

abled by tortures, more than 190,000 persons had been wounded in the mopping up operations launched by the South Vietnam authorities.

With all this, the situation was still not developing as the USA wanted. Another series of consultations, missions and activities began with the sending of General Maxwell Taylor to South Vietnam in October 1961 and now the US has set up a military command in Saigon, thus openly taking over operational command of Diem's war against his people.

It is against the denial of their right to reunification of their land that the South Vietnam people are fighting a patriotic struggle, fighting for their freedom, for the territorial integrity of their Fatherland, for their right to live.

IT is a struggle in complete conformity with the letter and spirit of the Geneva Agreements which envisaged the reunification of Vietnam.

IT is a struggle in complete conformity with the United Nations Charter which enshrines the right of the people to self-determination.

IT is, above all, a struggle in complete conformity with the interests of peace in South East Asia, for to defeat the US intervention in South Vietnam is to safeguard the security of the region.

India has always been on the side of people fighting for freedom, we have always condemned foreign intervention in the internal affairs of any people, we are very much interested in maintaining peace in Asia. We are against the US intervention, we are against the puppet regime which has allowed this intervention. We are with the South Vietnamese people engaged in a grim battle, a just and patriotic struggle.

It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the silence which has already prevailed for too long should now be broken.

India must tell the US that it must stop its undeclared but full-fledged war against the people of South Vietnam, it should withdraw its personnel and armaments and return to due respect for Geneva Agreements.

ROURKELA LOCKOUT —THE FACTS

Workers of Rourkela as well as public opinion all over India were shocked by the sudden declaration of a lockout in the Blast Furnaces of the Rourkela Steel Plant on April 3, 1962. This affected production in other departments and resulted in severe loss to the nation. It was the first lockout in any of the three State-owned Steel Plants.

Till the declaration of the lockout the workers were not represented by any Union. From March 28 to April 3 the workers were negotiating directly with the authorities through their departmental representatives. After the lockout at about 2-30 p.m. the workers approached the Rourkela Steel Mazdoor Union to represent them and signed a declaration in its favour u/s 38 of Orissa Industrial Disputes Rules.

A statement issued on April 7 by Nityanand Panda, General Secretary of the Union throws light on the state of affairs. He said "The management says that they have declared this lockout as the workers went on a strike. The workers resolutely deny having staged any strike".

The dispute was that the Khalasis and Helpers who were working in higher posts demanded confirmation in those posts since they have successfully worked for more than two years.

The management refused to meet this simple demand. Instead they resorted to threats of dismissal. The D.G.M.(P) went round and showed a pistol to workers threatening them. The Police was brought in and four workers were arrested and subsequently released.

In spite of these provocations the workers remained peaceful. They remained firm in their demand either to give them work in their appointed posts or to confirm them in higher posts. Thereupon, the authorities promised to issue favourable orders within 12

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revolution come alive

The homage and the love that all Communists offer to Lenin's memory on his birthday (April 22) grows each year simply because our debt to him and to his teachings increases. It is not idolatry that is expressed in this immense tribute but a celebration of all the achievements that his work and thought made possible. These achievements grow and so does the stature of Lenin.

NOT only the work but the man himself is a phenomenon for which all humanity has reason enough to congratulate itself. In a sense it can be said that this man was greater even than his titanic deeds.

We have only to recall his life of utter devotion, of suffering, of compassion and of a pure joy in serving the cause of human freedom. His simplicity, his modesty, his brilliance and, above all, his revolutionary passion will live on through the epochs. Lenin was revolution—the festival of the oppressed—come alive, himself Iskra (spark) and Pravda (truth).

It is difficult to commemorate such a man for there is too much to remember and, often enough, too little to offer—in our country at any rate—in the way of work or struggle or thought.

Party And Allies

It will not be too wrong, however, if we recall on this birthday two of his greatest gifts to all revolutionaries—the theory of the Communist Party and the theory of allies for the proletariat.

It is certainly no accident that right from the outset of his engagement with the revolutionary movement Lenin turned his attention to the problem of building an organisation, an engine for revolution. "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries and we shall overturn Russia," he said. He himself built such an organisation of revolutionaries who did far more than just overturn Russia. What kind of an organisation was it?

It is again certainly no accident that in order to lay the foundations of the Party, Lenin, from the very beginning, waged an implacable struggle simultaneously against the anarchists (the so-called "leftists") and the Economists (the Right opportunists).

In What is to be Done? he wrote: "The Economists and the modern terrorists spring from a common root, namely subservience to spontaneity... The Economists and the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the 'pure and simple' labour movement, while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who are either incapable of linking up the revolutionary struggle with labour movement, or lack the opportunity to do so".

From the beginning to the end of his revolutionary life Lenin never ceased to wage war against spontaneity in both of its seemingly opposite manifestations. There has never been a leader who so cherished the masses and who so passionately believed in the creative potentialities of mass struggle. Yet he never made

a fetish of mass struggle nor imagined that a socialist revolution would come to victory on the crest of a rising crescendo of more and more partial struggles.

He constantly warned against the idea that a mere accumulation of economic struggles or struggles for partial political demands, even when led by the Communist Party, would, at a certain stage, qualitatively transform itself into the explosion of revolution.

He stressed that socialist consciousness could only be brought to the workers from without. He pointed out that:

"The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may itself realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the governments to pass necessary labour legislation, etc."

"The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia."

He added: "Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. "The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all the various classes and strata and the state and the government—the sphere of the interrelationships between all the various classes."

"For that reason, the reply to the question: What must be done in order to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the one which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those who are inclined towards Economism, usually content themselves with, i.e., 'go among the workers'."

"To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must despatch units of their army in all directions".

It is this insistence that the Party should be more than just a trade union with political slogans that stamped Lenin's work of Party building as first and foremost ideological work. The Party should be scientific and the Party should go everywhere in society as the representative of the revolutionary class—that was his particular emphasis.

If this was his conception at the start of his work it was only reinforced with the years

of work and of struggle. In 1920 when he summed up his life's experience in "Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, he returns to this theme.

He writes that "the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, unless the strictest, truly iron discipline had prevailed in our Party, and unless the latter had been rendered the fullest and unreserved support of the whole mass of the working class, that is, of all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements who are capable of leading or of carrying with them the backward strata".

All too often only the aspect of discipline is stressed and it is made to appear as if Lenin was emphasising discipline for discipline's sake and as if by mere chanting of the word "discipline" a Bolshevik Party was created.

Yet in that very same work he clearly states the conditions which maintain, test and reinforce Party discipline. "First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism."

"Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses."

"Thirdly, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced by their own experience that they are correct".

He adds "without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline fall inevitably flat and end in phrasemongering and grimacing."

"On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise all at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement".

It was precisely because Lenin brought together problems of organisation and problems of ideology into a single integrated theory of Party building, that he was so passionate and insistent on political issues being clarified by principled inner-Party struggle.

Whether in the early period when the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were in a single party or towards the end of his life when the Party of iron discipline had been created, Lenin never allowed a single important ideological or poli-

tical issue to pass without a serious and public Party discussion.

It is sometimes suggested that such fiery public debates were forced on Lenin by the existence of the Mensheviks. But this suggestion is not able to explain the debates with the "Left" Communists in 1918 over the Best Treaty or the debate on the trade union question with Trotsky and Bukharin in 1921.

These discussions, no less than the earlier ones, were marked both by ideological-political firmness and by the fact that they were genuine debates with open clash of opinion. After each discussion, the Party emerged firmer and better able to give a lead.

And in March 1921 at the Tenth Congress came the justly celebrated Resolution on Party Unity which roundly condemned factionalism. The Resolution drafted by Lenin states: "In the practical struggle against factionalism, every organisation of the Party must take strict measures to prevent any factional conduct whatsoever..."

"Every analysis of the general line of the Party or of its practical experience, the verification of the fulfilment of

contribution of Lenin was his emphasis on allies for the proletariat. This, too, was a question which engaged Lenin's attention from the start to the finish.

We have only to recall one of his earliest works, What the 'Friends of the People' are and how they fight the Social-Democrats. In this book Lenin "charted the historical course of the Russian working class as the political leader of the people, advanced the idea of the hegemony (leading role of the proletariat and deal with the question of the allies of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle."

"The ally of the working class in the struggle against the Tsarist autocracy was the peasantry, the broad mass of the people. The working class was coming forward against capitalism, not as a solitary fighter, but together with other sections of the working and exploited masses of the country." (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

The whole question was lifted to a new plane at the time of the 1905 Revolution with the celebrated Two Tactics of Social-Democratic Revolution.

The crux of the matter was capsuled thus: "The proletaria-

LENIN

(On His 92nd Birthday)

its decisions, the study of methods of rectifying errors, etc. must under no circumstances be submitted for preliminary discussion to groups formed on the basis of 'platforms,' etc., but must be exclusively submitted for discussion directly to all the members of the Party.

"For this purpose, the Congress orders that the Discussion Sheet and special symposiums be published more regularly, and that unceasing efforts be made to secure that criticism shall be concentrated on essentials and not assume a form capable of assisting the class enemies of the proletariat."

These appear now as a axioms of revolutionary politics. But one has only to read the literature and the controversies in the socialist movement of the first years of this century to realise the bold and innovating nature of these remarks.

Because the leading representatives of the Second International were bogged down in their petty politics and their restricted trade union movement, this vast sweep and force of a revolutionary perspective never dawned on them. And because Lenin's perspective was revolutionary, it was broad and comprehensive. It was the Second Interna-

As mentioned earlier another remarkably original

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by
MOHIT SEN

U.S.A.'s UNDECLARED WAR IN VIETNAM AND INDIA'S DUTY

If these provisions had been sincerely implemented, there would have been no cause for the present alarming situation. But they were flagrantly violated—almost from the day they were signed.

The facts of these violations are well-known by now. To recapitulate only a few of the major ones:

BARELY two months after the signing of the Geneva Agreements, the USA knocked together the aggressive SEATO military bloc ignoring protests from major Asian countries, and by a protocol to the SEATO treaty designated South Vietnam as an area under its protection.

THE Military Aid and Advisory Group (MAAG), set up by the US in 1950, to pro-

more in the nature of a bilateral military pact for more US aid, equipment and advice to build up South Vietnam's armed forces.

THE Johnson visit was followed a month later by the Staley Mission which prepared the Staley Plan—a long-term programme for conquest of the whole of Vietnam. This plan envisaged in its first phase, "pacification" of South Vietnam in 18 months and "establishment of bases" in North Vietnam, in the second phase economic rehabilitation and reinforcement of the South Vietnam army and increase of sabotage in North Vietnam, to be followed by the last phase for the development of South Vietnam's economy and offensive against the North.

Four hundred million dollars were pumped into South Vietnam in 1961 alone to implement these plans. U.S. military missions headed by top generals visited South Vietnam one after the other.

More and more US military personnel were introduced into South Vietnam—the MAAG's strength increased to over 2,000 men at the end of 1960 against 200 in 1954 and from June to November 1961 alone more than 1,000 of them were sent to South Vietnam.

The US also brought Chiang Kai shek's troops (Voice of America placed their strength at 1,200), Thai, Filipino and South Korean soldiers. The South Vietnam correspondent of the New York Times reported that this irregular army was called "the sea swallows" and that they were wearing "United States helmets and cartridge belts."

From the last months of 1954 up to the end of 1960, the number of shipments from the US amounted to nearly 800 with a total of hundreds of thousands of tons of U.S. war material. U.S. news agencies have been repeatedly reporting the arrival in South Vietnam of hundreds of US aircraft of all types—bombers, fighters, training planes, liaison planes, helicopters, jet planes of the US air force, etc. and special weapons like microjet rockets, explosive gas,

abled by tortures, more than 190,000 persons had been wounded in the mopping up operations launched by the South Vietnam authorities.

With all this, the situation was still not developing as the USA wanted. Another series of consultations, missions and activities began with the sending of General Maxwell Taylor to South Vietnam in October 1961 and now the US has set up a military command in Saigon, thus openly taking over operational command of Diem's war against his people.

5000 Strong U.S. Force

Four conferences of top US brass had been held in Honolulu in the last three months or so, attended by US Defence Secretary McNamara, to plan out expansion of operations in South Vietnam. US personnel in South Vietnam already number 5,000 and is soon to be twice that number.

Western Press and news-agencies have carried many reports of US personnel actually engaged in combat operations in South Vietnam — bombing and strafing people and spraying chemicals to destroy crops and vegetation.

These are all very serious violations of the Geneva Agreements and to cover them up the US has been charging that it is the North which is violating the agreements and to "protect" South Vietnam from the north is no violation of the agreements. This is a totally baseless allegation as can be seen from the fact that the International Commission for Supervision and Control, in its eleven interim reports, has not found North Vietnam guilty of any violation of the Agreements.

By assuming the role of international gendarme to "protect" South Vietnam in a matter which concerns only the Vietnamese people, the USA today stands as a self-condemned aggressor.

The Geneva Conference had charged the International Commission for Supervision and Control with the task of seeing that the Agreements were not violated. Strangely

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PAGE THREE

U.P. ELECTIONS REVIEWED

The 101-member U.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution, proposed by Harish Tiwary, evaluating the results of the elections.

The meeting held at Lucknow at the beginning of this month was presided over by Munshi Gajadhar Singh.

1) The altered balance of forces that has emerged in Uttar Pradesh from the general elections is signal of a dangerous situation.

During the last ten years, Congress has lost 141 seats in the State Assembly. In the latest general elections Congress conceded 37 seats and the percentage of votes secured by the ruling party was reduced from 42.42 to 36.72.

The election results have confirmed the fact that the trend of the isolation of the Congress Party from the masses that started in 1957 is continuing, and that the ruling party remains bogged down in the marsh of factionalism.

2) In this background, the greater number of the seats lost by the Congress being captured by the Jan Sangh and the accession in strength of such communal and reactionary Right-wing parties as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party are pointers of a perilous situation and indicate the failure of the Left parties.

The strength of the Jan Sangh in the State Assembly has gone up from 17 to 49 and the percentage of votes secured by it has risen from 9.84 to 16.47. The strength of the combined Rightwing Opposition of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and Hindu Mahasabha has risen from 32 to 68.

The strength of the PSP and the Socialist Party has gone down. The PSP conceded six seats in the State Assembly and the votes secured by it fell from 14.46 per cent to 11.44 per cent. The Socialist Party has lost one seat.

Among the Left parties it is only the Communist Party which has increased its strength and contributed to the strengthening of the democratic Opposition. In the State Assembly the number of Communist legislators has gone up from nine to 14 and votes secured have gone up from 3.33 to 5.11 per cent.

The leadership of the PSP and the Socialist party adopted the policy of blind anti-Communism which harmed not only those parties, but weakened the democratic forces also. It is a matter of pain and regret that from time to time, under the influence of tendencies of blind anti-Communism and opportunism, the leadership of the PSP and the Socialist Party entered into alliances with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. This dangerous deviation strengthens the fascist trend.

3) The success of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party has been gained particularly in the old Taluqdari regions of Awadh and Terai or in similar other regions of old feudal influence.

The rise—fifteen years after independence—of the feudal elements draws attention towards the fact that the agrarian reform policies of the ruling party, instead of encouraging the agricultural labourers and peasants, have helped the feudal elements to keep

ter-revolution the need of the hour is continuous cooperation among Left parties and unity of the Socialist forces.

The election results have given rise naturally among the democratic forces to self-examination. The sentiment of Left unity is manifesting itself in the ranks of the PSP and the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party welcomes this sentiment. Nevertheless it wants to declare in clear terms that restricted unity between the PSP and the Socialist Party or any sort of anti-Communist unity can never strengthen the Left. What is needed is that the PSP and the Socialist Party reflect upon the harmful consequences of blind anti-Communism and abandon it.

It is the considered view of the Communist Party that in order to defeat the reactionary forces it is absolutely necessary that class consciousness should be roused among agricultural labourers, peasants, workers, students and youth, that by ending the split in the mass organisations of various classes they should be made strong, and that unity and cooperation among all Left parties should be forged.

4) To defeat the reactionary forces it is necessary that the anti-people policies of the Congress should be firmly opposed and the growing discontent against the Congress should be organised on class lines. To defeat the reactionary forces it is necessary while opposing the feudal influence, socialist consciousness should be given organised shape through ideological and policy struggles.

Cooperation inside the State legislature between the Communist Party, the PSP and the Socialist Party will strengthen the Left and democratic opposition. Cooperation of these parties outside the State legislature will give strength to the conscious mass movement against exploitation.

5) Left unity and mass movement will encourage democratic elements inside the Congress and strengthen them, thus enabling the Left alternative to the Congress in Uttar Pradesh to be forged, which defeating the feudal remnants could advance in the direction of securing the socialist goal. The Communist Party warns that if, on the contrary the policy of blind anti-Communism is maintained then it will only strengthen the forces of Rightist counter-revolution alone.

6) The Communist Party appeals to the leadership and workers of the PSP and the SP that they give serious thought to the situation and actively cooperate in forging Left unity. As against the 64,39,370 votes polled by the Congress, our three parties together received 43,93,402 votes, while combined votes polled by Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad amounted to 39,69,769. These include also the votes of unorganised agricultural labourers and peasants which have been secured on the basis of feudal terror, as also those case as a result of discontent against the Congress.

The resurgence of feudal elements in the State and the increase in the strength of the reactionary, Rightwing Opposition is a challenge to the democratic elements and especially to the Left parties. To defeat the forces of coun-

WELCOME NEWS

Editorial

Welcome news has come from Geneva. The principal points of the draft preamble to the treaty on general and complete disarmament have been agreed upon. This is a small step but it can be made the beginning of a big advance. It is good news that work will proceed in an effort to arrive at a common approach to the other clauses of the disarmament treaty.

Simultaneously there is ample evidence of the operation of the opposite trend, i.e., of the imperialist obstructors of advance towards the great goal of disarmament. This became particularly evident in the attitude taken by the U.S. imperialists on the question of the stopping of atmospheric nuclear tests.

India had appealed to the three nuclear powers—the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom—not to conduct any atmospheric tests during the period of the work of the Disarmament Commission. The other neutral nations warmly backed this appeal of India.

The Soviet delegate, Zorin, immediately agreed to this proposal for a moratorium. One more example was, thus, provided of the unity of views of the socialist and non-aligned states on many crucial issues affecting world peace.

The U.S. delegate, backed up as ever by his British satellite, not only rejected this appeal but tried in vain at the same time to create confusion about who had made it.

He declared that the U.S. could not agree to any restriction being placed on its right to conduct nuclear tests, unless and until all its proposals regarding international supervision and control had been accepted. He went on to make the crude demagogic point that his country had little reason to accept the bona fides of the Soviet Union, which, he said was making this appeal!

Zorin reminded the conference that "the Government of the United States, like the Government of Great Britain is well aware that the demand for the non-resumption of tests is now the demand of all the countries of the world, and the Government of India took a noble step in raising this question."

"It is awkward for the U.S. to reply negatively to the proposal of all neutral States taking part in the Conference and it, therefore, pretends that its dispute is with the Soviet Union only. But such manoeuvres cannot gloss over the negative attitude of the United States to the demand which is now being made by all the states of the world. These manoeuvres merely pinpoint the weakness of the position of the United States."

Noting this contrast in attitudes of the Soviet Union and the U.S. and drawing lessons from it are imperative for all those in our country who genuinely desire disarmament but vaguely imagine that it is being held up by "both blocs."

More noting, however, is far from enough. Still more initiative has to be displayed by the neutral nations, with India in the lead.

And this is precisely what is happening. Once again the neutral nations have acted in concert and presented fresh proposals on the supervision of the nuclear tests ban when such a ban does come to be.

The powers concerned have not yet made their position clear, beyond stating that the proposals were worthy of serious consideration, nor are all the details of the proposals available.

But from what has been published it seems that the key U.S. demand has not been accepted—espionage in the Soviet Union under the pretext of inspection. It is quite likely then that these proposals will also be turned down by the U.S.

We congratulate the Government of India on its wise initiative at Geneva and look forward to still more such proposals testifying to the maturity and balance of its diplomacy for peace.

If we could, through struggle against feudal exploitation, liberate the agricultural labourers and peasants from the social hold and terror of the feudal forces, then we could not only defeat the reactionary forces but also put an end to the Congress monopoly. This is the demand of 44 lakh votes. It is our duty that we comply with it.

6) The Communist Party wants to remind the ruling party and Congress workers as well that they had fought the election on the basis of slogans of opposing communalism and of socialism. Honesty demands that in order to abolish the influence of the remnants of feudalism they should accept the demand of advanced agrarian reforms, and cooperate with the Leftist democratic Opposition against the communal reactionary forces.

MAHARASHTRA SAMITI UNITED

Contrary to expectations held by some critics and the gloomy forecasts of its break up by others, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has displayed impressive cohesion and unity after the General Elections.

THE Samiti was confronted by the Rajya Sabha and Bombay City Mayoral elections soon after the General Elections, in which it had failed to give a good account of itself. Both these contests were taken as presenting fresh tests to the unity and viability of the Samiti.

The supporters of the Samiti now claim that the Samiti has emerged stronger and more united after the Rajya Sabha and Mayoral election contests. The constituent parties, it is pointed out, solidly voted for the official nominees of the Samiti, even though many earlier believed that agreement between them would not be possible on the candidates to be put up.

RAJYA SABHA SEAT WON

The unity of the Samiti bloc in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly ensured the success of its nominee for Rajya Sabha who belongs to the Republican Party. In the Civic election, the candidate of the Samiti who belonged to the Communist Party was defeated by the candidate of the Congress which commands the majority in the Bombay Corporation, but he received the votes of all the Samiti Corporators and there was not a single defection.

The unanimity in the Samiti during the two contests is regarded significant, particularly because it was achieved in the face of serious threats to its unity from both inside and outside the organisation.

According to informed sources, the difficulties experienced by the Samiti after the General Elections were a logical outcome of the problems posed by the General Elections and to some extent, also by the North Bombay parliamentary contest.

CONGRESS, PSP JOIN HANDS

At the first opportunity, the Congress and the PSP came together to achieve this aim. The Samiti nominee for Rajya Sabha contest was jointly opposed by the Congress, the PSP and the Kamble group of the Republican Party.

Chavan openly declared that in the Rajya Sabha elections Congress votes, which were in surplus after the elections of five of its nominees would be polled in favour of B. C. Kamble, an old time rival to Galkwad in the United Republican Party. He told Galkwad that the latter was not entitled to the Congress surplus votes as he was "aligned with the Communists".

To complete the picture, there were "inspired" rumours that the PWP would abstain from voting.

However, all these moves failed when the time came and the forecasts based on them have been belied. Galkwad won the contest, though by a narrow margin of only 0.85 vote.

The unity of the Samiti was further tested in the Bombay Municipal elections. The

PWP at first, did not agree with the Samiti choice but later rallied behind Munsshi Mohiddin, the Communist member and the official Samiti nominee for the Mayoral election.

The PSP, the Socialist Party and other groups in the Corporation, barring the Jan Sangh and the Muslim League, were invited to put up jointly an Opposition candidate against the Congress.

The Samiti all along had wanted a common candidate acceptable to all the Opposition parties, which together form the majority in the Corporation. But after a series of fruitless talks between itself and the PSP and the Socialists, it had to go ahead with its own candidate.

Though the Samiti even according to its critics, has passed through the testing time after the elections, its opponents continue to hold that

the Samiti would not last long. They expect serious differences within the organisation by next year when the question of electing new leader for the Assembly bloc would come up before the Samiti Parliamentary Board.

DULL SESSION

The first session of the newly elected State Assembly has proved to be dull and drab. The session, which concluded on March 30, had been convened primarily for swearing-in the elected members.

State Finance Minister S. G. Barve presented the State's Interim Budget estimates showing a deficit of Rs. 1.95 crores, which has been left uncovered. The substantive financial proposals, would be presented in the monsoon session of the Assembly. How-

ever, the deficit in the budget estimates is taken to mean that the new taxation measures are inevitable.

But, more than the likely taxation measures in the future, the Finance Minister's budget speech was remarkable in respect to the expression he gave to the feelings of almost all sections of Maharashtra political opinion on the recommendations of the Third Finance Commission. He said that due consideration to Maharashtra's case was not given by the Commission.

He hoped that in the course of the review of these recommendations due regard would be paid by the Commission to the need for not "discouraging policies of prudence and responsibility" which, he claimed, were pursued by the State Government. (IPA)

Another Strike Settled In Goa

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The four-day-old strike of the 150 workers of the 'Mechanical Ore Handling Plant' of M/s. Chowgule & Co. Ltd., in the Marmagoa Port came to a successful end on Sunday April 15, when the Government intervened and the main demand of granting "Marmagoa Allowance" was promised within two weeks.

THE strike came about because of the refusal on the part of M/s. Chowgule & Co., the biggest industrialist in Goa, to pay to the workers "Marmagoa Allowance" which has already been paid to the staff in the offices.

The Company instead of solving the issue amicably, threatened the workers that they would be hand-cuffed and sent to the police lock-ups, as they used to do earlier during the Portuguese regime. The workers refused to be bullied by these threats as the Portuguese fascist regime collapsed on December 18-19, 1961.

The strike was conducted by the well-organised and powerful Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union, and the entire Mechanical Plant with all its apparatus—unloader, loader, Reclaimer and Control Tower—came to a standstill on April 12 at 7 a.m. sharp, paralysing the work on the English ship—BETWA. Two other ships—CRESCENT and BURMAH-MARU also lay paralysed in the harbour.

M/s. Chowgule & Co. in spite of using all coercive methods and even serving notice that if they do not resume work on Saturday April 14, they would be dismissed from service, failed to break the unity of the workers. The workers are working in unhealthy conditions of 'ore-dust' and are denied even ordinary medical facilities.

Most of them have fallen victims to various diseases including asthma. Every

conciliation attempt by the Union has been met with a solid rebuff in a typical old fascist language on the part of the Company. Three letters remained unanswered. The workers were left with no other alternative but to stop the work.

Gerald Pereira, the General Secretary of the Union addressing the workers appealed to them to be peaceful and united in spite of the provocative attitude of the Company. He lashed out at the Chowgule Co. which being the biggest monopoly industrial concern in Goa refused to recognise the changes that have taken place after freedom and even do not hesitate to sabotage the economy of Goa.

PORTUGAL'S LOYALISTS

Their love for Portugal was well-known, he said, as in the inaugural speech at the Shirgaum Mines in 1954, in the very presence of the Indian Consul V. Coelho, the Managing Director of the Company, V. D. Chowgule openly stated that he was opposed to the freedom of Goa and its integration with India.

A mass meeting was called by the Union on April 14. It was attended in large numbers by members of the business and trading community in addition to workers and other sections of the people. They heard the "record-history" of the Chowgule Co. for

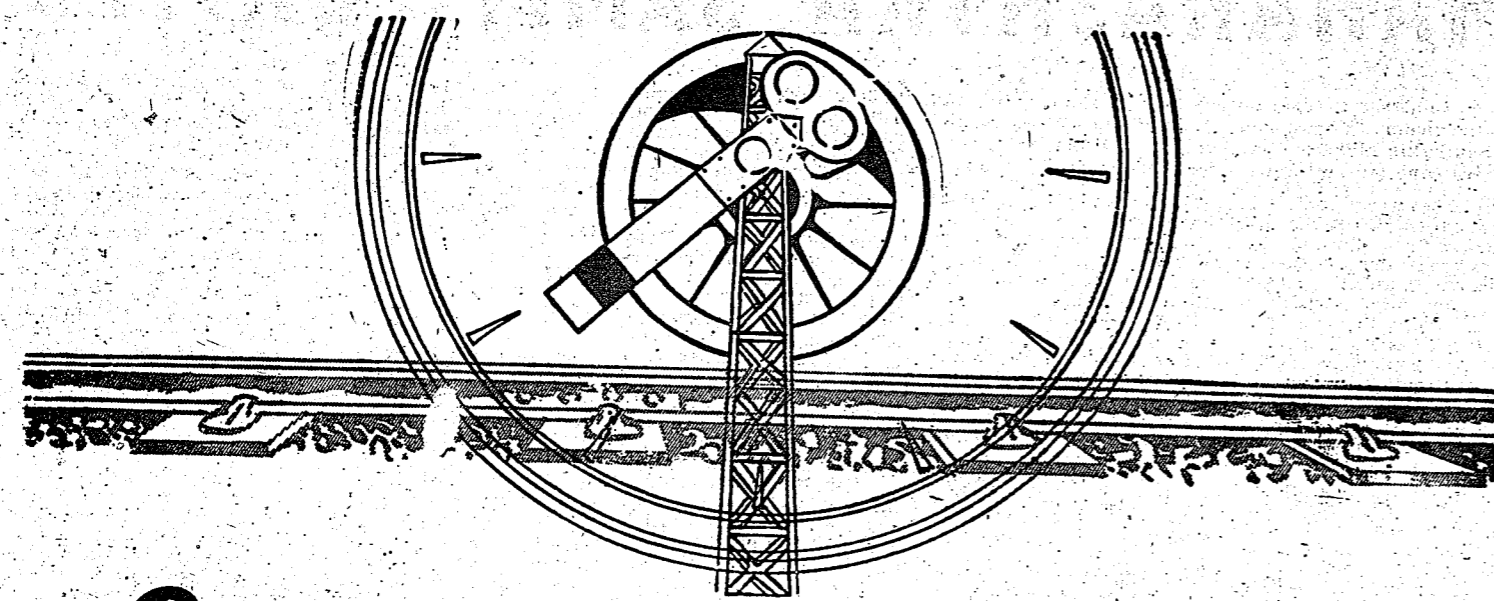
the past 20 years. Nagesh Naik, Gloria Furtado and S. V. Moghe, the Assistant Secretary of the Union spoke at the rally. Gerald Pereira presided.

A general strike of the entire dock was imminent on April 16 in sympathy with the just demands of the Chowgule workers. But the timely intervention of the authorities who promised that the Marmagoa Allowance would be paid within 15 days brought the strike to a successful end. The authorities also assured the workers that Chowgule Company would not give any further threats to the workers.

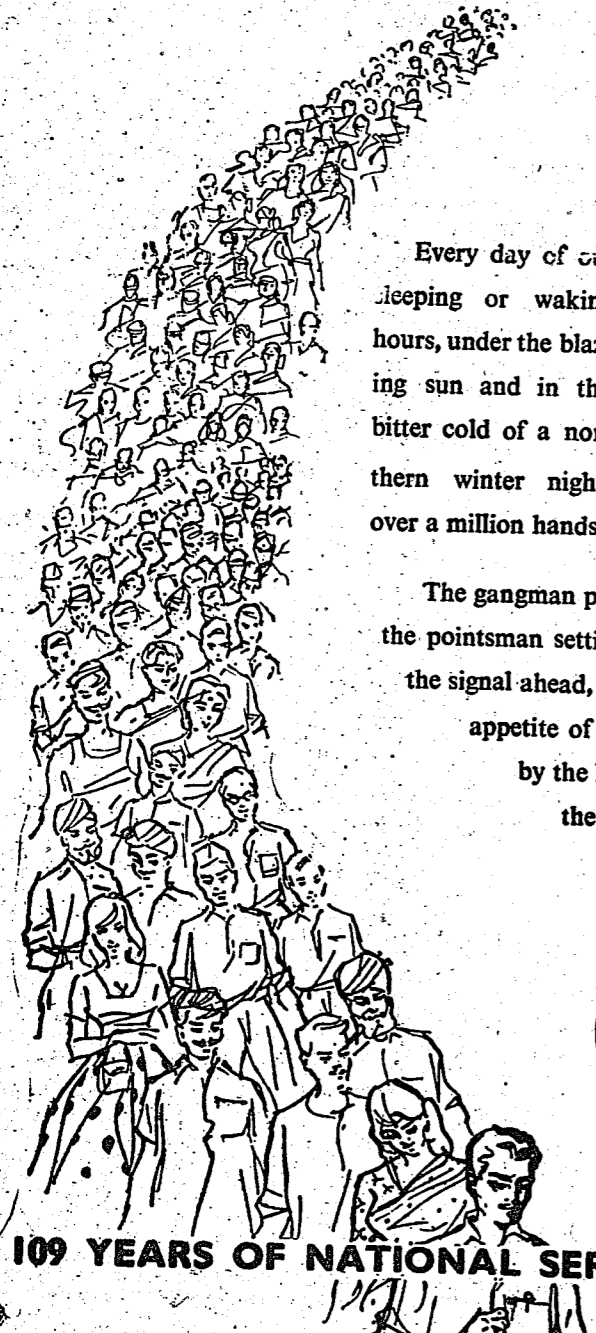
This is the fourth successful strike conducted by the newly formed union. Earlier the companies which compelled the workers to resort to strike were M/s. Damodar Mangalji & Co. which had dismissed 54 winchmen; M/s. Salgaonkar & Bros. Ltd. which had threatened to dismiss some 100 temporary winchmen; and M/s. Dempo & Co. Ltd. which had dismissed 120 winchmen and had not paid the salary of all the workers till February 17, 1962.

The Union which covers all the workers from the Port—winchmen, bargemen, launchmen, crane-drivers, coolies, clerks, railway employees, etc.—will hold a rally on May Day preceded by a procession with a red flag in front.

The first Annual Conference of the Union will be held on May 15 at Vasco da Gama and will be inaugurated by G. H. Kale, the President of the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation, Samuel Augustine, the President of Indian Naval Dock Employees' Union, S. Y. Kolatkar, the General Secretary of the Dockyard Labour Union (Mazagaon Dock) and other Dock leaders are also invited to attend the conference.



Over a million hands at work



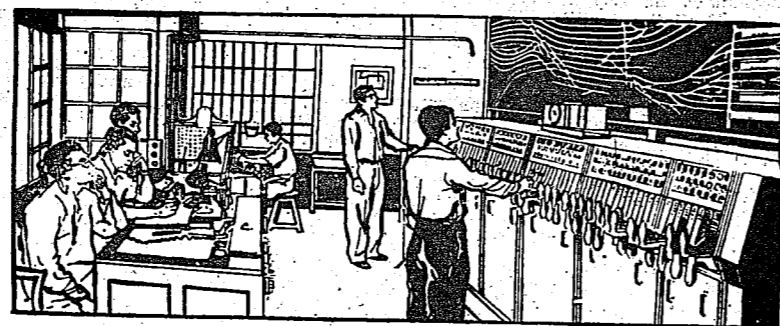
Every day of our sleeping or waking hours, under the blazing sun and in the bitter cold of a northern winter night, over a million hands of India's railwaymen are at work at their respective posts.

The gangman plodding along the deserted track, the signalman in the lonely cabin, the pointsman setting the road for the speeding train, the driver with watchful eye on the signal ahead, the fireman swinging large chunks of coal to assuage the enormous appetite of the iron horse, the booking clerk at the counter punching tickets by the hundreds—these and many more are the ceaseless workers keeping the wheels moving round the clock...to contribute to the development of the country and the well-being of the people.



INDIAN RAILWAYS

109 YEARS OF NATIONAL SERVICE . SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL AND BUILD THE NATION



Dogmatism And Creative Marxism

The "secret" of the invincibility of Marxism, of its unending power of attraction, lies in its creative character. Marxism is not a completed and unchangeable system of ideas, but a constantly developing theory which truthfully reflects the objective realities, changes in life and the new requirements of the socio-historic process of development.

In their theoretical work the Marxists are guided by Lenin's directive that "a Marxist should take into account real life, concrete facts of reality, and should not persist in clinging to yesterday's theory which, as any other theory, can, at best, indicate only what is basic and general, merely encompassing only approximately the complexity of life."

With this understanding of the connection between theory and life, Marxists-Leninists have never treated theory as a collection of eternal and immutable truths; instead they have been and are striving to develop and are developing it in conformity with the changes in socio-historic life, with the new discoveries in different spheres of science, and with the new requirements of the revolutionary labour movement and of the socialist society.

The creative development of Marxism does not move smoothly, along a straight line and without struggle. On the contrary, it is attended by a persistent and sharp struggle both against bourgeois and reformist ideology outside the communist movement, and against revisionism and dogmatism within the communist movement.

I. METAPHYSICAL AND IDEALIST ASPECTS OF DOGMATISM

DOGMATISTS are constantly making references to the classics of Marxism, but that does not prove that they really abide firmly and consistently by the positions of Marxism. Most of the revisionists also pose as "real Marxists," but that does not mean that they have ceased to be revisionists, i.e., falsifiers of Marxism and apostates from Marxism.

Facts on record in history show that precisely dogmatists used the letter of Marxism in order to counter the spirit of Marxism, i.e., for the purpose of falsifying and revising the essence of Marxism. And this is also what dogmatism is doing today.

In practice, contemporary dogmatists often ignore the most important philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism which lie at the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory in general.

To begin with, the dogmatists depart from Marxism-Leninism in their views on the basic question of philosophy, the question of the relationship between thought and being, between theory and objective reality.

Creative Marxism solves this problem from the positions of the dialectical materialist theory of reflection. Any scientific theory is only an approximately faithful reflection of objective reality

both in nature and in the history of society which is in a state of constant change and development.

Two extremely important deductions following therefrom are:

firstly, the only criterion of the correctness of any theory is its correspondence to objective reality;

secondly, an absolute, completed and invariable theory of nature and society, taken in their unity and development, is impossible.

In order to be true, a given theory about nature and society should correctly reflect not only yesterday's reality, but also the new changes, i.e., it should develop together with and depending upon the development of the objective world. Theoretical propositions which reflect the concrete reality of a given historical epoch cannot be transferred and applied mechanically to another historical epoch.

"The entire spirit of Marxism," writes Lenin, "its entire system requires that each proposition should be considered only (a) historically; (b) only in connection with other propositions; (c) only in connection with the concrete experience of history."

In view of all this, the dialectical materialist theory of reflection is incompatible with dogmatism and is the only guarantee against dogmatism, because "there can be no dogmatism where the supreme and sole criterion of a doctrine is its conformity to the actual process of social and economic development."

Dogmatism in philosophy is characterized primarily by its bookish, scholastic, and, in essence, idealistic and metaphysical approach to problems. Dogmatists consider Marxism-Leninism a completed system of immutable truths. Hence, the task of the communists, as they see it, is to learn by rote ready-made truths, to apply them mechanically in life and to propagandize them.

Although the dogmatists speak of the unity of theory and practice, their main defect lies in that they are incapable of establishing and maintaining the invigorating unity of theory and practice, as Marxism understands it.

According to Marxism, theory and practice must always exist in indissoluble unity, but the determining role in this union belongs to practice. Precisely the latter is the source and purpose of cognition, the criterion of truth. Dogmatism turns this relationship between theory and practice topsy-turvy. It uses practice for the sole purpose of finding new examples for corroborating old truths.

And one of the basic evils of dogmatism lies, therefore, in the mechanical transfer of theoretical propositions which are applicable to a definite

socio-historic situation to an entirely different historic situation.

II. TWO ATTITUDES TOWARDS BASIC CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

THE distinctions between creative Marxism and dogmatism stand out vividly in the approach to most important international problems.

A correct definition and solution of these problems can be accomplished only on the basis of a scientific Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of the existing epoch, its contents, tendencies of development and its driving forces.

Therefore, one of the greatest services rendered by creative Marxism after the 20th Congress of the CPSU lies in the elaboration of an integral and thorough Marxist-Leninist characterization of the present epoch.

The dominant feature of this epoch is not the world rule of imperialism, but the transition from capitalism to communism, and the pivotal force of world historic events is no longer the imperialist bourgeoisie, but the international working class.

The essence of imperialism is still the same as in Lenin's lifetime. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, but imperialism no longer has the same possibilities of giving vent to its aggressiveness, of determining the course of world-historic events. There are powerful democratic and anti-imperialist forces in existence today, and together with the forces of the international communist movement and the socialist countries, they can curb the aggressive, predatory acts of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

That being the case, a world war is no longer inevitable.

Given definite conditions, a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism may really become possible; however, this does not mean that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily give up its power. No, any socialist revolution is and will be an expression of the class struggle conducted by the proletariat and the working masses led by it with the object of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its liquidation as a class.

The deeper the contradiction between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the vast majority of the population in the capitalist countries, the stronger is

the power and influence of the world socialist system upon the course of world developments, and the greater the real possibility of overcoming the resistance of the bourgeoisie without recourse to civil war.

The question of peaceful coexistence is also raised in a new setting today. Lenin defined the struggle for peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism as the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet state; but at the time, when the Soviet Union found itself in a capitalist encirclement, when the course of world events was determined chiefly by the laws of imperialism and when the imperialist states had a vast section of the globe under their rule, peaceful coexistence was unreliable and unstable.

The relationship of forces between the socialist and capitalist systems today is such that even President Kennedy of the United States has had to admit that a new war against the Soviet Union would mean the end of the capitalist system.

War And Peace Life And Death Issue

The question of war and peace among the two opposite systems is a life-and-death question for the peoples.

Precisely this objective necessity for peaceful coexistence and the real relationship of forces between the two opposite systems which is constantly changing more and more in favour of socialism, afford the possibility for expelling world wars from the life of society even before capitalism is eradicated throughout the world.

Dogmatists dismiss all these deductions as "pacifist" arguments and speak of some sort of "illusions" with regard to the enemies. Moreover, they do not venture beyond a simple repetition of Lenin's pronouncements about imperialism and imperialist wars.

The view of creative Marxism on peace and war represents a radical contrast to pacifism. What Marxists count on is not the goodwill of the imperialists, not their re-education and enlightenment; but only on the consolidation and progress of the world socialist system, on the international communist movement, on the organization of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the world for the purpose of curbing imperialist aggression.

The practical moves of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, which made it possible to cut short the im-

perialist aggression against Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Cuba, have proved indisputably that, far from having anything in common with pacifism, the position of creative Marxism in the question of war and peace is the only correct position.

Dogmatists claim that the position of contemporary creative Marxism in the question of peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states and on the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is a "reformist" position. But reformism preaches "class peace" and "class collaboration," while creative Marxism adheres to a fundamentally different line.

It considers peaceful coexistence (and works for it in practice) as a special form of the class struggle of the proletariat in the international arena, an uncompromising political, ideological and economic struggle for disclosing the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism, for exposing imperialist aggression and sustaining general peace, for the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world.

On the other hand, the ideologists of dogmatism, with their sectarian limitations, bombastic leftist phrase-mongering and adventurist policy, provide food for imperialist propaganda and hinder the struggle against it.

In his report on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Albanian Party of Labour, Enver Hoxha declared that the Albanian leaders negate peaceful coexistence as "a general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as the highroad to the victory of world socialism." Inasmuch as dogmatists negate peaceful coexistence, there is no alternative left to war. But this policy is completely at variance with Marxism-Leninism.

The policy of the dogmatists, which connects the victory of socialism in the world with one or a number of future wars between socialist and capitalist states is not only adventurism. Its adoption would be fatal for the cause of socialism and communism, and for mankind in general. Obviously, this reckless policy cannot count on any support among the masses.

The unfavourable attitude of the dogmatists towards peaceful coexistence shows that in essence they are not convinced of the historical necessity of socialism and communism, of the real superiority of socialism over capitalism.

*SEE PAGE 10

From The Bulgarian CP's Journal
NOVO VREMYA
An Article By N. IRBADJAKOV

CPI W. BENGAL COUNCIL REVIEWS ELECTION RESULTS

The following is the review report on the election results as adopted by the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India at its recent meeting.

THE elections are just over. Never before the elections stirred the people of West Bengal as this time. The elections stirred the people of remote villages. This enthusiasm was partially reflected in the big meetings, demonstrations and large-scale participation in the polling.

The election struggle this year developed as a big political struggle of the democratic people against the ruling class. In intensity and extensiveness the elections this year much surpassed the previous two elections.

The biggest feature of the elections this year was the struggle to change the Congress rule. Though the question of changing the government was posed in a limited sphere, yet the election campaign this time turned into a big political struggle on the basis of the slogan of an alternative democratic government in a special perspective and circumstances.

ELECTION BACKGROUND

Though the aim of the alternative government could not be achieved the slogan gave the entire election campaign a special significance. To understand the real significance of and take lessons from the elections, a correct evaluation of the election background, nature of the campaign and results is necessary.

The background of the elections this time was, mainly the following:—

- People's experience of the fourteen years' Congress rule.
- Increase of wealth for a few rich and increase of poverty and oppression for the wide sections of the poor.
- Rising price of the commodities and increase of taxes; depriving the peasants of legitimate price of their produce (rice, jute, potatoes), widespread eviction of peasants, oppression of the money-lenders, unemployment, food problem, refugee problems and stress affecting the people's life, corruption, oppression, etc.
- Cruel repression on the mass movements of the workers, peasants, employees, refugees and other sections and growing attack on democratic rights of the people.
- Events like overthrow of the Communist Government in Kerala, oppression of the minorities in Assam, transfer of Berubari, Police orgy in Coochbehar.
- Experience of various mass movements in the past few years (food movement and movements of various sections of people).

The above events and the real situation created, on one hand, widespread resentment among the people against the ruling class and ruling Con-

gress Party and there were, on the other, the results of the last two elections before them.

In 1957 the slogan was for an alternative Government. Though this was not effective, the advance of the opposition forces was very significant. The opposition won 39 seats. If they could win 23 more seats the Congress would have become the minority and it would have been difficult for it to form Government.

This idea was not unreal in the people's mind. And if the election campaign became somewhat more organised and intensive, there was possibility of turning the slogan into reality because there were 30 seats where the opposition lost by only small number of votes.

Last time Congress miserably lost in Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah and industrial areas. This defeat of Congress was no sudden one as the entire areas were the centres of democratic movements. Congress was able to win majority seats in the mofussil districts.

The political map which emerged in the 1957 elections showed that the strong centres of democratic movements were Calcutta and the industrial districts and weaker cen-

tres were the mofussil districts. Under the circumstances the major opposition tactics this time was to defeat Congress in mofussil districts for achieving the slogan of alternative government and a major aspect of Congress tactics was to win back the lost ground in Calcutta and industrial districts for keeping it self in power.

The strength of the opposition, particularly the Communists, increased in 1957 as compared to the first general election. Besides, in the years following the second election there was spread of mass movement which was reflected in 1959 food movement, in the protest against overthrow of the Communist Government in Kerala, in the strike of Central Government employees, in the struggles of the peasants for surplus land, in protest strike against Assam riots, teachers' strike and which was partially reflected in the elections to the municipalities and the Panchayats.

In the circumstances the question of replacing Congress came and that was reflected in the slogan for an alternative government.

LEFT FRONT FORGED

To execute this the Communist Party came forward to build the leftist unity and was able, despite odds, to build a leftist front. Because of the circumstances of the elections the formation of the leftist front caused apprehension among the Congress leadership as well as the vested inter-

ests—foreign and indigenous. This found expression in the American Time, in the election speech of the Union Home Minister and the entire election campaign of the Congress.

So the entire vested interests took the elections as the struggle for preserving their power and existence and hence plunged into it with full might. Thus the third General Election was an intensive class struggle.

Despite numerous conspiracies, slanders, opposition and intimidation on the part of Congress and vested interests as well as our weaknesses the fact that the broader sections of the people came forward with courage in favour of us and the leftists constitutes a big strength and invaluable resource for the democratic progress of our country. We greet these people.

COMPARISON WITH 1957

The results of the 1962 elections have been unexpected from many points of view and changed the political map of the post-1957 elections to a considerable extent. It was not possible to form the alternative Government. But the efforts of the ruling class to weaken the opposition, specially the Communists, have also not succeeded.

Nadia (4), Bankura (4), Murshidabad (5), Jalpaiguri (1), Malda (2), West Dinajpur (1). Congress lost 55 seats to the opposition and gained 53. In 1962 elections, a big section of the old MLAs failed to get re-elected. About 55 per cent of the members elected this time are new comers.

In the election to the State assembly this time proportional rate of increase of strength of the CPI is much more than Congress. In 1957 the Communist Party got 18,65,108 and this time it got 23,79,953 votes. Last time it contested 103 seats; this time it contested 145. While in 1957, the percentage of votes polled by the CPI to the total votes polled was 17.82 this time it increased to 23.91 per cent.

In 1957, CPI won 44 seats and the number of members in the Communist Bloc was 51. Just on the eve of third election, the numbers were 44 and 49 respectively. In 1962, 50 candidates won with CPI symbol and the number of the Communist Bloc members is 52 out of the total elected members of 252.

In the election for Lok Sabha, Congress won 23 seats in 1957, this time it got 22 seats. CPI strength has increased from 6 in 1957 to 9 in 1962. Its votes also increased from 19.01 p.c. to 29.8 p.c. Besides, another independent member supported by the

Congress. CPI has got 64,760 more votes than the Congress.

The reason of Congress getting more seats in relation to votes polled by it in Calcutta, 24 Parganas and Howrah is that many seats were marginal. Four leftist candidates lost to Congress in Calcutta by a small margin of votes. In these areas Congress threw its might much before the election. Congress took recourse to corruption, terror, utilisation of state power, rigging the voters' list, communalism, provincialism, slanders and falsehoods on much more wider scale than in 1957.

Despite all these, Congress got only 1.2 per cent more votes than us. Even without minimising the importance of our losing seats and without blanketing our weaknesses it can be said that Congress could not, in the main, weaken the democratic strength and consciousness of the people in Calcutta and industrial areas.

PSP'S PLIGHT

That the democratic consciousness of the people of West Bengal could not be generally vitiated this time despite such large scale anti-Communist slanders as well as communal and disruptive

propaganda has been proved by the miserable defeat suffered by the PSP and the communal parties. A constituent of the leftist front, the PSP in 1957 got 21 seats in the Assembly and 2 in Lok Sabha. This time PSP's role was disruptive and reactionary. Many of their candidates ultimately tried to make the Congress win finding their own defeat certain.

This role of PSP was not supported by West Bengal people. So it could get only five seats this time and lost both the seats in the Lok Sabha. Not a single old member, not even leaders of the PSP could get re-elected and their deposits have been forfeited in many seats. Like last time, the communal parties like Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh could not win a seat this time too — many of their candidates forfeiting their deposits.

This time the party which has emerged on all India basis as a right wing reactionary force is the Swatantra Party. Though it has no mass basis in West Bengal, yet it received large financial help from big capitalists and reactionaries. These big capitalists gave financial help simultaneously to the Congress and the Swatantra Party.

CONGRESS GAINS IN CALCUTTA

In the Lok Sabha seats in Calcutta the CPI has not only retained its seats but has also increased its ratio of votes polled by 5.65 per cent than

other States, could return none of its candidates, not even N. C. Chatterjee, in West Bengal and many lost their deposits. This signifies the developed democratic consciousness of the people.

The five-party leftist front in 1957 included the PSP. This time it was excluded from the front. The four other parties as well as RCPI and Bolshevik Party constituted the United Leftist Front this time. The number of members of the parties in this front was 63 in the last Assembly; this time it has increased to 81.

Besides the increase of strength of the CPI, three other parties in the front have also made significant increase in their strength. Forward Bloc increased its strength from 8 to 13, RSP from 3 to 7 and RCPI from none to 2.

Though the Bolshevik Party could win no seat and the Marxist Forward Bloc lost one seat, the results of elections in 1957 and 1962 have shown that the people of West Bengal want the leftist front including the Communists as the alternative force and leadership in place of Congress.

These also proved that the Congress and PSP propaganda that the united front with the Communists and the other leftist parties get weaker is a lie. PSP within the front could win 21 seats in 1957 and won only 5 this time by taking recourse to disruptive policy against the leftist unity. On the other hand, Forward

Block, RSP, RCPI, as the constituents of the ULF could increase strength significantly.

An analysis of the election results of 1962 can hardly give a correct appraisal of the disparity of wealth distribution in Congress rule and its political influence specially in the last election. We have no detailed facts at our disposal at the moment. So it is not possible to evaluate categorically the behaviour of different classes in the election.

But so far as is known, it can be said that the organised section of the working class has generally supported the leftists, but the organised Hindi-speaking workers in certain areas have supported Congress (East Howrah, Bally etc.). Unorganised Hindi workers have generally supported Congress.

In comparison to 1957, poor peasants, agricultural labourers, and the rural poor have generally voted for us though there are exceptions in certain areas. In cases where a struggle could be launched by the organised sections of peasantry on common demands (as in canal areas against canal tax), we have got wide support. In other areas votes polled by the middle peasants have been divided. They vacillated very much.

In certain areas we did not get votes of the middle peasants and even of poor pe-

sants. We have to search for the reasons. We got support from most of the middle class varied in areas. Much vacillation was seen among them as in middle peasants. The refugees had general support for us though with exception in areas.

Those who worked actively for the Congress were all reactionaries, factory owners, big businessmen, Zamindars, Jotedars and money-lenders. Many of the rich peasants and upper middle class supported Congress — also a section of those who benefited in many ways in rural and urban areas.

Congress could draw a section of the students and youth in its election campaign. In particular areas votes of the Muslim minorities were divided. In certain areas leftists got considerable support of Muslims, but it is not the common picture of all areas. Where strength of the democratic movement is relatively weaker, most of the Muslims could not be brought in leftist support. From the analysis of the votes is seen the correct reflection of the rate in which economic disparity has increased.

Votes in Darjeeling district have been influenced generally by the reactionary influence on the language and self-determination demand. We did not attach any importance to this. So our advance in the district has been hampered.

Analysis of votes shows that we got more votes and

the leftists could increase their seats and strength considerably. 6) Even now Congress has its influence on a broad section of the people, even on a section of the poor people (including peasants, workers, middle class and minority). We have not yet been able to bring them under the political influence of the working class.

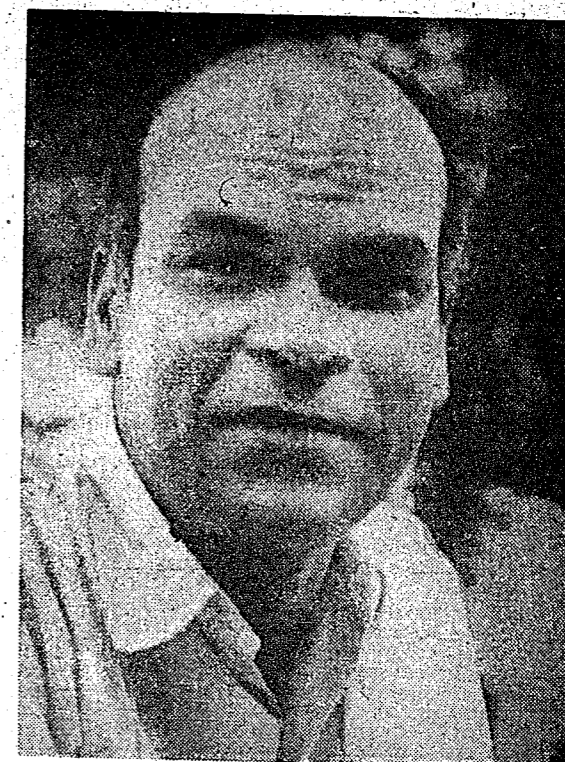
The main slogan before the election this time was that of an alternative government. The main subject of the U.L.F. programme was also the programme of such a government. The slogan was raised only in West Bengal, not in other states. So this year's election assumed utmost political significance in West Bengal and the attention of the entire democratic masses of India was focussed towards West Bengal.

In such an important election struggle the U.L.F.'s failure to form the alternative democratic Government and Congress's achievement of absolute majority signify no doubt the weakness of the front and specially the Communists. It is not proper to minimise the importance of this failure and our own weaknesses. But it will be wrong to reach a conclusion that the slogan of the alternative Government was wrong instead of searching for the exact reasons for our failure.

It is being said on behalf of the Congress that the leftists suffered defeats only for raising the slogan of alternative government because Congress appeared in the election battle with such firmness only to give a lesson to the leftists obstinacy. From the results, doubts about correctness of the slogan have arisen in the minds of a section of our Party members and sympathisers.

The real aim of the Congress argument is not to point out our faults but to hide its class character and the instances of heinous activities by giving up democracy and all declared principles when the oppressor class feels there is possibility of power going out of its fold. Only these real facts prove that our slogan was not an empty one, it had its practical basis.

There should not be any rea-



Communist Bloc In Parliament Pays Homage To AJYOY GHOSH

At their first meeting, held on April 15, the Communist members and Communist supported independents in the newly constituted Parliament adopted the following resolution:

This meeting of the Communist Bloc in Parliament pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

The entire life and work of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh who was an outstanding Marxist-Leninist leader, was dedicated to the cause of our people and socialism. The meeting remembers with great pride that it was during the period when Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was at the helm of the Communist Party that our Party rose to the present stature and the country's democratic movements won new victories.

To the last day of his life Comrade Ghosh worked for the cause of the working people and indeed he passed away when he was in

the thick of the election battles.

It was one of Comrade Ghosh's cherished thoughts that the Communist Party should once again emerge as the first opposition party in Parliament. His wishes have been fulfilled. Our successes in the elections and that of our friends stand as a tribute to his selfless service to cause of the working people and our democratic movement.

Comrade Ghosh worked for uniting all democratic and patriotic forces against communalism and reaction, for advancing the cause of the working people and for strengthening national independence and democracy. The meeting pledges to carry forward the work of Comrade Ghosh into still greater victories and successes.

Knowing that the base of Congress rule in West Bengal was not firm and thinking of the increase of strength of the leftists, specially the Communists in Calcutta and neighbouring districts and industrial areas and of Congress weakness in the areas, the latter began its election

struggle, a correct slogan can also not be translated into reality. It is seen from the election experience this time that the slogan was correct, but there was weakness in guidance and preparation of the struggle.

If we were not complacent in Calcutta and industrial district, were even vigilant about the tactics and heinous propaganda of the ruling circles and if the party and the leftist parties had started much earlier and with all their strength the organisational and political preparation, we could have achieved much more successes.

Knowing that the base of Congress rule in West Bengal was not firm and thinking of the increase of strength of the leftists, specially the Communists in Calcutta and neighbouring districts and industrial areas and of Congress weakness in the areas, the latter began its election

If there is weakness in guiding and preparing the

DOGMATISM & PERSONALITY CULT

THE profound fundamental distinctions between creative Marxism and dogmatism is expressed most forcefully in questions connected with the ideology and practice of the personality cult.

In the ideological sphere, the personality cult meant a contemptful attitude towards Marxist-Leninist theory about the role and relationship of the masses, class, Party and leaders. According to this theory, the real makers of the history of socialism and communism are the popular masses and not individuals, however capable and brilliant they may be.

At the same time, Marxism has nothing in common with a nihilist attitude towards great and authoritative personalities. Lenin emphasized again and again, that any truly revolutionary mass movement could not develop without its own ideologists and leaders.

At the time of Stalin's personality cult, however, this only correct view on the role of the masses and of individuals in history and on their relationships, was replaced by an idealist and mystic view which belittled the role of the popular masses and developed a heartless attitude towards them, at the same time greatly exaggerating the role of individuals around whom a cult was built up.

The 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU disclosed the utter falsehood of the praise of Stalin. It is now generally known that Stalin was not infallible. On the contrary, his mistakes and crimes were so great and numerous as to obscure his services.

Exposing the cult of Stalin's personality for what it was really worth, the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU restored the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the role of the popular masses and individuals in history.

The personality cult was not confined to ideology, it was expressed also in social and political life, manifesting itself in gross violations of the Leninist standards of Party and state leadership and of inner-Party and socialist democracy, in substitution of one-man leadership for the principle of collective leadership, and lastly, in arbitrary administration of Party and state affairs, in morbid intolerance of the opinions and criticism of others.

Any personality cult is impossible, where the principle of collective leadership is enforced, where real inner-Party and socialist democracy is maintained and promoted, where the masses keep the leaders under their control, where the activity of the leaders is not some sort of taboo to the masses and where the latter have the real possibility of knowing and controlling, as Lenin put it, every step of their leaders, and where criticism from below is not a mere phrase, but a real fact of everyday life.

To open the way for a personality cult it is enough to restrict criticism and con-

rol by the masses and to free one or another leader from control by the Party, by the rank-and-file, so that he becomes independent of them in practice.

Inner-Party and socialist democracy does not exclude, but presupposes differences and a battle of opinions in the socialist society and in the Party itself. A battle of opinions is a vital necessity for a Communist Party, for a socialist and communist society. More, no other Party and no other society need a free battle of opinions as much as a Communist Party and a communist society need it.

However, the struggle of opinions in society has its own dialectics which should be correctly understood in order to prevent one from sinking to the positions of bourgeois liberalism or to the positions of narrow-minded dogmatism. Difference of opinion is the direct source of battle of opinions. Had there been no difference of opinion, there would have been no battle of opinions.

There are, however, differences of opinion which stem from antagonistic class differences, and the

Interview With Yevtushenko

During his second visit to Cuba some months ago, the outstanding young Soviet poet Evgenii Yevtushenko was interviewed by Fayad Jamis, for World Student News, journal of the International Union of Students. The following is the record of the interesting interview:

SEEMING me with notebook and pencil in hand, Evgenii Yevtushenko asked:

"Where shall we begin?"

"Right from the beginning," I answered.

"I was born in the region of Irkutsk, in winter, 27 years ago but now that I am in Cuba I think I prefer the tropics. Although I was born deep in the heart of Siberia, I am of Ukrainian origin. As a result of an uprising in the Ukraine at the end of the last century, my grandparents found themselves in Siberia. During the Great Patriotic War (2nd World War) my father naturally went off to fight and shortly thereafter my mother left for the front.

"I roamed from one city to another, from town to town, living a hard and sad life, a life of hunger and despair. To make a living I sang in trains packed with soldiers headed for the front. The coins they gave me for my songs, many of which I had composed myself, were the first wages I ever received.

'Folk' Singer

"Before and even after becoming a 'folk' singer I worked at many other things and, of course, had very little schooling. I helped to transport timber along rivers, worked with hunters and fishermen and at 14 found

myself with a group of geologists in Kazakhstan, in the Altai Mountains."

"When did you begin to write poetry?"

"When I was eight or ten years old. When I was 12 I tried to write a long novel but as it was wartime and there was a paper shortage — the price of a notebook was the equivalent of a kilogram of butter — I used two thick printed volumes and wrote between the lines."

"When were you first published?"

"About 1949, if I remember correctly. At that time there was an intense interest in poetry among all people in the Soviet Union. The geologists, peasants, hunters and fishermen with whom I had worked would memorise poems by Blok, Essenin, Mayakovsky and others. These workers recited their poems either while working or during breaks and they inculcated in me a love of poetry. At the beginning I didn't understand Mayakovsky very well, but in time — while I was growing and developing — I managed to understand him."

"During the war poetry was very popular. During those dramatic years, many talented poets appeared who wrote about war, love, the struggles and sufferings of the people. There were poets who only wrote about kolhozoes, factories, and so on and who at

first won fame. But they were forgotten later on because they failed to depict emotions, the very soul of man. It is important to write about the fundamental aspects of socialist construction but it is equally necessary to deal with other subjects as well.

"Some Soviet critics believe that Mayakovsky was the poet of construction which is not wholly true because this great poet also wrote about emotions, about what is good and bad. In his poetry Mayakovsky dealt with all aspects of man's life.

"In the works of many post-war poets, verses were reduced to descriptions of creative labour, not about man and his feelings. But writing only about love is no answer either. Neither of the extremes is good, they have to be combined and should complement one another."

"Under what circumstances was your first book published and how was it received by the public?"

"Many critics praised my first book but the public didn't buy it. What a tragedy for me! My poems didn't touch them. I was disappointed and lost interest in poetry. I thought of committing suicide, of throwing myself into the river, but as I stood on the river banks it occurred to me: 'The water must be ice cold.'"

"Then, on a bridge nearby I saw a couple and to my great surprise they were speaking about Mayakovsky's poems. The girl was asking: 'Why don't we have a poet today like Mayakovsky?' I thought to myself:

But this is not a Marxist approach. The vulgarized views of contemporary dogmatists on this question afford additional confirmation of Lenin's idea that dogmatism is 'vulgarization of Marxism and downright mockery of dialectical materialism.'

It was precisely this difference of opinions that N. S. Khrushchov had in mind when he said at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU: 'Is the appearance of different opinions within the Party possible at certain periods of its activity, especially at turning points? It is. And what should be the attitude towards those who state their special opinion which differs from the opinion of the others? In such cases we favour the use of Leninist methods of persuasion and explanation, rather than repressions.'

However, dogmatists are opposed to this treatment of differences of opinion in the Party and in the socialist society. Adopting a metaphysical, one-sided approach to this question, they think that every difference of opinion and every battle of opinions is determined only by social, class differences and contradictions. That is why they consider any person who disagrees with them as one who stands 'on the other side of the barricades,' i.e., a class enemy.

That is why a consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism does not exclude, but, on the contrary, presupposes a determined struggle against dogmatism.

'I will make my contribution to Soviet poetry.' And I added: 'All our poets together are worth one Mayakovsky.'

"If Mayakovsky were alive he wouldn't write as he did. I wanted to write as he would have written had he been in my place. When he lived, violent direct verses were necessary. But in our times he would have written in another way because even our people are no longer the same.

"More than 30 years have elapsed and many things have changed. The cultural level has risen very much. The situation today is complex and interesting and a good poet must likewise be complex and interesting. Contemporary poets of the USSR understand this very well.

"At present, love and interest in poetry among Soviet people is much greater than it was in Vladimir Mayakovsky's time. Very often, the work of a young poet is sold out in two or three hours. This is what happened to a book by Andrei Voznesensky who, apart from being a poet, is an architect. Even before the edition was put on sale thousands of readers had placed orders in advance so that very few copies actually reached the bookshops.

"My book Poems of Different Years was published in 20,000 copies and recently republished in an edition of 75,000. To understand this great interest in poetry you must remember that our poets are constantly reciting their poems in public and concert halls. Moscow has a

theatre in which every week a different young poet recites his verses. Every year the Soviet Union celebrates a Day of Poetry. On that day, poets old and young read their poems, autograph their books, etc.

"Some time ago an evening of poetry was held on Mayakovsky Square in Moscow in which 20 poets took part. The audience, according to estimates, was over 7,000. An American poet whom we had invited asked many people attending what was their profession. About 99 per cent of those he asked were workers, technicians, students etc., that is to say, people who have no intimate relation with art or literature."

"Which young poets do you prefer?"

"I already mentioned Voznesensky, and Bella Ahmadullina, who is only 23. They

are very different poets: Voznesensky is explosive, atomic ... Bella is lyrical, smooth ... I also like very much Bulat Okudzhava who has a very personal style. Bulat sets his own poems to music and sings them. But this puts him in rather a difficult position because the poets say 'he's no good as a poet' and composers say 'he's a poor composer'. Not to be outdone, guitar players think he's bad. But, be that as it may, Bulat is a magnificent artist."

"What about young prose writers?"

"There is an excellent young prose writer (He's really a poet writing prose) called Yuri Kazakov. He is the author of several books that have a Chekhov flavour about them, but a Chekhov of the second half of the twentieth century. I see that in Cuba you have published one book by our young writers, Kuznetsov's novel Continuation

of A Legend. Although Kuznetsov is a good writer, in my opinion he cannot be compared to Kazakov. The best works of young Soviet writers can be found in the Soviet magazine Youth."

"Does painting in the Soviet Union arouse as deep an interest as poetry?"

"Possibly not, but the Soviet people certainly like art. When a Picasso exhibition was held in Moscow there were such queues that they reminded us of the bread-lines we had during the Great Patriotic War. I think we should rejoice at the endless queues formed to see Picasso's paintings because art, in fact, is as indispensable to man as bread."

"In the Soviet Union when we criticize shortcomings we do so out of love for our country. It was Lenin who said: 'Our enemies will always collect crumbs from our table of self-criticism.' The orientation of our literature and art — which many American and European critics try to present as being anti-socialist — is, in fact, the direct result of socialism."

Throughout the year in this rapidly changing world, at any moment in any of the twenty-four periods that make up a day, in one or more places on our planet, there is some form of action by workers.

Struggles for immediate demands, demonstrations for national independence, against oppression, exploitation, war, colonialism or demonstrations to celebrate one or another victory of the working people in countries which have already got rid of the yoke of capitalism and are building a new, a Socialist or Communist society.

MAY DAY is the great day of the year, when everywhere at the same time, in all countries, at all latitudes and longitudes, as they have regularly done since 1890, workers come into the streets, or hold meetings at their place of work to express all together on a world scale their wishes and their will to struggle for their great aim, the building of a human society free from the exploitation of man by man.

May Day is the great day when workers take their bearings, examine and evaluate the results of struggles which they have conducted on various issues during the year since the previous May Day.

On this May Day 1962, the workers of the world will greet the victories of construction by the socialist countries and will remember with joy that one country is already on the road to the higher social system for which they are all striving, to Communism.

They will congratulate themselves on the victory over colonialism of their brothers in Western Samoa and Tanganyika, who, following so many other former colonial countries, won their independence in December 1961.

The workers will review the great working class struggles of the past year, and will applaud the fact that a million and half strikers — ten per cent more than in 1960 — demanded their rights in the United States of America, in spite of anti-working class laws.

They will rejoice at the new stage reached by the Cuban revolution, despite

struggles of the peoples. A few examples, among many others, of the great movement which is rousing the whole continent against every kind of imperialist exploitation:

— failure of attempted coups in Brazil and Ecuador,

— eviction of the Trujillo dynasty after thirty years of dictatorship in the Dominican Republic,

— general strike on the railways of Argentina in November 1961,

— and mass demonstration in the same month in Veriuela against the government's decision to break off relations with Cuba.

— demonstrations in England against American bases and strikes for immediate demands;

— engineers' strikes in the German Federal Republic for economic demands;

— people's demonstrations and work stoppages in Spain and Portugal despite the survival of fascist regimes in these two countries.

In fact, it may be said that there is no country which since last Spring has not seen political or economic strike movements, even quiet countries like Denmark.

In the Republic of South Africa, the army of the

Verwoerd Government with its tanks and helicopters has not been able to break the hundreds of thousands of workers struggling for their social, economic and political rights.

The independence of Algeria is being won at a tragic cost of bloodshed for its heroic people. Nothing can any longer stop the logical end of this war which has already lasted too long. Popular demonstrations for Algerian independence and against the OAS culminated on February 13 last in the mass demonstration in France of a million people determined to bar the way to fascism.

During the year all Western Europe has known struggle on an exceptional scale:

In Asia, the working class struggle to end the domination of foreign capital and to win national, economic and political independence grows in strength. We remember, for example, demonstrations of millions of Japanese at Tokyo, Osaka and other Japanese cities in May 1961 against the Security Treaty; and the powerful workers' demonstrations which prevented the ratification of the 'Law against Acts of Violence' which would have restricted democratic rights. In West Bengal and in Iran great strikes for economic and political demands paralysed some sectors of industry for long periods.

Even in Istanbul more than 100,000 people came

all the imperialist attacks and interventions, thanks to the international solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and the world.

The whole Latin American continent, formerly a continent of reactionary military coups, has become the stronghold of anti-imperialist

Workers Of The World Review Achievements, Chart Course Forward W.F.T.U.'S MAY DAY CALL

on to the streets at the beginning of this year to demand improvements in their standard of living — something never before seen in Turkey.

Australia too distinguished itself by great strikes involving some tens of thousands of transport workers and which in New South Wales were successful.

In Africa, that huge continent where during this half century a class-conscious and ever better organized proletariat has slowly emerged, the past year has been marked by great working class struggles for complete independence.

In the Republic of South Africa, the army of the

strikes in Italy, including the day of national struggle for land on February 15, during which several million Italians stopped work;

— demonstrations in England against American bases and strikes for immediate demands;

— engineers' strikes in the German Federal Republic for economic demands;

— people's demonstrations and work stoppages in Spain and Portugal despite the survival of fascist regimes in these two countries.

In fact, it may be said that there is no country which since last Spring has not seen political or economic strike movements, even quiet countries like Denmark.

Human happiness does not come by itself, it must be won in hard struggle, snatched from those who want to keep all the good things of the world for a handful of exploiters. Only if all progressive forces support a united working class will the wheel of history be helped to turn more quickly in the right direction — the direction of the movement which is irresistibly taking mankind towards socialism.

Since its foundation, the World Federation of Trade Unions has devoted all its efforts to setting the seal upon this unity. Its success in this direction was dramatically proved at the magnificent Fifth World Trade Union Congress which in Moscow last December brought together representatives of 143 million trade unionists from all over the world.

On May Day 1962 the meetings celebrating the strength of labour, take up the slogans of the Programme of Trade Union Action adopted at the end of that great Congress. They will express their unbreakable determination to ensure the triumph of peaceful coexistence, to make supreme efforts to prevent thermo-nuclear war, not to rest until general and complete disarmament is achieved, to safeguard the national independence of newly liberated countries, to fight to the end against imperialism, to stop bloody colonial adventures, to put a final end to colonialism, to struggle with growing effort to win and defend civil liberties and trade union rights, and to improve their working and living conditions.

These great aims, common to all workers, we shall achieve together.

Workers of all lands, let us unite!

Long live May Day!

PAGE ELEVEN

ITALIAN UNIONS WILL PRESERVE AUTONOMY—Reply to Govt.'s Overtures

From S. Bensasson

IN what measure and in what manner must the trade-union movement collaborate for the realization of the economic programmes of the left-of-centre government? This is a theme that the Government has contributed to render topical first inaugurating a new method of "tripartite consultations" (representatives of the government, of the employers and of the workers) and later justly calling for the collaboration of trade-unions, through the Minister of Balance and Planning La Malfa.

The method of tripartite meetings, which from now onwards will be held regularly, is no doubt, a positive step towards a democratic collaboration of the workers for the elaboration of the economic development programmes, and the secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, Agostino Novella, has not failed admitting this to the government.

As to the appeal of La Malfa, the manner in which it was formulated could not but cause polemics or, at least, doubts. All the more because certain right-wing papers, like *Il Tempo* of Rome, immediately interpreted the collaboration of the trade unions as a renunciation on their part, of the struggle for higher salaries, in the framework of an austerity policy the expense of which would be solely paid by the workers.

This obliged, La Malfa to specify, later, in the organ of his party, *La Voce Repubblicana*, that he had not wished to subordinate the demands of the workers to the government economic programme, but that he had merely wished to stress the point that these demands take into account "the vast picture of 'reformed' economic development of the whole collectivity."

This clarification provoked a first answer from the editor of *l'Unita*, Mario Alicata, who recalled that the IGCL had never limited itself to a purely corporativistic and sectorial action,

but that it had always inserted its action in the whole picture of the economic and social development of the country, (proposing, for example, in 1949, its "Labour Plan", which was a complete and detailed plan for the economic development of the country). Alicata then recalled that the Communists had judged the programme of this government unsatisfactory, even in its economic and social aspects.

In what measure will the Government take into consideration their criticism? Only in the measure in which the answer to this question will be positive and satisfactory, will the Communists be able to accept and ask the masses which follow them to accept, a certain "discipline" for the realization of the Government programmes.

Meanwhile, the best guarantee for a democratic and anti-monopolistic policy of economic and social development is, Mario Alicata concluded, the autonomy of the Communists and of the whole of the working class, united in the struggle against trusts.

Every time the Government

will come onto this ground the support and collaboration of the Communists will not fail it.

Later, the Secretary of the IGCL, Luciano Lama, intervened, in his turn, in the debate through the columns of *l'Unita*, expressing, firstly, the support of his organization for a planed development of economy and its intention of intervening and, in this sense, of collaborating so as to render this planning compulsory for the employers as much as possible.

But, as this planning aims at overcoming the most serious disequilibriums of the Italian social and economic situation, its first aim cannot be anything but a serious increase of salaries, which have been left well behind in comparison with productivity and capital profits. The wage policy is, obviously, tied, according to Lama, to that of the economic programme, but, he added, "We categorically deny that the wage policy can be subordinated, or in some way conditioned, to a development programme".

Where this happens, the trade union counts nothing more, it becomes the "watch-dog" of a programme of which it is not a director. It is only by safeguarding its absolute

autonomy in the fields of salaries, that the trade union may have a real weight in determining programmes of economic development."

Autonomy—Lama concluded—in the elaboration of demands in factories, in sectors, in localities, on the whole of the national territory, autonomy in the choice of the schedule and the ways in which to struggle, so that also our intervention in the economic programme may be free, responsible, purely inspired by the actual necessities of the world of labour which coincide with those of the whole society.

Constructive Opposition

The position of the Communist trade union men is therefore coherent. As in the political field, their Party stands at the opposition, however, a constructive opposition which may be transformed into a support every time it will consider it useful to the fight against the domination of monopolies and in favour of the progress of the country.

As to the Socialists, who

collaborate with the Communists in the IGCL, despite the fact that the party to which they belong supports the Government, their position appears to be a little more delicate and difficult, and, in a certain measure, contradictory. But, the day after the article by Luciano Lama, which we have just mentioned, appeared, the Socialist organ *Avanti!* specified that the Socialist trade-unionists also resolutely stand for trade union autonomy and oppose every sort of "austerity" and subordination of the wage policy to economic programmes.

The agreement is therefore unanimous on this point within the most important Italian trade union organization. Certainly debates, and maybe also differences are sure to arise on this or that demand, on this or that governmental measure.

But the fighting spirit shown by the Italian working class on the one hand, and the absence of any form of sectarianism or factionalism amongst the Communists, on the other hand, are a double guarantee against the risk that these differences and these debates may lead to opportunistic solutions or ruptures.

Assam Assembly Session Ends

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

THE just concluded first session of the State Assembly of Assam passed a Bill, according to which each of the two Ministers of State would be paid a monthly salary of Rs. 850.00, besides providing them with a free furnished residence at Shillong. This Bill amends the original Act, as the post of Minister for State is a new one for Assam.

Ministers' Salaries

The total amount that the State exchequer will have to incur on this account is estimated to be Rs. 23,000 recurring and Rs. 21,000 non-recurring approximately.

Replying to Opposition criticism about enlarging the cabinet "disproportionately", the Chief Minister declared that the election result reflected people's "faith in the Congress Government" and it was for the Government to decide what number of Ministers there should be in the Cabinet.

In defence of enlarging his cabinet, the Chief Minister said that the number of Ministers is decided on the basis of the work-load in the State. He, however, admitted that in deciding the composition of the cabinet, there were "political considerations" also. He further said that it was a "convention in Assam" to give representation to "various interests".

Because of its weakness, it is said, the Opposition in the Assembly could not meet the Chief Minister's argument effectively.

But observers point out that the Chief Minister almost candidly admitted that the size of his cabinet had to be enlarged because of "political considerations" and to give "representation to various interests" which, in other words, means that he had to enlarge his cabinet to accommodate the various "interests" in his party.

That the election results have given added strength to the Chief Minister and his ruling party was made amply clear by the Chief Minister. But what observers have noted as a matter of concern is the authoritarian tone of the Chief Minister's reply to the Opposition criticism.

If this is to be the guiding line of the ruling party, it is feared that it will not be long before it would be riding roughshod over the interests of the people.

The expansion of the cabinet is not yet over, it is understood. According to well-informed sources here another Minister will shortly be taken in the cabinet and that Minister will be the present Pradesh Congress Secretary who is credited with changing loyalty on several occasions in the past.

This inclusion of the eleventh member in the cabinet, it is said, will further strengthen the position of the Chief Minister's faction against his rival group. It is this consi-

deration that is inducing the Chief Minister to include another Minister in his cabinet.

It is also speculated that a few more potential "enemies" of the rival group may also be roped in by offering them the post of Parliamentary Secretary or Deputy Minister.

Meanwhile, after a good deal of bargaining behind the scenes, the ruling party could at length make its choice for the Deputy Speaker. Observers were a little bit surprised that the choice fell upon one who was hitherto considered a back-bencher.

However, with this election of Deputy Speaker being over, the ruling clique has overcome another ticklish problem. But the rival faction has not yet been able to reconcile itself to the position and is reportedly still trying to dislodge the present ruling faction from power.

Illegal Immigration

The issue of illegal immigration of Pakistani Muslims into Assam is believed to be the convenient weapon that this faction has been trying to use in its factional struggle.

It was interesting to hear the Congress and PSP members accuse each other of adopting malpractices in the election. Each accused the other of exploiting the religious susceptibility of the minority community for vote catching. But, significantly enough, neither side cared to reply to the charges.

Instead, when a PSP mem-

ber alleged that the Congress distributed official patronage to certain persons for securing their vote, the Congress side retorted that a certain PSP member who happened to be a member of the Supply Advisory Board of the particular area, recommended on allotment of C. I. Sheet in return for assurance of vote for the PSP candidate.

Listening to these charges and counter-charges which were not refuted by either side, one felt that both sides were, perhaps, equally guilty; with the only difference that the Congress being in power could misuse official power more than what the other side could possibly do, even if it liked.

It was also obvious that in exploiting religious and communal sentiment of the electorate neither yielded to the other.

One PSP member alleged that during the election campaign it was said by the Congress that the Opposition party members in the Assembly could not even enter the House, they had to sit outside the Assembly chamber.

So if the people should vote for the Opposition party candidate, they would get no benefit. Without caring to refute this charge, the Finance Minister said that certain Opposition member belonging to the PSP told his electorate that he would become a Minister this time, if elected, and would secure all benefits to the people of the area. PSP members kept silent.

An independent member alleged that his supporters were intimidated and even assaulted by Congress followers.

TAMILNAD RESULTS ASSESSED

The Tamilnad State Council of CPI concluded its six-day session in Kumbakonam on April 12. Eighty-five out of 101 members attended the session and took part in the deliberations.

A presidium consisting of K. T. K. Thangamani, M. Bupathy, V. Madhana Gopal, V. K. Kothandaraman and Masilamani took the chair and regulated the proceedings through various stages.

Among those who attended the session were P. Ramamurthi, P. Jivanandam, M. Kalyanasundaram, Manali Kandasami, S. Mohan Kumarangalam, N. K. Krishnan, N. Sankaralah, A. S. K. Iyengar, K. Raman, K. Muthiah, K. S. Parthasarathi and K. P. Janaki Ammal.

At the end of the session M. R. Venkataraman issued the following press statement in relation to the proceedings of the session:

party ends at the time of the elections.

Thus, in the opinion of the State Council, the Congress did not succeed on the merits of its own ideology or on the basis of its achievements during the two Plan periods, but solely on the basis of "extraordinary and unfair practices."

The Swatantra Party, the Council was of the view, had been, on the whole, rejected by the people of the State. Not even a single Swatantra candidate had been returned to Lok Sabha. Out of its 94 candidates for the Assembly only six won — not by the merit of the Swatantra label but by the power of their own local influence and connections.

What has been said of the Swatantra applied to the Forward Bloc also, functioning under the leadership of Muthuramalinga Thevar.

Negative Content

The Council, at the outset, passed a resolution condemning the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the CPI.

The Council then reviewed the results of the recent elections and the political situation which has since developed. About 70 members spoke and gave their considered views on the post-election developments.

Several important amendments were moved to the report prepared and submitted to the Council by the Secretary of the Tamil Nad CPI. After much discussion, some amendments were accepted and incorporated in the official report.

In the considered opinion of the State Council, the Congress Party in this State has been returned to power only on a minority vote. Even this victory of the Congress has been due to the widespread adoption of unfair practices.

The Congress has had to spend unprecedented sums of money in order, somehow, to succeed. It had to befriend the Dravida Kazhagam and thus exploit communal and casteist sentiments. The Congress also exploited the Government machinery for

tence now on the ideology of separation by the DMK leadership is something that should be taken serious note of. It is of the firm opinion that all those who stand for the unity of the country and the indivisibility of the Indian nationhood ought not to neglect or be indifferent to the DMK's demand of separation. This apart, there is the plain fact of the DMK hobnobbing with the Swatantra even after the elections notwithstanding its professed economic creed of wholesome socialism. There is also the factor of the DMK strengthening its ties with the discredited Muslim League and helping its revival on a massive scale.

Progressive forces in Tamil Nad who believe in socialism and democracy cannot but view with concern the trends within the DMK and their effects on the State's political set-up.

The Communist Party is pledged to educate the masses on the harmful consequences of the separatist slogans. It is pledged to fight the separatist tendency. At the same time, the Communist Party is willing and prepared to join hands with others, including the DMK on issues that have bearing on the welfare of the people in their struggle for existence.

That the Communist Party did not get as many seats as was reasonably expected is a fact, howsoever painful it may be. Thousands of friends and sympathisers of the Party have been touched deeply by the unexpected setbacks, suffered by the Party candidates.

At the same time, impartial observers have conceded the credit to our Party for not exploiting unseemly and unworthy avenues for gaining electoral ends. They have praised the CPI as being the only organised group that refrained from appeal to the baser instincts of the people based on casteist and communal propaganda.

In certain constituencies, considered to be our strongholds, our candidates have polled 45 per cent more votes than last time. This only shows the growing popularity of the Party in these areas. With a little more effort and mass-contact, the Party can reasonably hope to better its performance in the coming years. Also, in Tamil Nad, as a whole, the Party has gained considerable vote-support.

In the coming civic elections, the CPI should strive to mobilise the masses against the ruling party. It should be our endeavour to prepare the masses on practical lines and against the increasing burden of taxation. The Party

should have a plan towards this end.

The Council has decided to convene a special Conference of the State party in August with a view to reviewing the political situation as well as to consider the question of united front with other progressive forces. Such a Conference could also take decisions on strengthening the Party's organisational base vis-a-vis the people.

The Council also passed a resolution requesting the State Government to release the Communist prisoners without any further delay. It also decided to send a deputation to wait on the Ministers towards this purpose.

M. R. Venkataraman further said that reports about "growing rift within the CPI's Tamil Nad Unit" had no basis in fact. He said that speculative reports, based on "half-truths and surmises" were unfair in the extreme. There could be always differences of opinion but ultimately the Communist Party would be united when a decision was reached.

"To make out rift-stories out of reported differences within the CPI would be wholly wide of the mark." He has said that the "decisions" reached at the Kumbakonam "have actually helped the CPI to achieve a greater sense of unity and cohesion."

ROURKELA LOCKOUT

FROM PAGE 2

It was the management who did not concede their legitimate demand and irresponsibly ordered them to stop work.

One big question which arose in the mind of every impartial person was as to where was the conciliation machinery in this picture. Till the declaration of the lockout the local conciliation officer was not in the picture. The management had at no stage requested his mediation.

They did not even submit to him a formal report in Form 'F' which is compulsory for them under section 80 of Orissa Industrial Disputes Rules 1959 in the event of any strike.

As such the allegation of a strike was totally baseless. This idea of a strike was a subsequent concoction by the Plant authorities to justify their unjust, illegal and harmful lockout. Hence the union's contention that the lockout was absolutely illegal.

The General Manager made a statement to the Press that he assured the workers' representatives to favourably consider their demands and issued a notice in that effect. But such a notice was never issued before the lockout was imposed nor were any such assurances given.

Immediately after the lockout when the workers approached the Rourkela Steel Mazdoor Union it rushed for negotiation and conciliation. The authorities refused to attend conciliation as per the letter of the Govern-

ment Conciliation Officer No. B.F.I.I./L.O. dated April 4. It shows that the workers were eager to work and the management was not willing to run the works. This again disproves their allegation that it was the workers who had refused to work.

It is now fully evident that the Plant authorities had totally mishandled an ordinary problem which exists in the other Steel Plants as well. They had aggravated a simple situation into a mighty lockout. They wanted now to throw the blame upon the unorganised workers taking advantage of their lack of organisation.

Workers As Scapegoats

The only cause for this tragic lockout could be either that the authorities were inefficient to handle the labour problems or that they had deliberately aggravated the situation to escape from the grave strictures made by the then Steel Minister Swaran Singh only a few days before about the mismanagement in the Rourkela Steel Plant by manufacturing a situation for a lockout and then throwing the blame on the workers for the mess.

In that case the poor workers were obviously being used by the authorities as pawns in their unwholy game. A judicial enquiry into this lockout could unearth the whole truth.

The workers demanded immediate withdrawal of the illegal lockout and to allow them to resume their lawful work without any loss of wages or victimisation. They asked that the change in designations notified on April 2 which is illegal under section 9A of Industrial Disputes Act should be withdrawn and that they be designated in posts in which they had been working so long and that no humiliating undertakings should be demanded at the time of resumption of work. They demanded that the tokens and gate passes of the workers should be returned.

The Orissa Government, the Union said, should not hesitate to discharge their lawful duties in this regard, especially when the Rourkela Steel authorities have become notorious for violating all labour laws and for their disregard of the conciliation machinery.

The Union also called upon the Government of India and the Steel Minister to immediately intervene in solving the deadlock.

The Union has appealed to the working class and the people in general to urge upon the management to put an end to its erroneous policies, accept the legitimate demands of the workers and halt a major calamity to the nation's economy.

Though the lockout has been lifted and work has been resumed. A big batch of workers have not been allowed to return to work. The discontent continues.

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY, WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Saha at the
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,
5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M.
Road, New Delhi, and published
by him from 14, Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address
MARKBADI

Phone : 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
ENLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 20-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.

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

Police Brutality

then firing and killing six of them, and wounding 50. Terror has since prevailed there with police going about manhandling people and not letting them even move about freely.

What happened in Allahabad, a god-forsaken place but the home town of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister was no less ghastly and shameful. An undertrial prisoner was beaten to death and the crime sought to be covered up. When the people protested and demanded tracking and punishment of the criminals responsible, they were fired upon by the police, three of them receiving fatal injuries.

Refusal by the State Government to agree to the perfectly legitimate demand of a judicial inquiry tends to

make that Government in the public eye a party to the crime.

In a State where a number of such incidents have taken place in the past few years and where the famous judgment of Justice Mulla describing the police as the worst perpetrators of lawlessness, stands as the lasting condemnation of that force, this latest incident cannot but create a sense of insecurity among the people, calling for some action on the part of the Government at the Centre.

The Communists and their allies in the Third Lok Sabha are seasoned fighters not only of the mass movements but also in the legislative field. They can be expected with full confidence not to let such incidents pass without powerfully demanding effective redress.

preparation much earlier. Guided by the realisation that it could not gain its aim through honest and impartial elections, the Congress adopted its election tactics.

So, long before the election, the Congress began using state power much more than before for its party end and took recourse to corruption and hypocrisy by abandoning all declared principles and honesty. Following are the various aspects of Congress election tactics.

- 1) Long drawn out preparation.
- 2) Large scale use of state power; promise of Government plans, job, relief, license, permits, credits, remission of taxes etc.; using of special cadres and gram sevaks, financial assistance to clubs and libraries, lure of giving jobs etc.
- 3) Manipulation in voters' list; exclusion, as far as possible of the leftist supporters from the lists; registration of false voters in lists in a big way; registration of some voters in different constituencies (in cases of Hindi speaking voters). Even after publication of final voters' list in Calcutta and industrial areas, thousands were registered by Congress by spending fifty paise per voter so that there was no opportunity to register protest against false voters.

4) Widespread lies and slanders against leftists, specially Communists; religious propaganda, communalism, provincialism, casteism, intimidating minorities, anti-Soviet and anti-Chinese slanders. These were on wider scale than in 1957. Different propaganda among different sections and communities; propagation of lies and slanders in the name of religion through papers like 'Faigam', 'Imroze'.

- 5) Large scale intimidation, terrorisation and goadings; intimidation of Government employees.
- 6) Strengthened by the money paid by the big capital, foreign and indigenous profiteers and vested interests, Congress influenced and purchased with money the voters; use of Government funds for the same.
- 7) Widespread distribution of liquor in rural areas.
- 8) Arrangement on large scale for false voting.

Besides, arrangements were made in many places to make Congress win through fixing of poll dates, polling booths etc. Congress, has used its power in many municipalities, union boards, Panchayats and also the Corporation of Calcutta.

Reason For Failure

As one of the main reason for the failure to implement the slogan of alternative government, and also for the Congress retaining its power was the latter's taking recourse to above-mentioned tactics, there were also our weaknesses such as follows:—

- 1) The importance the ruling circles gave to the slogan of alternative go-

vernment, was not given by us at the initial stages and our understanding was somewhat formal. In the later period we began to be confident about the slogan after finding enthusiasm among the people.

The significance of the slogan was not explained among the Party ranks correctly in all cases. Besides we had no sufficient understanding about the ruling party's heinous tactics because of some illusion about the Congress.

- 2) Though the provincial centre published many propaganda booklets and though daily Swadhinata and the Hindi weekly played important role in political campaign in the election and helped it, it should be admitted that sufficient measures were not taken to give centrally political and organisational leadership in matters of overall guidance of the election campaign.
- 3) There was complacency about victory inside the Party, specially in Calcutta, 24 Parganas and Howrah Party organisations, which was one of the reasons of our defeat. For these reasons our campaign, specially in Calcutta, started much later. Our election campaign remained weaker because of late beginning in Calcutta, political movement of which generally influences Bengal. Besides there was no ma-

noteworthy is the weakness of the mass organisations. Though we directed big movements we failed to build up strong mass organisations through the movements. The weaknesses are stated specially and for future advance.

But simultaneously it must also be noted that our Party members, workers and innumerable sympathisers toiled hard in the elections. They have made sufficient contribution in whatever achievement was made. The Party is proud of these workers.

A big aspect of our weakness is the weakness specially among the Hindi-speaking ones. We neglected the job of making the working class conscious of its leading role. We confined our organisational work mostly in economic and trade union activities.

Though the general political influence of the state falls on the Bengali workers, the Hindi-speaking workers are still not sufficiently influenced by the feudal trend.

Not only the contact of the democratic movement is weaker with the Hindi-speaking workers, the latter's contact with us is relatively slender. The bourgeois newspapers influence them every now and then. In comparison circulation of our papers is much less among them.

chinery which was necessary to guide and co-ordinate in an overall manner, the election in the entire districts.

- 4) In many cases negative propaganda about the Congress rule overweighed the alternative policies, alternative programme, leadership and various aspects of the alternative government. We could not give proper answers in time to the Congress slanders and lies. We could not get in time correct information about how wide was Congress slander campaign, how this was organised and how much it influenced how many people. As a result we could not answer all slanders in proper time.
- 5) Special reason for our failure has been our organisational weakness. The long-standing political and organisational weakness of the Party, absence of sufficient number of able cadres for giving leadership, absence of arrangements for selling party literature and Swadhinata in sufficient numbers, and lack of fund have been reasons for our loss.

As a result of existence in the Party of spontaneity and complacency even now we were not vigilant about the Congress manipulations about preparation of voters' lists and hence we were not able to take suitable steps to foil these.

Besides, we paid very little attention in preparation of voters' lists. Particularly

Where our movement is confined mainly among the share-croppers and the agricultural labourers and where in the movement the middle class or the common peasant got in some way or there was scope for them to maintain false notion about us, the middle class and middle peasants cast themselves in favour of Congress to a large extent. In such conditions, support of even the poor peasants dared not be got sufficiently in all classes.

On the other hand, where Government policy hit all peasants and we directed movement against such policy we got wide support despite our relative organisational weaknesses.

Another thing should be noted. We lost in many areas where we were engaged in constructive work. This shows that only constructive work does not enhance political consciousness if this is not accompanied by political campaign and strong organisation. The election results have brought to fore the necessity of deeply examining the Party's working process among the peasants and the Party should discuss the matter in detail.

Though the Party started once the campaign of 'turn towards the villages' it lost its continuity and it gave no much result as it was confined only among the students.

On the other hand thus election has also shown that

- (a) organised workers, employees, agricultural labourers and poor peasants have come forward more firmly in support of the U.L.F.;
- (b) many workers came out in the election campaign and among them has been manifested a bold mentality to know the Party and its fundamental policies, to come into the Party and to make preparation for future struggle by doing away with the weaknesses found during the elections;
- (c) the strength and influence of the Party have increased as a whole and our influence has extended in many new areas and among the scheduled caste and tribal people.

In these circumstances we have to adopt the following immediate programme in order to resist the more intensive attack from the ruling class and vested interests, to press forward the democratic movement more boldly and to consolidate our influence and increase our strength many times more by removing our weaknesses.

8) That to see the struggle of dislodging the ruling party from power through elections only as a formal election struggle is wrong is evident from the results of this year's elections. To win such a struggle the political and organisational preparation for the election should be much improved and with this must be added the militant movement of the peasants, workers, middle class and broader sections of people against the ruling class.

As a result of only such struggles, it is possible to get support of other sections who are also hit by the current regime. From the point of view of mass movement of 1959, we failed to organise such a broad mass struggle so far.

On the other hand, where we were able to mobilise all sections of peasants, under real conditions, in favour of us we got huge support in the election. Congress could not mislead them.

The peasant problem, their movement, division of peasant strata are so complicated that it is not possible to comment as a whole about their support. But it was found in the election that the poor in general were in our favour, the jotedars and money-lenders, on the other hand, worked consciously for Congress.

more arraigned themselves in the Congress;

(c) Congress, as an organisation, has become more active (d) after retaining the majority in the election, mental attitude of obstinacy and reprisal among the ruling circles have increased and as result possibility of widespread attack in future on mass movement has increased;

(e) the forces of communalism, provincialism and other aspects of disruption have more united inside the Congress;

(f) though political consciousness of the people has improved to some extent there is still weakness in this matter and Congress can get support of a big section of them by taking advantage of this weakness;

(g) it has been found that people's discontent and resentment against Congress do not spontaneously turn into vote in our favour. A broad section of the people still supports Congress and it is not a fact that all of them do so only under intimidation or bribe. Many of the youth worked for Congress. In this condition we cannot afford to remain complacent.

On the other hand thus election has also shown that

- 1) Arrangement for detailed discussions at all stages inside the Party about the lessons of the election.
- 2) To improve our political propaganda, to put before the people, through numerous group and mass meetings, our political say and our reply to Congress false propaganda and anti-communism and to propagate ideas of socialism.
- 3) To make arrangements to propagate among different sections of people regularly our alternative programme for building the country.
- 4) To get prepared for more intensive and extensive mass movements; to strengthen the entire Party, trade unions, Kisan Sabha and other mass organisations. To carry on systematic efforts to unify the Party by removing complacency, spontaneity inside the Party.

The main basis of the democratic front is the unity of workers and peasants. But this work of building this unity is still neglected inside the Party.

8) That to see the struggle of dislodging the ruling party from power through elections only as a formal election struggle is wrong is evident from the results of this year's elections. To win such a struggle the political and organisational preparation for the election should be much improved and with this must be added the militant movement of the peasants, workers, middle class and broader sections of people against the ruling class.

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In order to determine immediate tasks after taking lessons from the elections of 1962 it is necessary for us to give special attention to certain vital issues. It has been found from the election battle that

- (a) the political struggle in the country has become more intense;
- (b) the vested interests have

*SEE FACING PAGE

LENIN ***** From Page 3
—AGAINST "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM

national opportunists who were also the sectarians. Similarly it was this passion for revolution, for the swiftest possible end to the infamous rule of capitalism that made Lenin turn his gaze so firmly to the East, to the countries of the national-liberation movements. It was his vision that saw the advance of these two socially-different movements in a single front against imperialism.

Once again, dragged by chauvinism, it was the leaders of the Second International who were totally alien to this concept of a new alignment, a new ally of the world proletarian revolution.

INFANTILE DISORDER

And, of course, the climax of Lenin's theory of allies for the proletariat was reached with 'Left-wing' Communism An Infantile Disorder. In many ways this book represents the apex of Leninist wisdom, the last of the major works of the master.

He writes: "The proletarian vanguard has been ideologically won over. That is the main thing. Without it not even the first step towards victory can be made. But it is still a fairly long way from victory. Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone." Then comes the decisive passage: "The immediate task that confronts the class-conscious vanguard of the international labour movement, i.e., the Communist Parties,

groups and trends, is to be able to lead the broad masses (now, for the most part, slumbering, apathetic, hidebound, inert and dormant) to their new position, or, rather, to be able to lead not only their own party, but also these masses, in their approach, their transition to the new position.

"While the first historical task (viz., that of winning over the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat to Soviet Power and the dictatorship of the working class) could not be accomplished without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social chauvinism, the second task, and which consists in being able to lead the masses to the new position that can ensure the victory of the vanguard in the revolution, this immediate task cannot be accomplished without the elimination of left doctrinarism, without completely overcoming and getting rid of its mistakes".

Analysing the position of the bankrupt leaders of the Second International he wrote: "The main reason for their bankruptcy was that they were 'enchanted' by one definite form of growth of the working class and Socialist movement, they forgot all about the one-sidedness of this form, they were afraid of seeing the sharp break which objective conditions made inevitable, and continued to repeat simple, routine, and, at a first glance, incontestable

truths, such as: 'Three is more than two'. "But politics is more like algebra than arithmetic; and still more like higher mathematics than elementary mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the Socialist movement have acquired a new content, and, consequently, a new sign, the 'minus' sign, has appeared in front of all the figures; but our wiseacres stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and others that 'minus three' is more than 'minus two'!"

"We must try to prevent Communists from making the same mistake, only the other way round; or, rather, we must see to it that the same mistake, only the other way round, made by the Left Communists, is corrected, as soon as possible and over-comed as quickly and painlessly as possible.

"It is not only Right doctrinarism that is a mistake; Left doctrinarism is also a mistake. Of course, the mistake of Left doctrinarism in Communism is at present a thousand times less dangerous and less significant than the mistake of Right doctrinarism (i.e., social chauvinism and Kautskysm); but, after all, that is only due to the fact that Left Communism is a very young trend, is only just coming into being.

"It is only for this reason that, under certain conditions, the disease can be easily cured, and we must set to work to cure it with the utmost energy."

Unfortunately, this disease was not so easily nor so quickly cured. There can be little doubt that further investigation will reveal that a large share of the blame for the persistence of sectarism will have to be borne by the grave theoretical and tactical errors, resulting from the dogmatism and the ideological

monopolisation of the period of the cult of personality. But the fight against sectarism also persisted.

THE FIGHT CONTINUED

Dimitrov noted in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (August 1935) that: "Sectarism manifested itself no longer in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy.

"In our day this is often no longer an 'infantile disorder' as Lenin wrote, but a deeply rooted vice, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

"In the present situation sectarism, self-satisfied sectarism, as we designated it in the draft resolution, more than anything else impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front; sectarism, satisfied with its doctrinaire narrowness, its divorce from the real life of the masses; satisfied with its simplified methods of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes; sectarism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labour movement. In short, sectarism to which, as they say, mountains are mere stepping-stones...."

"Sectarism finds expression particularly in overesti-

ating the revolutionization of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, and in attempting to leap over difficult stages and the complicated tasks of the movement.

"In practice, methods of leading the masses have frequently been replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group.

"The strength of the traditional connection between the masses and their organisations and leaders was underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these connections immediately, the attitude taken toward them was just as harsh as that adopted towards their reactionary leaders.

"Tactics and slogans have tended to become stereotyped for all countries, the special features of the actual situation in each individual country being left out of account. "The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst of the masses themselves to win their confidence has been ignored, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organisations have been neglected.

"The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced by bare appeals and abstract propaganda".

Very sharp words. But they have the Leninist ring about them. They are so palpably alive as all Lenin's writings are. And certainly no one can question their relevance today, for sectarism did not perish in 1935.

Lenin's life and his work, above all, convey this supreme message today—the fire and passion of revolution is incompatible with narrow-minded and self-defeating sectarism.

CLAY'S RECALL—A GOOD OMEN

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

Berlin April 15. THE people of this divided city heaved a sigh of relief when President Kennedy recalled his personal representative in Berlin, General Lucius D. Clay. General Clay was sent to West Berlin last September to look after U.S. interests and was responsible for a number of provocative acts by the U.S. army including the calling up of U.S. tanks at Charl check point in last October.

Though the American imperialist spokesmen have denied that there is any breakthrough in Western policies on the Berlin question, Clay's recall from West Berlin is interested to soften the atmosphere when talks in Washington between Soviet Ambassador and U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, on Berlin open tomorrow.

No Tributes

Missing from President Kennedy's remarks in his press conference on General Clay were any of the customary tributes to a prominent personality completing a special mission or relinquishing high office; nor did Kennedy repeat the views of other administration officials that General Clay's principal assignment, the boosting of the morale of West Berliners, had been accomplished.

The retiring General will join an American monopoly firm, Continental Can Company. Masters whom he served in war and politics did not forget to reward him.

General Clay's departure has cast total disappointment in West German official circles. The revanchists lost the man who was their trouble shooter in occupied Berlin.

General Clay's name is associated with the division of Germany and Berlin. In 1948 General Clay, the then U.S. military Governor in Germany, introduced separate currency for West Germany and promoted foundation of a separate West German state. He advised American President for the creation of a 500,000 strong West German army against the Potsdam Agreement. Fourteen years ago Clay dissolved the Allied Control Council in Berlin and

pieced together three Western zones, American, British and French, and created the notorious "front line city against Communism".

When Lucius Clay was sent to Berlin last September, the frontline city strategists of the imperialist camp triumphed. The West German ex-Nazi Generals, now in command had a real friend of merits.

In October General Clay in order to perforate the "Berlin Wall", brought American tanks on the scene of Charl check point where he in civil clothes wanted to cross to East Berlin without showing his identity card on October 28. This incident provoked by Clay brought the world to the brink of war. When in Charl check point Soviet-American tanks stood face to face, on Clay's S.O.S. American bombers prepared to take off all over the world.

Now this dangerous man is going. "Good riddance", say all peace-loving Berliners. Recall of Clay is not the solution of Berlin crisis but it gives hopes that reason begins to prevail in the Western camp. Tomorrow's Berlin talks in Washington shall begin with a good omen.

NEPAL KING'S VISIT

From Our Political Correspondent

THE Nepal King's visit is of important significance in the context of the deterioration of Indo-Nepalese relations in the recent period. It is unlikely, however, that the present round of talks will result in anything very much. The problems have deep-seated causes. And there has been no sign on either side that attention has been focussed on these causes.

It looks as if most of the talks will be taken up with two immediate problems. King Mahendra is likely to take up rather strongly the question of India's attitude to the system of government that he has chosen to impose upon Nepal.

The official release in Kathmandu of a document of the Nepalese national Guidance Ministry's Publicity Broadcasting Department strongly assailing Nehru's criticism of Nepalese authoritarianism, clearly shows the way the wind is blowing.

The Nepalese monarch is likely to insist, in the name of non-interference, that such critical comments should cease.

Moreover, it is reported that he will propose joint Indo-Nepalese military operations against the Nepalese rebels, who are alleged to have set up the base of their operations in India.

On the Government of India's side the main brunt of the diplomatic attack will be on the question of the Lhasa-Kathmandu Road. It seems that they will insist that the Indo-Nepal Treaty relations enjoined consultations prior to China being approached, specially as the road appears to be of a strategic nature.

Deadlock is likely to be reached on both these outstanding problems.

The Government of India will naturally reiterate its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal, while at the same time pointing out that criticism of the existing system in any country by any other is not barred by the conventions and principles of international law.

They will point to the frequent criticism of India's policy and institutions made in various foreign countries with whom India has the best of relations.

Naturally the Government will not agree to any joint operations against any of the political forces operating in Nepal.

There is a report, however, that the Government of India might try to exert some gentle pressure to bring about a rapprochement between King Mahendra and Subarna Shamshere, who is said to be the most moderate among the leaders of the Nepali Congress.

From Nepal's side there will be the retort that the building of a road in Nepal in any event is not a matter on which the final decision is to be taken by India. If it so wishes, Nepal may consult India but there is no obligation to do so on its part.

Besides, the Lhasa-Kathmandu road, according to the Nepal Government, is more in the nature of further coordinating and tidying up of the existing trade routes than a strategic highway with grave implications for the defence of India's northern frontier.

The fact that Dr. Tulsi Giri, the bitterest critic of India, heads the list of the Nepalese King's advisors is itself a guarantee that precious little progress will be made in improving Indo-Nepalese relations.

DEEPER ANTAGONISMS

This, however, is only a surface indication of deeper antagonisms. No democrat anywhere can have any sympathy for the open dictatorship that the Nepalese King has clamped down upon the people of Nepal. It was, moreover, a most retrograde step in view of the fairly promising start that parliamentary democracy had made in the Himalayan State.

Even now it is the duty of all democrats in India to protest full-throatedly against the complete denial of all civil

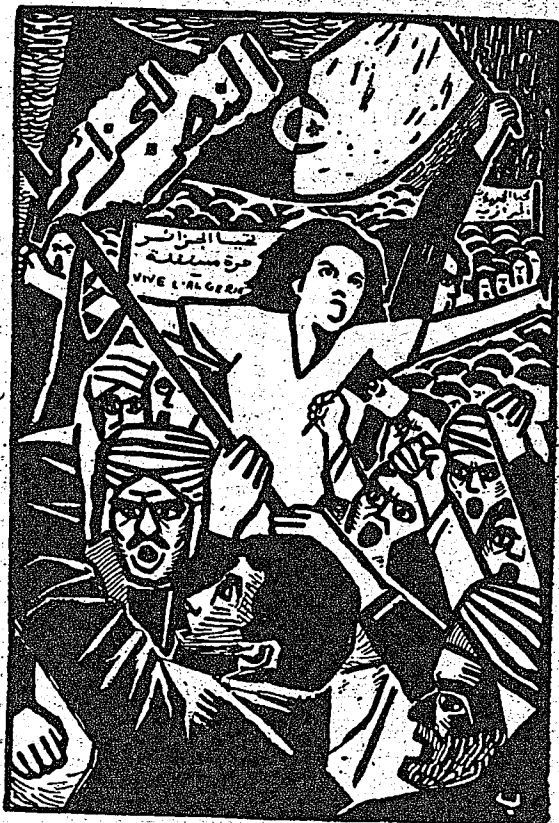
liberties and democratic freedoms to the people and for the release of political prisoners. Such protest will be the manifestation of democratic solidarity which is India's tradition and which nobody can cavil at. It is a matter of regret that so very little has been done in this regard in our country by any of the democratic political parties.

Simultaneously, however, the democratic forces in India must bring the heaviest pressure possible on the Government to do all it can to remove all vestiges of big-national chauvinism in its politics, approach and methods.

The Government has to go out of its way to allay all lurking suspicions on the part of the Nepalese people that India wants to take up where Britain left off. In particular, it is essential to re-educate the officials who, often enough, by their attitudes and airs completely embitter the Nepalese with whom they come in to contact.

As the bigger country it is India who must take initiative in this matter and build the relations between the two countries on the firm foundations of mutual respect and joint effort in the cause of world peace and Asian freedom.

Workers All Over The World
Prepare For May Day



A poster issued by the trade unions of Morocco. For the WFTU May Day Appeal see page 10.

Dearness Not Fully Neutralised

EMPLOYEES DEMAND CONSULTATIONS

From Our Correspondent

CENTRAL Government employees and their unions have generally welcomed the Union Government's announcement increasing the dearness allowance.

A joint statement issued by a number of trade union leaders thanked the Government for the higher allowances announced. At the same time the statement pointed out that the demand of the Central Government employees had not been fully met.

Besides, the decision, said the trade union leaders, "is not in full consonance with the recommendation of the Pay Commission in the matter of the rate of compensation on other aspects."

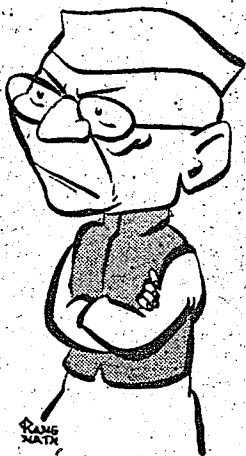
The trade union leaders hoped that in accordance "with the assurances given by the Home Minister and the Labour Minister in Parliament", the Government would agree to settle the issue in consultation with the representatives of the trade unions.

ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

They suggested that the matter should, if necessary, be referred for arbitration to provide full protection against diminution of the real wage which "is already below the living wage."

The signatories to the statement include S. M. Banerjee MP, President, All-India De-

fence Employees' Federation, P. S. R. Anjanayulu, Secretary-General Posts and Telegraphs Employees' Union; Ujjagar Singh, General Secretary, Central Government Clerks' Union; K. R. Rama-



Will his Budget further cut real wages?

njam, General Secretary, Civil Aviation Department Employees' Union; E. K. Joseph, Secretary-General, All India Non-Gazetted Audit and Accounts Officers' Association; D. Rajaratnam, Secretary-General of the Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers and Janardan Sharma, General Secretary, Central PWD Workers' Union.

The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Central Government Employees will be meeting shortly to take full stock of the situation.

EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL STAFF

The Post and Telegraph Employees' Federation, meanwhile intends to raise the question of the extra-departmental staff in the Postal services with the Union Ministry of Labour. The extra-departmental staff have not been given any relief in the Government's decision on dearness allowance.

The issue of extra-departmental staff, an official spokesman of the Federation told IPA, is a major one, there being about one lakh such employees. They were given a relief of Rupees two in the Government's interim decisions in 1958-59, but do not figure at all in the recent announcement. According to the Federation, this segment of employees are among the most hard-pressed.

India Press Agency further report that the Post and Telegraph Federation as well as a number of other Central Government employees' trade unions are also critical of the Government decision to raise the dearness allowance for the lowest category by Rupees five only. Their view is that Government should enhance

the dearness allowance for this category by Rupees seven to eight, in order to neutralise the effects of rise in consumer price index.

The Central Government employees' organisations have already made a representation to this effect and a move is afoot to open negotiations with the Union Labour Ministry.

The employees' trade unions contend that the enhanced dearness allowance announced by the Government will only meet about sixty to seventy per cent of the actual price increase, contrary to Government claims that it will neutralise 75 per cent of the price rise.

SALARIES REDUCED

This in effect means a reduction in real salaries of the Central Government employees. The Pay Commission, they point out, had specifically laid down that there should be no decline in real wages of the lower categories of employees as a consequence of price increases.

The fact that the consumer price index had become stabilized at 123 points since August, 1961, according to employees' circles, showed that there was little chance of the index returning to a lower level in the near future, not taking into account the new burdens the coming budget might hold.