

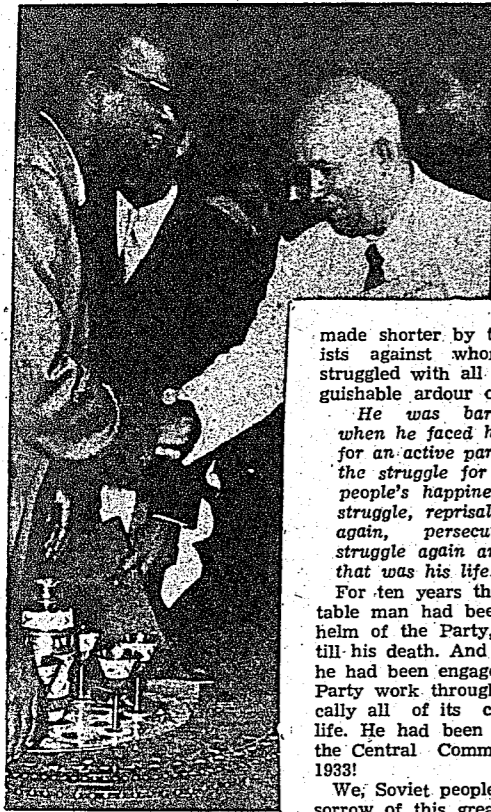
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February 20, 1909—January 13, 1962

Ajoy Ghosh

First Death Anniversary Memorial

NEW
* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *
AGE
— Vol. XI No. 2 January 13, 1963 25 nP. —



Ajoy Ghosh shaking hands with N. S. Khrushchev after presenting him a souvenir on behalf of the Communist Party of India during the latter's visit to India.

He Fought For Happiness Of The Indian People

★ By YURI ZHUKOV, Pravda Observer

made shorter by the colonialists against whom he had struggled with all the inexhaustible ardour of his heart. He was barely twenty when he faced his first trial for an active participation in the struggle for the Indian people's happiness. Prisons, struggle, reprisals, struggle again, persecutions and struggle again and again—that was his life.

For ten years that indomitable man had been at the helm of the Party, since 1951 till his death. And before that he had been engaged in active Party work throughout practically all of its conscientious life. He had been member of the Central Committee since 1933!

We, Soviet people, share the sorrow of this great loss with the Indians, for Ajoy Ghosh was a great friend of our people and he had done much to strengthen friendship between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India. I vividly remember him speaking at the 22nd CPSU Congress when he pointed out with great force that cooperation between our countries was a powerful factor for the benefit of peace, and promised, on behalf of the Indian communists, to exert constant efforts to strengthen these relations of cooperation and friendship between our two countries.

INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

I remember being in Delhi soon after that tragic loss: our friends felt orphaned, they could not get used to the thought that the man who had done so much to unite the Indian communists, to help overcome difficulties, who inspired them and encouraged those who wavered before taking an important decision—that man was no more. He was an indomitable, vigilant and staunch leader whom people trusted, whose opinion was greatly valued, who was followed—and now he was no more. He literally burned himself up at his work, refusing the slightest respite to his heart.

He thought the time too precious to have a rest, and refused to listen to his friends who tried to persuade him to take a holiday.

COMPASS OF LENINISM

I met the Indian friends at the moment when they were thinking of how to go ahead without Ajoy Ghosh. Oh, how much they missed him! What one would frequently hear in a conversation was: "Ajoy used to say..." "Ghosh would have acted this way", and everybody agreed without any disputes that the Party was to go the same way he had been leading it. He had the only true compass in his hand, the compass of Leninism.

Ghosh died comparatively young, he would have been only 54 now. His life was

the entire socialist camp, the amazing successes scored by the national-liberation movement and the forces of peace and democracy would have been impossible without the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress.

He unflinchingly propagated and carried out the decisions of the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Heading the Communist Party of India, Ghosh welcomed and supported the neutralist, peaceful policy of the Republic of India. He fought against the imperialists' attempts to draw India into military blocs, to undermine her friendly relations with the Soviet Union; he came out for India's peaceful co-existence with all the countries of the socialist camp, both so distant as Czechoslovakia or Hungary and the neighbours as China.

In his last years Ajoy Ghosh was worried by the

deterioration in Sino-Indian relations. Ten days before his death he wrote: Coming out in defence of India's territorial integrity we are coming out at the same time for the solution of our controversy with China by peaceful means. Today these words sound as Ghosh's testament.

ARDENT PATRIOT

An ardent patriot of his country, Ghosh fought passionately against the falsehood and slander, against the vicious attacks on the communists by the reactionary and imperialist forces coming out against the independent and democratic development of India. There cannot be any doubt that had he been here with us now he would have been greatly pained to see some of his comrades-in-arms in the

Party being persecuted and subjected to reprisals even today.

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh had lived a hard but glorious life. The condolences sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the National Council of the Communist Party of India in connection with Ghosh's death read in part: "The contribution he has made to the communist movement of India, to the struggle for the happiness of the Indian people and the cause of Soviet-Indian friendship will forever remain in the hearts of the communists and all Soviet people."

The life of such an ardent revolutionary and patriot as the Indian communist Ajoy Ghosh is a truly noble example, worthy of emulation, of serving one's people and the cause of peace and socialism, of selfless devotion to the cause of communism.

IN MEMORIAM

By RAMESHWARI NEHRU

AJOY GHOSH was one of the best of human beings. I have come across. His life was one long string of sacrifices, which he made for his country.

He joined the Freedom Movement while he was still a student and was one of the foremost of fighters in the Congress ranks. But mere political freedom which was then the objective of the Congress, did not satisfy his ideals for the well-being of the Indian masses, for whom he felt economic and social freedom was as essential.

He, therefore, joined the Communist Party, whose ideology he felt promised more for the down-trodden Indian masses who, for centuries, were victims of social and economic exploitation by the privileged classes.

His intellectual attainments and his spirit of devotion and dedication soon brought him to the highest level of leadership in his own party. He won the confidence of his compatriots and held offices of great responsibility, which he discharged with great tact and success. He became the General Secretary of the Party, which office he held till the last breath of his life.

He was a humanist and a nationalist above everything else. He placed the interest of his country above those of the party. His influence, which was great, was always exercised for the integrity and unity of the Indian people.

He was a realist and a true patriot, who was always ready to sacrifice not only his personal interests, but also narrow party interests, if the broad interests of the country demanded it. His judgment was always balanced,

rational and in favour of the good of the masses and the country as a whole.

His good qualities as a human being could be appreciated by those only who could rise above party prejudices.

His demise at the early age of 53, was a great national loss, which cannot be forgotten easily.

To me, the news of his sudden death came as a personal bereavement: He was the beloved husband of a daughter of the Punjab whom I always looked upon as my own and in addition to the national loss, I felt the loss suffered by her whom he left behind.

He went in the prime of his life and career at a time when he was needed most in the country. I join his admirers and friends in paying my homage to his sacred memory.

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

It does not seem a year since we heard of the untimely death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, so swiftly do events move in this time of world change and world crisis. But a year has passed—a year which this gifted man would have loved to live through, and from which his brilliant mind would have drawn many lessons of benefit to his party, his country and his people.

Members of our party met Comrade Ghosh at many international gatherings, and became his friend as well as his comrade. We were al-

ways happy to talk with him, to hear his opinions on events in India, to tell him about the problems of our own country. We always obtained the strong impression in these talks that he represented in himself a growing political maturity of our fraternal Indian party, a breadth of vision and grasp of tactics which are so vital to the development of a mass Communist Party.

We know that you still miss him very much, especially now when your party is confronted with gigantic problems. But we are sure that the

collective leadership you are building will provide for the party the continuation of Comrade Ghosh's leadership and style of work.

May I extend on behalf of our Communist Party of Canada our warmest fraternal greetings, at this time when you are commemorating the death of your beloved friend and comrade.

Leslie Morris,
General Secretary
National Committee

Toronto,
December 28, 1962

HERITAGE WE ACCLAIM

Ajoy On Problems Of International Communist Movement

On this and later pages of this special Ajoy Ghosh number we give some extracts from his writings constituting the great heritage he has left to the progressive movement in India and the world. The first extract is from his article on the 20th Congress that appeared in the New Age Monthly of April 1956.

ON 20th CONGRESS

The impact of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the world has been tremendous and unprecedented...

TODAY Socialism is a consolidated world system, having emerged from the frontiers of a single country and going forward triumphantly in a whole series of countries. This is the main feature of our era. It exercises a powerful influence on the course of human history. And in the van of this new world marches the USSR. The balance of world forces has shifted radically in favour of the socialist camp.

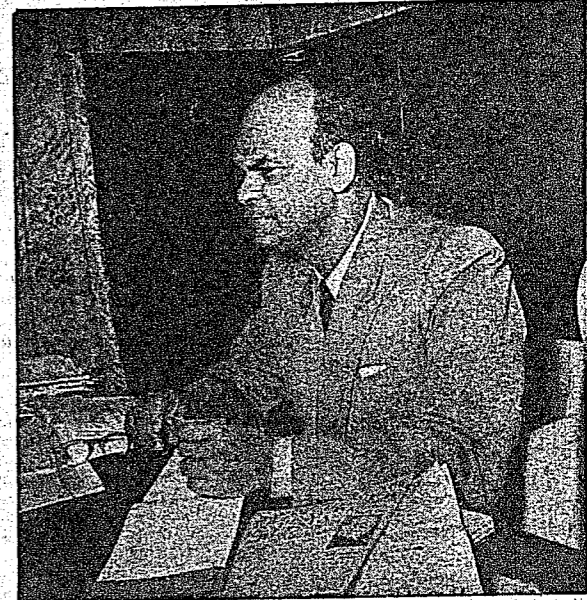
Side by side there is the post-war development of historic significance—the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system... Nearly half the world's population has been freed from colonial or semi-colonial dependence during the last ten years. These countries have ceased to be the reserve force of imperialism and are establishing close relations with the socialist world—thereby consolidating their own freedom and enor-

mously strengthening the forces of world peace. During the recent period the ideas of socialism have won very great triumphs all over the world, including countries where capital still holds sway. In the minds of mankind socialism is already today incomparably stronger than capitalism.

Nobody can deny that the major role in bringing about such a situation has been played by the construction and consolidation of socialism in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies.

It is all these facts that invested the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU with immense meaning and significance. It was veritably a congress of the victorious advance of world socialism and peace.

Socialism today has not only demonstrated its working superiority but also opened



out a future such as the leaders of the capitalist world cannot even dream of.

It is this world-historic fact, this change in the balance of world forces, the summary of these victories of the socialist world, of socialist ideas and of peace, that have been creatively generalised in the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Peaceful Coexistence

The bold conclusions reached on such fundamental questions as peaceful coexistence, the possibility of preventing wars in our era, and the forms of transition to socialism in different countries are a direct product of these developments and a creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems has always been and remains the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This principle has been gaining ever wider international recognition... This is of the very greatest importance for the preservation of world peace.

At the same time, the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and other documents made it quite clear that peaceful co-existence is not to be equated with the abandonment of ideological struggle. Peaceful co-existence means at the same time peaceful competition.

It is this peaceful competition, in which the socialist system will undoubtedly display its superiority, that will itself be the best propaganda for socialism. The victory of socialism does not need armed interference by socialist countries in the internal affairs of capitalist countries.

Struggle against bourgeois ideology will continue to play an extremely important role but it is a perversion of the truth to equate this with advocacy of aggression.

On the question of the possibility of preventing wars, it has to be realised that inasmuch as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars is also preserved. Hence there must not be the slightest relaxation of vigilance, not the slightest relaxation of the struggle for peace and reduction of tension.

At the same time, it can be confidently asserted that wars today are not inevitable. With the existence of the world camp of socialism, which provides both material and moral means to the peoples to prevent aggression, with the emergence of a large group of countries actively working to avert war, with the tremendous awakening and activity of the socialist, democratic and peace forces throughout the world—in this situation it is fully possible to prevent war and maintain peace.

The danger of war remains and can assume menacing form any time. But the forces against war are immeasurably stronger today than in any previous period of history and they are growing stronger with every day that passes. They are getting more and more unified, more and more consolidated. They have already achieved great victories. The political and moral isolation of the most aggressive elements in imperialist circles is daily growing. All these create vast possibilities of defeating the plans of warmongers and of maintaining peace.

Forms Of Transition

This thesis arms the peace forces throughout the world with ever greater confidence in the invincibility of their cause. It gives a call for increasing unity and greater efforts by the most diverse political and social forces in the sacred cause of peace.

With these radical changes in the world arena, new prospects are opening up in respect of transition to socialism. The historical experience of countries advancing towards socialism has fully confirmed the Leninist thesis of the diversity of forms of transition to socialism. It is probable that in future, these forms will become even more diversified. The shift in the balance of world forces and the massive achievements of socialism in every sphere in USSR, China and other countries are exercising profound influence on the mind of the people and winning new elements, new strata and new sections to the cause of socialism.

In this situation, the possi-

★ SEE PAGE 18

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

23 WEST 24th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MU. 5-5755

January 2, 1963

New Age
7-4 Asaf Ali Road
New Delhi India

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party, U. S. A. joins with you in honoring the memory of a great son of the Indian working class, Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, whose sudden death a year ago was an irreparable loss to the Communist Party of India and to the world Communist movement.

Comrade Ghosh was a courageous and indomitable fighter for the independence of India for which he served long years of imprisonment and for the triumph of the noble ideas of socialism to which his entire life was dedicated.

Ghosh was at the helm of the great Indian Communist Party in the critical period of its history and under his guidance the Party achieved great successes and to the joy of advanced people everywhere developed rapidly into a powerful force in the country. He worked tirelessly for the organizational and ideological unity of the Indian Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism of which he was an outstanding theoretician and propagandist. He also made valuable contributions to the drawing up of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the international workers and communist parties. The correctness of the guiding principles of these fundamental documents have been fully confirmed by world events. Most recently in the acute crisis in the Caribbean in which the Soviet Union played such a splendid role in saving the independence and sovereignty and peace of Socialist Cuba and in preventing the outbreak of a world thermo nuclear war.

The life of Comrade Ghosh, his long years of hard work, imprisonment and personal sacrifice in the interests of his party, people and country will be long remembered by American Communists and progressives who are enduring similar persecutions today in the fight against the American trusts and millionaires. We are sure that in paying respect to Comrade Ghosh, the Indian Communist Party will draw inspiration from his life and work and will unite and strengthen its ranks firmer than ever in behalf of the great cause of peace, democracy, proletarian internationalism and socialism.

Fraternaly,
Gus Hall
Gus Hall

MY ASSOCIATION WITH AJOY

★ By E. M. S. Namboodiripad

The first time I came to learn something about Ajoy was in mid-January 1936.

The Second All-India Conference of the Congress Socialist Party was being held at Meerut. I was attending the pre-Conference meeting of the National Executive. The question of credentials concerning the list of delegations from various States was being discussed.

We were told by somebody—I forget who—that the list from U.P. was rather suspicious: it was said that, because of the group rivalry in the leadership of the U.P. Party, all sorts of people were included in the list. Several instances were cited; and it so happened that one of them was Ajoy Ghosh, "a well-known Communist."

I was already acquainted with the Communists in the Southern provinces. As a matter of fact, Comrades Sundarayya and Ghate had paid a visit to my village home just a couple of days before I was leaving for Meerut. They had already considered me almost a Communist, though I myself had not yet fully made up my mind (which I did only a few months later).

I was, therefore, naturally interested in this "leading Communist" about whom so much was said at the Executive meeting. Jayaprakash Narayan satisfied my curiosity by telling me that Ajoy Ghosh was the "senior most member of the Communist Party next only to the General Secretary, P. C. Joshi."

He added that, as soon as the Conference was over, he would visit Joshi and have a talk with him on how to build the unity of all socialist forces in the country in accordance with the thesis adopted by the Party at Meerut. (The well-known "Meerut thesis" of the CSP visualised united

work with leading to eventual merger of all the socialist parties and groups in the country. Many in the CSP like myself looked upon this as quite an encouraging development, since we felt unhappy over the differences and wrangles between an old revolutionary party like the CPI and the new party, the CSP. We were also happy that, unlike Masani, Asoka Mehta and others, Jayaprakash was for close relations developing between all the socialist groups in the country.)

The controversy that raged in the Executive over the list of delegates from U.P. made Ajoy himself think it improper for him to attend the conference as a delegate. He however remained in Meerut, stayed in the Dharmashala where we all did and attended all the sittings of the Conference which were open to non-delegates. I, therefore, had several opportunities to see him. But for a variety of reasons, including the temperaments of both of us, we did not get personally acquainted. Naturally, therefore, I cannot say that Meerut in 1936 was the first



occasion when I met him. Nevertheless, a clear impression formed in my mind of his tall figure covered with his long overcoat and other warm clothing, pacing up and down the quadrangle of the Dharmashala. He was exchanging views and cracking jokes with those delegates with whom he was familiar and who were also joining in the walk.

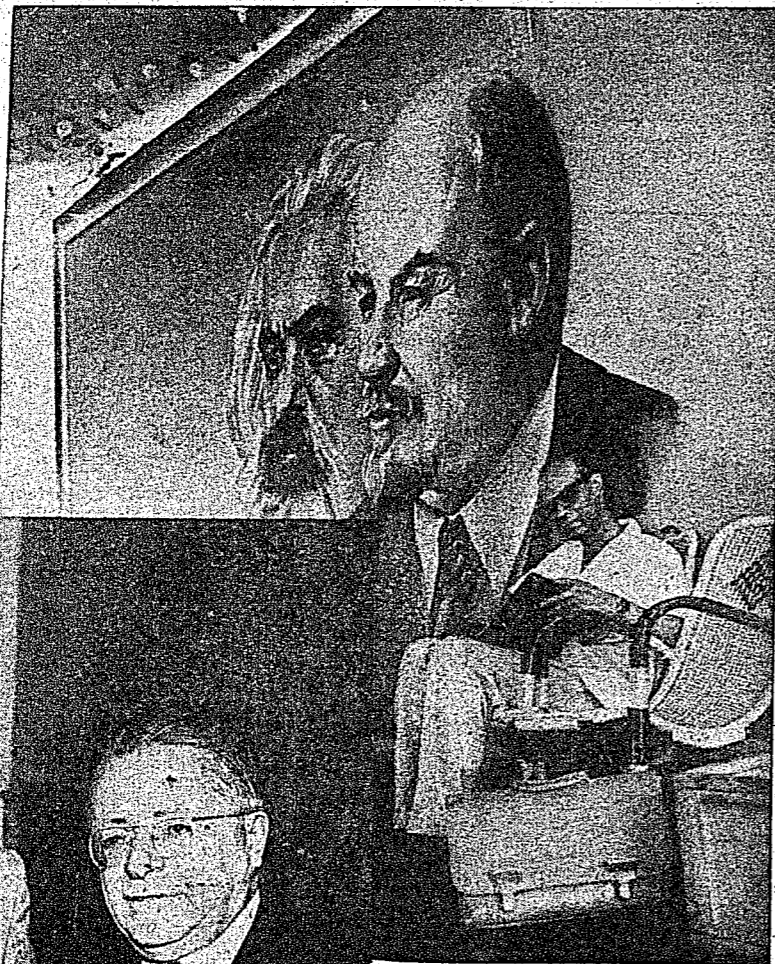
I was impressed with the way he was making fun of the various hackneyed phrases which were in use in the course of the discussion at the Executive and at the delegate meetings. Being rather new to the type of theoretical discussions that were taking place, I was myself at sea when I had to grapple with innumerable new concepts and, what is more, innumerable new jargons which were used to convey old concepts. It was, therefore, a matter of relief to me that here was a "leading Communist" who was unorthodox enough to make fun of their use.

For the next two or three years, I did not have the opportunity of having personal talks with him. I, however, began to know more about him—from comrades like Sundarayya and Ghate. The only occasions on which I saw him were the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress where we of the Congress Socialist Party and Communist leaders all gathered. Even on such occasions, however, I did not have any opportunity to talk to him.

The first time I saw him at closer quarters was sometime in 1939 when the National Front Weekly, run by the Communist Party (though not in the name of the Party, since it was still illegal), was coming out in Bombay. I had gone to Bombay and was having long chats with Joshi in his room. Ajoy came into the room and talked to Joshi on the details of some job which had been entrusted to him by Joshi. We did not have any long talk.

*SEE PAGE 17

Top: Ajoy at the Vijaywada Congress. Below: Ajoy with Palmiro Togliatti in Moscow, 1957.



MESSAGE FROM ITALY

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of deeply mourned Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, our Party, while remembering his exemplary personality, beloved and esteemed head of the Indian working class and leader of the international Communist movement, wishes to convey the sincere sorrow of the Italian workers and Communists for his loss.

Under the leadership of Comrade Ghosh, the Indian Communist Party became a great national and modern party and elaborated a proper national policy, fixed the aims of struggle, showing to the Indian working class the historic value of the 20th Congress of the CPSU as an essential milestone, so as to bring ahead on the field of political struggle the cause of socialism.

The name of Comrade Ghosh will remain alive in the international Communist and working class movement and will be a stimulating example for all those who in the world are struggling for peace, progress and socialism.

Giuliano Pajetta,
For the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

January 4, 1963

TEN YEARS BEFORE AND AFTER

★ By S. A. DANGE

THEY ask me if I will say something on the first death anniversary of Ajoy Ghosh. A lot can be said; but what is the outstanding thing that comes uppermost in my mind? That on the first death anniversary of Ajoy, the unity of the Party, which he tried hard to build and preserve is threatened with a severe crisis following the India-China conflict.

HE FACED THE CRISIS

TWELVE years ago, in 1951, Ajoy became the General Secretary of the Party. He came up to the post when the Party was in the grip of a crisis. He died at the post leaving the Party in another of its so-called "periodical" crises. He came to the head of the Party on the basis of the well-known "Three P's" document, repudiating the harmful line of left-adventurism. He died repudiating the same thing again, but in a new context of events, in his famous interview on the eve of the elections, assessing the Indian situation.

When in 1951, the Central Committee, led by Ajoy, worked out the election manifesto and tactics, the Party had the proud heritage of the Telangana peasant struggle to go by and the longing of the masses to instal and work out Democracy in the first Parliament of the Republic. Right Reaction was surprised at our successes and so were some of us too.

Ten years later, when he died, Ajoy was touring for the Third General Elections. The Party had become more unified than before inasmuch as it adopted unanimously at the Vijaywada Congress, the Political Resolution. But it had also become divided in another direction. Left-sectarianism was once again up

in arms. This time, the crisis tried to catch roots and gather strength on the basis of the differences in the international communist movement, following the personality cult.

Ajoy Ghosh led the delegation to the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 Parties. Our delegation was united in its views and the Conference adopted the international document unanimously. But within a year, the unanimity broke down. And now the whole thing is again in the melting pot. China is accusing others of "modern revisionism" and capitulation; the others accuse China of left-adventurism and opportunism.

The Chinese Party claims to defend purity of Marxism-Leninism and threatens to break away from the others calling them a bunch of the second International from which Lenin broke away in order to defend Marxism. The others ask—are you not really the Trotskites whom Lenin castigated?

A DISTRESSING DEVELOPMENT

To make our difficulties in India more complicated, peaceful coexistence, agreed to in theory, got its burial on the India-China border by the march of aggression from Thagla Ridge to Bomdila near the borders of Assam. Proletarian internationalism was a casualty on both sides of the MacMahon Line.

Then came the various Party Congresses in Europe and the broadcasts of Peking and the whole ideological quarrel

burst out in the open in full view of all.

Ours is a small Party, though of a big country. It is difficult for us to stand such severe shocks.

But do not forget that all this time, the socialist camp was getting stronger in the world and the Soviet Union could curb US imperialism, save Cuba and the world from war.

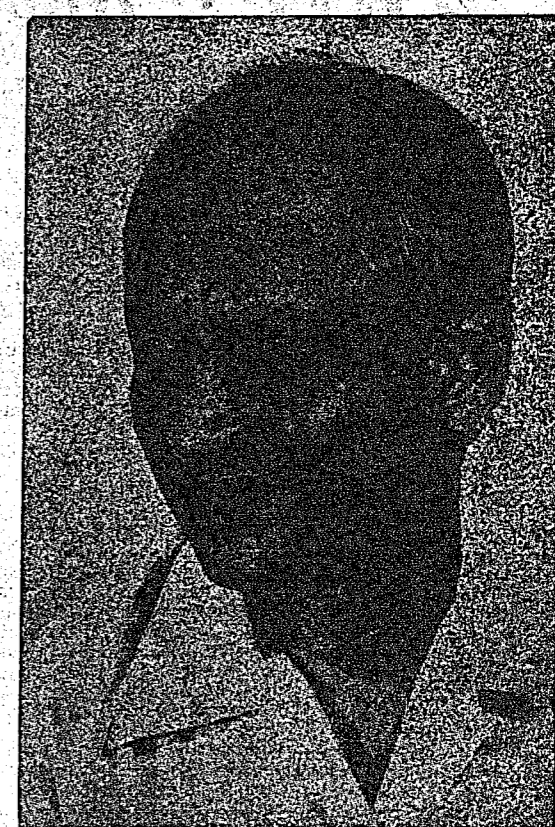
While touring for the elections, Ajoy was thinking of the main problem—that is, how to defeat the Right-wing Reaction that had gathered more strength than before in the country at the cost of the democratic forces in the Congress. The task was to build a strong unified party, for the defence of democracy, freedom and the socialist path.

RESULTS HE DID NOT SEE

We came out better than before in the elections but reaction also had captured stronger positions. Ajoy did not live to see the results. Overwork, neglect of health, strain and anxiety worsened his heart attacks. He died on January 13, 1962.

Despite the advance and unity, we had achieved in the elections, the India-China conflict seems to have shattered the unity of the Party—the one thing which Ajoy had tried to build for ten years and had succeeded to some extent.

So, today on this anniversary, we all have to think of the crucial problem of the unity of the Party and the unity of the international communist movement. The



unity of the 1960 conference, and the unity of Vijaywada conference of 1961 on the national plane—both have to be restored, once again.

WE CAN RESTORE UNITY

Have we the means at our disposal to fulfil our own limited task? We have. Given the selfless-

ness and patience of Ajoy and adherence to principles and a correct platform, we can restore unity and lead our country and our class to a better future. No crisis is difficult for Marxism-Leninism to overcome, whether ten years before, when Ajoy came up, or ten years later, when he is no more. Man goes. Mankind survives and goes ahead. Jan. 9, 1963

A HOMAGE

—BY ARUNA ASAF ALI

I could not have imagined when Ajoy Ghosh walked into a small room in the Municipal Guest House in Belgium in December 1961, that death would claim him as one of its first illustrious victims for 1962.

HIS warm smile of greeting, his anxious queries about the progress of the partisan struggles inside Goa and later on his impassioned and inspiring speeches at public meetings, are cherished memories or those of us who had the privilege of participating in the liquidation of imperialism's last foothold on our land.

Had Ajoy Ghosh lived the life of an ease-loving comfort-seeking individual, he would most probably be still with us. Defying all those who counselled rest and medication, he undertook ceaseless and strenuous tasks, preferring to live dangerously rather than languish as an invalid.

In honouring his memory today we honour one who literally sacrificed himself at the altar of man's finest aspiration—freedom from all that shackles the body, mind and spirit. Men of such passion and energy are rare and therefore cherish the memory of the

feel impoverished beyond measure.

In our moments of anguish and distress in recent months it is but natural that we should have longed for many a departed comrade. One among them was Ajoy Ghosh, who realised very clearly the need for national solidarity and vigorous action for combating external and internal forces hostile to our sovereignty and progress.

To those who believe in forging the unity of progressive political parties and individuals at every level, Ajoy Ghosh's untimely passing away should be a challenge. They must overcome everything that inhibits the coming together of people of goodwill and understanding in every corner of the globe and work to usher in a new era so that all humanity may live in conditions of peace and well-being. This is the one and only worthy manner whereby the living can cherish the memory of the brave. (Jan. 9, 1963)



Listening intently to what somebody is saying—in the front row at the National Integration Conference, Sept. 1961—Ajoy Ghosh between Chief Ministers of Punjab and Madras.

AJOY: deep interest in problem of nationalities

By Phani Bora

IT was in 1950. Those were days of trials and tribulations. Communists and progressives had been put behind the bars in thousands all over the country and I, too, was a prisoner in Nowgong jail in Assam. Our Party had then been struggling for a line and very intense political controversies and marathon discussions took place amongst us, in the Party ranks at all levels.

It was then that we got the news of B. T. Ranadive's replacement by C. Rajeshwar Rao and also of the change of the sectarian line championed under Ranadive's leadership. But the line of the Andhra theses too could be no panacea for the problems we had been facing, we felt.

And in that situation came to us the document jointly produced by Comrades Ajoy Ghosh, S. A. Dange and S. V. Ghate—the line the great majority of our Party had so fervently been searching for.

Their approach to the problem appeared to me as the correct approach. Since then my interest to know Ajoy personally grew stronger.

I met Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in Calcutta after the first general election in a Party Committee meeting. He was now the General Secretary of

our Party. It was for the first time I heard him speak on the Indian political situation.

Thereafter, I met him in so many meetings and conferences for ten long years till his death and I had the opportunity of being his associate in the Central Committee from 1954 onward and to work under his leadership.

Clear Political Understanding

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was very clear in his political understanding and formulations. He was able to put across his own analysis and conclusions so lucidly and convincingly that even his bitter opponents were hard put to refute his reasoning and his arguments. Clarity and precision were his characteristics and with these he could often win over his critics and opponents on controversial political and organisational questions and got them to come round to his own positions.

He would remain silent so long he himself was not clear on certain questions or issues. But once he reached certain conclusions he was frank and assertive. His flexibility had been an immense asset in those turbulent days particularly and one marvelled at

his sense of proportion and capacity for accommodation because of which he could pull with the majority without reservation and could struggle for implementing majority decisions, even against his own conviction at times.

I have seen and can cite so many instances of pride and prejudice in many a big political leader. But Ajoy, as I knew him, was free from it. He was always patient and tolerant. I never saw him suffer from any false vanity.

He was always occupied with serious thought and burdened with heavy work. But when on rare occasions he was able to relax, it was amusing to find him like an innocent playful child.

I found in Comrade Ajoy Ghosh a serious and sincere desire for deep study and concentrated attention to comprehend things. He had a very keen perception for understanding the problem of nationalities in India in all its various aspects.

States Reorganisation

When the States' Reorganisation Commission had been constituted in 1955-56 and a big controversy arose over the Goalpara district of Assam, many Marxists even were

found to support separation of Goalpara from Assam and its reconstitution with West Bengal. But Ajoy Ghosh studied the subject for himself and, having done so, stood boldly in support of the stand of the Assam State Committee of CPI on the issue and upheld it to be correct. I never found him suffering from the disease of localism.

Then in 1956, when we had been forging a united front with all other democratic forces and elements to move vigorously for the public sector refinery in Assam, we had to face severe criticism of being parochial and many from outside called our movement a narrow parochial one. It was disturbing for us and I personally wrote to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh about the matter.

He responded promptly and showed keen interest. He came to Assam, gathered details, studied the whole question and after having found our stand correct, declared openly his support to our movement. This was the first such categorical support from an all-India leader to our refinery movement.

In 1961, when the Sangram Parishad agitation had been launched in Cachar on the demand of official status to Bengali at State level and the movement for a separate Hills State grew to considerable proportions in the Hills. Dis-

tricts of Assam, thereby putting our Party in a critical position, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, despite his illness, rushed to Assam.

He went round the various places in Cachar and Shillong, met people holding diverse views and opinions and at last met our State Executive Committee at Gauhati and helped us in striking out a correct and patriotic line on that complicated and perplexing issue.

Subsequently at the Bangalore session of our National Council I saw many a leader getting disgusted and impatient over the issue. But Comrade Ajoy did not lack the tenacity with which to pursue it to a satisfactory conclusion.

Sympathy For Assam

I found him so very sympathetic to Assam's cause and keen on its multifarious problems that I cannot but remember it all when I remember him.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh came to Assam on an election tour before the second general elections when I was candidate at Nowgong. He was to address in my constituency three meetings on the same evening at places far-flung from each other.

After he had addressed the Nowgong town meeting for over an hour, I hesitated to request him to rush for the other meetings. But he himself insisted and hastened from one meeting to the other covering dozens of miles.

When we arrived at the

* ON FACING PAGE

ABOUT AJOY

By LITTO GHOSH

It is difficult for me to write anything about Ajoy because even at this distance of one complete year, it is not easy to think of him having gone for ever from the home that we had set up.

AJOY was by nature quiet and aloof, almost exclusive. Sometimes even close comrades used to get puzzled at his aloofness and wondered if he was cold in his treatment towards them. But those who came to know Ajoy intimately found that he was essentially shy by nature. When he was at home in company, he could warm up so much that it was like a different man speaking. He would crack the wittiest of jokes and was endearing company to all, though it might be a small circle.

As part of his discipline, Ajoy was a man who could completely master his own temper. The only time I saw him invariably losing his temper was when he heard somebody running down his dear Communist Party. And he used to tell me that this he imbibed as part of his early training in the revolutionary movement. I used to find him so warm and affectionate to everyone of his old comrades of Bhagat Singh's days even if they had not come into the Communist Party.

This actually marked one of his traits of character: he would have the highest respect for all those who had participated in a revolutionary movement even if they did not belong to the Communist Party. The only exception were those who had let down the cause or had run away from danger.

Despite his continuing illness which ultimately proved fatal, Ajoy had an indomitable will. I have watched him in the agonising pangs of the malady which finally killed him, and I could think of nobody who could suffer so much pain without flinching and always hoped to come out better. So far as his personal setbacks were concerned, he was never a disheartened man.

Even in the midst of illness, he would not miss an appointment nor let down a comrade if he had given him his word to do a job. So many times he defied the doctor in sticking to work that now I sometimes wonder, would it not have been better for our Party too if he had worked less and lived longer to guide it? There was always a sense of urgency in him so far as Party work was concerned.

INTEREST IN LITERATURE

Ajoy was a voracious reader, and his best relaxation was to pick up a book and read it late in bed. Apart from political works, Ajoy's interest in reading was varied. Himself a student of science, he was intensely interested in literature and could recite from memory many passages from Tagore or Shakespeare.

One of his fond hobbies was to read thrillers and travel books. Memoirs of



A loving father weaving endless stories for his three-year old son.

prominent personalities—even of those who had fought Communism—always interested him, and he used to say, "It is always useful to know one who is fighting us. If you do not know the opponent, how can you fight him?"

AT HOME WITH CHILDREN

Ajoy was most at home with children in whose company his shyness completely left him. His fund of stories and personal experiences thrilled the imagination of many a youngster. To Ajoy, nothing was more relaxing than playing or talking with children. And never was Ajoy happier than in the company of his son.

Ajoy was worried when little Lallu was born—but as Lallu grew up nothing, except his Party work, could separate him from his son. He would often say that he never knew how incomplete life was without children.



Backstage in a Moscow theatre with a Soviet troupe which performed Ramayana as a ballet.

AJOY: SYMPATHY AND LOVE FOR COMRADES

* FROM FACING PAGE

third meeting at about 10 p.m. in shivering December cold, we saw our comrades waiting there for us with about two hundred people, as the larger number of them gathered to hear Comrade Ajoy Ghosh had by then dispersed. Nor are our people used to attending public meetings at night generally.

I did not even want to go there. But on arrival, Comrade Ajoy told me, "Look, had we not been coming, how disheartened these people and how discouraged our comrades would have been! So I was correct in insisting to come. Is it not so?" Such were the qualities of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, our esteemed departed leader.

I cannot resist the temptation of narrating a more few of my personal experiences with Comrade Ajoy that throw light on the sympathy and love he had for comrades and colleagues.

It was in August 1961 that I had been to the USSR when he too happened to be there for treatment. I was then in a sanatorium in the famous Black Sea health resort of Yalta. I was ill and had been confined to bed for some days. Ajoy, too, was there nearby and I learned, while lying sick, that he had developed serious heart trouble. It was very disturbing news for me. And I was in no position myself to go to him and enquire about his health.

A few days later, however, I saw him coming over to enquire about me. I was so inspired, so enthused, that words can hardly express it now. Moreover, I had been so lonely, being the only Indian there without any chance to talk to anybody, to exchange thoughts or express my feelings because of the language barrier.

The touch of his love and sympathy in such an hour was something which could only be felt rather than expressed.



Ajoy, Smt. Litto Ghosh and M. A. Suslov playing with little Lallu.

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JAN SANGH'S JAMBOREE IN BHOPAL

MISSION OF PEACE

editorial

THE NEW AGE greets Mrs. Sirimavo Bandarnaike and her colleagues from Indonesia and Ghana who are currently discussing with our leaders the proposals made by them last month when they met in Colombo in order to find a basis of negotiations between India and China.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the visit of Mrs. Bandarnaike and Dr. Subandrio to Peking was, according to these friends of India as well as China, useful. It is reported in the newspapers that Chinese response to the proposals made by the Colombo Conference was "positive".

Not being aware of what exactly is meant by 'positive response' from China, it will, of course, be difficult for the Indian people to make an exact appraisal of the extent to which the Chinese leaders have been persuaded to concede the substance of India's demand that at least the post-September 7 aggression on our soil should be vacated. It should, however, be presumed that their efforts in Peking have been helpful in this respect.

The stand taken by our Prime Minister and other leaders of the Indian Government on the question of negotiations is enough evidence to show that India for her part will positively respond to any effort to have the method of hostilities abandoned and the method of peaceful settlement adopted.

The leaders of our Government have repeatedly expressed their readiness to go to the Conference table, provided China vacates the latest act of aggression on our soil—aggression committed since September 7, 1962. They have added further that, in case mutual talks at the Conference table do not lead to a final settlement, outstanding differences may be referred to the World Court, or other appropriate body which may arbitrate on them.

This approach of the Government of India is welcomed by all patriotic sections of public opinion in our country who, from the very beginning, disliked armed hostilities. It was only when forced by the massive attacks launched by the Chinese armed forces that our people decided to defend their national honour with arms in hand. Even when they started on this course of defence of their territory, they were solidly behind Prime Minister Nehru and his colleagues in taking the stand that "neither can China defeat and conquer India, nor can India defeat and conquer China."

Therefore, at some stage or other, both have to go to the Conference table and settle differences through mutual talks. That was why they welcomed the Government's demands for the vacation of post-September 7 aggression as the minimum condition for the opening of bilateral talks between the two Governments.

There are, however, some politicians in the country, and some political parties led by them, who make an appearance of being 'uncompromising' in the matter of 'defending national territory'. The willingness of the Government to talk to China if only the post-September 7 aggression is vacated is, according to them, a disgraceful surrender. They demand the so-called restoration of status quo as on August 15, 1947. Some of them even raise such slogans as "liberation of Tibet".

The real colour of these uncompromising fighters in defence of national territory, however, is shown by the fact that they do not mind compromising with another neighbour who too, according to the Government and people of the country, has committed aggression on our territory. While demanding that China should be thrown out from every square inch of territory claimed by us and that, for this purpose, we should get arms and other assistance from foreign powers, they do not make such a demand in relation to Pakistani aggression on Kashmir.

Not only do they not demand the restoration of Pak-occupied Kashmir; they even make sly suggestions and hints that a part of the non-occupied areas of Kashmir (if not the whole valley) may be surrendered to Pakistan. This is the price which Pakistan is demanding for settlement of the Indo-Pakistani differences. This is the term dictated by the Western powers as precondition for military and other assistance to us. This therefore, is the price which, according to these 'uncompromising' fighters against China, our Government should accept.

The leaders of our Government have made it clear that they are firmly set against this approach to India-China as well as Indo-Pakistani differences. Our Government's stand both in relation to China and Pakistan is the same—willingness to discuss and settle, but not on terms which are derogatory to the honour and dignity of the nation.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that the discussions between the representatives of the Colombo Conference and our Government, which would have already started as these lines appear in print, would enable our Government to carry out its desire to replace the method of force by the method of negotiations in dealing with India-China differences.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS' TRIBUTE TO AJAY GHOSH

* By FRANCOIS BILLOUX, Member of the Political Bureau, CP of France.

The Communist Party of France holds in high esteem the example of faithfulness and devotion to Communism set by Comrade Ajay Kumar Ghosh during his whole life of a militant revolutionary, of a theoretician and of a leader.

THE Communists of France remember with feeling the visits which Comrade Ghosh had paid to them, and particularly his presence at the XIV Congress of the Communist Party of France.

Neither colonialist repression during the British imperialist domination over India, nor the prison bars behind which he spent several years of his life in the renowned trial of Bhagat Singh and his comrades (Lahore Conspiracy Case), could stop Comrade Ghosh from the correct path he had chosen side by side with the revolutionary forces and progressive Indians for the winning of independence.

It is very significant that this son of a medical practitioner after coming out of Allahabad University and from the prison, found in 1931 at the age of 22 in the

Communist Party of India the path of 'struggle and political wisdom.

Elected in 1951 as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India by the all-India Party Congress, for ten years—that is during an extremely important period for the correct orientation of independent India—Comrade Ajay Ghosh contributed to the forging-in of the organisational and ideological unity of the Communist Party of India which scored many important victories.

* ON PAGE 16

CHAIRMAN DANGE RETURNS FROM ABROAD

Reproduced below are the communiqués issued in the capitals of various countries and printed in their leading newspapers following the visit of Chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange to those countries and the discussions he had with the leaderships of the respective Communist or Workers' Parties of those countries.

MOSCOW
S. A. Dange, Chairman, Communist Party of India, had an interview with N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and discussed with him a wide range of subjects including the relations between India and the Soviet Union.

During the conversation, Comrade W. Ulbricht declared that the government and the population of GDR sincerely desire that the Sino-Indian border conflict would soon be resolved by peaceful negotiations and that both sides would be led by the policy of peaceful coexistence.

LONDON
The political Committee of the Communist Party has today had a meeting with S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Indian Communist Party.

Following a friendly exchange of views in which some differences between us on the Sino-Indian border dispute were discussed, it was agreed that following the cease-fire, the most urgent efforts should be made by all concerned to solve the dispute by negotiations.

BERLIN
W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of Socialist Unity Party, Germany, received the Chairman of Communist Party of India, S. A. Dange, for discussions. During the conversation, which took place in a sincere and comradely atmosphere, an exchange of opinions was done over problems that interested the two Parties.

On this occasion there took place an exchange of opinions in a friendly atmosphere.

ROME
Comrade Dange, Chairman of the Indian Communist Party, has been received at the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party. He has met Comrade Luigi Longo, Giancarlo Pajetta, Giuliano Pajetta and Dina Forti.

The meeting took place in a fraternal atmosphere.

BUCHAREST
On December 26, Comrade S. A. Dange, Chairman of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, was received at the Central Committee of Rumanian Workers' Party.

In the meeting took part Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, Chivu Stoica, members of the Political Bureau, Secretaries of CC of Rumanian Workers' Party; Leonte Rautu, candidate member of the Political Bureau; as well as Ghizela Vass, member of the Central Committee.

PRAGUE
On Friday Chairman of the Communist Party of India, S. A. Dange, visited the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, where he met Comrade J. Hendrych, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPCz. Head of the International Department of CC, CPCz, Comrade B. Lastovicka also took part in the meeting.

In a friendly talk, representatives of both Parties exchanged opinions on the present international situation. Comrade Dange, during the conversation, explained the present situation concerning the India-China border dispute and the point of view of CPI about it.

At the conclusion of the talk Comrade Hendrych emphasised that in the interest of the preservation and strengthening of peace, it was necessary that all efforts be directed towards a solution of the conflict through peaceful means, through negotiations.

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at the cease-fire, as well as their wish that through prompt negotiations a definite settlement of the relations could be reached between a great socialist country like China and a great country like India which always followed a policy of neutrality and should continue to develop its role in the cause of peace.

Both sides recognised the necessity for a greater exchange of information, for discussions on all questions, and for the intensification of every effort for the unity of the international working class movement as well as of all democratic and peace-loving forces.

L'Unita, Dec. 23, '62.

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Scintila, Dec. 27, '62.

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Rude Pravo, Dec. 29, '62.

The Jan Sangh's annual conference held at Bhopal in the last week of December revealed far-reaching design which the country will do well to note and be warned against

THE Conference took place in the backdrop of the Chinese invasion of NEFA and Ladakh in October-November and subsequent ceasefire and withdrawal. No event had stirred the Indian people more since the British quit the country.

The parties of Indian reaction, too, which had been steadily stepping up efforts to fetter India's progress, became most vociferous in this period and came out quite openly to assail the progressive national policies, which have the overwhelming support of the Indian people.

Feudal princes and landlords, traders of the free or black market and capitalists who thrive on links with foreign financiers are the elements which were doing quite well during foreign rule and which hanker for the same conditions to continue even after freedom. They hate independent India's slogan of building socialism like poison. Internationally, they want India to be a camp-follower of the West because that alone saves them from becoming submerged.

The chief political activity of these elements during the British rule was communalism—the Hindu vested interests fighting to consolidate "the strength of Hindu society" and Muslim vested interests the "might of the Muslims." This fitted in ideally with the British imperialist policy of "divide and rule."

It is not an accident that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) which was founded in 1925, never took part in the national struggle for freedom. Instead, it devoted all its energies, to the great convenience and pleasure of the British, to "organising the Hindus." Nor is it at all accidental that the RSS set up a political party—the Jan Sangh—after the British had quit with the avowed aim of opposing socialism and building "closer ties" of India with the West.

RSS Gathering
The 1,300 delegates who had gathered at Bhopal were mostly veteran RSS men steeped in the anti-people traditions of the Sangh. Another party of the same

Speaker after speaker assailed the Government's policy of making the fullest preparation to face any repetition of the Chinese onslaught of October-November while being all for a peaceful and permanent settlement. The demand for a Chinese withdrawal to September 8 line was attacked. It was declared that India should not respect the ceasefire. The initiative of non-aligned nations to bring about a settlement was criticised.

Prime Minister Nehru's statement that India was prepared to submit the question of the border dispute to an international court was regarded as selling the pass.

Atal Behari Vajpayee said in the course of a speech that he suspected that the ceasefire was the result of some underhand deal between Nehru and the Chinese.

A resolution on Chinese aggression expressed disappointment that the Government was "unwilling to accept this war as war." It declared that "by accepting China's unilateral ceasefire and by continuing veritably to negotiate with it, the Government has weakened the war effort." It demanded that "India's prestige could be retrieved only by ousting China with our military might," and asked for "procurement of massive aid from friendly countries to continue." It added, "for enduring security and peace it is necessary that Tibet be re-established as an independent State."

The Executive of the RSS which had met a week before the Bhopal Conference at Nagpur, had adopted a similar resolution. It had demanded that the ceasefire should be rejected similarly. It had accused the Government for "showing anxiety on India's part to avoid war" and stated that "besides liberation of Indian territory, Tibet's freedom also is a 'must'."

After setting the above prelude, the Jan Sangh unfolded its scheme. It demanded that everything in

the country should be placed on a war-footing and the situation demanded that the country should be converted into an armed camp. India should raise a standing army of twenty lakhs and an air force of 5,000. India should go in for the manufacture of atomic weapons also. Citizens' Defence schemes should be spread to every village.

All this clearly implied that all developmental activities must be stopped and the country should prepare for a protracted penance at the shrine of Mars.

So the Jan Sangh adopted a resolution on economic policy demanding that "the Third Five-Year Plan should be revised. All schemes not directly related to the production of defence goods, and necessities of life or to important aspects of life such as education and health, be scrapped."

Having detailed this "broad view of the Asian military situation," Dr. Raghuvira went on to indicate India's responsibility in this. He said:

"As the single biggest country in the region India has to watch and guard the liberties of her neighbours across the mountains and beyond the seas whether to the North or to the East and West."

The Jan Sangh Chief said that "what India was lacking today is military will." The Jan Sangh's task was to help her acquire this will. After acquiring it, "she would do well to string together in a common purpose the countries that lie on the periphery of China... India has to be the bulwark of freedom, fighting off the law of jungle which has put on the mask of 'Communist liberation'."

India will thus be militarily integrated in the Pentagon's scheme of things in Asia and Far East. The 20 lakh standing army and 5,000 air force, the "new defence industries to be rapidly established" and the atomic power which the Jan Sangh directed her to develop will precisely subvert this scheme. Dr. Raghuvira made it clear that "India's defence industries will serve not only India but all the democracies from Africa to Philippines."

But at the open session, one delegate pleaded that there be no curtailment in education and health programmes because of the crisis. It was only then that the Jan Sangh leaders apparently woke up to the fact that the people might direly need a programme of education and health preservation, too, and they graciously condescended to incorporate an exception!

This highlight of the Bhopal Conference threw a flood of light on the thought-processes of the fascist-minded Sangh leaders. Jingoism was their summum bonum and they gave no thought even to such elementary needs of the people as education and health.

Obviously it is the people who have to teach the simple lesson that a nation which was not strong in peace, could not be strong in war.

The Conference revealed that there were other purposes and schemes behind the demand to convert India into an armed camp. Dr. Raghuvira clearly indicated in his presidential address that the Sangh wanted India to perform, along with America, the role of a gendarme in Asia.

Devoting a large part of his speech to drawing a horrid picture of how a "Communist menace" had been developing all over Asia, he said that "all through the past 15 years of our independent existence, India had turned her blind eye to the developing military power."

"But it should not be taken that the whole world was asleep. American forces equipped with atomic weapons have created the counterbalance to Communist strength."

Giving details of this "counterbalance of strength," the Jan Sangh President said that "the strongest nations in the Far East are South Korea and Formosa."

"Of American forces in the Western Pacific, the Pacific Fleet and the bulk of United States combat ground forces are located in Okinawa, in each of which there are about 50,000 American troops. American military strategy in West Pacific and S.E. Asia is based on the concept of mobile striking force operating from bases in the island chain stretching from the Aleutians to the Philippines and ready to respond to emergencies. This mobile strength

the fact that this was only a manoeuvre.

Dr. Raghuvira had openly said in Bhopal that the policy of non-alignment should be abandoned for alignment. The outgoing President, A. Ramarao said that the non-alignment policy had become untenable. Even the mover of the Foreign Policy Resolution said that alignment versus non-alignment was a purely academic issue.

But it was sensed by a section of the Sangh leadership that the party could not get on with an open attack on non-alignment as the broad masses of the Indian people were too well convinced of its efficiency. The latter realised that non-alignment alone enabled India to pursue an independent course and resist the imperialist efforts to put her under control.

Only A Lip Service

Only two days before the Conference opened, Dr. Raghuvira was invited by sympathetic sponsors to speak at the Cosmopolitan Institute of Public Affairs. He was invited by the Chairman of the meeting there for his broadsides on non-alignment. So, some of the Jan Sangh leaders saw that it would be clever to pay lip service to non-alignment.

An interesting highlight of the Jan Sangh Conference was Dr. Raghuvira's digression, in his presidential address, on the problem of Daridra Narayan. He said that "there has been no diminution of economic injustice" and the country was faced with the problem of raising 95 per cent of the Indian people to a level of economic well-being.

Strong silence descended on the audience when Dr. Raghuvira broke out effusively on this subject although he made it clear at the very outset that "we have to devote our time, attention and energy to the utmost to achieve security and defence; and whatever energy is left over must devote to social justice in the world."

For RSS and Jan Sangh, to talk of social injustice and removing it is rank heresy; this is precisely the essence of "socialism" and "Communism" which their cadres are taught by the Gurus to hate like poison!

The Jan Sangh's annual Conference met and dispersed without passing any resolution on the basic question—basic for achieving security and defence, too—of raising the living standard of the people, despite the President's digression.

Organiser, the weekly organ of the RSS and Jan Sangh, which devoted a separate column on flashes from Dr. Raghuvira's speech, scrupulously omitted any reference to this portion of the Presidential address!

The Conference once again revealed the true character of the Jan Sangh: it is an organisation of anti-people elements, which is today engaged in practising provocation. No wonder that it demanded the removal of the Communist Party from the scene.

It has already been reported that three Americans attended the Conference and had a series of lunch and dinner confabulations with the B.J.S. during the session. Two of them were officials of the American Embassy. One of them, Ted Dexter, attached to the U.S. Embassy in Delhi; called on Dr. Raghuvira soon after his arrival in Bhopal. He also met Balraj Madhok and Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Go West—Tells President

The Jan Sangh President also made it clear that the development of this Indian strength needed not an independent national effort or process. He said that "the problem of payments is not basic to the situation and should be shelved," i.e., we should let the West pay for arming us because payment was not basic. what was basic was that we would become the American knight-errant's squire in Asia.

Exactly the same thing is being demanded for India by the Swatantra leader. Rajaji has been saying that the Western Powers alone are India's genuine friends because they are anti-Communist and India had to give up non-alignment and join the Western armed front! He has also made it clear that India will have to accept a subordinate position in this alliance.

The Jan Sangh's formal resolution on foreign policy demanded "a re-valuation and reorientation of our foreign policy." It also pleaded that "India should build up an association of peace-loving countries."

What this "association" can be is now evident. It is interesting to note that the draft resolution had used the word "bloc" instead of "association" but it was changed when a delegate pointed out that going in for blocs did not accord with professions of non-alignment.

An amusing highlight of the session was the incorporation of a clause in the foreign policy resolution disavowing abandonment of India's policy of non-alignment. This decision has been propagated as something new by the press but those attending the Conference were left in no doubt about

NEW AGE

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ABIDING INSPIRATION

★ BY YOGINDRA SHARMA

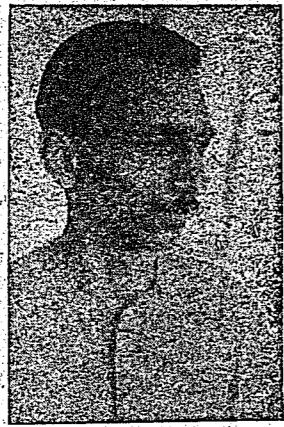
On January 13 falls the first death anniversary of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the illustrious son of the Indian people and indefatigable fighter for the noble cause of national independence, democracy, socialism and world peace. He dedicated the last bit of his energy, the last breath of his life, to the cherished cause of the Indian people and the world proletariat.

HE died fighting, fighting despite his serious and protracted illness on the militant post of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. For twelve continuous years he gave inspiring leadership to the Indian people from his highest post in the Communist Party of India.

We, Communists, who had the privilege of working with him and under his leadership have again and again looked to his teachings and guidance in facing difficult and complicated problems that arose during the last one year after his sad and sudden death. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he has continued to guide us even after his death.

He died fighting in the midst of a big political struggle—the third general elections. Before the last fatal attack of his illness he had been on the election tour of Bihar. Learning that I was lying in bed in Patna with a fractured leg, he came to see me on January 8, 1962. We had a long talk not only about the election struggle, but also its problems, tactics and prospects.

Even in the thick of that



Yogindra Sharma

struggle his mind was working on the problems which our Party was to face in the post-election period. He was extremely worried at the prospect of the growth of Right reactionary forces.

It was because of this deep anxiety that he had developed an intimate interest in the Communist and progressive movement in the Hindi-speaking regions. He repeatedly emphasised that the

Communist Party units in Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi, the strongholds of feudal and communal reaction, had to fulfil their special task of fighting and defeating the Right reactionary forces represented by the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh.

He was foreseeing critical twists and turns in the political situation of India. Therefore, he fought his best to see that the CPI retains the position of the main Opposition Party in Parliament. The Indian people did not fall him. Though he could not live to see the election results, yet his fight to prevent the Right reactionary forces from securing the position of the main opposition was a success.

Progressive people of India realised the importance of this struggle when the situation of national crisis developed as a result of the Chinese invasion of our Motherland. We simply shudder to think what would have happened to our beloved country and its policies of national defence, peaceful settlement of border disputes with national honour and integrity, non-alignment, independent and planned economic development, parliamentary democracy, world peace, and peaceful co-existence, had the Right reactionary forces been returned as the strongest and main opposition in Parliament.

FOR UNITY OF ALL PATRIOTS

In a state like Bihar, he advocated a policy of unity of all democrats and patriots to fight the menace of Right reaction. He had placed this view in his speech at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Vijayawada in April 1961 even when the danger of the Congress being overthrown by the Right reaction did not exist. His speech which was unanimously adopted by the Party Congress laid down:

"In certain States and in many areas, especially where feudal remnants are strong, the danger of the semi-feudal forces further strengthening their political position is real and that danger has to be combated in every possible way and in alliance with all democrats and patriots."

In the same speech he had forewarned the Party and the people of the Rightist danger arising out of India-China dispute. Referring to the crisis that was sought to be created in September 1959 over General Thimayaya's threat of resignation, he said: "This development was an indication of the dangers that loom ahead—especially in view of the unresolved dispute between India and China. It would be folly to minimise that danger."

Tragically enough that danger came to be true when the Chinese aggression of India started in a big way last October, endangering everything progressive that our people have achieved during the

—Pieter Keimeman,
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ceylon.

last 15 years of our national independence.

It was an unprecedented situation that the CPI was called upon to face. Never had any Communist Party to face a situation when its own country—a peace-loving and non-aligned country dedicated to the cause of world peace and co-existence—was attacked by a socialist country. This had never happened. N. S. Khrushchov, in his latest speech to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, very correctly stated the problem: "It is the first time that a situation has arisen when a border conflict between a socialist country and a country pursuing the road of independent development and adhering to the policy of non-alignment with blocs has led to serious military clashes."

This unique situation enjoined on us the corresponding unique policy which our National Council adopted by its resolution of November 1, 1962. For the first time in history a political party of the working class joined hands with the Government of its own country led by the national bourgeoisie to fight for the national defence and for preservation of national policies against the aggression by a socialist country without and Right reactionary forces within.

It was an act of exceptional political courage born out of the deep conviction that this policy of fighting for national defence and national policies is dictated by the Marxist-Leninist principle of integrating progressive nationalism with proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Ajoy had already conditioned us for such a courageous and correct Marxist-Leninist policy. Four weeks before his death, he had declared in a press conference that, "If, however, the Chinese did cross the McMahon Line, then the Government of India would be justified in taking all measures to repel the Chinese forces. In such a situation, the Communist Party of India would support all the measures taken by the Government of India."

When he was questioned regarding the latest Chinese Foreign Ministry Note and the comments in the People's Daily regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India, Ajoy Ghosh stated:

"I do not agree with the Chinese position and I might mention here that as General Secretary of the CPI, I do not speak in a personal capacity but as its authorised spokesman.

"We have our criticism of the Government of India's foreign policy. This criticism has been clearly stated in our Election Manifesto. We believe that the Government of India's foreign policy does suffer from weaknesses. There are external and internal pressures which cause vacillation and inconsistency. American aid is one of them. A glaring example is the failure of the Government of India to take a clear-cut stand of condemnation of the U.S. plan of invasion of Cuba. Other examples can also be given.

"But our BASIC assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is non-alignment and anti-colonialism. As such we extended and even now extend our support to this foreign policy."

"I would add that as regards the Indian situation and

the policies of the Government of India, we, Indian Communists, are better judges than any other Party in the world, including the Communist Party of China."

In our talks on January 8 in Patna, the India-China problem cropped up again and again. It came in relation to the election prospects also. We were agreed that the wrong policy of the Chinese Communist Party on India-China border problem had helped and would help the forces of Right reaction. That has been borne out by the election results and more so by subsequent developments.

IDEOLOGICAL INSIGHT

The third general elections had prevented us from discussing many important ideological questions raised by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All the same, comrades were raising questions and doubts. There was a tendency of halting the Programme of building Communism but criticising the concrete



AJOY GHOSH ON CHINA

(Authorised Report of Press Conference as it appeared in New Age Weekly of December 24, 1961)

He hoped that no attempt would be made by the Chinese forces to cross the McMahon line. If, however, the Chinese did cross the McMahon line then the Government of India would be justified in taking all measures to repel the Chinese forces.

"In such a situation the Communist Party of India would support all the measures taken by the Government of India." This was stated by Ajoy Ghosh at his last press conference.

He gave in New Delhi on December 16, 1961—four weeks before his death. The authorised report which appeared in the December 24, 1961 issue of this journal further read:

CHINESE ASSESSMENT

When he was questioned regarding the latest Chinese Foreign Ministry Note and the comments in the People's Daily regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India, Ajoy Ghosh stated:

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"We have our criticism of the Government of India's foreign policy. This criticism has been clearly stated in our Election Manifesto. We believe that the Government of India's foreign policy does suffer from weaknesses. There are external and internal pressures which cause vacillation and inconsistency. American aid is one of them. A glaring example is the failure of the Government of India to take a clear-cut stand of condemnation of the U.S. plan of invasion of Cuba. Other examples can also be given.

"But our BASIC assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is non-alignment and anti-colonialism. As such we extended and even now extend our support to this foreign policy."

struggle waged by the great Soviet Communist Party against Stalin's personality cult.

Criticising this tendency he told me that the comrades holding such a view understand neither the full significance of the Programme nor that of the struggle against Stalin's personality cult. He explained that the first could not have been possible without the second.

In this connection he expressed his firm determination to start the struggle for ideological unity of the CPI after the general elections were over. Though he had departed from our midst, his inspiration was there when we discussed this question in the Hyderabad session of our National Council and adopted a resolution on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

Comrade Ajoy's revolutionary life and teachings have been a source of inspiration and strength to us in the most difficult situation of our political life. May they continue to inspire us in the fulfilment of his unfulfilled tasks.

AJOY GHOSH: THE LAST PHASE

by Mohit Sen

So much has happened these twelve months since that dismal day in January when we were stricken to our very bones by the death of Ajoy, who was our leader and our comrade without peer.

NOTHING that will happen however, take away from us either the inspiring memory or our sacred sorrow. As the years relentlessly pass without pause what Ajoy was and what he did will come ever more palpably alive.

For, I think it would not be denied by anybody that the decisive contribution that Ajoy made was to irrevocably turn the Communist Party of India into a national party. This is not to say that earlier the CPI was anti-national. This is a canard and those who spread it know it as such. But to integrate the Communist Party with the national stream, sentiments, problems and the very earth of our Motherland, this is no easy undertaking.

And this is Ajoy's accomplishment, helped no doubt—as he always modestly and generously acknowledged—by the entire past of our Party and by the 20th CPSU Congress-inspired renaissance of Marxism. It is the last phase of Ajoy's life that was the most creative and when the power of his intellect became a material force.

This last phase can, with all justice, be said to begin with the Vijaywada Party Congress. Amidst the greatest odds and under severe physical handicaps, Ajoy turned the Congress into a spectacular triumph not so much for his personal abilities as for his ideas, his trend of thought.

In his speech he dealt in some detail with the struggles of the people, the state of the economy, the nature of Government policies and the like. But it was on two related points that he concentrated the rise of Right reaction and the need for national unity.

It was on these two points that he broke fresh ground and the conclusions he came to on them remain all their validity in these days of national crisis.

He pointed to the tightening of the grip of the Right over the Congress and the Government, to the growth of the forces of disruption, to the intensification of the activities of the extreme Right and the formation of the Swatantra Party and to the coming into the open of profoundly anti-democratic trends and tendencies. (Selected Articles and Speeches, Moscow Edition, p. 223)

He added, "Taking the country as a whole, the real and immediate danger is that of a further and more pronounced shift to the Right, a shift brought about under the leadership of the most reactionary monopolists, with semi-feudal elements allied to them, playing an important but subordinate role. It is this that the extreme reactionaries both in the Congress and outside are striving for." (ibid, p. 230)

He went on to point out that the aim of the Right was to bring about a reactionary modification in our foreign policy; to weaken the state sector and create "favourable atmosphere" for Indian and foreign monopolists; to sabotage agrarian reforms; to undermine parliamentary democracy and, finally, to speed up the growth of extreme reaction inside and outside the Congress.

He stated, "Ahead of us lies a difficult period—a period of acute conflicts, of sharp changes in the situation and even crisis."

"It is necessary to shed all complacency. It is necessary to

realise that sharp alternatives face our nation.

"Either the democratic forces unite, isolate and defeat the forces of Right reaction, arrest the shift of the Government to the Right and bring about a shift to the Left, i.e. towards democratic advance."

FOR WINNING ALLIES

Stressing the need for the CPI to be in the van of the struggle against the Right, Ajoy emphasised the need for the winning of allies and building a broad national democratic front. And the crux of the question was the attitude to be adopted towards the Congress.

As he put it, "The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national-democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation." (ibid, p. 242)

And, he explained, "this is not surprising in view of the role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership."

Then he went on with his usual classic terseness to put across the essence of the tactical line of the CPI: "Can we defend India's foreign policy, can we defend the public sector, can we defend the Parliamentary system—without forging links with Congressmen and winning their support? Can we fight communalism effectively except in cooperation with them?"

"Evidently we cannot. It follows, therefore, that an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments."

"We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence—defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude."

"I maintain—and that is one of the main things that I want to stress—that in view of the need to broaden the base of our struggles and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever, that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with the masses under Congress influence. We must stress this because despite what we said at Palghat, we have paid too little attention to this task." (ibid, pp. 244-5)

These extracts from his last report to the Party assembled in Congress have been made to emphasise two cardinal points.

First, the concrete nature of the application of Marxism to the Indian situation. It was his deep

study of the national movement of the national bourgeoisie of India and of the Congress which led him to the above-mentioned conclusions.

The pinpointing of the specific characteristics of the Indian situation and the tasks flowing from the actual balance of forces at the time—it is the clarity on these points that made Ajoy a leading theoretician of the international Communist movement, as the World Marxist Review obituary put it. In this way he raised the intellectual stature and maturity of the CPI as none else had done.

Secondly, these extracts make it abundantly clear that the tasks and perspectives Ajoy placed before the CPI were pre-eminently national. In a way that had not quite been done before, he made it clear that the danger to the nation and to its advance was the paramount menace for the CPI as well. The needs of the nation were also the needs of the CPI as well as its desires and its opportunities.

CONCRETE PRACTICE

As never before in its history, India needed—and now even more urgently needs—national unity. And Ajoy's categorical call to his Party was: Build the National Democratic Front.

Nor was this mere pious advice. From Vijaywada (April 1961) till his death nine months later, there were four major occasions when he himself put this tactical line into operation.

The first was his speech at the National Integration Conference in September 1961. It was not fortuitous that many of the tributes paid by India's leaders to him made specific mention of this speech.

Giving the historical background to and the basic causes of the problem, he straightaway proceeded to outline the immediate problem and task:

"I think that it will be conceded by everyone that of the menaces that confront us, communalism is the most serious, above all communalism of the majority community, the Hindus."

"This menace has grown steadily. In fact, Hindu communalism seems to be gradually permeating our social and political life and what is even more dangerous is that political reaction often operates in this garb."

"In our view all democratic forces in general and the organised democratic movement in particular have an important role to play in defeating the forces of communal reaction. Any opportunist alliance or association with these forces on the part of any secular party would be a positive disservice to the cause of national integration. When I say communal parties, I have in mind all communal parties whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh."

"Let it not be forgotten that association of secular parties with these communal organisations brings them some political respectability and enables them to overcome popular revulsion and step up their disruptive activities." (ibid, pp. 253-4)

And the key task: "What is needed is a nationwide campaign against these evils, a campaign to rouse the masses to fight and eradicate them. This is a herculean task and cannot be carried out by any single party. It demands united action by all secular parties."

"We know there are deep political differences among secular parties on vital questions."

But we are of the view that despite these differences, we can unite on many issues in order to combat and defeat the forces of dark reaction which are striving to take our country backwards and destroy all the previous heritages of our national movement." (ibid, p. 260)

The second occasion was the working out of the election strategy and the basis of the election propaganda of the Party. This Ajoy did in his celebrated "Third Elections—The Communist Challenge."

At the outset he placed the Third Elections as essentially a battle to bring to the fore in what way the policies of the Congress were to be changed—"In the way advocated by the parties of the extreme Right or in the way demanded by the parties and the forces of the Left." (pp. 1-2)

His critique of the deeds and policies of the Government was directed from the standpoint of the Congress itself. "We do not propose to lay down a criterion of our own. Nor do we propose to compare our record with that of countries that have taken to the path of socialism. Nor do we even want to remind Congress leaders of what promises they made in those days when they were leading the battle for freedom."

"We propose to do something more modest—examine the situation today in the light of the pledges given only a few years back, i.e. at the time of the second general elections in 1957." (p. 3)

Then followed pages of the most trenchant criticism: but couched in language and replete with facts that could not but rouse the masses and stir the conscience of all Congressmen left with one. "The breaking of the Congress monopoly of power would, as a result, seem to all to be good for the country and the people... good for the Congress itself, for it would help honest Congressmen to fight the evils that have crept in with greater chance of success." (p. 19)

ATTITUDE TO CONGRESS

At the same time, breaking of the Congress monopoly of power "does not mean, however, that we merely want the defeat of the Congress—no matter at whose hands."

"Our attitude towards the Congress and its policies has nothing in common with the attitude of parties, groups and elements of the extreme Right. They say, they too, want to defeat the Congress. That is true. But the fact is that they denounce and oppose precisely those policies of the Congress which are of a relatively progressive character. The policies they want to impose on the country are policies of rank reaction. They want to turn back the wheels of history."

In this pamphlet there is, therefore, the sharpest possible condemnation of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Akalis and Muslim League. It is significant that in this connection the shift of the PSP to the Right and its alliance with the forces of rank reaction is highlighted. Hence, one of the three key slogans of the Party during the elections was "Rout the parties of Right reaction."

Thus, even during so partisan a period as the general elections, "We know there are deep political differences among secular parties on vital questions."

★ SEE OVERLEAF

THE NEW EPOCH

The following extract dealing with the significance of the definition of the new epoch given by the Moscow Statement (1960) is from Ajoy Ghosh's article on the 81-Parties' Conference that appeared in New Age Weekly, Republic Day issue, 1961.

THE Statement lays great stress on the correct definition of our epoch. The correct understanding of the character of our epoch enables the Communist Parties and the working class to have a clear perspective, a sense of direction and, thus, work out a correct strategy and tactics.

The correct definition of the epoch must provide a clear answer to the question as to which class holds the key position in the epoch and express the principal content, trend and tasks of social development.

Secondly, it must encompass the entire revolutionary process from the formation of socialism to victory of communism.

Thirdly, it must show the forces adhering to the working class, which is the central figure of our epoch and the movements involved in the general tide which goes against imperialism.

The answer to these questions must be sought, first and foremost, in facts, in the events of the past decades. These make clear that it is no longer sufficient—and it is even inaccurate—to call our epoch merely as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This definition does not take into account the new developments and, therefore does not provide a true picture.

The American imperialists arrogantly described the post-war period as the beginning of the American Century. They even went so far as to publish a whole issue of the Colliers Magazine (now symbolically gone bankrupt) showing the entire world under U.S. domination. That dream has ended in smoke and today the U.S. feels that even its dominant position in the capitalist world is threatened.

The Newly Independent

Today, we see a new phenomenon. Former colonies, semi-colonies and dependences—with backward and retarded economies—which have won their freedom but not taken to the socialist path, are able to assert their national independence and rebuff imperialism.

Gone are the days of the complete suppression of the national liberation movement. Gone are the days when these backward countries could only win some wind of formal freedom.

Countries like India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Iraq, U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea and others can no longer be classified either as the dependences or as the reserves of imperialism.

The liberation of Cuba was another big event which has electrified the entire Latin American countries and has become their banner of hope.

They are independent, national States and are the allies of the socialist camp

time the result was a further weakening of the world position of imperialism.

It is a signal feature of the post-World War II period that it is the Soviet Union that has shot ahead of the most advanced capitalist countries in the field of science and technology. Today it is the U.S. that has set itself the task of trying to catch up with the Soviet Union in such spheres as space travel and rocketry.

Why is this so? Why this radical change in the trend of world events? What does this change signify?

To these questions, the Statement gives a clearcut answer by providing a new definition of our epoch.

For some time after the October Revolution, many people asked the question: How long can socialism hold power in

one country where it has triumphed? Today nobody asks that question.

Today a new question is being asked: How long can imperialism maintain its power in countries where it still rules? This shows the vast difference from the past.

It is true that imperialism is still strong, but it is a declining force. This decline can be seen in:

- The disintegration of the colonial system.
The growing inability of imperialism to utilise fully the productive forces;...
Due to these and due to the advance of socialism, the idea of capitalism is getting more and more discredited.

inside the capitalist world growing sharper and sharper. All this indicates a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism.

Not As A Result Of War

The special feature of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism is that it continues long after the Second World War ended and is not, therefore, a result of a world war.

It is evident that in conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, of increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, or successful struggle to prevent war, in such conditions, the forces of the people, forces of revolution, are winning greater and greater victories.

★ For Goa's Liberation
★ Against China's Aggression

FROM CENTRE PAGES

Ajoy never lost sight of the basic tasks of the CPI during the present stage of the Indian revolution and strenuously stirred the Party away from the pitfall of blind anti-Congressism, and forward along the path of building national-democratic unity.

The third occasion was Goa's liberation. Anyone who had the great good luck to be with Ajoy those days cannot but remember the excitement with which he looked forward to the final freeing of the Goans. How eagerly he read all accounts of the actions of the commandos within Goa and of the sweeping mass movement outside, organised by the National Campaign Committee for Goa headed by Aruna Asaf Ali.

In the last press conference he held in the capital (December 16, 1961) on the eve of the final act he stated that "the time for diplomatic notes and protests was over. Time had come for action... inside Goa, he said, heroic actions were taking place, discontent smouldered. But a huge Portuguese army was stationed in Goa and, therefore, it was not possible either through satyagraha or through other means for the Goanese to liberate themselves. India's army had to move in to finish the job."

During his election tours he vigorously countered the Rightist slander that the Government was moving for Goa's liberation only as an election stunt. Ajoy thrilled the entire country by declaring that if the Congress won all the seats because of Goa's liberation, he would still welcome such a move. He was present at the border as the Indian Army moved in.

After Goa had returned home, Ajoy not only hailed the event as the final chapter of our freedom struggle but pointed out how this action had enormously raised the stature of India in the eyes of all freedom-loving peoples. He repeatedly emphasised how the totally opposite reactions of the Socialist world and the non-aligned countries as against the imperialists, underlined the justice of India's action and vindicated its honour.

Moreover, the liberation of Goa thoroughly repudiated the false assessment of the policies of the Government of India made by the

Chinese Communists. He wrote: "Our Party categorically rejects the thesis advanced by some critics of India that the Nehru Government has become 'a favourite of the Kennedy administration' and has practically gone over to imperialism."

"How absurd and unreal such an assessment is was seen in the recent action taken by the Indian Government to liberate the Portuguese-held territories of Daman, Diu and Goa—an action which won the warm approval of the USSR and other countries of the Socialist camp, was greeted by the people of Asia and Africa, but was violently denounced by British, French and above all, American imperialists." (Selected Articles and Speeches, pp. 287-88)

It is significant that the last articles Ajoy wrote for our Party press was on the lessons of Goa's liberation—in the New Age Weekly of January 7, a bare week before his death.

The fourth and final occasion since Vijaywada when Ajoy made a major policy pronouncement was with regard to the India-China border dispute.

On November 22, 1961 he issued a statement condemning the Chinese probe forward in Ladakh.

He said: "Such acts, especially in the context of the dispute already existing cannot but heighten tension and further embitter the relations between the two countries."

"We demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again." (New Age Weekly, Nov. 26, 1961)

Determined to be provocative and aggressive, the Chinese reacted to this statement with a spate of abuses and denunciations. They never forgave Ajoy for his foresight and his continuous warning that such actions of China were contrary to all the principles of Communism.

Ajoy made a dignified but firm reply in his press conference of December 16. (See Centre Pages)

This rebuff to the arrogant arrogance of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and this justified pride in his own Party was based on firm Marxist principles. Ajoy was asserting the principle of the independence and autonomy of all Communist Parties as an integral part of proletarian internationalism today—a point

underlined by the Moscow Statement of 1960.

It was against this background that he began his uncompleted work of analysing the basic errors of the Chinese Communists with regard to the new epoch and its possibilities. In the last general body meeting he addressed of comrades working in the Central apparatus of the Party, he categorically stated that the understanding of the CPSU of the world today was far more correct than that of any other Party, including the Chinese. This approach was carried to completion by the Hyderabad National Council resolution of August 1962.

These brief and scattered extracts only give a glimpse of the manner in which the finest mind of our Party had been working. They have a consistency and a power which is rare indeed. They are themselves the best tribute to one who from his teens was fired by the passion for India's freedom and advance and who made a decisive contribution to linking our entire Party to this urge and making it ideologically equipped to realise it.

Ajoy's last phase lit up the whole of his most worthy life, like a flame without flicker in a windless place.



Ajoy Ghosh addressing a rally in Delhi after the second general election organised to celebrate the Kerala victory of the Communist Party.

AJOY: the earliest days

BY CHINMOHAN SEHANAVIS

It is somewhat uncanny to think that a full year has elapsed imperceptibly since Ajoy left us on a cold January afternoon.

Yet, what a year it has been for our country and our people, a year brimful of events of national and international significance! And the depth of the crisis that faces us today, in fact, makes us feel his loss all the more keenly, for in moments like these when time seems out of joint that a cool brain and a stout heart is particularly needed by all of us.

It is not, however, Ajoy's political acumen that I propose to estimate here. This is neither the occasion nor am I the person for that task. I rather prefer striking a more personal note and talk rambly as to how, perhaps unknown to himself, he had helped me to grow up.

Ajoy was born in 1909 at my grandfather's house at Mihijam, now better known all over India as Chittaranjan of locomotives fame. My grandfather who was Ajoy's grandfather too (for my father and his mother were brother and sister) named him after the river 'Ajoy' which flows along this area.

The name was well deserved, for, both turbulence and depth of that mountainous river, seemed evenly balanced in his nature. Though I was almost an infant at that time, I still retain some what nebulous memories of the numerous childhood pranks that Ajoy and my other cousins used to play on one another, much to the annoyance of the elders of the family.

Yet my mother and our aunts always testified to the fact that the boy had a peculiar way of suddenly withdrawing into himself while studying a book. At such moments he was completely oblivious of the world around him, much to the discomfiture of his rowdy playmates.

Then we drifted apart, my family moving over to Calcutta and later on to Kustitia and Raniganj) and his, permanently to Kanpur. I remember him vividly when Ajoy's family came over to our place at Kustitia (now in East Pakistan) a few years later on the occasion of our youngest aunt's marriage.

KEEN SPORTSMAN

He was at that time a keen sportsman and I who was then a boy of barely six or seven years looked up to him as someone that of a hero. When I met him again after a few years at Ranchi he still taught me as to how football league tables are drawn up. But this time there seemed to be a difference. I felt something as on his mind—what exactly I could not guess but that feeling as nevertheless there.

When early in 1929 the news of Ajoy's arrest in connection with the well-known Lahore Conspiracy Case reached my ears I at once knew, for certain, what had been troubling Ajoy during the past few years.

I was sixteen at that time and naturally my interests had, meanwhile, spilled over the 'sports' columns of the daily newspaper I sought new fields. The sudden part of Ajoy's arrest made me all the more strongly the grip tide of that exhilarating. For the period of Gandhiji's Imratum—was fast expiring; Ajoy Singh's bomb shock not



A FAMOUS PHOTOGRAPH When President Ho Chi Minh visited India. Left to Right are seen V. K. Krishna Menon, Ajoy Ghosh, Prime Minister Nehru and President Ho.

important writings & where to find them

only the Assembly House but started all of us out of our stupor; Bengal jails were filled to overflowing with hundreds of detenus; even the aged but valiant Lajpat Rai was not spared by the police lathis and things moved inexorably on towards the climax of that Independence Resolution at Lahore.

In the midst of all this when the news of the hunger-strike of Ajoy and his comrades reached me, the personal was at once merged into the national and led me onto the streets. I remember vividly the huge procession which carried the martyred Jatin Das's coffin to Keoratala Burning Ghat and as a participant I felt as if I was marching alongside Ajoy and his comrades.

Soon after I heard from his sister, Pratima, a detailed account of that heroic hunger-strike. After Ajoy's release, she must have told him also something about me and my new, widening horizon.

For, soon after came for me a packet containing two volumes of 'Capital' published by Everyman's Library. The volumes bore Ajoy's signature. They were the first recognition from Ajoy of the fact that I had really grown up. I was naturally overjoyed.

Circumstances, however, prevented me from meeting him personally yet for some years.

In 1954, at Kanpur, I at last managed to meet him. We discussed and discussed far past midnight and I came to understand the reasons impelling him to outgrow terrorism and come over to Communism. When at last we parted he gave me a note which he wanted me to carry carefully and hand over to one Somnath Lahiri at Calcutta. I did not know Somnath Lahiri then.

The words of caution were correctly spelt out, for I was twice searched in the train on my way back to Calcutta and asked about my relations with Ajoy. When, at last, comrade Lahiri did 'receive that small note from me, I am sure, he never guessed what I was feeling: I was no longer Ajoy's cousin only, but in fulfilling this commonplace but to me very significant mission, I had grown up to be his comrade as well.

The job of bringing together the important works of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh is yet to be undertaken. In this special number we have given some selections from his writings with necessary references.

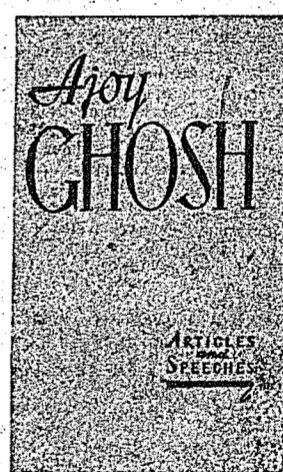
A 300-page volume of his selected articles and speeches was brought out last year by the Publishing House for Oriental Literature, Moscow. This volume is available in India with the branches of the People's Publishing House. Among its contents are included the tributes to Comrade Ajoy on his death by the National Council of the CPI and the Central Committee of the CPSU. The following from Ajoy's writings form part of the volume:

MOSCOW VOLUME

- Bhagat Singh and His Comrades; The Indian Bourgeoisie; India and the October Revolution; Documents of Historic Importance (Moscow Declaration, etc., of 1957); Amritsar Congress of the CPI, Kerala; A Great Day for Humanity (10th Birthday of Lenin); Speech at the Sixth Congress of the CPI; Speech at the National Integration Conference (Sept. 1961); Speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU; Liberation of Goa; Some Features of the Indian Situation (Article appearing in World Marxist Review of February 1962).

Some of his writings which appeared from time to time in pamphlet form are—

- Some of our Main Weaknesses (1952); The New Ideology of "Democratic Socialism" (1952); US-Pakistan Military Pact (1954); Proletarian Leadership and the Democratic Movement, June 1954; Lenin and "Outmoded" Marxism, January 1955; National Independence and United Front, October 1955; The Internal Policies of the Government, November 1955; Problems of Industrialisation, (1961).



ARTICLES

Among the important articles by Ajoy Ghosh that appeared in the CPI's theoretical monthly the following are some:

- Democratic Front and the Proletarian Hegemony, April 1954; The Movement for Linguistic States and the Struggle Against Bourgeois Nationalism, May 1954; Proletarian Leadership and the Democratic Movement, June 1954.

- Lenin and "Outmoded" Marxism, January 1955; National Independence and United Front, October 1955; The Internal Policies of the Government, November 1955; Problems of Industrialisation, February 1956; The United Front, February 1956; The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, April 1956; Some Questions of Theory, May 1956; Problems of the United Front, July 1956; The Communist Party and the General Elections, September 1956; On India's Path of Development, October 1956; Ceasefire in Egypt, December 1956.

- Second Plan and the Elections, January 1957; Elections and Democratic Advance, May 1957; Oppose Dogmatism, June 1957; Report of the Official Language Commission, October 1957; Language Policy, January 1958; Towards a Mass Communist Party, February 1958; Maulana Azad, March 1958; On the Party Constitution, April 1958; Two Power Blocs—a Myth, October 1958.

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PRAVDA

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Comrade Ajoy Ghosh: A Great Marxist-Leninist

★ By BHUPESH GUPTA

A year ago—on January 13, 1962—Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, our beloved General Secretary breathed his last. Truly he died in harness for he was in the thick of the battles of the Third General Elections, then in full swing.

EVEN the last few days of his precious life would underline the indomitable spirit of that revolutionary leader.

Only a few days before the end came Comrade Ajoy had returned to Delhi from a strained election campaign tour in Bihar. It was January 8, 1962. I had also returned the same evening to the Party Centre from a similar assignment in West Bengal.

Early the next morning telephone rang and at the other end it was Comrade Ajoy. He seemed so enthused by his Bihar tour and he asked me to meet him at the Party Office. Almost within a couple of hours both of us were engaged in discussing our problems in the elections as well as our prospects.

Comrade Ajoy looked cheerful, refreshed and confident and his mind was full of elections. "Are we going to maintain our position as the country's first opposition in Parliament?", he asked. Then he went on comparing notes with me and assessing the situation and I could see his face brightening up. He felt reassured that our Party would hold its own in the Third Elections as well.

Comrade Ajoy's forecasts were important because they were never based on either wishful thinking or exaggeration. In such matters he was always extremely sober and objective. Naturally what Comrade Ajoy said was the result of his matured appraisal. The elections were to prove that he was absolutely right. The Communist Party had not only retained its first position among the opposition in Parliament but had indeed slightly increased its strength.

HE PLANNED ELECTION STRATEGY

It was a matter of deep pain for us all that when the election results were out Comrade Ajoy, who had led the Party through the previous two General Elections,

was no more amongst us. But our successes in these three General Elections will always remain as a tribute to the political wisdom and revolutionary fervour of this great Communist Leader. Incidentally, it is he who was primarily responsible for working out all the Party's election strategy for all these three Elections.

I have already said Comrade Ajoy died in harness. On January 9 he was to have left for the Punjab to undertake a two-day programme in the election campaign. As he was getting ready to leave, his fatal illness came.

When I called on him at his residence in the afternoon (he had asked me and Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair to see him there before his departure), he was already in his bed suffering from his terrible pain. He was struggling to pick-up so that he could talk to us and when I went near him he was still thinking that he would be well by the time his train was to leave. He was at pains to convince us.

It was, however, evident that his ardent revolutionary spirit in this case was far ahead of what his physical conditions would permit. I plainly told him that we were going to ring up our Provincial Headquarters in Jullundur to cancel all his programmes. At first he disliked this idea and then, on our insistence, he agreed not to go provided I would deputise for him and fulfill all his engagements.

Still suffering from pain he said: "Comrades have made all preparations, we must not disappoint them." I readily accepted his terms, and left for Ludhiana late in the evening. But never did it occur to me that our great leader would be no more by the time I returned. Comrade Ajoy died just about half an hour before I was back in Delhi.

Even after I had left him on January 9 his mind was occupied with some differences which had arisen in regard to certain election matters between our leadership in

the Punjab and some other comrades. Comrade Ajoy who had instructed me to settle these differences through persuasion and to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned, wrote me on January 11 a brief letter in which he fervently expressed the same desire. That was his last letter.

LAST LETTER

But that was the man, for it pained him more than anything else when he saw Party comrades getting involved in bitter controversies at a moment when they should be all united in a fighting front.

I was surprised to learn that even a few hours before his death Comrade Ajoy was preparing for going to the South for his election campaign. When Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair had told him that he was not in a position to do so Comrade Ajoy insisted that he must go, but agreed to make a little concession. And it was that I was to partly relieve him there of the strain by taking up some of his engagements. He had already had his own air-ticket to Madras booked.

These few incidents of the last few hours of his life would show how deeply he was devoted to the Party and its cause. He was devoting death all the time to meet the claims of the Party and the masses. In fact that is how he conducted himself at the highest party post, struggling against his deadly illness and always showing unconcern to what could happen to himself.

Such death-defying traditions Comrade Ajoy imbibed in his early youth as a comrade-in-arms of the immortal Bhagat Singh. Comrade Ajoy too is immortalised today in the achievements of our Party under his worthy and able leadership.

The Communist Party and its ideology of Marxism-Leninism carry forward the best revolutionary traditions of the struggles of the Indian people both before and since independence. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh who was a fiery patriot in the British days and who headed the Communist Party of India in the "eventful" post-independence era, was the living embodiment of precisely these traditions. He was not a revolutionary of yesterday. He was a revolutionary of today and tomorrow.

Comrade Ajoy won his place of honour in the ranks not only of the Indian Communists but also of the world Communist movement as an outstanding Marxist-Leninist. Always a serious and painstaking student of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Ajoy knew how to assimilate the teachings and lessons of the international working-class movement and what is more apply them in our own conditions.

He was always firm in his adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism but was never dogmatic either in his thought or in his action. In short he knew how to combine an uncompromising attitude on questions of principle with flexibility on other questions.

Pick out any of his important writings and you will have precisely this impression. To him theory was a guide to action

and his mind was always open to changing objective conditions and realities of life. To the tip of his finger he was a patriot and he was a proletarian internationalist. All these qualities made his leadership and guidance so effective and invaluable in the ranks of the Indian Communists.

Comrade Ajoy led our Party's delegations at both the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers Parties. I was a member of both these delegations, and had the opportunity to see what a significant, positive role our leader played there.

It is well known that the 1960 meeting took place in the context of certain serious controversies on questions of principle which came particularly in the open as a result of the publication of several articles in Red Flag, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. These articles were later published in the form of a booklet entitled, Long-Live Leninism.

As soon as Comrade Ajoy read those articles he came to the conclusion that some of their principal formulations and propositions were not in accord with the 1957 Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers Parties and were incorrect.

Immediately he also foresaw the complications such departures from the common positions of the international communist movement would give rise to. He was of course all in favour of polemics to uphold the Marxist-Leninist principles but one could always see the worry in his face about the unity of the world Communist movement. It should be said here, that not a few leading comrades amongst us failed to see the deviations and departures in the Red Flag articles.

However, soon at a meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties in Bucharest (June 1960) the Red Flag articles came in for rather sharp criticism by a number of Communist Parties. Along with Comrade Barapanniah I participated in the Bucharest meeting and saw, at the first hand, how many leading Communists in the world Communist movement shared the criticisms Comrade Ajoy had already made.

MOSCOW MEETING

Following this meeting, when the historic November 1960 Moscow Conference was being prepared our Party was one among the 26 Parties to constitute the preparatory committee. Comrade Ajoy was naturally our representative. Later, when the conference met in November, Comrade Dange, Comrade Nambudiripad, Comrade Ramamurti and I joined him as other members of our Party's delegation.

Comrade Ajoy was of course the leader. His contributions both at the preparatory stage and at the Conference and in its committees and sub-committees were of very high order. Whenever Comrade Ajoy spoke on any question whether involving principles or something else he was heard with great respect and his views were regarded by many as eminently constructive.

It is not for me here to go into the rich experience of that great Conference of the International Communist movement. But we can recall with just pride that Comrade Ajoy worked tirelessly to uphold the principles as well as for the unity of the Conference. At the conclusion of the Conference, many from both sides of the controversy, including tallest amongst them, greeted Comrade Ajoy and the Indian delegation.

I remember a member of a particular delegation who was earlier sceptical about Comrade Ajoy's efforts, rushed to him and literally embraced him in great effusion. It was indeed no small thing for our Party to have been led by such an universally respected and able comrade. It was also naturally very inspiring for us that the role of our Party had been so widely acclaimed.

I must add that in playing his part Comrade Ajoy ensured that we of the Indian delegation were ourselves fully united. From the beginning to the end of that almost month-long conference our Delegation functioned in complete accord and unity.

METICULOUS CARE

Had he not taken special care to conduct himself in a particular way at all the preparatory meetings and at the conference, Comrade Ajoy would not have been able to play that singularly useful role that he did. Needless to say, he never compromised on principles. Neither did he at the same time allow exaggerated importance to issues that were otherwise fundamental or were otherwise secondary. To him both principles and unity were decisive for the cause.

I had occasion to participate under his leadership at some bilateral talks with the leaders of fraternal Parties and these included the biggest Communist parties. Always I found Comrade Ajoy speaking with authority and reason and commanding respect.

Before we went to such bilateral talks he took meticulous care to prepare. He was right to be convinced by the weight of the personality with whom he was talking. Only arguments weighed with him. That was yet another of his widely admired qualities.

When Comrade Ajoy assumed the responsibilities of the General Secretary in 1951, the Party was in a very bad shape—ideologically, politically and organisationally. Many prophets of anti-Communism and defeatist forecast that the Party was finished—at least for a long time to come.

But under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Ajoy the Party ranks regrouped themselves, by and large found their bearings, rapidly healed the past wounds and began to forge ahead. The recovery was remarkable and the fond dreams of our ill-wishers who, in every critical period of our difficulties are accustomed to seeing it break up, split and collapse were shattered day after day.

In that momentous decade of Comrade Ajoy's leadership the Party emerged as a national force—not just in a broad historical sense but in the day-to-day facts of the country's political life.

GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS

Here Comrade Ajoy's contributions were unquestionably of great dimensions. In the ideological sphere, he was invariably the leading part. It is he who worked out almost every single Party document on ideological as well as on major political questions, of course with the cooperation of his colleagues of the Central leadership.

Ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be maintained without the fight against both revisionist, reformist trends on the one hand and dogmatism and sectarianism on the other. The fight for the correct political line,

too, demands this fight on the two fronts.

Comrade Ajoy was a conscious fighter in this respect—in the best traditions of Marxism-Leninism. To the "extremist" positions, whether right or left, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh sometime seemed "a compromiser" or "a vacillator" but he generally proved correct and what is more carried the Party with him.

To give one or two significant examples, It is well-known that Comrade Ajoy played a leading part in correcting the serious left sectarian mistakes of the 1948-50 period and in drawing up the Party Programme.

But when it was put into practice and certain contradictions between the Programme and the realities appeared, it was again Comrade Ajoy who took the initiative in bringing about the necessary modifications and orientations and these related to such vital questions as the content of our Independence, First Five Year Plan, the character of the Government, Foreign policy. It was no easy job in those days to achieve all this in view of the fact that our Party Programme had a certain overpowering halo about it.

It must also be noted here that Comrade Ajoy brought about these changes through comradely discussion, patient explanation and by carefully studying the experiences of the Party ranks and the masses. One of the strongest points in his style of leadership was that he was never overbearing in his attitude, never intolerant of others' views in an inner-Party debate, never in a hurry where patience and persuasion were necessary.

He knew how to press his views clearly and firmly, but he also accepted, with utter frankness, criticisms and other views if those were proved right. A man of great intellect and mental powers, Comrade Ajoy never believed in any obstinacy, much less self-aggrandisement.

When after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, especially on the basis of certain writings, there was an attempt, for example, to revise the Political Resolution of the Fourth Congress of our Party (1956), Comrade Ajoy defended the line of the Party Congress not by merely invoking the authority of the Party Congress but by freshly arguing out and reasserting the Party line through fair and principled polemics.

It was largely due to his correct exposition of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU that revisionist and reformist distortions could not make much headway in our Party. It will be noted that immediately after the 20th Congress there was a spate of such distortions in leading circles of a number of fraternal parties. The Moscow meeting of November 1957 had to pay considerable attention to this.

Comrade Ajoy was equally unrelenting against dogmatic and sectarian resistance to the conclusions of that Congress. Both these incorrect trends, as we all know, were palpably there. It was always his earnest desire that our Party should correctly and strongly assimilate the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. His own respect to our Palghat Congress on this subject was a master-piece.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh made a profound study of the correlation of forces in our political life and the course of its developments. He emphasised the supreme importance of uniting all democratic forces—the democratic forces within the Congress and outside.

In this context, the appraisal of the national bourgeoisie naturally assumed particular significance. Here again he had to come to grips with both right-reformist and left sectarian distortions of the concept of the united front. For a time a controversy arose

about the "main contradiction" in the post-independence India.

It was contended by some that contradiction with imperialism was the main growing contradiction while the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the people were of a secondary nature. Comrade Ajoy was among the first amongst us to grasp and explain that both these contradictions could, in certain conditions, grow simultaneously as indeed they are growing in our country.

This helped our Party in no small way to be on guard against both right and left opportunism and thus to evolve the line of unity and struggle in relation to the national bourgeoisie. Later the Moscow meeting of November 1960 was particularly deal with this question along the same lines.

I have heard well-known theoreticians of the international Communist movement acknowledge with great satisfaction the generalisation and conclusions independently made by our Party on this question. We owe much to Comrade Ajoy on this account.

WARNING AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

Comrade Ajoy was never tired of warning the Party against the emergence of Right reaction in India and he foresaw the great danger this development posed to the life of the nation. What is more, he drew the correct conclusions and emphasised, with all his power, the need for unity of all democratic forces—especially with those within the Congress.

However, his approach in the matter would permit no tailism or surrender of any principles or ideological positions of the Party or of its independent role. He approached the question from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, confident as well as clear in his mind about the role the working class and the Party have to play in meeting the situation and building the national-democratic front.

Needless to say, this also involved serious struggles on his part against all tendencies that underestimate the growth of this danger and the need for uniting all patriotic and democratic forces, for developing, between the communist and other democratic forces on the one hand and those within the Congress on the other.

He insisted that Party's agitation and other forms of activity must always be conducted keeping this paramount task in view. One can well imagine the struggles he had to wage in this respect both against right opportunism which disguises itself with the slogans of unity and petty-bourgeois sectarianism that takes cover under the phrases of "ideological purity," "militant struggles" and the like.

Comrade Ajoy all along fought against all tendencies that do not take adequate note of communalism or make concessions, objectively or otherwise, to casteism, separatism, provincialism and chauvinism. He was particularly careful that the Party did not yield to any of these under any circumstance.

He was an inveterate opponent of Hindu, Muslim and Akali communalism as well as the DMK separatism. He would rather have the Party face temporary difficulty than surrender to any of these retrograde trends for some temporary electoral or other advantage. He always stood on the solid ground of patriotism and Marxist-Leninist principles.

Comrade Ajoy was at the head of a Party which functions in a vast country with great diver-

gences and complexities. These have, naturally an impact on the Party and on its life. It is no easy task for anyone to correctly analyse the varied experiences and hold the Party together in conditions such as ours.

FOR UPHOLDING UNITY OF THE PARTY

Comrade Ajoy, however, displayed considerable wisdom and far-sightedness as well as revolutionary tact in achieving this difficult task. All his efforts and thoughts were directed towards upholding and strengthening the unity of the Party which was for him of decisive importance. For this he did not, however, give up principles but neither did he hesitate to make compromises—and mutual accommodations.

Differences, within the Party he always took very seriously but he never exaggerated differences, much less aggravated them nor did he forget that at the root of many of them were subjective factors. He dealt with inner-party differences with patience and calm deliberations with a view to resolving them and unifying the Party.

As a true Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Ajoy was always conscious of the fact that the objective factors play a most significant part in keeping the Party united and in further strengthening its unity.

Factionalism of any kind, group-ties, personal prejudices etc., which only damage the Party and its cause, were all alien to him and indeed abhorrent to his very nature. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh cherished Party forms and Party discipline and had a sense of revolutionary pride in loyally submitting to them—more especially when he had not succeeded in the Party to accept his own views.

He was a model in that respect. I cannot recollect a single instance of any lapse on his part in matters of form and discipline. If he had any new ideas which had not yet become the ideas of the Party, Comrade Ajoy always came to the Party collective and had them discussed and thrashed out there.

Everyone knows that Comrade Ajoy had the biggest hand in formulating the Party's policies but nobody can cite any instance where he had publicly aired his personal views on any important question. The views of the Party was all that mattered when he wrote or spoke for the public. Let me recall one little example of how meticulous he was in conducting himself.

RESPECT FOR PARTY NORMS

After his return from the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union Comrade Ajoy wrote an article on that historic event. As a leader of our Party's delegation to that Congress, it was open to him to publish that article, but instead he waited till the entire Party Secretariat had considered what he had written and made their observations, many of which of course Comrade Ajoy willingly accepted.

Such was his respect for his colleagues and for Party norms. That he was a trustee of the conscience of the Party became a part of his own consciousness. No wonder that at every critical moment, on every critical issue the minds of the entire Party turned to this great leader.

As the head of the Party's leading team, whether the Polit Bureau earlier or the Secretariat now, Comrade Ajoy never took any important decision, politically or otherwise, in an individualistic way. Even on matters he was competent to take decision on his

own, let alone other matters. Comrade Ajoy would seek decisions by the appropriate Party body.

All of us who have worked closely with him know how he consulted his colleagues even on minor notes or correspondence. His utter frankness with them was a precious element in the entire work of the team which he led. He attached the greatest importance to observations of Party discipline and Party forms by leading Party comrades especially the top Party leaders.

He was never tired of saying that indiscipline and disregard of forms by them was highly disruptive and he of course would be the last person to tolerate such lapses.

These are some of his rich experience of the full six years of very close work at the Party centre with our departed leader, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. The experience of my days with him will ever remain as my dearly cherished possession, giving me and others guidance, inspiration and confidence for the tasks that lie ahead.

How I wish that at the present unprecedentedly difficult period through which the Party is now passing Comrade Ajoy was with us. I am absolutely certain that this thought today is deeply in the minds of thousands of our comrades all over the country.

What else could be a greater homage, if silent, to his memory? We Communists observe anniversaries in honour of the memory of our departed leaders not as a matter of ritual or lifeless formality. We do so to learn from their life and teachings so as to better imbibe and enrich their great revolutionary qualities and thus to re-dedicate ourselves to the service of our working people and our country—to the Party and its great cause.

January 8, 1963.

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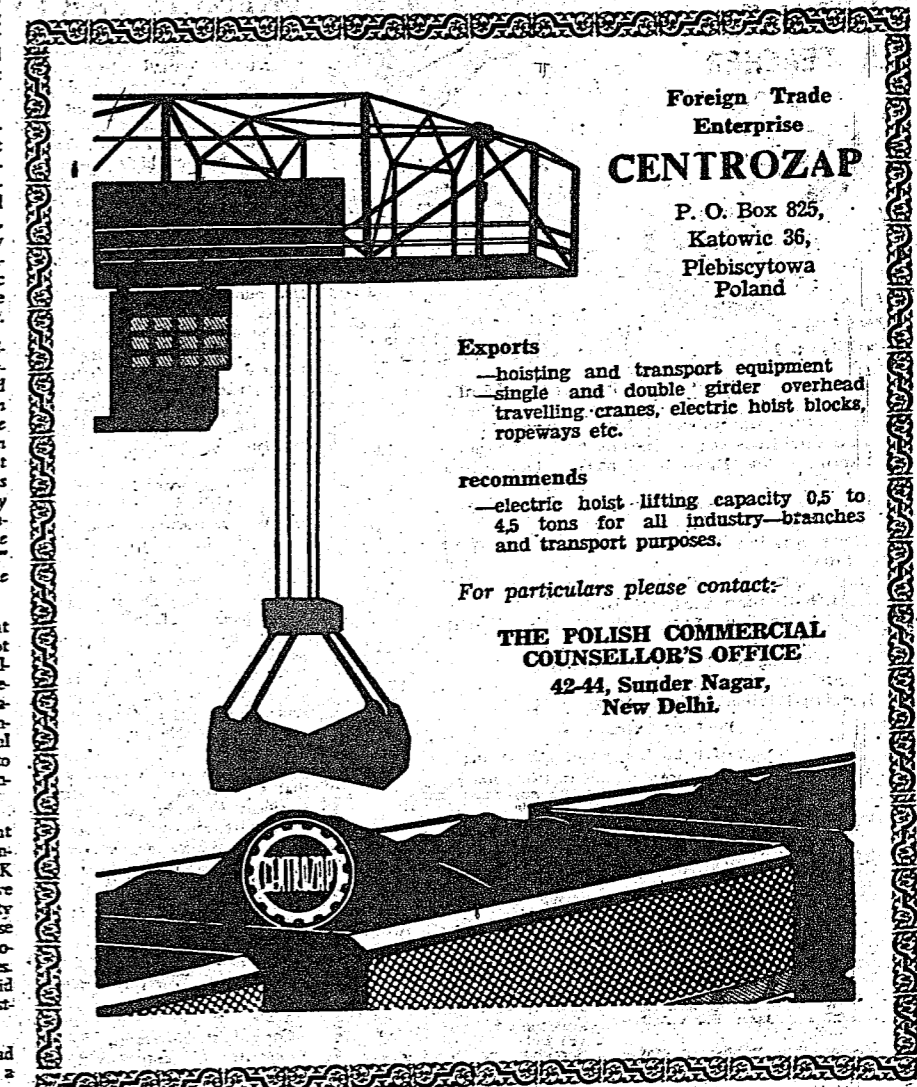
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AJOY IN PUNJAB

By JAGJIT SINGH ANAND

One day in the late thirties some of us who were students in Lahore, got a copy of the National Front—which was then the organ of Indian Communists. In that issue of the National Front was an article on M. N. Roy entitled "The Real Face of Royism—Alternative Leadership a Hoax." The author of this article was none else than Ajoy Ghosh.

THE article on the one hand exposed the hollowness of Roy's "Marxism" and on the other nailed down the crass left-sectarian understanding embodied in the slogan of "an alternative leadership." It showed how, under the cover of this left slogan, Roy was hampering the formation of a broad national front and thus strengthening the hands of Rightist leadership in the Indian National Congress. It was so well-argued that many of us who had hitched our wagons to M. N. Roy, felt thoroughly disillusioned and subsequently shifted our loyalties to the National Front.

It was not till the year 1944 that I had the honour of meeting Comrade Ajoy personally. He had then come to the Punjab as a T.B. patient and in broken health. We made arrangements for his stay in Preetnagar. After a few months he was shifted to a village in Sheikhpura to enjoy the hospitality of the famous Virk Jats. That was the period of my first contact with Preetnagar and I would be there every other Sunday. Despite his weak health, Comrade Ajoy would devote the whole day to study, but in the evenings would go out for long walks with the budding Marxists of that "Town of Love" as it was called.

Sitting in the open fields, he

would relate his revolutionary reminiscences in his own inimitable way and whenever the attention of one of the young listeners would wander away, he would say: "Pay attention to me, you badmash girl." I would repeatedly tell him that the word badmash is not used in our language for a girl even in a jocular manner, but he was so stubborn that he would forget my telling every time.

After spending the summer in Baramulla in 1945, he began to take interest in the work of the Punjab Party. He would pay special attention to the work of the Lahore City Committee. What impressed me most about Comrade Ajoy during those days was his immense capacity to pen his thoughts. He could write for hours on end and would finish writing a whole document in a day or two.

His writings were so precise, clear and easily understandable that I, as a lover of English style, used to be highly impressed. When I asked him how he came to write so lucidly and rapidly, he replied: "Before beginning to write anything, clarify your thoughts about what you want to say. Then go on writing, keeping in mind that you are addressing comrades who are not unduly gifted and cannot grasp long-winded sentences or thickly laid arguments."

The years 1946-47 were years of grave anxiety for the Party in the Punjab. In the 1946 elections, the Party had lost all seats and consequently its prestige suffered greatly. The communal situation was rapidly worsening. The organisational differences within the Party had also grown very sharp. Comrade Ajoy would listen to all comrades patiently and try to find out a principled basis for unity.

It was due to him that the hour of an open split was repeatedly postponed and when it did arrive ultimately, a large number of comrades were saved.

Soon after the split in the Party, the Punjab itself was partitioned. Like the rest of the Punjab people, a greater part of the Party cadre also had to give up their hearth and home and migrate to the East Punjab. The Party in the Punjab had to be organised de novo after reaching Amritsar.

Comrade Ajoy took a bold decision during those days: the decision to promote young comrades to the first ranks of the Party leadership. Without this decision of rapid promotion of the young middle leaders, it would not have been possible to save and reorganise the Party so soon. History itself has proved the correctness of that bold decision and the comrades then promoted have continued to discharge their responsibilities creditably to date.

JANDIALA CONFERENCE

Comrade Ajoy continued to personally lead the Punjab Party till the Jandiala State Conference which was held in 1948, on the eve of the Calcutta Congress. He prepared the main documents for the Jandiala Conference but more important work took him away to the Party Centre after that.

In the years 1950-51, when great controversies were raging inside the Party on the question of the path forward, the "three P's" document came as a refreshing breeze. It helped to unify most of us and to open the way forward to common functioning. As is well-known now, it was Comrade Ajoy who along with Comrade Dange and Comrade Ghate, prepared that memorable document.

I would not say anything about the period 1951-61 when Comrade Ajoy was at the head of the whole

Party as much about this period is quite well-known and there are more competent comrades to write about it also. I would only write about his last visit to the Punjab. He came for the last time in December 1961 to participate in the State Council meeting held in the same village—Jandiala—in which the 1948 State Conference under his leadership had been held. During this visit, Comrade Ajoy not only helped to work out our tactical line for the general elections in our State, but also reported on the historic 22nd Congress of the builders of Communism. Through this Congress had mapped out a glorious path of advance for the great Soviet people and adopted the "Communist Manifesto" of our time, there was a certain amount of confusion among Party comrades in the Punjab arising from the way the question of personality cult had been tackled at this great Congress.

Comrade Ajoy in his report, taught us how to differentiate between big things and small and how to unite for carrying forward the basic teachings of the 22nd Congress, despite certain differences that might persist regarding some small points. These had to wait till the National Council could meet after the elections. He did not live to participate in that but his clear political understanding was there to guide us.

In reply to a question concerning differences within the international Communist movement, he had then said: "I will confine my reply to the first part of your question, comrade, as on that part alone our Party has a common understanding. About the other part, only our National Council will decide. Whatever else you may say about me, you will at least concede that I have always been a disciplined member of the Party and would not answer such questions which await decisions by the Party."

FRENCH PARTY'S TRIBUTE

From P. 8

Being the Chief Editor of the theoretical journal *New Age*, he wrote several profound articles on the theory and practice of the working class and national liberation movements. Through these he won high esteem and respect of the progressive forces of India as well as of the International Communist Movement.

The writings he has left on the characteristic features of the Indian situation, including the last published in the journal of theory and information of the Communist and Workers Parties, (*World Marxist Review*) are inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, enshrining them in a permanent and lasting manner. They constitute a brilliant example of creative Marxism-Leninism.

On several occasions, our Comrade explained brilliantly the specific characteristics of aid given by the Socialist countries and the aid given by the imperialist powers. In this way, he emphasised the difference between true friends and the overt and covert enemies of India's independence.

At the time of the liquidation of the Portuguese colony in India, the British Government intimidated to the Nehru Government their "grave concern" over the situation and their "sincere hope" that Goa would not be liberated. President Kennedy had also sent a "similar message." These facts make us ponder over imperialist manoeuvres who desire that India and China, both protagonists of the ideas of Bandung, may plunge into a long war.

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh took part in the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in 1957 and 1960. Being a leading figure of the International Communist Movement, he had expressed his deep anxiety for the unity of thought and action in the movement on the

basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. The Election Manifesto of October 1961, in the drafting of which Comrade Ghosh participated shortly before his death, is inspired precisely by those great ideas in relation to war and peace as are contained in the documents of 1957 and 1960 Conferences of the Communist and Workers Parties.

Our Comrade wrote:

"The most burning question of the present time for entire mankind is the question of war and peace. Our country faced with the fundamental task of liquidation of centuries-old heritage of foreign domination, has also the need of peace. Safeguarding of peace is therefore of paramount importance for us. Conscious of India's role in the defence of peace and in the struggle against war-mongers and colonialism, Communists will redouble their efforts to make our country play a still bigger role in this sphere."

While we are reminding ourselves of this noble mission of peace of Communists, to which Comrade Ajoy Ghosh dedicated all his energy, may we be permitted to emphasise how sad we feel over the nefarious consequences of the border conflict between China and India.

For Communists, the duty of proletarian internationalism enjoins above all the surmounting of the differences through negotiations and to seek such peaceful solutions as would safeguard the national interests of every people, while being careful that they do not allow themselves to be carried away by the ideology of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

May we also be permitted to draw attention to the dangerous consequences for India's prestige

from the fact which has come to our knowledge that since the middle of last November about 900 Communists have been arrested which includes members of Parliament, State Legislatures, militant office-bearers of trade unions and peasant organisations.

The reactionary elements in India who are enforcing the policy of repression know, according to old experience, that starting with the Communists, subsequently other patriotic and progressive forces can also be attacked, so that finally the way is opened for a political orientation as desired by the imperialists.

Such a situation causes anxiety to us, the Communists of France. We remember very well the image of struggles for principle led by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. We wish to express once more our solidarity with the comrades of Ajoy Ghosh and the persecuted Indian Communists. We protest against the measures directed against the fighting vanguard of the working class and of all the Indian progressive forces.

Just as the teachings of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh live in the hearts of Indian people, they live equally in our hearts. These teachings ensure a greater organisational and ideological unity of the Communist Party of India on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In memory of our late Comrade, whose prominent role in the Conferences of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow in November 1960 along with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is known to us, we shall continue to act firmly against all that harms the ideological unity and the unity of action of International Communist Movement.

We, Delhi Communists, are greatly indebted to the late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh for the valuable political help he gave us on many occasions during the time he was General Secretary of the Party.

It is perhaps little known that his interest in our Party unit dates back to the late thirties when the Party organisation in Delhi was in the process of being formed. Ajoy was one of those comrades who helped us initially in the formation of a Communist unit.

I remember, I think it was sometime in 1938 or 1939, a telegram was received from Comrade P. C. Joshi (then General Secretary of the Party), stating that "Ajoy would come to Delhi. The late Comrade Bahal Singh (the founder of our Party in Delhi) who received the telegram told me that Ajoy was coming to discuss about the formation of a regular Party unit.

TERRORIST TURNED MARXIST

It was then that Bahal Singh narrated to me the life-story of Ajoy—his work in Naujawan Bharat Sabha, his collaboration in revolutionary work with the great Indian Martyr Bhagat Singh and his joining the Communist Party subsequently. Bahal Singh had also traversed, more or less, the same course before accepting Marxism-Leninism and, therefore, he had deep respect for Ajoy. Unfortunately, I could not meet Ajoy personally at that time. But what Bahal Singh had told me about Ajoy left a deep impression on my mind.

I met Ajoy for the first time, I think in 1944. He came and stayed with us in the Delhi Party Commune in Daryaganj. He was on his way to Bombay from Kashmir where he had gone for recuperating his health. It was a brief stay, but I was

happy that at long last I had met this great revolutionary—terrorist-turned-Marxist.

FIRST MEETING

Then several years passed and I could not meet Ajoy again till 1950 when he came to Delhi to discuss the new political line that he, along with Comrades Dange and Ghate, had enunciated in their famous "Three P's Document."

He invited Y. D. Sharma and myself to meet him at a common friend's house. We were still underground and therefore had some difficulty in arranging the meeting place. Ajoy spent a large part of the night in narrating to us the sorry state of affairs of the Party brought about by the sectarian political understanding—and in what direction the Party policy should be changed.

Both Y. D. Sharma and myself returned from the meeting greatly impressed by the keen political intellect of Ajoy. That helped us a great deal in bringing about the turn in our own understanding and in explaining to the comrades here how the Party could come out of the morass of sectarianism and go forward to a bright future. Then for the next 12 years or so till the cruel hand of death snatched him away from us, Ajoy was a constant guide and friend in many a difficult situation that we faced in Delhi. He used to address our conferences, and various meetings. We went to him whenever there was some difficult political or organisational problem to be solved.

Ajoy would always emphasise with us the need and impor-

We Cherish Memory Of Ajoy Ghosh

By M. Farooqi

tance of a strong Party in the Capital city of India. In fact that used to be the running thread of his argument whenever he addressed our meetings. He used to lay great stress on the building of a strong working class movement in Delhi and the need to politicise it.

INTEREST IN OUR WORK

Whenever we held a demonstration, and he happened to be in Delhi, he would make it a point to come to watch it. He would express his great joy in seeing our "May Day" demonstrations—and at the fact that the Communist Party had acquired the leading position in the working class movement.

When the Communist-led Ministry of Kerala was dismissed by the Congress Government at the Centre, Ajoy called me to discuss the plans for a mighty demonstration of protest outside Parliament. He again emphasised the importance of a big demonstration in the Capital on this issue. During the time we were preparing for it, he kept himself constantly in touch with us, asking about our preparations and making useful suggestions. I know how happy he was when the demonstration turned out to be a very big affair.

One great merit of Ajoy was that he was free from what may be called a "localist outlook." He possessed an all-India outlook in connection with the building of the Party and never ignored the need of building up a strong Party in areas where it was weak. In particular, he attached great importance to the task of building a strong Party in the Hindustani-speaking region.

In this connection he considered it important for the Party centre to publish Hindi and Urdu journals. I know personally how some comrades resisted his suggestions:

with regard to Hindi and Urdu journals and how he overcame that resistance.

Ajoy helped us a great deal in working out the tactics in fighting the Jan Sangh which is so strong in Delhi. He considered it essential to build up links with the democratic and secular-minded Congressmen so that the menace of Jan Sangh could be fought. We were faced at times with difficult situations in various elections and his sound guidance was always helpful to us.

We, Delhi Communists, will always cherish the memory of Ajoy Ghosh—our friend and guide.

ON COMRADE AJOY GHOSH

By Pandit Sunderlal

I am not a Marxist. In fact, I am no 'ist'. What I mean is that I do not believe in the infallibility of any man born of a woman, nor in the universal all-round applicability of any theory of life for all time to come.

YET, I am a lover of Marxism and a very great admirer, almost a worshipper, of Karl Marx. I believe he was one of the greatest lovers of humanity.

REVOLUTIONARY AJOY.

I am also a sincere admirer and believer in much that goes by the name of Communism. I believe that broadly speaking the Communist Party is the most advanced party in many a country of the world. Yet when I was in Cuba, I found that although there was a Communist Party in Cuba, Fidel Castro did not belong to that Party. He belonged to another party called the Revolutionary Party of Cuba. Strange as it may appear, members of the Revolutionary Party in Cuba regarded the Communists of their country as conservative and even reactionary. They regarded themselves as genuinely progressive.

Today there are no separate Communist or Revolutionary parties in Cuba. All the three political parties which existed separately till recently have merged into a common Integrated Revolutionary Party.

Something very much similar can be said about the Communist Parties in some other countries, specially Asian and African countries. I myself claim to be an old revolutionary of full 55 years standing. Somehow I have a very great attachment to the word 'revolutionary'. I love the word 'revolutionary'. I respect revolutionaries the world over.

In many respects—in spite of the clouds of deep misunderstanding and darkening atmosphere of India today—I do believe and make bold to say that in spite of its several shortcomings, the Communist Party of India is the most progressive of all political parties in this country today. Yet

there are certain elements which make up for the various types of deficiencies in various other articles or compounds.

Being a revolutionary or having sometime been a revolutionary is, I am convinced, just one such effective and valuable element. That is why I so greatly valued, loved, admired and even adored the great Ajoy Ghosh. His public life passed through three clear-cut stages: first, a young revolutionary, then a fighter for India's freedom and lastly a member and then a leader of the Communist Party of India. I knew him intimately during all these three stages.

Many of us are now beginning to realise that social and economic freedom for the broad masses of the country is even more important than political freedom. In fact, mere political freedom is meaningless without the social and economic emancipation of the masses. We are also beginning to realise that mere patriotism may sometimes prove dangerous even for the country concerned and much more for humanity as a whole. Internationalism is always and will be so more and more as the world grows, a necessary corrective for so-called nationalism and patriotism.

I valued Ajoy Ghosh as a patriot and as a true nationalist. I valued him even more as a humanist and an internationalist. That is why I greatly loved and respected Ajoy Ghosh. I cherish his memory. May his noble example inspire the younger generation of our country for long time to come.

PAGE SEVENTEEN

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MY ASSOCIATION WITH AJOY



* FROM PAGE FOUR

since he had to rush back to his work.

The first time I was able to get closer to him was during his visit to Calicut in the first months of the Second World War. I was then with him for a couple of days and had long and detailed talks with him.

His visit to Calicut was a very important event in the political lives of many of us belonging to the Congress Socialist Party in Kerala. Some of us like myself, late Krishna Pillai, Damodaran, Shekhar and others had already joined the Communist Party and were forming its units in the various parts of Kerala.

A large number of others were also sympathetic to the Party, though not yet joining it. The Congress Socialist Party, however, continued to function. We were all quite unhappy over the poli-

tical line adopted by the leaders of the CSP. The tendency was strong in the entire ranks of the CSP in Kerala that we should en bloc leave the CSP and join the CPI.

IMPRESSIVE WRITINGS

Particularly impressive were his writings to us in Kerala, since he dealt with questions of States people's struggles. Struggles in the two States of Kerala, Cochin and Travancore, naturally received his careful attention. Many in the State Congress (including even those who were not 'left') appreciated his contributions on States people's struggles.

Ajoy was known to us also as one of the authors of the booklet headed "Unmasked: Parties and Politics"—a thorough exposure of the parties like the Congress, CSP, Forward Bloc, etc. That booklet was one of the weapons with which the ranks of the newly-formed Communist Party in Kerala were being educated.

This phase of my personal association with him is to me as valuable as the subsequent years in which I worked with him far more closely. For, this was the phase in which I was undergoing the transition from a Congressman and Congress-socialist to a Communist. (This was true of most of my comrades in Kerala.)

And, in this process, Ajoy helped me and my comrades a great deal. He, therefore, may be included among those who helped us to establish the units of the Communist Party of India in Kerala.

FORCEFUL EXPLANATION

Ajoy came to Calicut to help this process. He explained the way in which the CPI was looking at the situation internationally and nationally and how, in his view, the revolutionary forces in India should act in the situation. His explanation was forceful enough to carry full conviction to those of us who were still hesitant about it.

Even before his visit to Calicut, he was well-known to the comrades in Kerala as in the rest of India. His regular contributions



AJOY ON 20TH CONGRESS

* FROM PAGE 3

ability exists of effecting the transition to socialism peacefully without resort to civil war. Where and to what extent this possibility will be realised will depend on the strength of the mass revolutionary movement led by the working class party, the firmness of the unity of the working class and of the toiling masses, the extent to which the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other working people are won over and the degree of resistance which the reactionary classes are able to offer.

Marxist recognise the need for revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is that

which distinguishes them from the reformists and opportunists. Marxists and revolutionaries have placed and will continue to place primary stress on the building of a mass revolutionary movement of the workers and of all working peoples as the essential pre-requisite for the transition to socialism.

Marxists recognise the need fully realise that for socialism the working class has to seize power and that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily.

But in a number of countries it may be possible today for the working class, at the head of the toiling and patriotic sections of the people, to paralyse the efforts of reaction to force civil war upon

the people. This is a possibility and the Communist Parties will strive to transform the possibility into reality.

Explanation of this new interpretation of the question of transition to socialism will greatly help the efforts of the Communists everywhere to heal the political split in the working class, in the democratic masses, and establish and strengthen its unity. On such vital questions as the defence of peace, national freedom and democracy it is fully possible to establish contacts, rapprochement and cooperation between the Communists and other forces who may have different views on the question of transition to socialism. Particularly is this the case with regard to contacts with social-democratic forces among whom a leftward swing is taking place and together with it growing urge for united front with the Communists.

A notable feature of the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU was its vigorous criticism of the cult of the individual as being alien to Marxism-Leninism. The Central Committee report stressed that the theory and practice of the cult of the individual which gained currency prior

to the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU damaged Party work.

It tended to belittle the role of collective leadership, weakened inner-Party democracy, hindered the development of criticism and self-criticism, occasionally led to arbitrariness in the work of individuals and gave rise to one-sided, at times wrong, solutions of problems. It underplayed the role of the popular masses as the creators of history. The cult of the individual resulted sometimes in wrong propositions.

AGAINST DOGMATISM

Besides undermining the principle of collective leadership, this cult of personality contributed to the strengthening of dogmatism and doctrinarism in Communist Parties. It led to the tendency of blind acceptance and mechanical application of ready-made formulas, the tendency of looking upon the tasks of enrichment and development of Marxism as the special task of certain individuals and certain Communist Parties and not as the general task of the entire Communist movement and of all Communist Parties.

The criticism that the CPSU has made of its own functioning, the measures it has taken to rectify mistakes, have been seized by certain elements hostile to Communism to denounce the Communist movement itself.

They ignore the patent fact that the gigantic successes of the USSR and of the socialist world, in every sphere of life, their continuous advance to the cherished goal of humanity, stand out as eloquent testimony to the correctness of the general policies pursued by the USSR all these years, and that if mistakes are being admitted, that shows not the weakness but the strength of the socialist system, of the Communist movement and the determination to do still better.

The enemies of Communism know well that the decisions of the Twentieth Congress arm the world Communist movement with a mighty weapon to strengthen the movement to defeat the menace of war, to win over the majority of the people to the ideas of socialism, to unify the working class and the toiling people, to shed dogmatism and doctrinarism and thus strengthen the battle for freedom, democracy and social transformation.

(New Age Monthly, April 1956)

Ajoy in Moscow among delegates to CPSU Congress.



THE MOSCOW STATEMENT

The following account by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh of how the Moscow Statement of 1960 was prepared will be read with interest today. It forms part of his article on the results of the Communist and Workers' Parties Conference that appeared in 1961 Republic Day Number of this journal. Ajoy it will be recalled was on the Drafting Commission referred to in this article and subsequently led the Indian delegation at the Conference.

HOW was the Statement prepared? At the time of the Conference of the Rumanian Workers' Party held at Bucharest in June 1960, it was decided to convene a Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The CPSU was asked to convene this Conference. In pursuance of this decision, the CPSU convened a Drafting Commission of 26 Parties at Moscow in October, 1960.

A Draft Statement prepared by the CPSU was

placed before the Commission. All Parties participating in the Commission agreed to accept the Draft Statement as the basis for discussion.

After prolonged discussion, several parts of the draft were enriched and elaborated, many amendments were accepted, many rejected. The Drafting Commission met for three weeks.

The Draft prepared by the Drafting Commission was placed before the Conference of 81 Communist

Parties which began on November 10 and ended on December 2. New amendments and suggestions were considered and a number of them were incorporated.

In the Statement that finally emerged from the Conference, all the main ideas contained in the original Draft prepared by the CPSU were retained.

At the same time, a number of new ideas were introduced, a number of formulations were strengthened and enriched and several parts were elaborated and amplified.

All parties participated in the preparation of the Statement. At the same time, the leading and guiding role was played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin. The Statement

adopted by the Conference says that all Communist Parties are "independent and have equal rights" and that all of them "contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism".

CPSU—THE VANGUARD

At the same time, it emphasises that all Communist Parties "unanimously declare that the CPSU has been and remains the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international movement".

Both these truths, both these realities, both these facts were strikingly borne out by the entire proceed-

ings of the Drafting Commission and the Conference.

The Statement was a product of collective effort, collective endeavour of Communist Parties, all of whom participated in the Conference on the basis of absolute equality. At the same time, in preparing the Draft and in convening the Conference, as well as in finalising the documents the CPSU played a leading role.

The unanimous adoption of the Statement, which carried forward the basic understanding given in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 to a new stage and armed the world Communist movement with a weapon of exceptional power, is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism, for all Communist Parties.



MAGNIFICENT VISTAS OPENED

AJOY ON CPSU'S 22nd CONGRESS

In the period that has passed since the 20th Congress, a period of only six years, events of tremendous significance have happened. And in shaping the course of these events as well as in determining their outcome, the decisions of the 20th Congress have played an extremely important role.

HENCE it was that the 12-Parties Declaration of 1957 stated: "The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of Communism in the USSR; they have opened a new stage in the world Communist movement and facilitated its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines".

The unanimously adopted Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties repeated this assessment of the 20th Congress. And now on the basis of the advance that has been made in the USSR since 1956, the 22nd Congress has charted out the path for still greater advance.

There can be no doubt that the criticisms of the cult of personality was necessary. There can be no doubt that the measures taken by the CPSU in the last few years have helped considerably to expand socialist democracy and to unleash popular initiative in the task of laying the foundation of Communism.

EXPANDING DEMOCRACY

Two opposite political trends can be seen in the world of today—one in the socialist world, the other in the capitalist world.

In the socialist world the dominant trend is one of expansion of democracy; in the capitalist world the dominant trend is one of curtailment of democracy. No one who has studied the developments of recent years can deny this.

On the basis of the whole development of the 44 years since the working class took over power in Russia and on the basis of the implementation of the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, the 22nd Congress has taken another gigantic step forward. It has adopted a programme which has been hailed as the document of our epoch.

The Programme of building Communism in the USSR has great significance for the peoples of Asia and Africa.

One of the features of the new world situation to which the 30th Congress drew pointed attention was the disintegration of the colonial system. It cannot be considered accidental that this disintegration is taking place precisely in the period when socialism has become a world system and the socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The close relationship between the two phenomena has been pointed out by Communists on several occasions.

But even when the 20th Congress met, by far the greater part of Africa was under colonial slavery. That

the CPSU to be the vanguard of the world Communist movement. Moreover, it is the CPSU and the Soviet people that in the final analysis, have the right to decide as to what is good for the USSR.

Nevertheless, the 20th Congress of the CPSU which condemned the cult of personality, not merely ended the deification of Stalin but also demolished the belief in the infallibility of any Party or any leader. This was necessary for, such a belief is contrary to the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In view of this, it is inevitable and good that questions like those formulated above and others are being asked. Also, I feel, that while many details of the excesses that took place in the USSR have been revealed by the 22nd

the volume of Soviet assistance to newly-independent countries has grown rapidly in recent years. This has helped them to secure some economic assistance even from Western capitalist countries on better terms than before.

It is evident that the march of the Soviet Union and other countries towards Communism will simultaneously increase their capacity to assist the newly-liberated countries to overcome the backwardness bequeathed to them by the imperialists.

Moreover, in the context of the rebuff that Britain and France got when they invaded Egypt, it is evident that the growth of the industrial and military might of the USSR and the further shift in the correlation of world forces will make it increasingly difficult for imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

As regards the peoples who are still fighting for freedom, they receive consistent support from the USSR and other socialist countries.

In other words, the process of expansion of democracy initiated by the 20th Congress and continued in the 22nd Congress has to be carried forward still further.

The achievements of the USSR are far greater than its shortcomings.

As for the world role which the USSR played in the defeat of Hitler and in saving humanity from the horrors of fascism, its role in the triumph

of socialism over one-third of the world, as well as the role it is playing today in defence of peace and of the freedom of all countries—that is known to everyone.

NO COUNTRY HAS DONE SO MUCH

No country has done so much in changing the very face of the world as the USSR has done in the last 44 years.

Moreover, let it not be forgotten that it is the ruling party in the USSR, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, that revealed the defects openly.

On the basis of this revelation and on the basis of concrete measures taken in the last few years, many wrongs

The 22nd CPSU Congress carried forward the process initiated by the 20th—a process which Ajoy Ghosh consistently upheld. The following are extracts from his article that appeared in 'New Age' of December 10, 1961.

Congress, the question as to how they happened and why they happened has not been satisfactorily answered. A far more comprehensive and deeper analysis than what has been done hitherto, is needed not merely in order to understand the cause of these deplorable happenings but also and above all, in order to ensure that they never occur again in any socialist country.

Moreover, the process of expansion of democracy initiated by the 20th Congress and continued in the 22nd Congress has to be carried forward still further.

Whatever opinion one may have on certain matters, the big and basic fact is that the whole trend of events since the 20th Congress—in internal matters as well as in the sphere of foreign policy—has been in the correct direction, has enormously helped the cause of socialism, democracy and peace.

We, Indian Communists, shall draw correct lessons from the entire history of the CPSU—its mighty achievements as well as grave mistakes. We are determined that the mistakes and misdeeds

done earlier have been rectified and major steps have been taken to re-establish socialist democracy.

Moreover, the CPSU leaders themselves "do not consider", as N. S. Khrushchev made clear, "that the task of improving our socialist system is already consummated".

It has adopted a Programme of world historic importance, a document which will be a powerful weapon in the hands of all Communist Parties in the ideological battle with capitalism.

It has opened up magnificent vistas before the whole of humanity.

As such the 22nd Congress will ever be remembered as a landmark in the march towards Communism—the noblest dream of man.

which occurred in the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, the violation of socialist democracy that took place, must not happen in our country.

Events have shown that while abolition of classes, for the first time in history, create necessary conditions for full democracy, such democracy does not come about automatically.

Violation of democracy, excesses and arbitrary acts can take place in a socialist society also.

Even after the abolition of capitalism and of exploitation of class by class, a continuous prolonged and conscious struggle has to be waged to promote and extend democracy, to create effective guarantees against arbitrary acts and misdeeds by the Government and the State, to uphold human values.

Without this, the full potentialities of socialism remain unrealised and the development of the human personality is hampered.

This is a major lesson that we have to draw...

The 22nd Congress has carried forward the process initiated at the 20th Congress to a new stage.

It has enriched Marxism-Leninism by tackling concrete problems related to the task of Communist construction.

It has adopted a Programme of world historic importance, a document which will be a powerful weapon in the hands of all Communist Parties in the ideological battle with capitalism.

It has opened up magnificent vistas before the whole of humanity.

As such the 22nd Congress will ever be remembered as a landmark in the march towards Communism—the noblest dream of man.

(November, 30, 1961).



Ajoy Ghosh with other delegates from the CPI to the 22nd Congress of CPSU.

FORESIGHT OF AJOY GHOSH

What He Wrote On Coup In Pakistan In 1958



This is the concluding portion of Ajoy Ghosh's article on the Coup in Pakistan that appeared in the NEW AGE (Monthly) of December 1958. Written before the threat of Chinese aggression arose against our country, it still rings prophetic to this day.

★
With Pakistan firmly in their grip the US imperialists are in a position to exert powerful pressure on India.

THEY will strive to modify our foreign policy in which dangerous vacillations have already manifested themselves. They will instigate the intensification of the hate-India campaign and the stepping up of the tension between the two countries, suggesting surrender on the issue of Kashmir as the way to resolve the tension. They will involve us in ruinous armament expenditure, so that our economy remains weak and use this very weakness as the argument for more facilities to American capital in our country.

Communal parties and elements will utilise the Pakistan events to work up war hysteria, and for hatred against the Muslim minority as the 'fifth column' of Pakistan.

For the people of Pakistan, in the hour of their ordeal, our people entertain feelings of profound sympathy—this must be made clear. The threats of Ayub Khan, who holds them in iron grip, will not be allowed to embitter the relations between our two peoples.

Long and severe may be the ordeal through which Pakistan's

It arises from the concessions that are being made to American capital. It arises from the succumbing to the pressure of monopolists and landlords. It arises from the fear in the mind of the ruling circles in our country at the growth of the democratic movement and of the Communist Party and the anti-Communist campaign that is being worked up by them as well as by the PSP and other parties.

It arises from the growing trend towards authoritarianism and the tendency towards violation of democratic norms. It arises from the key-positions held by reactionary and anti-democratic elements in the bureaucratic and military apparatus, the scant attention paid by the government towards the task of instilling in the army the patriotic and democratic spirit.

The continued disunity of the democratic forces, the absence of an effective and a powerful alternative to the Congress on an all-India scale, the lack of contact and cooperation between democrats inside and outside the Congress, enhances the danger. The policies of the government and the sense of frustration and helplessness that these policies create in the minds of vast sections of the people may lead to a situation in which anti-democratic ideas find ready response from the backward masses and anti-democratic 'solutions' appear as the way to salvation.

We must not, therefore, be complacent. We have to acquire

a sense of urgency. The situation in our country may be heading towards a crisis.

Effective steps have to be taken to overcome, with the utmost rapidity, the weaknesses from which our Party, the mass organisations and the democratic movement still suffer, to expose and isolate the extreme reactionaries, to build contacts with democrats in all parties, especially the Congress, to redouble the struggle to change the policies of the government, to defend our democratic institutions and make them an effective instrument to solve the problems facing the people.

At a time when a number of neighbouring countries have passed under regimes of military dictatorship, heavy responsibilities rest on the shoulders of our people. With an incomparably stronger democratic institutions, with great patriotic and anti-imperialist traditions, India has to act as the citadel of democracy in this part of Asia, upholding her national freedom, rebuffing imperialist attempts to secure control over her economic life, acting as a model that will inspire the people in the neighbouring countries.

All patriotic parties and elements in India, irrespective of the differences among them, must unite to ensure that our country plays this role. They must unite to uphold national freedom, to guard national security, to defend and strengthen democracy.

(New Age Monthly—Dec. '58)

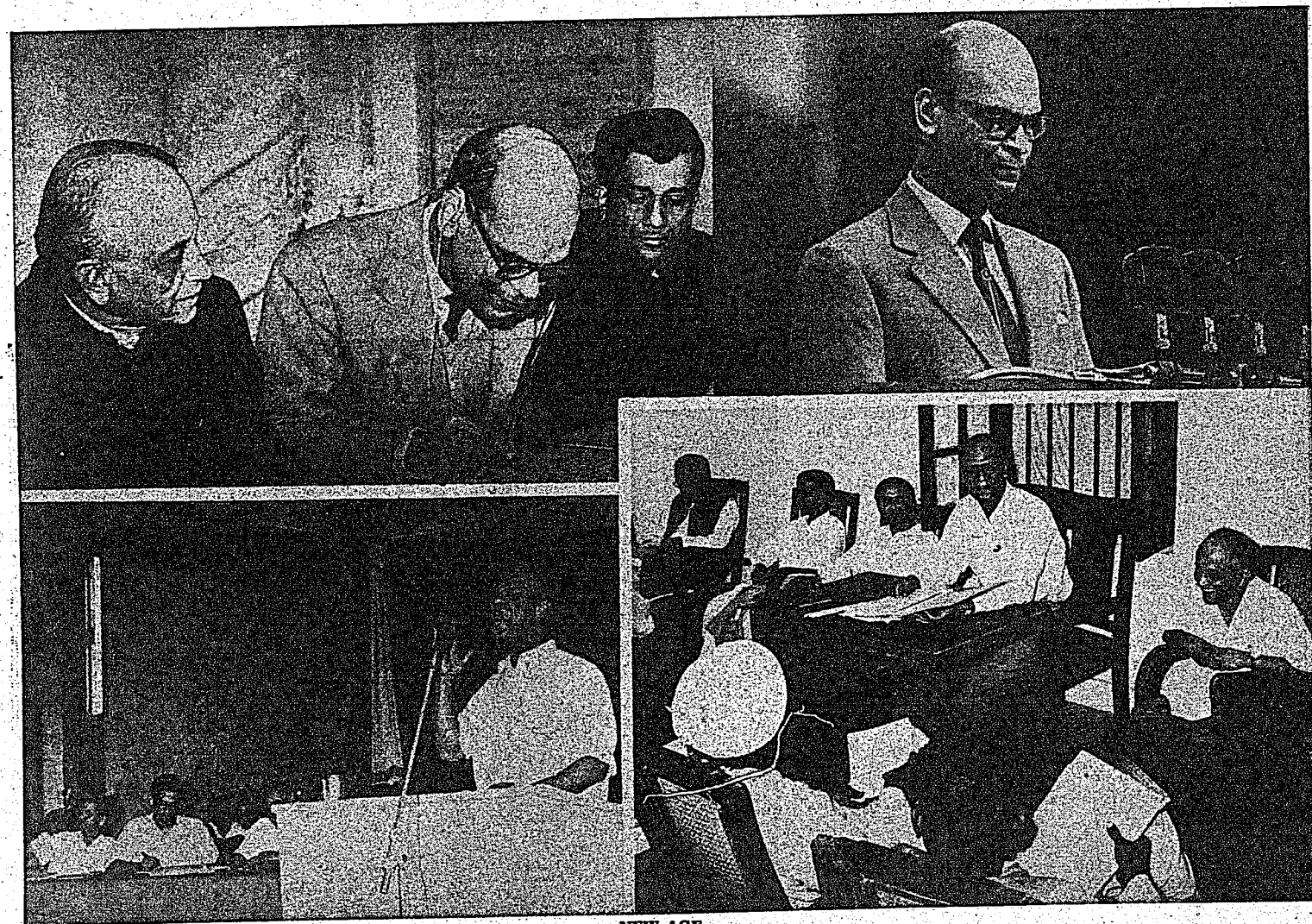
On Albanian Party Leadership

...we cannot but take note of the fact that the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have, in their recent utterances, started assailing the very basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and also the decisions of the 20th Congress. This attitude cannot be considered to be in conformity with the Declaration adopted at the 81 Parties meeting.

(NEW AGE MONTHLY, January 1962, On the 22nd Congress of the CPSU)

(See Centre Pages for AJOY ON CHINA)

Left Top: Ajoy Ghosh signing the 81 parties' document in Moscow (1960); Below: Ajoy at the Palghat Congress (1956); Right Top: Ajoy addressing the 20th Congress of CPSU in Moscow; Below: Ajoy at a Central Committee meeting in Delhi (1957).



NEW AGE

LET US STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FOR THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

'PRAVDA' EDITORIAL

MANKIND is now in one of the most crucial stages of its development. This stage is replete with major developments and sharp clashes between the forces of socialism and peace and the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. The new world—a world of socialism, freedom and happiness, a genuine springtime of mankind—is gaining in strength and is growing, crowding the old world, the world of capitalism, violence and exploitation. And the results of the year 1962 are new patent evidence of this.

The main results of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism, the heroic struggle of the Cuban people and all peace-loving forces in the past year, was that the attack on Cuba, carefully prepared by the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, was thwarted. Socialist Cuba has been defended and she confidently continues her triumphant advance. The menace of world thermo-nuclear war was warded off from mankind. It was proved once again that the forces of socialism and peace are capable of curbing imperialist aggressors.

The main result of the creative endeavours of the Soviet people and the working people of the other socialist countries was a powerful upswing in their economy and culture, the strengthening of the might of the socialist community, the growth of its international prestige and influence.

The main result of the national liberation movement was the triumph of liberatory anti-imperialist revolutions on vast areas of the former colonial world, the elevation of this movement to a new, higher stage.

The main result of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries was the joining of new sections of the working people in the sharpest class battles, the intensification of the struggle against the oppression and iniquity of monopoly capital, the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties and of the ideas of socialism.

The international communist movement has scored magnificent successes. And this was, above all, because it remained at all stages of its struggle unwaveringly loyal to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and guided itself by this victorious teaching in all its activities. At the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960, communists worked out a new strategic and tactical line, conforming to the new historic conditions. The course of world development confirms irrefutably that loyalty to this line, and the unity of the communist movement, is an earnest of all victories.

It was on the basis of the documents of the Moscow meetings, embodying and developing the Leninist line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which was supported by the fraternal Parties, that the world communist movement has made striking advances in every direction. The Leninist strategy of active struggle against imperialism, for universal peace and the triumph of socialism, has elevated the ideology of communism to unprecedented heights. Communism and peace have become inseparable in the minds of the peoples. The main thesis of the imperialists—the thesis of the Soviet Union's alleged aggressiveness, which they used for the arms race, for preparing war—has been refuted.

The Soviet Union has demonstrated by all its actions, by its entire policy, that it is the main stronghold of peace, an implacable fighter against imperialism. The peoples realise from numerous examples that communism saves the world from thermo-nuclear war, that the com-

munists are the most resolute and consistent defenders of peace. And this, in the modern conditions, is one of the main factors for the spread of communist influence.

The recent Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Italy demonstrated convincingly what beneficial results the unswerving implementation of the strategic and tactical line of the international communist movement gives to the Communist Parties of both socialist and capitalist countries.

The Congresses of the fraternal Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia determined the ways of completing the building of socialism and a gradual transition to the establishment of the material and technical basis of communism. The Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of Italy outlined extensive measures to intensify the struggle against monopoly capital, for peace, democracy and socialism. These Congresses made an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the transition of the People's Democracies to the completion of the building of socialism, a contribution to the consolidation of the communist movement. The Congresses of the fraternal Parties rallied the broad masses of the working people to resolute struggle for the victory of socialism, against imperialism.

The international communist movement is on the correct Marxist-Leninist road. Magnificent prospects lie before it. The main thing required of the communists is loyalty to the adopted Leninist course, and cohesion of their ranks.

UNDERMINING COHESION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

Unfortunately, views are being spread in the ranks of the international communist movement which are spearheaded against a number of the principal propositions of Marxism-Leninism, and are designed to undermine the cohesion of the fraternal Parties. The most outspoken exponent of these dogmatic, divisive views, which are deeply hostile to Leninism, is the top leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, and then the Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia, the delegations of the Communist Party of China claimed that it was a mistake to openly criticise the line of the Albanian leaders, and tried to blame the fraternal Parties for the differences which had arisen. But to make such contentions means to go against irrefutable facts, to absolve from responsibility those who are in fact fighting against a common life of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The international communist movement knows that the Albanian leaders openly attacked the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the propositions of the Declaration of 1957 already at the meeting of 81 Communist Parties in November 1960. Already at that time they expressed their disagreement with the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, with the struggle for disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputed questions through negotiation, with the proposition concerning the variety of forms of transition to socialism.

The anti-Leninist line of the APL leadership was vigorously rebuffed by the meeting of 1960. But the Albanian leaders did not heed the voice of reason. Instead of heeding the warnings of experience, steered Marxist-Leninist Parties, the APL leadership launched an open and vio-

lent campaign against Marxism-Leninism, against the Statement of 81 Parties, and showed the fraternal Parties with slander and fabrications which are not now used by even many open anti-communists.

Already at the 4th Congress of the APL, held in February 1961, the Albanian leaders came out openly against the principal propositions of the Statement and the Message to the Peoples of the World adopted by the meeting of the Communist Parties, and counterpoised to it a position of their own.

This position soon became known to the entire world. International reaction was quick to realise whom the Albanian leadership really serves, and began to laud its course of breaking with the communist movement, with the camp of socialism, and, in the first instance, with the Soviet Union. Already on May 19, 1961, that is long before the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the British newspaper *Scotsman* wrote that the Albanian Government had burnt the bridges in its relations with the Soviet Union, and apparently for ever. Another British paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote on June 3, 1961, that the anti-Soviet campaign in Albania had reached its peak in the past weeks.

The stand taken by the APL leadership caused great concern to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the Communist Parties who hold dear the unity of our ranks. Firmly abiding by the principle that disputes in the international communist movement should be settled through an exchange of opinions, and mutual consultations between Parties, the Central Committee of the CPSU, as early as in August, 1960, twice approached the APL Central Committee with a proposal to arrange a meeting between the representatives of the two Parties.

In a letter to the Central Committee of the APL of August 13, 1960, the Central Committee of the CPSU wrote in part: "It would be right to extinguish in good time the spark of misunderstanding that has arisen so as to prevent its kindling. . . . If the Central Committee of the APL shares our view and does not object to an exchange of opinions, we are prepared to meet with a delegation of your Party at any level, at a time convenient to you". The Albanian leaders turned down these proposals. They rejected all attempts by the Central Committee of the CPSU to normalise relations.

Who then, one may ask, has violated the principle of consultations? Who started the attacks on the communist movement, on the programmatic documents worked out collectively by it, and has been indulging in them for several years? How can one qualify the contentions of those who substitute untruth for truth and, ignoring the will of the international communist movement, clearly encourage the splitters, by propagating their views and protecting them from just criticism?

Comrade N. S. Khrushchov said at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU: "We share the anxiety of our Chinese friends, we appreciate their concern for strengthening unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts to normalise the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the fraternal Parties, then hardly anyone can help accomplish this task better than the Communist Party of China. This would indeed benefit the Albanian Party of Labour, and meet the interests of the entire community of socialist countries."

Unfortunately, the situation, far from improving, has further deteriorated. The Albanian leaders are openly breaking with the communist

movement, with Marxism-Leninism, and are sinking more and more deeply in the morass of dogmatism, sectarianism and vicious nationalism and make increasing use of personality cult methods, which are alien to Marxism.

It is but natural that Marxists-Leninists could not and cannot resign themselves to the violation of the provisions of the Declaration and the Statement, that they could not and cannot but rise with utmost determination in defence of the communist principles. It is, therefore, self-evident that one should be distressed not by the fact that the anti-Leninist position of the Albanian leaders came in for criticism at the recent Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia, but by the fact that there are people who gird themselves up against the Parties which defend the banner of the Moscow meetings.

OF PRIME IMPORTANCE

The dispute as to what line the communist movement should follow is not an abstract one, but a deeply principled dispute of prime importance. The Marxists-Leninists' line of consolidation of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, the line of economic competition of socialism with capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of communism in these conditions imparts an unprecedented attractive power to our movement, attracts the broadest popular masses to its side, whereas the line which the dogmatists are trying to impose is a line of lack of faith in the forces of communism, of popular masses, lack of faith in the possibility of the victory of socialism in new countries without war between states, without a world war.

Such a line, should it assert itself, would repulse the peoples of the capitalist countries from the countries of socialism, would repulse millions of people from the communist movement, would place the communists in isolation, would put a drag on the entire liberative process of the struggle of the peoples.

The most important, the most vital problem of our time is the problem of war and peace. In real life the choice is: either peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems or a devastating war. There is no other alternative. The question arises: What position should the communists take? Only one—the position of peaceful co-existence. The international working class and liberation movement is waging a great offensive struggle against imperialism in the conditions of peaceful co-existence. The socialist countries do not need war. They are successfully developing in peaceful conditions and will be victorious in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, which fact will be of exceptional importance for making the peoples choose the socialist way as the only correct one.

The Albanian leaders, E. Hoxha for instance, boast that they do not agree with those who regard peaceful co-existence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries."

THEIR GENERAL LINE

But what then is the general line? War? If so, where is then the difference between such an approach to the solution of the question about the victory of communism or capitalism and the viewpoint of the adventurist circles of imperialism? In point of fact the only difference is that the frenzied imperialists have lost faith in the ability of capitalism to stand its own in the competition with socialism, while the dogmatists do not believe in the possibility of the victory of communism in the conditions of peaceful competition of states with different social systems. But which Marxist-Leninist would agree that the way to the victory of communism lies through a thermo-nuclear war?

In our time even the imperialists find it difficult to come out openly against peaceful co-existence. It is all the more difficult for those who regard themselves as communists. Therefore, the Albanian dogmatists, too, say with set teeth that they "do not object" to the thesis of peaceful co-existence.

But then and there they declare that peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems means a "line of rapprochement and

fusion with imperialism", that the question of whether or not there will be war is decided by the chiefs of general staffs of the imperialist countries, that, allegedly, the cause of preserving world peace can be promoted only in one way, by burying imperialism. This is a direct and open digression from the Statement of the Communist Parties, which reads: "Even before full victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism still existing in some part of the world, a real possibility will already arise to exclude world war from the life of the society", that "the time has come" already now "when it is possible to cut short the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to touch off a world war."

The most important thing in the struggle for peace is to curb the aggressors in time, to avert war, to prevent it from flaring up. This is particularly necessary in view of the unprecedented destructive force of modern weapons. The Statement says: "Monstrous means of annihilation and destruction have been created. The use of these means in a new war may inflict unheard of destruction on whole countries and reduce to ruins the largest centres of world production and world culture. Such a war would bring death and sufferings to hundreds of millions of people, including those in non-belligerent countries."

In contrast to these propositions, the dogmatists emphasize that nuclear war is not to be feared, that modern weapons are monstrous only "in the opinion of the imperialists and reactionaries", that "the atom bomb is a paper tiger". This is nothing but renunciation of the main goal in the struggle for peace indicated in the Statement, nothing but renunciation of the policy of peaceful co-existence.

The dogmatists present peaceful co-existence as "renunciation of the struggle for the exposure of imperialism", as "discontinuation of the struggle against imperialism." They do not understand that competition in peaceful conditions is one of the most important battle grounds between socialism and capitalism. As regards the struggle against imperialism proclaimed by the dogmatists, it boils down to mere high-sounding invective phrases and foul language. But is it to this that the activities of a Marxist-Leninist Party in power should be confined in the struggle against imperialism?

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

For the socialist countries to fight against imperialism actually, to safeguard peace, to promote in every way the development of the world liberation movement, means above all:

To develop the socialist society successfully, and to steadily advance the economy in the first place. The more effective the economic development of the socialist countries, the stronger they are economically and politically, the greater will be their influence on the direction and pace of historical development, the more resolutely and effectively will they defend peace;

To pursue firmly and consistently a peaceable foreign policy which undermines the foundations of imperialism, helps to rally the peace forces and facilitates the struggle of the working masses and oppressed peoples for their freedom and independence, to pursue a policy which deprives the enemies of socialism of the slightest chance to try and split the forces of peace, democracy and socialism;

To show utmost vigilance with regard to imperialism, to strengthen in every way the might and defence potential of the entire socialist camp, to take all measures to ensure the security of the peoples and to preserve peace;

Tirelessly to expose the policy of imperialism, to keep a vigilant eye on the intrigues and machinations of the warmongers, to arouse the holy anger of the peoples against those who steer a line towards war, to work for the better organization of all peace forces, constantly to imitate the actions of the masses in defence of peace, to strengthen co-operation with all states which are not interested in new wars;

To strengthen the relations of fraternal friendship and close co-operation with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are fighting for national independence and for its consolidation, to render assistance and support to the national liberation movement;

To conduct in every way to the strengthening of the fighting solidarity of all detachments and organizations of the international working class.

It is such effective struggle against imperialism that is being waged by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties which firmly adhere to the positions of the Declaration and the Statement.

PROTOTYPE OF FUTURE

A prototype of the future of the entire humanity is being created in the countries of socialism. The peoples of our countries are called upon to make this prototype ever more attractive by all their deeds so that every toiler familiarising himself with the life of any socialist country, could say: "Here is my wonderful tomorrow for which it is worthwhile to fight unsparringly."

"The communists," the Statement says, "see their historical mission not only in abolishing exploitation and poverty on a world-wide scale and in excluding for ever the possibility of any war from the life of human society, but also in saving mankind already in the modern age from the nightmare of another world war. The Communist Parties of all countries will devote their entire strength and energy to the accomplishment of this great historical mission."

The communists of the Soviet Union, all Soviet people spare no efforts to fulfil this great mission in practice.

Historically, it fell to the lot of the Soviet people to bear the brunt of the struggle against imperialist warmongers. It is not an easy task to bear such a burden. The Soviet people not infrequently have even to deny themselves the things they need. But the Soviet people consciously agree to this, realising that this is necessary for the peoples of the whole world, for the present and future generations, for the victory of communism.

The peoples know that the active struggle of the Soviet Union, its might, played the decisive role in preventing a world war which the bellicose imperialist circles had tried to touch off many a time in recent years, and also in promoting the liberation struggle against imperialism.

Who was it that extinguished the raging flames of war in the Suez Canal zone in 1956 by compelling the British-French-Israeli aggressors to beat a retreat? Who was it that in 1957 prevented the invasion of Syria prepared by the imperialists? Who was it that in 1958 prevented war in the Near East and in the area of the Taiwan Straits from flaring up?

It was the Soviet Union, all countries of the socialist camp, the peace forces. They, and above all the might and the vigorous actions of the USSR, compelled the imperialist warmongers to retreat.

The entire activities of the Soviet state, of the CPSU, in the international arena are the practical struggle against imperialism, a tireless struggle for strengthening and expanding the positions of socialism, for rendering real assistance to the peoples which are defending freedom and fighting for freedom.

The broad support of the liberation struggle of the Algerian people against the French colonialists, the defence of the national independence and freedom of the people of Laos, the support to India and Indonesia in their just actions in destroying the strongholds of colonialism and in liberating Goa, Diu, Daman and West Irian, the all-out assistance for the consolidation of the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America—such are but a few facts which show how consistently the Soviet Union fights against the imperialist colonialists, for national liberation of the peoples. It was quite recently that the Soviet Union rendered substantial assistance to the people of Yemen, which played a big role in ensuring its independence and in foiling the machinations of imperialism. Our country takes such actions at international organizations which have world-wide resonance, help to rally all progressive forces of the world in defence of national libe-

ration movement. The Soviet Union was the initiator of the historic Declaration of the United Nations on granting independence to all peoples and is pressing for its earliest implementation.

The Soviet Union's tireless efforts to explain all the abysmal danger of the thermo-nuclear war which is being prepared, the efforts which the CPSU, together with all the fraternal Parties, with all the peace champions, is making to enhance the vigilance of the peoples in face of the intrigues of the warmongers—all this helps to multiply the forces fighting for peace.

This is how the CPSU is conducting unswervingly and consistently in all directions an offensive against the forces of imperialism and war. Let those who are trying to cast aspersions on the consistent struggle of the Soviet Union against imperialism ask themselves honestly: Why and what for do they slander the principal force of peace and socialism? Whom do they help by doing this?

The post-war years have not witnessed a more acute international crisis, fraught with the danger of a world-wide thermo-nuclear conflagration, than the recent crisis created by American imperialism in the Caribbean Sea area. What was the position assumed at that crucial hour by the bawlers in Tirana? Did they support the Soviet Union, which was the main force defending revolutionary Cuba and barring the road to the atomic maniacs? No, they did not do this. What is more, they actually helped the imperialist instigators to kindle the conflict, to set the USSR and the United States at loggerheads, thereby pushing the whole world into the abyss of war.

Fortunately for mankind, however, this did not happen. The all-devouring holocaust of atomic and hydrogen bombs did not hit the peoples. All the world admits that the credit for this goes to the Soviet Union. The firm and flexible policy of the Soviet Government, its head, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, which prevented a thermo-nuclear catastrophe, is highly assessed by grateful mankind as an example of wisdom, reason, genuine peaceableness and concern for the destinies of the peoples.

The dogmatists disagree with this. Now that the crest of the crisis is behind, representatives of the "leftist" phrasemongers are striving slanderously to present the case as if the Soviet Union had capitulated to imperialism and even agreed to a "second Munich."

But everyone, who unbiasedly analyses the results of the liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area, sees that there is not a grain of truth in the accusations of the dogmatists, and that the phrases they utter are actually calculated to provoke war.

The crisis in the Caribbean Sea area was settled through the resolute actions of the Soviet Union, of the people of Cuba, against the aggressors, due to the support given to the just cause of the Cuban people by all the socialist community, by all the fighters for peace. At the same time the crisis was settled on the basis of mutual concessions and sensible compromise. The solution of disputed questions between states without wars, by peaceful means—this is precisely the policy of peaceful co-existence in action.

Those who declare that they support the policy of peaceful co-existence, while at the same time criticising the method by which the Cuban crisis was solved, actually reject the policy of peaceful co-existence.

Critics of the peaceful settlement of the conflict say that one cannot trust agreements with the imperialists. But if we proceed from this alone, it will be tantamount to admitting that disputed questions can be settled only by war. Marxists-Leninists hold that the strength of the socialist countries has grown so much that the imperialists are compelled to reckon with it and, consequently, they can be made to observe the commitments they assume. At the same time the Marxists-Leninists never forget about the perfidy of the imperialists and urge the peoples to be always vigilant, to step up the struggle against the aggressive intrigues of the warmongers.

vehemently, would not have held out without its backing, without its might, against imperialism which is armed to the teeth?"

In their cynical gamble with human lives certain people dare scoff at those who defend the lives of hundreds of millions of people, accusing these fighters of "cowardice" and "spinelessness". But communists, the more so communist statesmen and political leaders, cannot act like these irresponsible penbacks. After all, while staying in power, they are responsible for the destinies of peoples and states, and moreover, for the destinies of the world socialist system. They are in duty bound to approach sensibly, with utmost responsibility, the evaluation of the inevitable consequences of a modern thermo-nuclear war and not repeat the elements of past centuries or resort to bombastic phrases.

V. I. Lenin severely criticised and mercilessly ridiculed the "leftist" phrasemongers as people who are unable to reckon with the objective circumstances at a given turn of events, in a given state of affairs.

He wrote: "We must fight against the revolutionary phrase, we have to fight, yes, fight without fail, so that some day the bitter truth would not be said about us: 'The revolutionary phrase about a revolutionary war has ruined the revolution.'" (Works, Vol. 27, p. 10).

The international communist movement knows Lenin's definition of imperialism and is guided by it for decades. Lenin's definition of imperialism is profound and all-embracing, it contains neither overestimation nor underestimation of the forces of imperialism. This definition, just as the analysis of capitalism given by Marx, has long since instilled in the ranks of politically conscious working people the conviction that they are bound to triumph over the forces of capitalism and imperialism. What was the need of countering these definitions of Marx and Lenin with a different, home-spun, thesis on the "paper tiger", which is an underestimation of the forces of imperialism?

PAPER DEFINITIONS

To impose on the communist movement their definition of modern imperialism and to ignore its atomic fangs, some people claim that the "paper tiger" thesis is tantamount to Lenin's definition of imperialism as a "colossus with feet of clay." It is common knowledge, however, that the figurative expression does not cover or substitute the whole substance of V. I. Lenin's all-round definition of imperialism. Moreover, this expression stresses that imperialism is still strong (colossus), but it stands on an unstable basis (on feet of clay) and is rent by internal contradictions. The "paper tiger" definition of imperialism speaks only of its weakness. The main point, however, is that what we need are not paper definitions, stubbornly thrust upon us, but a genuine analysis of contemporary imperialism: disclosure of its vices, weaknesses and laws, leading to its ruin, and at the same time a sober assessment of its forces, including the huge atomic and other military potential.

The expression "paper tiger" actually leads to the demobilization of the masses, because it conditions them to the thought that the strength of imperialism is a myth and it must not be taken into account. Such phrases can sow only complacency among the peoples, and blunt their vigilance. Those who sow these phrases also say that it is necessary to despise the enemy from the strategic point of view, and approach it with all seriousness from the tactical point of view. But this "double entry" contradicts Marxism-Leninism.

From the Marxist viewpoint strategy and tactics are linked by profound community. Tactics are called upon to serve the purpose of achieving the strategic goal; strategy does not contradict tactics and is aimed at achieving more important historic goals. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to approach the enemy with a sober evaluation both of its historic prospects and actual forces today, and to work out the strategy and tactics on this basis. The international communist movement is well aware that imperialism is on the decline, that it has historically outlived itself, but it is also aware

What are the main results of the liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean area? The sovereignty and independence of socialist Cuba has been consolidated. The ruling quarters of the United States, who slighted Cuba, who prepared an aggression against her, declared for the first time through their President that they would not undertake an attack on Cuba. Of course, the struggle still continues and precisely for this reason the Soviet Union resolutely supports the well-known five demands of the Cuban Republic and renders her huge all-round assistance.

CUBA STRONGER

It is obvious to everyone that Cuba's position has become much stronger, that her international prestige has grown. The Cuban people, their militant leaders with Comrade Fidel Castro at the head, have displayed great courage, firmness and resolution to defend their social achievements and have contributed tremendously to the cause of safeguarding peace. The beacon of freedom in the Western hemisphere is burning still brighter. Is this a "Munich"? Is this a retreat? The authors of the term "second Munich" are obviously at odds with elementary history and know not what they are speaking about.

Life itself, the practical struggle of hundreds of millions of people, has confirmed that the policy of peaceful co-existence meets the vital interests of the peoples of all countries. It was proved that in conditions of peaceful co-existence favourable opportunities are created to promote the class struggle in capitalist countries, the national liberation movements, the democratic movements, the socialist revolutions. It is a fact that the biggest upsurge of the national liberation movement, the biggest strikes in the capitalist countries, took place in post-war years, i.e., in conditions of peaceful co-existence. It is also a fact that the numerical strength of the Communist Parties and their influence grew most in these years. In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggles contribute to the consolidation of peaceful co-existence. And this is understandable, because an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation weakens and narrows down imperialism's positions.

When Marxists-Leninists speak of the possibility of preventing a world war, they do not forget for a single moment that the substance of imperialism, its aggressive nature, has not changed. This is taken into account by our Party in all its policy. At the same time it reckons with the changes in the world arena, which have brought about a situation when imperialism can no longer dictate its will to everybody and pursue its aggressive policy unimpeded. The correlation of forces in the world now is such that the camp of socialism and peace is able to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism.

Of course, one cannot guarantee against "madmen" appearing in the camp of imperialism, who may plunge headlong into a war venture. This is why a high level of vigilance is necessary, a strong economy, and good armaments, so as to be ready to administer a crushing rebuff to an aggressor at any moment. By defying imperialism from the strategic viewpoint it is impossible to tame its predatory nature or stop a war if it is started. A modern war cannot be approached with old yardsticks. A world war, if we fail to prevent it, will immediately become a thermo-nuclear conflict, will lead to the death of millions upon millions of people, to the destruction of tremendous material values, to the devastation of whole countries. Those who do not think of the consequences of a modern war, who underestimate or simply discount nuclear arms as something secondary to manpower, are making a big mistake.

Can there be any doubt that if the socialist camp had not had mighty weapons, and, above all, nuclear-missile arms, its position in the modern world would have been absolutely different? What would the security of socialism be based upon in that case? Not on some magic incantations, surely. Is it not clear that even those who now revile the Soviet Union so

that it has atomic fangs, to which it may resort. A nuclear war would lead to the annihilation of hundreds of millions of people, to a vast destruction of productive forces. This would complicate exceedingly the building of a new society on the ruins left after a world nuclear conflict. The communists must not keep silent about this, but must tell the masses frankly and openly about this threat. This contributes to the rousing of the peoples to struggle against imperialism, for a lasting world peace.

The communist movement holds that if the imperialists unleash a war, this will signify the final end of the rotten capitalist system. But the socialist revolution has no need of paving its way with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Is it possible or not to prevent a world war? Is it possible or not to consolidate peace? Is it possible or not to carry out a programme of general and complete disarmament, to implement the ideals of the popular masses and create a just society, a "world without arms, without armies, without wars"? These are questions of cardinal importance.

Those who say that to advance slogans in defence of peace means to sow "illusions", come out against the positions of the international communist movement, demobilize the masses, tell them, so-to-say, that the efforts to prevent a world war are doomed to failure, and thereby help the forces of war. The true revolutionary optimism of communists is manifested by the fact that they are confident that a world war can be averted, that the aggressive forces can be curbed, and urge the broad masses to active steps against the warmongers, by the fact that they believe that all revolutionary processes develop and can make further progress in conditions of peaceful co-existence and that socialism can triumph throughout the world without a devastating nuclear war.

This is optimism of the revolutionary fighters; the opposite view is nothing but a philosophy of suicide. The struggle for peace, for the prevention of a destruction thermonuclear war, meets the vital interests of the working class, peasantry, all the working people, the absolute majority of mankind.

The communists consider it their duty, to quote Marx, to "see to it that the simple laws of morality and justice, by which individuals should guide themselves in their relations, become the supreme laws in the relations among nations too". (Works, Vol. 16, P. 11).

The banner of peace gives the communists an opportunity to rally around themselves the broadest popular masses, to create a mass political army of which the bourgeoisie and its parties could not even dream. The communists are called upon to go on carrying aloft this banner.

Marxists-Leninists have held and hold that the destinies of mankind are determined by the popular masses. This is why they do not elevate the might of arms, including nuclear weapons, to the absolute. But one must not artificially counterpoise the might of the masses to the might of arms. To safeguard peace, to prevent a world war, we must bring all the forces into play: the struggle of the popular masses, the defensive power of the socialist camp, the correct foreign policy of the socialist countries, which must be firm, principled, and must at the same time take into account the correlation of forces, must be flexible, and not rule out—depending on conditions—the method of "spear against spear" or the method of talks. To be keen on one of these methods and to reject the other one arrogantly is an insensible, un-Leninist policy.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "It would be absurd to formulate a recipe or general rule ('no compromise!') to serve all cases. One must use one's own brains and be able to find one's bearings in each separate case. That, in fact, is one of the functions of a party organization and of Party leaders worthy of the title, viz., through the prolonged, persistent, variegated and comprehensive efforts of all

thinking representatives of the given class, to evolve the knowledge, the experience and—in addition to knowledge and experience—the political instinct necessary for the speedy and correct solution of intricate political problems" (Works, Vol. 31, P. 50).

Only the combination of all forces, all methods and forms of struggle for peace offers the opportunity to prevent a new war. And this is a task of primary importance. After all, the ultimate goal of the working class is not to die "spectacularly", but to build up a happy life for all mankind.

As long as the military danger from the imperialist camp persists, as long as there is no general and complete disarmament, the CPSU deems it its sacred duty to keep up the defensive might of the Soviet Union, the combat readiness of its armed forces at a level guaranteeing the complete rout of any enemy. Mankind knows what great military might is wielded by the Soviet Union and this steadily growing force is wholly placed at the service of the cause of peace.

If a war is imposed on us, the Soviet Union will be able to stand for itself and for its allies. No one can have any doubts on this score. But we, communists, genuine humanists, are called upon by history to create the justest society and this is why we must do all we can to ensure the peoples peace and favourable conditions for their struggle for a bright future, for communism.

FORMS OF TRANSITION

The CPSU holds that true happiness can be achieved by the peoples only on the lines of socialism and communism. The CPSU, as the entire international communist movement, holds that for the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Parties—it would be desirable to carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means. At the same time the CPSU always stresses that in conditions when the exploiting classes resort to violence, it is necessary to bear in mind the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism, the need of an armed struggle. In the report at the 22nd CPSU Congress Comrade N. S. Khrushchov said:

"The possibility is not to be ruled out that the monopoly bourgeoisie may fall back on the most extreme and sanguinary means of retaining its domination. In these circumstances Lenin's words are more significant today than ever before. The working class, he said, must 'gain mastery of all forms or aspects of social activity without exception', and must be prepared for a 'most rapid and sudden replacement of one form by another'."

Those who, like the Albanian dogmatists, declare that the CPSU allegedly "elevates the peaceful way of taking power by the working class to the absolute", "orientates only towards it", simply stubbornly disseminate untruth contrary to facts. Rejecting, in fact, the possibility of a working class takeover by peaceful means, the dogmatists do not see actual life, do not see the growing might and organization of the working-class movement, the growing attraction of the popular masses to socialism, negate the growing influence of the socialist system on the world revolutionary process. But this means, that far from advancing the cause of the world revolution, they are actually throttling it.

In their opposition to the thesis of variety of forms of transition to socialism, the dogmatists usually invoke the following argument: "Up to our days, history has not yet known a single instance of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism". But had Marx and Engels proceeded from such "argumentation", they could not have drawn the conclusion concerning the inevitability of the victory of socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it did not then exist as yet anywhere in the world. The force of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in its ability to make a profound analysis of the key features of an epoch, and to draw from this analysis conclusions lighting the way for the revolutionary forces for decades to come.

The dogmatists seek to orient the fraternal Parties in all circumstances, under all conditions, towards armed struggle for power only. These views deviate from Leninism. Criticising the "left communists", Lenin wrote in the article *Strange and Monstrous*: "Maybe, the authors believe that the interests of the world revolution require that it should be jogged, and that it can be jogged only by war—and in no case by peace, which might give the masses the impression that imperialism was being 'legalized'?"

"Such a 'theory' would be completely at variance with Marxism, which has always been opposed to 'jogging' revolutions, which develop as the acuteness of the class antagonisms that endanger revolutions ripen. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle which is obligatory always and under all conditions". (Works, Vol. 27, P. 49).

Of course, revolutionary theory can provide only orientation, and it is up to the proletariat of each country itself, and, above all, it is up to its communist vanguard, to determine the forms and methods of struggle to be chosen by the proletariat of the given country in the specific historical conditions. To believe that a recipe for a socialist revolution can be invented to suit all times and all countries, and to thrust it upon the fraternal Parties operating in the specific conditions of their countries, is to do a harmful thing, to display haughtiness alien to communists, to set oneself as a teacher of all Communist Parties, and a teacher divorced from life at that, and therefore incapable of offering anything but dogmatic formulas.

The Soviet Union does its best to promote the development of revolutions of national liberation, to achieve the earliest abolition of the disgraceful colonial system. It has invariably extended, as it does now, a helping hand to all the peoples rising against imperialism and colonialism. The Programme of the CPSU says that the Party and the entire Soviet people "regard it as their duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples, their just wars of liberation against imperialism". And this is real, not just verbal, support. The USSR is rendering considerable political, diplomatic and economic assistance, including aid in arms, to states which ask for support in the struggle against imperialists and colonialists, in the struggle to consolidate their independence.

IMPORTANT LINK

The young national states as a rule come out for peace, and form an important link of the zone of peace. It is of utmost importance to extend this zone of peace, to strengthen the militant alliance of the socialist and the newly independent states, to solve patiently—through negotiations—the arising disputes, and to prevent all actions that would undermine the positions of the progressive forces in these states and weaken the friendship between the newly-free states and the countries of socialism. It would be extremely harmful to try to fit revolutionary processes in this extremely varied world into ready moulds, as the dogmatists are trying to do.

What is the conclusion that imposes from the consideration of all these questions? It is obvious: the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics worked out collectively by the fraternal Parties at their meetings in 1957 and 1960 are the only correct strategy and tactics.

Consistent implementation of this strategy and tactics guarantees to the communists, to all revolutionary forces, decisive victories in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, in the struggle for socialism. At the same time it means that the struggle against all attempts to blunt, to weaken the weapons of the communists of the world is now becoming a most important condition of the further successes of our revolutionary cause.

The struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the cohesion of the ranks of the international communist movement, is the internationalist duty of each Communist

Party. The Statement of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that revisionism is the chief danger in the world communist movement. At the same time, the Statement stressed that "dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and in practice, unless steadfastly combated, can also become the chief danger at particular stages in the development of individual Parties". This is a correct and far-sighted conclusion.

The CPSU steadfastly fought, as it does now, both against revisionism, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. But some people lay one-sided emphasis on struggle against revisionism only, and moreover at times decry creative Marxism-Leninism as "revisionism", introducing obvious confusion into the communist movement. Marxists-Leninists are bound in duty to analyse the specific situation and see who, at each specific moment, retards the advance of the common revolutionary cause. Approaching the matter from this, the only correct position, one cannot fail to acknowledge the dogmatic approach to the solution of the key problems of the communist movement as a source of the gravest mistakes.

The disease of left sectarianism is fed by nationalism and it, in turn, feeds nationalism. As shown by experience, it becomes particularly intolerable when it manifests itself in the activities of a Party in power. It becomes especially dangerous also because it is directed against the line of the communist movement on such vital questions as questions of war and peace, which bear upon the destinies of all mankind.

This is why left-wing opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism are increasingly emerging as a grave danger in the world communist movement. The fraternal Parties have amassed a wealth of experience of combating revisionism, which, by the way, is easier to discern. Left-wing opportunism, on the other hand, is more difficult to expose because it hides its capitulatory essence behind "ultra-revolutionary" phraseology, playing on the feelings of the masses. In these conditions, there can be only one correct line for the communists: resolute struggle against both right-wing and left-wing opportunism, against both revisionism and dogmatism and sectarianism, implacable struggle against any distortion of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, considers its internationalist duty to abide scrupulously by the propositions of the documents of the Moscow meetings, and build its relations in accordance with the principles established therein. This is why the communists cannot but feel gravely concerned over the thesis launched recently that there is a "temporary majority" in the international communist movement which "persists in its mistakes", and a "temporary minority" which "boldly and resolutely upholds the truth". To insist on this thesis would in effect mean to lead matters to fragmentation of the international communist movement, to undermine the ideological and organizational principles on which it is built, and which provided the foundation for the history-making victories of socialism. This thesis only serves to justify a split of the communist movement and renunciation of the common positions of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

This contention is especially harmful in that it is associated with an incredible pretension to proclaim one Party the true heir of Lenin, and all other Parties to be apostates from Marxism-Leninism. To proclaim to the whole world that a situation has now developed in the international communist movement similar to that in the period of the Second International, on the eve of its split, and similar to that in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in December 1914, when its leadership stood on positions of chauvinism, means in effect to say to the entire international communist movement that it has sunk in the morass of opportunism and Social Democratic revisionism, and to set oneself up as the only Party which stands on correct Marxist-Leninist positions. Who has the right to put himself

in the place of the great Lenin who had upheld the principles of revolutionary Marxism and raised high the banner of struggle against opportunism?

UNWARRANTED PRETENSIONS

There is no doubt that the Communist Parties will reject these inordinate pretensions of people to put themselves in the place of V. I. Lenin, to proclaim themselves to be the sole guardians of the "truth". These pretensions are not only basically wrong, but absolutely unwarranted. Who does not realize that an attempt to draw an analogy with Lenin's struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, and thereby to justify any splitting activities among the communists, is completely out of keeping with the historical realities and the real state of affairs in the international communist movement, which is advancing steadily along the revolutionary, Leninist road. It also bespeaks of incredible arrogance, a complete absence of any sense of respect or desire to heed the unanimous view and the appeals of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal Parties, each of which has done great services to the international proletariat, and has great revolutionary experience.

V. I. Lenin regarded the creative activities of the fraternal Parties with great respect, understanding full well their difficulties and the grim conditions in which they fought against the yoke of the capital. And when he needed to form a picture of the situation in this or that country he first of all carefully studied and attentively regarded the opinion and conclusions of the Communist Party of the country concerned. The CPSU, the Soviet communists, firmly abide by this method of Lenin. Those who criticise the Communist Parties which for decades have fought courageously against imperialism, who criticise their leaders who have deservedly won the profound respect of all the revolutionaries of the world, act in anything but Lenin's way. Was it in Lenin's way, for instance, that foreign guests acted recently at the congress of a big fraternal Party when they used its platform to accuse that Party of opportunism and of betraying the interests of the people of their country?

In the opinion of the Albanian "theoreticians" only "cliques of revisionists" have now remained in the world communist movement. In vain they appeal to the "rank and file communists" now of this, now of that Communist Party, urging them to "overthrow" these "cliques". And there are people who offer their services for distributing such writings throughout the world.

The methods used by the Albanian leaders and by those who support them in the struggle against the international communist movement are methods alien to Leninism. They in essence consist in misrepresenting, distorting and falsifying the views of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, in ascribing to them positions which they have never held, as, for instance, allegations that in their opinion the peoples of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not fight for their liberation and the peoples of the whole world should not fight against imperialism, etc. It must be said that since the time of Trotskyism no other opportunist trend has ever resorted to such a monstrous method which completely distorts truth, and misleads the people of its country and world public opinion. Is it worthy of a communist to allege that the glorious fraternal Parties of France, the United States, Italy, Spain, Britain, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Iraq, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and many other countries, which are in the fire of class battles and wage every day truly heroic battles against capitalism, for which they are subjected to persecutions and reprisals by the police machine of the imperialist states, keep aloof from the struggle of popular masses and support imperialism? But this is profanation of selfless fighters! In fact this is aid to the enemy against whom the communists are fighting!

The Albanian leaders and those who sup-

port them try to cover up their subversive actions against the positions of the international communist movement with the cry about the defence of the Declaration and the Statement. But actually, as it is evident to everyone, they have departed from the letter and spirit of these programmatic Marxist-Leninist documents.

Take such a most important question as the unity of the communist movement. The Statement declares: "The interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class call for ever closer rallying of the ranks of every Communist Party and the great army of the communists of all countries, the unity of their will and actions. Concern for constant strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement is the supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party."

Is there anything in common between this Marxist-Leninist provisions and the thesis about "provisional majority" and "the minority defending truth"? Absolutely nothing. This thesis, unworthy of communists, means an unceremonious attack on the unity of the communist movement, it means banking on disunity in the ranks of our movement, on splitting it. The authors of this anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist thesis, are trying to assure everybody, contrary to facts, that they are defending the Declaration and the Statement!

As it was shown by the results of an objective analysis, the dogmatists grossly trample upon the conclusions of the Declaration and the Statement also on such cardinal questions as the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, the forms of transition to socialism, the principles of mutual relations between the fraternal Parties. And no matter how the Albanian leaders and those who back them may try to pose as supporters of the documents of the Moscow meetings, the facts and their deeds show that on all the most important questions they are following a line which is directed against the agreed positions of the international communist movement—the Declaration of 1957, the Statement of 1960, against the Peace Manifesto and the Message to the Peoples of the World.

Entirely wrong and extremely damaging to the interests of the communist movement is the pretension of a single Communist Party to lay claim to infallibility and to ignore at the same time the opinion of other Communist Parties. This is impermissible in assessing the situation in some particular country where another fraternal Party is working and fighting. It is all the more impermissible in respect of most important questions which concern not only one Party or the Parties of several countries, but all the Communist Parties of the world, the general question of the struggle of the world working class and communist movement against the forces of international reaction, imperialism and war.

The positions of the communist movement of the whole world on these questions are set forth in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. Every Communist Party must fully take into consideration and stand by this unanimous opinion of the world communist movement. There is no other way.

V. I. Lenin was in favour of recognising international proletarian discipline. He wrote: We take pride in the fact that we solve the great questions of the workers' struggle for their liberation, obeying international discipline of revolutionary proletariat, taking into consideration the experience of the workers of the different countries, taking into account their knowledge and their will, thus realising in practice (and not in oratory as the Renner, Fritz Adlers and Otto Bauers did) the unity of the class struggle of the workers for communism throughout the world" (Works, Vol. 31, p. 244). V. I. Lenin taught that every politically conscious worker must feel himself a member of the international family of Marxists and must not for one minute dissociate himself from the international army of workers.

The Communist Parties do not have rules common for all, but they have the decisions of the Moscow meetings, which are common

and compulsory to all of them. Devotion to these decisions is an internationalist duty of every Communist Party. Not to carry out in the present conditions the collectively drafted decisions of the Moscow meetings would mean to disrupt the unity of the communist movement, to withdraw each to its own "national flat," would mean, in the final analysis, to help imperialism in carrying out its plans, to put a brake on the liberation struggle of the peoples.

UNITY, NOT DIVISION

What the communists need is not division into "majority" and "minority," but unity, unity and once more unity. The supreme law of the communist movement, its important distinctive feature from reformists of all hues, is to safeguard sacredly its cohesion and unity.

"Unity," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is needed by the working class. Unity is effected only through a single organization whose decisions are carried out scrupulously by all the politically conscious workers. To discuss a question, pronounce and hear various views, to find out the view of the majority of organized Marxists, to express this view in a proxy decision, to conscientiously carry out this decision—that is, what unity means all over the world, among all sensible people. And such unity is endlessly dear, endlessly important for the working class. Disunited workers are nothing. United workers are everything." (Works, Vol. 19, p. 470).

These words of Lenin should never be forgotten.

In the period of the Second International, the world bourgeoisie acclaimed the treason of the Social Democratic leaders and proclaimed war on Lenin and Leninism. And today the world bourgeoisie fights against the Communist Parties with no less fury than it fought in its time against Lenin and the Bolsheviks, for it justly sees in the Communist Parties its principal adversaries, the staunchest fighters for the interests of the people, for the liquidation of capitalism and of the exploitation of the popular masses. To describe a great army which daily wages a real, truly heroic struggle against imperialism, for the happiness and freedom of the peoples, for the victory of socialism, as a "temporary majority" which "persists in its mistakes" and, like the leaders of the Second International, allegedly follows the way of revisionism, means to strike a blow at the main force of the revolution, to hamper the victory of the cause of the revolution.

The entire progressive mankind is now deeply aware that the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the international communist, working class, and national-liberation movements are waging a great historical battle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The policy-makers and ideologists of imperialism see their principal adversary primarily in the Soviet Union, in the socialist camp, in the Communist Parties and the forces supporting them. The entire vast machine of imperialism directs its main blows against communism, against the ideas emanating from the countries which are victoriously building socialism and communism, against their policy.

One cannot fail to see that the imperialists seek to gain an advantage for themselves from the differences which have appeared among the communists. They openly say that this is "to the advantage of the West" and "hampers communist successes". It is highly indicative that calls are simultaneously made for the "strengthening of the free world," "consolidation of the Western alliance" etc. To these attempts by the leaders of the imperialist camp to weaken the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and thereby strengthen the positions of reaction and aggression, the international communist movement must reply by further consolidating and strengthening the unity of its ranks.

The communist movement is faced with extremely complex and responsible tasks. The

vital interests of the masses of the people, the development of successful struggle against imperialism, for the abolition of the disgraceful system of exploitation and national oppression, for the triumph of socialism and communism, insistently require the consolidation of the international alliance of the Communist Parties, its solid, indestructible unity.

History will not forgive any leaders who, in this crucial historical period, fail to recognize the main thing which is required of him—to strengthen persistently in every way the unity of the Communist Parties—and acts contrary to the vital interests of the peoples. The existing differences between the world communist movement and the Albanian leaders and their supporters cannot be allowed to obscure from the communists of the world the tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The differences between individual Communist Parties on this or that matter do not have deep roots in the social system of the socialist countries. Whereas in the conditions of capitalism the contradictions have an objective foundation, and are, therefore, antagonistic in nature, the differences between Communist Parties are primarily subjective. Consequently, there are all conditions for successfully overcoming these differences. One must proceed from the higher aims and interests of the international communist movement, and seek ways of drawing closer together, ways of co-operation and unity. If one does not persist in one's special position, if one guides oneself by Marxism-Leninism, proceeds from the higher interests common to all, and finds "the strength of mind" to march in step with the entire movement, then the cause of international cohesion of the communist movement will be ensured.

In the interests of cohesion and unity of the ranks of the international communist movement, the 1960 meeting, defined the principles of mutual relations between the Parties by which they are called upon to be guided in their activities. These principles have two inter-connected aspects: the consideration of all questions on the basis of equality, through meetings; at the same time it was emphasized that "resolute defence of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, prevention of any actions that could undermine this unity, constitute an indispensable condition of victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for a successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, of the construction of socialism and communism." It is impermissible to separate from one another these closely inter-connected laws of our movement. Divergent activities must not be tolerated in the ranks of the international communist movement. Disregard of this demand is tantamount to undermining the very foundations of the fraternal unity of the Communist Parties, to encroaching on the very principle of proletarian internationalism. It may lead first to the appearance of a "minority" trend and then to the emergence of the danger of a split in the international communist movement, to the joy of its common enemy—international imperialism.

POSITION ON YUGOSLAVIA

The course of the CPSU defined by its 20th and 22nd Congresses is a course aimed at rallying all forces of socialism, of consolidating the unity of all fraternal Parties, of rallying all forces of the anti-imperialist front. This course underlies our position in the development of our relations with socialist Yugoslavia.

The steps taken recently by the Yugoslav communists and their leaders in their home and foreign policy have removed much of what was erroneous and damaging to the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav communists took steps towards rapprochement and unity with the whole world communist movement. Those who allege that "capitalism has been restored" in

Yugoslavia, that "new bourgeois elements" have occupied a dominating position there, lie deliberately, refuse to analyse facts and phenomena, and substitute them with fabrications and try to expel the people of a whole country from the ranks of the fighters for socialism.

The CPSU declares openly that there still exist differences with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a number of ideological questions. But the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the country building communism can, doubtlessly, help in overcoming the differences on a number of ideological questions much quicker. Is the consolidation of the forces of socialism in the interests of the communist movement? Doubtlessly, it is. What the CPSU strives for is the rallying, not division of the countries of socialism, of all Communist Parties.

There are no "superior" and "lower" Parties in the communist movement. The Communist Parties are fraternal Parties. They have one and the same ideology—Marxism-Leninism, one and the same aim—struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of communism. All Communist Parties are equal and independent. All are responsible for the destinies of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks. Our Party was the first to put forward these propositions. The CPSU, at its own initiative, proposed that the Statement and other documents of the communist movement should not say that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp, and the CPSU at the head of the communist movement. This is but one of the indications of how scrupulously the CPSU observes the principles of equality and solidarity of the fraternal Parties, how boundlessly loyal it is to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism has become the lifeblood of our party, and the peoples of all countries see this daily on numerous examples.

The Party of Lenin, which was the first to blaze the road to socialism, which is now scaling, the first, the heights of communism, which is rendering all-round fraternal assistance to the builders of socialism in other countries, to national liberation fighters, which is tirelessly rallying the communist movement, which has raised high the banner of struggle for peace, for saving mankind from the horrors of thermo-nuclear war, is fulfilling its internationalist duty with honour by all these and other actions. And those who, against facts, seek to discredit the internationalism of the CPSU, and its great contribution to the world movement for liberation, are damaging the liberatory struggle of all peoples.

The Communist Parties have a tested method of settling contentious issues by way of collective discussion. Our Party has always advocated this method. The CPSU is deeply convinced that collective discussion of the most important questions of modern world development makes it possible to ensure the cohesion of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to fight tirelessly for the unity of the great socialist community of nations, against all divisive actions, for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Moscow, January 7, 1963

(All cross-heads by New Age)

Shillong, Dec. 30.

More and more reports of people in various ways fraternising with the Jawans have been pouring in from different districts of Assam.

TAKEN separately, these efforts may not seem very impressive. But judged in the context of the people's eagerness to "do their little bit" for the defence of the country and considering the continuing phenomenon of this fraternisation with the Jawans, one must appreciate the feelings behind these efforts on the part of the local people—in many cases simple peasant folk of rural areas.

Five thousand inhabitants of the villages under the Jariguri Gaon Panchayat in Dibrugarh sub-division of Lakhimpur district decided to forego one meal every day and to contribute the savings thus made to the National Defence Fund. Earlier they had donated a sum of Rs. 60, to the NDF which was raised through small contributions.

The people of Matjung village of the same subdivision and the Baragan Defence Committee of Makum entertained the Jawans with 20 thousand fresh oranges. The Kharia Gaon Panchayat of Tinsukia also presented to the Jawans 1500 fresh oranges. In terms of money these gifts may not seem to be very much, but who can shut eyes to the feelings behind these gifts?

Language No Barrier

There are stories of villagers giving generous help to the young people of urban areas who have opened free canteens for Jawans at different places. Villagers offer various articles for distribution to the Jawans.

These fraternal feelings of the people who often do not even understand the language of the Jawans coming from different parts of India leave an indelible impression upon the minds of the Jawans and provide them with a source of inspiration. The Defence Minister, Chavan who accompanied the Prime Minister during the latter's visit to Assam is reported to have expressed his high appreciation

of the "commendable work done by the cadets of Assam wing of NCC during the recent crisis." The Defence Minister felt deeply impressed, particularly by the service rendered by the NCC cadets and the youth of Assam during the evacuation of Tezpur and later on by the work done by them in the evacuee camps. More or less the same feeling has been expressed by almost every one who has visited the State during the crisis.

ACC & NCC To Be Expanded

With a view to harnessing the enthusiasm of the young people of Assam, the NCC and ACC are to be expanded in a big way in the State. Various aspects of the expansion scheme were recently discussed at a meeting between the Director General of NCC and the State Chief Minister, other Ministers and the Heads of some of the educational institutions of Assam. It has been decided to raise 50 Junior Divisions and one hundred ACC platoons. Attempt will be made to reach these targets before long. Besides, 63 NCC Rifles Companies, including seven for girls, will also be raised.

It has further been decided to employ NCC officers on a permanent and full-time basis. These officers will be given intensive training so that they may impart training to the ever-increasing number of cadets. These steps are designed to overcome the present shortage of instructors. Arrangement will also be made to procure more rifles for the purpose of training the NCC cadets.

For the purpose of expansion of the NCC and ACC the State Budget on this head will go up by about Rs. 3.31 lakhs during the current financial year and in the next financial year allocation to this head is expected to rise up to Rs. 21 lakhs in place of the present allocation of Rs. 13 lakhs. In view of the growing importance of the NCC work in Assam zone, the Circle Comman-

Communists' Courageous Fight Against Odds

* From Aravinda Ghosh

IN face of heavy odds and difficulties created by large-scale arrests of Party leaders and workers throughout the State of Assam, the State Council of the Communist Party is leaving no stone unturned to rouse the masses for the successful implementation of the National Council resolution on Chinese aggression.

It is really encouraging to see that having been thoroughly convinced by the spirit of the resolution, the Communists of Assam are not lagging behind other patriotic elements to translate it into action. It seems that no amount of provocation and arrests can stop Communists from discharging their patriotic duty.

In spite of representations and to the surprise of many in the State, not a single Communist prisoner has been released so far. And no information is available as yet whether the review of the

Assam

PEASANTS PRATERNEISE WITH JAWANS

* From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

der has been redesignated as Director of NCC whose rank will be equivalent to that of a Colonel.

Together with these preparations, emphasis is also being placed on augmenting agricultural production in the State. For the present steps are being taken to step up production of vegetables of various types. Several lakh packets of vegetable seeds have already been distributed by the State Agriculture department among the village people for the purpose. The rural people have evinced keen interest in utilising these seeds to their best.

Certain steps have also been taken to organise distribution of the vegetable produced by the village people to the Army. Some depots are being opened for the purpose. The Army authorities will procure their requirements from these Depots at prices fixed by the State Agriculture department which ensures that the interests of the producers as also that of the Army will be kept in view.

These are but a few instances of the calm determination of the people of Assam and of the State Government to strengthen National Defence in every possible way.

Reports reaching here from various sources indicate that the invading Chinese have been pulling out from various places of NEFA. Till the time of writing, according to available reports, they have withdrawn from all places except Tawang in Kameng division and Kibito in Lohit division.

Evacuees from NEFA who had taken shelter in various camps in Assam have been going back to areas from where the Chinese have withdrawn. It is learnt that almost all the evacuees from other divisions than Kameng have by now gone back.

portant tasks. The circular said, inter alia, "that every comrade should remember that in spite of everything, the Party's policy must be carried forward. The patriotism for our motherland, saving our country's neutrality and independence is the most revolutionary task at the moment."

"If any Communist—under whatever pretext or under whatever cover of revolutionary phrase-mongering he may be doing so—fails to carry out the Party's patriotic and correct line, he will have no right to be in the Party, let alone in the leadership."

The State Council of the Party is faced with enormous difficulties with regard to the efficient functioning of both its state and district organisations where almost all important and active mass leaders have been detained. However, the few comrades who are outside jails are endeavouring with the help of the State Council leadership to reorganise their respective District Committees in order to carry forward the directives of the Party.

Reports of District Committees enthusiastically carrying out the directives of the State Council are reaching at provincial centres every day.

Among those from Kameng division all have not gone back, though quite a sizable section has returned. It is also presumed that all those who left their hearth and home in Kameng division may not go back and some of them may eventually settle in Assam. About 1500 of them have recently been accommodated in Mikir Hills where they are likely to be resettled if they finally decide to stay back. Perhaps the climatic condition after the winter will be a big factor in their final choice.

The civil administration of NEFA is faced with a number of problems, according to reports available here. The main problem is that of rehabilitation of the evacuees who have returned. Houses may have been damaged in some cases and those damaged houses will have to be rebuilt. But it is believed here that this by itself will not prove to be a very big problem, though it is, no doubt, to be attended to.

Problem Of Food Supply

By far, the biggest problem is of supply of essential food stuffs. It is believed that food from outside will have to be supplied for a considerable time.

The paddy crop that the tribals had sown before the Chinese invasion began, it had been much damaged, it is said, during the absence of the people. In some cases, provisions left behind at the time of evacuation have been taken away by the Chinese, it is said. Some provisions have been lost or damaged in other ways also.

Moreover, salt which is considered a very precious commodity by the tribals of these areas is said to be running short. Notwithstanding transport difficulty, the administration has been trying to expedite supply of salt to those areas.

In addition to these problems, there are said to be some political problems also faced by the administration in the areas. One of these is said to be ascertaining if any enemy spy had been left behind there, planted among the local population. It is admitted on all hands that this job has to be done with extreme caution so that no unnecessary witch-hunt may develop, while at the same time, it has also to be ensured that no enemy spy remains there. The administration claims that it is conscious of the delicate nature of this task.

There is also the current con-

trovery about the administrative pattern of NEFA. There are some who maintain that if NEFA administration had been an integral part of Assam administration, much of the unfortunate things that happened and that are said to have contributed to our reverses there might not have happened. There seem to be some weighty arguments in support of this view.

It is recognised that the existence of a political leadership at the helm of the administration can forestall developments which the bureaucracy, for all its sincerity, may not be able to tackle effectively. Certain happenings in Nagaland are cited to support this view.

Though opposition to eventual integration of NEFA with Assam cannot be said to be very strong, there is an opinion that immediate integration of NEFA with Assam, administratively, should not be attempted. The supporters of this view maintain that Assam is herself beset with far too many problems. Hence, the administration of this state may find it rather difficult to give due attention to some of the very delicate problems, much different from the usual problems of Assam, of NEFA tribes. Consequently, they fear, there will be some ups and downs. They also agree that eventually NEFA has to become an integral part of Assam administration.

The Prime Minister himself during his last visit to Assam indicated that the 'philosophy' of NEFA may have no undergo certain changes.

Need For Reorientation

Whether as a part of the administration of Assam or under a separate set up, it is admitted on all hands that the administrative policies of NEFA will require some re-orientation. It is, however, pointed out that though a near normal condition has been gradually returning to NEFA, yet it will be too early immediately to work out any basic change in its civil administration. The major task there at the moment, it is pointed out, has to be fixed from the point of view of defence for quite some time. It is only after the aggressor has been effectively dealt with that attention may be turned to the administrative changes and the recent experience, though quite costly, may stand in good stead in working out the pattern of administration for NEFA.

PUNJAB— A Contradiction

NEWS recently appeared in a section of the Press about the Punjab unit of the Communist Party organising some so-called Nehru Brigades. Contradicting this report the State Secretary of the Party says in a statement issued in Jullundur on January 5 that it has neither taken any such decision nor is it in favour of any move of this type. The statement says: The Party supports Pandit Nehru in his policies of national unity for national defence, and of non-alignment and building up the economic and defence potential of the country. It is the responsibility of the Government, of the parties and elements that agree with these policies to defend them and we have offered our cooperation in this task. Under these conditions no question arises of our organising any such brigades and the news that has appeared in some Delhi papers is totally unfounded.

WEST

WEST BENGAL

★ From Ajoy Das Gupta

VIVEKANANDA
MUKHERJEE
QUITSWorkers' Initiative In
Jalpaiguri Dist.

CALCUTTA, January 6:

Today a small news item appeared in a newspaper in Calcutta that high Government Officials consider as exaggerated the reports appearing in a section of the Press that the North Bengal districts are infested with Chinese agents.

THE same source said that the morale of the people in that part of the State bordering Nepal is quite high.

In fact those inspired reports of activities of Chinese agents were a part of the smear campaign against the Communist Party. Those reports alleged that the Communists were asking the people to accept the Chinese troops as "Liberation Army," extorting money saying that receipts given would entitle the donors to favoured treatment when the Chinese came and all sorts of such fables were printed day in and day out.

That these reports have no basis in facts will be clear from the reports from those districts. I give below a brief report of Jalpaiguri District.

From the very day the Chinese forces launched their massive attack, i.e., October 20, 1962, Communists in the District became active against aggression in their respective sphere of work. Communist Party Commissioners are in a majority in the Jalpaiguri Municipality and at their initiative a resolution condemning Chinese aggression was adopted at the meeting of the Commissioners held on October 31. Chairman's Fund for collection of money for National Defence was opened. The Municipality issued leaflets and posters calling on people to donate generously to the Fund. Congress and Communist Commissioners jointly moved from house to house and collected donation to the Defence Fund. After the issuance of the State Ordinance prohibiting collection by unauthorised persons, the collection stopped.

Communists Not
Invited

When an all-party meeting was convened in the Jalpaiguri Town on November 1, to condemn Chinese aggression, the Communist Party was excluded, though it already expressed its desire to participate in the meeting and other activities related to national defence.

The Town Party Committee requested the District Congress Secretary to accept the cooperation of the Party in the meeting and declared its readiness to work for "resolute defence against Chinese aggression" and to "respond to the call of Prime Minister to strengthen defence of Motherland and unity of the people". But the District Congress Committee declined to associate the Communist Party in the meeting or to accept any co-operation.

Joint action not being possible, the Party moved in its own way and issued two thousand posters calling upon the people to unite for the defence of our motherland and to contribute liberally to the defence fund. All party members in the District actively participated in the poster campaign. More than three thousand copies of National Council Resolution were distributed throughout the District through local units of the party.

Alipurdwar Unit of the party published leaflets of their own and distributed them widely in the rural areas.

Management Decline
To Cooperate

A programme of work among Tea-garden workers was taken up on October 29 and meetings were held to enthuse the workers for contribution to the National Defence Fund and to resist aggression. District Council Secretary of the Party met the Deputy Commissioner on Nov. 6 and requested him to call a tripartite meeting to facilitate collection to National Defence Fund from among the workers.

This initiative resulted in managements in most of the Gardens agreeing to make collection from workers' wage. But European managements of certain Gardens, declined to make such deductions. In these places also the Communist workers and the Zila Chabagan Workers' Union (AITUC) succeeded in collecting good amount from the workers.

The activities among students at Jalpaiguri has already been reported. Other sections of people were also approached and moved by Communist workers. But the Government has resorted to large scale arrests—nearly 50—in the District. Those arrested include important members of the Party, trade unions and the Kisan Sabha as well as educationists and people from other walks of life, people who were actively engaged in work mobilising the people for National Defence.

While Jalpaiguri Communists were mobilising the people there, a significant meeting was held at Kakdwip, on December 31, 1962—the Martyrs' day. The meeting was presided over by Kangsari Haldar, the beloved leader of the Kakdwip Kisans. A group of Congressmen came to the

meeting with Congress flag.

Biswanath Mukherjee, member of the Provincial Secretariat of the Party and President of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, delivering the main speech, said that if the country was saved from aggression then the fight for land, and proper share of the produce would also be saved. He called upon the Kakdwip Kisans, who have a heroic heritage, to rise to the occasion and to strengthen the measures for National Defence.

From among the Congressmen present at the meeting some questions were asked and Biswanath Mukherjee in replying to those called for close unity among Communists and Congressmen to defend the motherland and the basic progressive policies of Prime Minister Nehru. This rousing call generated enthusiasm among all peasants.

At the outset wreaths were laid in memory of Kakdwip martyrs and Jawans who laid down their lives in defence of the country.

Kangsari Haldar thanked the Congressmen for their dignified and disciplined behaviour at the meeting. Naren Guha and Debu Sinha also spoke at the meeting.

A cryptic notice appeared in Jugantar, the Bengali daily owned by the family of West Bengal Industries Minister Tarun Kanti Ghosh, of December 27, 1962 on the editorial page. The "urgent notice issued by the Management" said that Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor had recently resigned from editorship of the paper for personal reasons, but his articles would be published in Jugantar in future also.

But behind this cryptic note is hidden a sordid story. Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee joined the Jugantar in its infancy in 1937 and became its editor soon after. It is largely for his editorial direction and thought-provoking leading articles that 'Jugantar' gained popularity among progressive minded people of Bengal. Sri Mukherjee is an indefatigable fighter for world peace and a member of the Presidium of World Peace Council. The policies being pursued by the owners of Jugantar clashed with his progressive views, and he has been forced to quit. The tone of 'Jugantar' has changed since then. From defence of non-alignment it has begun questioning its wisdom. The new Acting Editor is a cousin of Tarun Kanti Ghosh and thus in Calcutta's most of the large dailies' owners themselves have become declared editors.

The forty-seventh conference of the All India Hindu Mahasabha held on December

30, 1962 in Calcutta declared that they owed no allegiance to Pandit and explained the necessity of his removal from the post of Prime Minister. They made fantastic demands for "Liberation of Tibet" and "incorporation" of Pakistan within India and no negotiation with China even if it goes back to September 8 line.

Bhave Meets
Communist Leaders

Bhowani Sen, Secretary, West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party and Somnath Lahiri Acting leader of the Communist Bloc in the West Bengal Assembly, met Acharya Vinoba Bhave on January 5 at Tarapith, a village in the Birbhum district and had a long and cordial discussion. Bhowani Sen accompanied Acharya Bhave in his Padayatra from that village to the next village on the route—Mallarpur—and at that place attended a meeting of representatives of political parties and some organisations held there to chalk out the next programme of Acharya Bhave.

It may be recalled that on November 10, 1962 in his prayer meeting at the Pipla village in the Maldah district, Acharya Bhave expressed his desire to meet and talk to communists of West Bengal. A letter to this effect was also sent to the Party leadership in West Bengal soon after, it is learnt. But due to arrests and other reasons contacts could not be made earlier. But the present secretariat of the State Party sent an emissary with a letter to Acharya Bhave a few days back and then the appointment was made.

Build Patriotic Unity Against
Reactionary Forces

TEJA SINGH SWATANTAR'S STATEMENT

JULUNDUR:

The following statement has been issued by Comrade Teja Singh Swatantar who made a public appearance a few days ago on withdrawal of warrants against him.

I AM glad to be able to resume open public activity after having remained underground for fifteen years. I take this opportunity of thanking the Communist Party, the respected Ghaddar Babas, MPs and some old revolutionaries and leading Congressmen who have been making efforts for securing the withdrawal of warrants against me for the last two years and whose efforts have at last borne fruit.

I appreciate the fact that the Punjab and U.P. State Governments responded to the popular demand and made it possible for me and my four comrades to end our underground life. I seek to draw the attention of the U.P. Government to the fact that five of our comrades—Maden Singh, Kehar Singh, Pakhar Singh, Pritam Singh and Naseeb Singh are serving long terms of imprisonment in the Ram Nagar case in various Punjab jails. Now it is but befitting that they should be released.

As I had stated in statement from underground I fully endorse the resolution of the National Council of the CPI. I consider that the policies of the Prime Minister of defence of the coun-



Comrade Swatantar

try against Chinese aggression and of getting aggression vacated in order to create conditions for a negotiated settlement, of building up the nation's own resources and unity to strengthen our defence potential, policies of non-alignment and self-reliance and independent economic development through planning and the policy of preserving parliamentary demo-

cracy are truly National policies.

The line of building patriotic unity in support of these policies and against the attacks of reactionary forces who have opened up a second front against Pandit Nehru is the only patriotic and truly correct Marxist-Leninist policy in the present emergency.

I regret that Communists are still being arrested. I consider that the release of all communist detainees will help in the carrying out of above tasks.

I am proud of the role the Punjabi people have played in the present emergency. I have been greatly pained in the past at the communal bickerings, tensions, and so-called morchas, that vitiated the atmosphere in the State and obstructed united efforts for reconstruction and progress.

I hope the Punjabi people will bury communalism deep, never let those communal conflicts arise again and forge unbreakable unity. This unity will enable them to play a still greater role in the national effort for defending territorial integrity and strengthening independence and in National Reconstruction in line with their past heroic traditions.

I thank all my comrades and friends for their warm welcome and assure them that I shall try my utmost to live up to their expectations and do my duty by the Nation and the Party.