

HISTORY WILL NOT FORGIVE THEM

7-JAN-20

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which concluded its six-day meeting in New Delhi on April 15 adopted the following resolution:

THIRTYTWO members of the National Council, having walked out of its meeting on April 11, 1964, have issued a press statement amounting to a manifesto and programme of action. The National Council of the Communist Party of India has considered this document of the "Left" minority group and found it to be a catalogue of falsehoods, distortions and anti-Party slanders, meant to justify the splitting tactics and disruptive activities of its authors.

By their walk-out and their subsequent stand as revealed in their statement, these 32 comrades have put themselves outside the pale of the Party. They have forfeited their rights as members of the Communist Party of India.

The seceders have openly declared war upon the National Council, upon the Secretariat and the Chairman of the Party in the name of "struggle against the factional activities" of "S. A. Dange and his group".

In this connection, it is well to remember certain hard facts of the past and present.

Firstly, this is not the first occasion in the Party's history when this same "Left" group has resorted to the anti-Party tactic of blackmail through threatened walk-outs and split. The most glaring example of this was seen at the Vijayawada Party Congress of 1961, where, finding themselves in a minority, these "Left" leaders and their followers threatened to walk out of the Congress unless they were given more representation than they could legitimately claim on the new National Council. They did not hesitate to precipitate a crisis in the presence of delegations from several fraternal Communist Parties.

Secondly, the National Council would be failing in its duty if it did not expose the latest disruptive actions of the Left-sectarian group in their proper international context, i.e., not as an isolated event, not as a coincidence, but as an integral part of a worldwide move to divide and split as many Communist Parties in the world as possible.

As is well-known, splits by minority groups have been deliberately planned and carried through in recent days, in the Communist Parties of Belgium, Great Britain, Australia, Ceylon, Peru and other countries. Disruption on an international scale and naked interference in the internal affairs of brother Parties, have become the self-proclaimed aim of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China.

OPEN ATTACKS ON OUR PARTY

During the last 16 months, the Central Executive Committee and the National Council had also to take cognisance of the open attacks on our Party by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia. Early last year (February 1963), the National Council adopted a resolution denouncing the leadership of the Communist Party of China for attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party through open calls issued by it through articles in the Hongqui (Red Flag) and Peking People's Daily, as also through the Peking Radio.

The pamphlet called "A MIRROR FOR REVISIONISTS" in which our Party was attacked as the "Dange clique" and as an agency of the imperialists and the Indian big bourgeoisie and landlords, was answered in the pamphlet written by the Chairman of the Party "NEITHER REVISIONISM NOR DOGMATISM IS OUR GUIDE".

The leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia stooped to the low level of character-

ising the leadership of our Party as "spies" and calling for the disruption of the Communist Party of India by elements which it considered to be "genuine Marxist-Leninists." All this was denounced in a resolution of our Central Executive Committee.

The Hongqui and People's Daily editorials of February 4, 1964 have issued an undisguised call for splitting our Party.

The activities and behaviour of the dogmatist, sectarian group in our Party have run parallel to the attacks on the Communist Party of India by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

It is against this background that the National Council has to judge the latest acts of the leaders of the disruptionists in the Party.

The 32 who have walked out to place themselves outside the Party claim that the National Council majority advocates and practices the "general political tactical line of Congress-Communist unity", which amounts to gross reformism and which, according to them, was defeated by their efforts at the Vijayawada Party Congress. This is a blatant distortion of truth.

No general line of Congress-Communist unity was ever advocated at Vijayawada. As is well known, the real struggle at the Sixth Party Congress was for the correct line which was eventually adopted—the line of building the National Democratic Front, of unity with democratic elements inside and outside the Congress, on common issues, against Right reaction, together with struggle against the anti-democratic policies of the Congress.

WHO VIOLATED PARTY DECISIONS ?

It is not the National Council which has violated the Party Congress decisions since 1961, as falsely alleged by the disruptors; it is the latter who have stuck doggedly to their Left-sectarian line which was defeated at Vijayawada—a line of total opposition to the Congress, which leads to unprincipled alliances and understandings with reactionary, communal and separatist forces such as the Muslim League, the DMK, Swatantra Party, Akalis etc. in the name of fighting the Congress.

According to the seceders, the majority in the National Council against them was the fortuitous result of the "crisis" of October-November 1962, the declaration of Emergency and the arrests of a large number of comrades. There could not be a greater denial of truth than this.

The "crisis" referred to so diplomatically by the Left leaders was, of course, the crisis caused by the Chinese aggression. When the National Council met in November 1962 to denounce this aggression and to declare its unequivocal stand for national defence, not a single arrest had been carried out.

The National Council resolution was adopted by overwhelming majority after thorough discussion and debate when these seceders were present and when none of them had been arrested. How then could it be claimed or insinuated that the majority was not a genuine one?

Yet another gross distortion in the statement of the Left seceders refers to the alleged rejection by the National Council of their proposals for "the organisation of inner-Party discussion" and for "creation of necessary conditions in which a Party Congress can be convened". This, according to them, has prevented their participation and cooperation in the solving of inner-Party problems.

This presumably refers to the discussions which took place in the National Council meeting of October 1963, on a document by Comrade Basavapunniah and 16 others entitled "The

Threatening Disruption and Split of the Party—How to Avert the Disaster?" This document, which was circulated in clandestine fashion outside the National Council also, was replied to by Com. Dange on behalf of the Secretariat which later published both the documents.

In that meeting itself, the Council agreed to open discussion on all the controversial questions, to prepare for the Party Congress, and to associate with this work nominees of the minority group.

The National Council agreed to postpone the Party Congress, though it was overdue, until after the comrades in jail were released.

The CEC at its meeting in January 1964 adopted a resolution setting up suitable machinery to resolve genuine disputes regarding Party membership and allowing late enrolment in areas where membership campaign had not been held due to largescale arrests.

The CEC elected a Commission to prepare documents for the Party Congress in which were included Comrades M. Basavapunniah, E. M. S.

NEXT WEEK

Next week's NEW AGE will carry other resolutions adopted by the National Council of the Party, as well as the text of Comrade S. A. Dange's speech and other important documents.

—Editor

Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and P. Ramamurthy. When the Commission meetings were called, these comrades boycotted them and later on organised their rival conference.

Why were these offers rejected by the "Left"? What more could they want? Today they pose themselves as champions of Party unity who have been forced out of the Party by the "undemocratic" practices of the majority. But the truth of the matter is that they were all along determined to flout the basic principles of Party organisation and the authority and discipline of the National Council and to continue their activities as a rival party within the Party.

The only position which could satisfy them was one in which the elected majority would agree to accept the status of a minority, while they, the actual minority, could dictate terms as though they were the majority. The National Council refused to surrender to such outrageous demands.

The "Left" leaders complain that the National Council and some State Councils have used their majority to carry out vindictive disciplinary actions against them.

LENIENCY OF NATIONAL COUNCIL

The truth is that the National Council and these State Councils can, on the contrary, be charged with showing excessive leniency to persons who, while sheltering under the cover of their Party membership cards and their reputation as Party leaders, have been systematically wrecking the Party from within, repeatedly violating every single principle of Party organisation and discipline, throwing all accepted Party norms and forms to the winds and running full-fledged rival Party centres from Delhi and several states. This has been conclusively established by the Central Control Commission in its latest report submitted to the National Council.

In the face of such conscious, planned and coldblooded wrecking activity, the only discipli-

EXPOSE THE CONSPIRACY OF THE DISRUPTORS DEFEND UNITY & SACRED HONOUR OF THE PARTY

*FROM FRONT PAGE

nary action taken so far against any leading member of this group has been the public censure of Comrade A. K. Gopalan in last October! The National Council has erred, if at all, on the side of leniency by any standards. The disruptors have taken full advantage of it to further intensify their anti-Party activities to an unparalleled extent.

Knowing that they cannot justify their ideological, political or organisational stand (in fact, they admit that they have serious ideological differences among themselves which have been subordinate to a common factional interest), the "Left" leaders have produced the diversionary provocation of the alleged "Dange letters" and are counting on cheap sensationalism to serve as a smokescreen for their nefarious anti-Party game.

The National Council has heard the available evidence and held that not even a prima facie case has been made out for the genuineness of the letters. It has repudiated the slanderous accusation that Comrade Dange was or is a British agent. Even then, in order to carry out a more thorough probe, it has appointed an inquiry committee of seven National Council members.

But why did not these "Left" leaders who proclaim from the housetops that they are convinced of the genuineness of the letters produce their evidence, if any, before the National Council? Why did they walk out? Why did they not return even after Comrade Dange declined to take the chair during discussion of this subject? And why do they now repeat the demand for an "agreed inquiry committee" when their representatives have already announced to the world that the genuineness of the letters is beyond doubt?

They did not have the decency even to raise the issue in the CEC or the National Council before rushing to the press. None but the worst enemies of the Party could ever indulge in such shocking activity and that, too, in collusion with the pro-American weekly CURRENT.

OPEN REVOLT

The "Left" leaders have now publicly announced their future course of action. It amounts, in short, to organising an open revolt by Party members and units against the National Council and against the accepted political line of the Party, and to preparing for the organisation of their own all-India Congress which they have the temerity to call the "Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India". They have decided to circulate their own documents and to convene a meeting of "representatives of Party members from all over India" after two months.

These and other decisions have been adopted in the seceders' conference which has been in session, as they admit in their own statement, from April 2 to 9 in Delhi.

Draft "Programmes" and other documents have been issued to and discussed by Party members specially invited to this conference

Achutha Menon Refutes Allegations By 'Leftists'

The following statement has been issued to the press by C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India on April 15:

I HAVE seen the statement issued today by seven Kerala members of the 32 members of the National Council of the CPI who had walked out of the National Council meeting on April 11.

Those who issued this statement know fully well that the vast majority of the Party membership as well as the general public which support the Party intensely desire to maintain the unity of the Communist Party of India, whatever might be the differences.

Those who are engaged in the heinous crime of splitting the

Party naturally would like to hide this fact from the people. It is clear that this statement has been prepared with this in view. Beyond this, there is not an iota of sincerity in the statement.

The signatories to the statement say that the primary and most important task of the Party in Kerala at present is to strive to inflict a crushing defeat to the Congress in the 1965 elections in Kerala and to form a government of all democratic parties and groups who agree on a common

from various states and districts. The press has been briefed every day.

Clearly a rival Party—all but the formal signboard—has been openly set up. And yet its organisers put forward so-called "proposals" for the National Council to accept as the price of their cooperation, even at this last moment. This is nothing but a last desperate attempt to dictate terms to the majority.

The National Council wishes to make it clear that it is always ready and anxious to explore all avenues for restoration of Party unity at any stage. But how can unity be restored as long as the seceders do not agree unconditionally to scrap their rival and parallel party centres and to accept unhesitatingly the authority of the National Council?

It has to be emphasised that these desperate anti-Party activities have been resorted to in the background of the rising wave of mass struggles in India on economic and democratic issues, a wave in which the Party has been playing a glorious and most prominent role.

For the first time in the history of our Party, an all-India mass movement has been unleashed against the monopolists and the anti-people forces of the Congress government. This movement which began with the Great Petition campaign and the Great September March last year, is entering the next stage of preparations for an all-India General Strike.

It is precisely at this moment that the seceders have come out with their open split.

The disruption unleashed by this group inside the Party has, therefore, to be strongly condemned for the immense damage it has done, not only to the Party but also to the entire working class and popular democratic movement in the country. It has brought grist to the mill of the reactionaries and the vested interests—internal as well as foreign. Such a crime cannot be forgiven.

The National Council charges Comrades M. Basavapunniah, P. Sundarayya, P. Ramamurthy, A. K. Gopalan, Harekrishna Konar, Promode Das Gupta and Harkishen Singh Surjeet for being the main organisers of this unprecedented disruption inside the Party and for taking the lead in forming a rival Party.

A detailed report prepared by the Secretariat on the activities led by these seven comrades was given to them in the meeting of the CEC, which adopted a resolution recommending to the National Council that they be expelled, on the basis of their record. Refusing to answer any of the charges made against them, these comrades walked out.

The National Council, having studied the charges against these comrades, is of the opinion that these comrades merit expulsion from the Party.

In the National Council meeting, even while the question of the agenda was under discussion and a compromise proposal was actually being moved by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, these seven comrades, together with 25 others walked out of the meeting, without waiting for any decisions.

These 32 comrades subsequently issued their press statement of April 14, 1964.

While announcing a rival programme of action and calling a rival Party Congress, these 32 comrades still speak of holding talks with the National Council for unity.

In these circumstances, the National Council, for the time being, does not take the action of expulsion recommended by the CEC against these seven. The National Council instead resolves that these seven comrades viz. Comrades M. Basavapunniah, P. Sundarayya, P. Ramamurthy, A. K. Gopalan, Harekrishna Konar, Promode Das Gupta and Harkishen Singh

Surjeet, together with the remaining 25 comrades who are signatories to the joint statement of April 14, 1964, namely Comrades T. Nagi Reddy, D. Venkateswara Rao, C. Bapanayya, C. H. Kanaran, V. S. Achuthanandan, Jyoti Basu, N. Sankariah, D. S. Tapiala, Sheo Kumar Misra, Mohan Punamia, M. Hanumantha Rao, N. Prasada Rao, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. V. Kunhambu, E. K. Nayanar, E. K. Imbichibava, Muzaffar Ahmad, Abdul Halim, Saroj Mukherjee, M. R. Venkataraman, K. Ramani, Jagjit Singh Lyal-puri, Dr. Bhag Singh, R. N. Upadhyaya and R. P. Saraf be suspended with immediate effect from Party membership under Article XXIX, Section 5 of the Party Constitution for their part in the anti-Party activities of the group as a whole.

They are removed forthwith from all positions in the Party organisation which they may be holding, and during the period of their suspension, they shall not have the right to participate in any Party meetings or exercise any authority on behalf of the Party.

The National Council directs them to show cause by the next meeting of the National Council why more severe disciplinary action should not be taken against them.

The National Council draws the attention of these comrades to the fact that it is still not too late for them to retrace their steps from the path of split and disruption. The National Council warns them that if they persist in their present ways, it will be compelled to impose on them the highest penalty provided by the Party Constitution.

STILL NOT TOO LATE

The Communist Party of India is facing the gravest crisis in its history—a crisis which is the reflection of the international conspiracy of disruption and direct creation of a group of hardened dogmatic, Left-sectarian and adventurist leaders within our Party.

History will never forgive them for their crime of splitting the Party which tens of thousands of heroic revolutionaries and selfless workers have built up at the cost of their lives and untold sacrifices, a Party which is the hope of the toiling millions of India.

The National Council calls upon all Party members and Party units to rally round the banner of the Party, defend its unity and honour and exercise maximum vigilance against the forces of disruption and disunity.

The National Council is fully alive to the danger that the attack of the splitters on the Party is likely to be accompanied by similar attacks on the unity of the trade unions and other democratic mass organisations. This attack, too, must be resisted tooth and nail, for if the disruptors succeed in their game of setting up rival unions, rival kisan sabhas, etc., it will be a grave blow to the unity of the toilers in their struggles against class oppression and exploitation and for better conditions of life and democratic rights.

Such disruption will only bring grist to the mill of the monopolists and reactionaries in every walk of life, enabling them to divide and suppress the struggles of the working people, deprive them of all their gains and crush their fighting mass organisations.

The National Council declares that the Communist Party of India, the revolutionary Party of the Indian working class and of all the toilers in town and countryside, will remain united to fight the battles of the toiling and democratic masses of India. The Party has been built by the sweat and blood of millions of our countrymen. Their sacrifices and devotion cannot go in vain. The banner of the Party will be victorious.

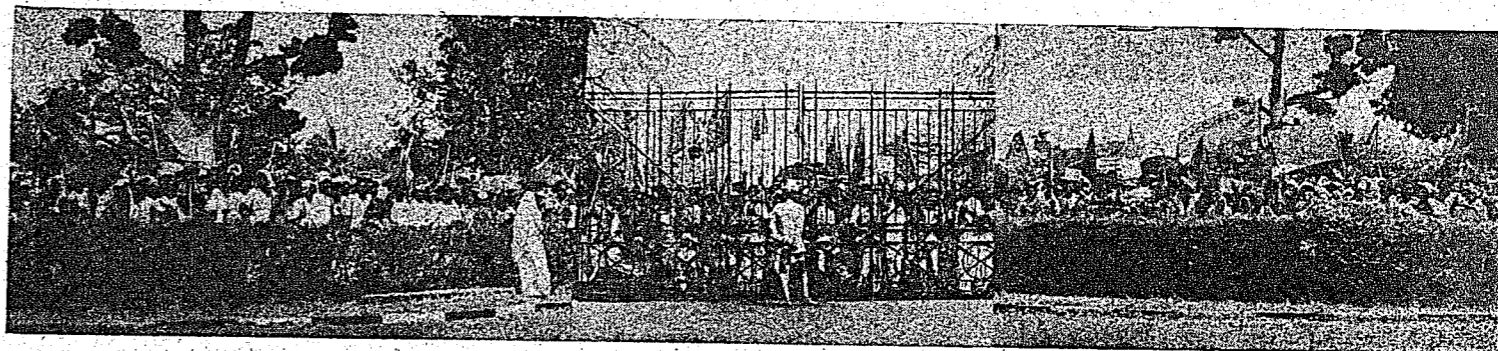
relation whatsoever to truth and reality. Neither Namboodiripad nor his friends have stated then, or till now, that it was wrong.

To put it shortly, this statement and the lamentation in the name of the people of Kerala that it contains and the anxiety it displays to defeat the Congress are bogus. While the conference to organise a parallel Party was being conducted in New Delhi from April 2 and the statement of the 32 National Council members was being prepared, none of them seemed to have remembered Kerala.

After all this expression of good intentions, what are the signatories to this statement going to do? They are reported to be getting ready for a whirlwind campaign in Kerala for a week for organising factional meetings in all the districts which means splitting the Party from top to bottom. For this service, the Congress in Kerala will, no doubt, be grateful to them.

NEW AGE

APRIL 19, 1964



Demonstrators before the Assembly gate.

BIHAR'S MAMMOTH MORCHA ON TOILERS' DEMANDS

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Over 25,000 toiling people—industrial workers, peasants, agricultural labour and middle class employees—staged a militant demonstration before the Bihar Assembly on April 8 to press their demand for immediate wage increase and reduction in high prices and heavy tax burden.

THE demonstration was jointly organised by the Bihar Committee of the AITUC, the state council of CPI, Kisan Sabha and Khet Mazdoor Sabha, to present a 14-point charter of demands to the Chief Minister and press for their fulfilment.

The demonstrators, who came from all over the state, paraded the main thoroughfares of the state capital, waving thousands of red flags and placards and raising slogans. The one-and-a-half-mile-long procession, which started from the local Gandhi Maidan, took about two hours to reach the Assembly premises.

Thousands of Patna citizens thronged both sides of the route to witness the unprecedented march of the toiling masses for social justice. The disciplined and orderly procession appeared like a red stream flowing towards the Assembly house.

Demonstration And Rally

After the four-hour demonstration, a mass meeting was held outside the Assembly gates. About 40,000 people attended the meeting. Indradeep Sinha, secretary of the state council of the CPI, presided.

All Amjad, vice-president of the Bihar Committee of the AITUC, Karyanand Sharma, veteran kisan leader, Bhogendra Jha, general secretary of the Bihar Kisan Sabha and Chandra Shekhar Singh, deputy leader of the CPI group in the state Assembly, addressed the meeting.

Three resolutions were unanimously adopted at the mass meeting: one reiterating the 14-point toilers' demands, the second condemning the communal disturbances and the third, protesting against the blanket ban imposed on all processions throughout the state.

The charter of demands included reduction in prices of all essential commodities; removal of excise duty on cloth, kerosene oil, sugar, tea, etc.; opening of fair price shops in all Panchayats, mohallas and factories; linking of DA with cost of living index, and wage increase of all employees in public and private sector.

It also demanded 25 per cent wage increase for agricultural workers; four katas of homestead land to every landless agricultural labourer family; and withdrawal of enhanced irrigation rates.

The meeting issued a warning to the government that "unless it changes its anti-people attitude and takes immediate steps to meet at least their most urgent demands, the toiling people of the state will be compelled to take other steps, including that of peaceful satyagraha to enforce them."

The meeting appealed to various political parties and mass organisations "to join hands to build a united, powerful mass movement to achieve the above mentioned demands."

Resolution on communal harmony called upon all secular and democratic elements in the state "to join hands to exercise maximum vigilance against the communal and goonda elements and offer full cooperation to the government in maintaining communal peace and restoring communal harmony in the state."

The resolution deplored the "failure of the government" in exercising sufficient vigilance against the known communal and goonda elements, who have seized the opportunity provided by the persecution of minorities in East Pakistan "to rouse hat-

ed and frenzy against the innocent minority in our own country and state and thus divide the toiling masses on communal lines and disrupting their growing agitation against high prices, tax burden and rampant corruption."

Government Terrified

The mounting tempo of the mass movement has actually terrified the state government and they made all efforts to sabotage the demonstration.

On the eve of the demonstration, on April 6, a blanket ban on all processions was imposed all over the state on the false plea of "communal situation" in the state, though the government refrained from imposing such a ban when the entire state was threatened with communal tension.

By that time thousands of demonstrators from far away places had already arrived in Patna and several thousands were on their way to the state capital. It was difficult for the organisers to abandon the demonstration at that stage.

The representatives of the AITUC and CPI had already explained to the authorities that the demonstration of such nature would help in diverting the attention of the people from communal feeling to pressing problems of life. On April 3 they had a talk with the Chief Minister who categorically said that he had no objection to holding the demonstration. In this background the ban came as a surprise to the organisers.

The ban on the procession was described by Op-

position parties as an attack on the democratic rights of the people. Leaders of all Opposition parties in the Assembly, including PSP, CPI, SP, and Swatantra Party issued a joint statement strongly condemning the blanket ban on processions.

By the night of April 7, the unending stream of demonstrators, pouring in the capital and their determination to accept the challenge posed by the ban, forced the government to reconsider their earlier decision. The government then climbed down at 10 P.M. on April 7 and hurriedly passed orders permitting the organisers to take out a procession.

The impact of the demonstration showed the hypocritical stand of the government. Apart from highlighting the toilers' demands, the demonstration has been successful in creating an atmosphere of communal harmony.

While the massive demonstration was a manifestation of unity between workers and peasants in achieving their minimum demands, it also provided an opportunity to proclaim the basic unity between working people of all communities and creeds.

Under the black shadow of recent communal disturbances in the state, it was a big achievement that thousands of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Advaiti toiling masses marched side by side, shouting slogans for communal harmony.

The mass meeting strongly protested against the blanket ban on all processions on the plea of "communal situation".

A view of mass rally being addressed Karyanand Sharma.



APRIL 19, 1964

NEW AGE

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Why No Socialist Revolution Yet In Developed Capitalist Countries?

Q. If, according to Marxism-Leninism, socialism will replace capitalism because of its greater efficiency and the latter's internal contradiction, why is it that in the UK, USA and other developed capitalist countries in the West, no socialist revolution has yet taken place? (R. L. SHUKLA, Boisar, Thana District, Maharashtra).

A. It is certainly true that Marx and Engels believed that the socialist revolution would triumph first and simultaneously in the developed capitalist countries. In several of their writings it is clear that they pinned great hopes on Germany embarking on a democratic revolution which would be the immediate prelude to a socialist revolution.

In his letter to Engels on October 8, 1858 Marx, however, gave us a glimpse of a new approach, a new context to the whole problem. He wrote: "We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century a second time—a sixteenth century which will, I hope, sound the death-knell of bourgeois society just as the first one thrust it into existence."

The specific task of bourgeois society is the establishment of a world market, at least in outline, and of production based upon this world market. As the world is round this seems to have been completed by the colonisation of California and Australia and the opening of China and Japan.

The difficult question for us is this: on the continent the revolution is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character. Is it not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still on the ascendant? - (Selected Correspondence, p. 134).

The analysis of this "second sixteenth century" of capitalism was not made in an exhaustive manner by either Marx or Engels. It was done by Lenin in his classic *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

Using a wealth of data, Lenin demonstrated that capitalism had entered upon a new stage of monopoly, finance-capital and colonial oppression. As he put it, capitalism had "grown into a world-wide system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries."

Contradictions of Capitalism

Pointing out that all the contradictions of capitalism had been aggravated and that the contradiction between the imperialists for the redhibition of an already divided world as well as between the imperialists and the colonial peoples had reached an acute stage, Lenin stated that imperialism was "moribund capitalism" and the "eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

He further demonstrated that "imperialism was a worldwide system, and it was therefore by no means obligatory that the revolution should take place in the most advanced capitalist country. Given the necessary subjective and objective factors—a certain level of capitalist development, the existence of the proletariat and a proletarian party capable of leading the nonproletarian masses, primarily the peasantry—the imperialist chain would be broken at its weakest link. A socialist revolution could take place in a country where the contradictions were

them from the colonial countries. This, on the one hand, to buy off a section of the working class, its upper strata, called by Lenin the "labour aristocracy."

Engels long ago had pointed to the specially favoured position of the UK in the nineteenth century and commented satirically that this most bourgeois of nations was not content with having a bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisified landlord class but insisted on having a bourgeoisified working class also.

This special position of Britain

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Proceeding from this law, Lenin came to the conclusion that in the imperialist period socialism could not triumph simultaneously in all countries, but that its victory was first possible in one country alone, or in a few countries. (Ibid., p. 199).

All these aspects taken together give us a further enrichment and creative development of the theory of socialist revolution, the basic ideas of which had been worked out by Marx and Engels. It is of interest to remember that the so-called "orthodox Marxists" of that time vehemently criticised Lenin for "revising" Marx and Engels!

Theory of Socialist Revolution

It is clear then that Marxism-Leninism does not hold that socialist revolution must begin first in the developed capitalist countries. Many anti-Communists point to the fact that socialist revolution has not taken place in the UK or USA and gleefully conclude that, therefore, Marxism is nonsense.

We would remind them that Marx and Engels scientifically demonstrated that capitalism was a historically transient stage, that it would be inevitably replaced by a higher stage of social development—socialism. And now one-third of the world has confirmed their scientific prevision. They did not tie up this conclusion with any astrological prediction as to the exact date and location of socialist revolutions.

The fact that socialist revolutions have not yet taken place in the advanced capitalist countries by no means invalidates the fundamental scientific conclusion of Marxism that capitalism is only an episode in human history.

Still the question remains—why is it that the advanced capitalist countries have not proved to be the weakest link in the imperialist chain?

Lenin, after the victorious Soviet socialist revolution, wrote that it was easier for the Russian working class to begin the socialist revolution than their comrades in the West but it would entail far greater difficulties for them to continue the socialist revolution in the form of socialist construction.

The main reason for the greater stability of capitalism in the advanced capitalist countries was the sucking in of super-profits by

political and economic manoeuvre than their counterparts in the less advanced imperialist countries, to say nothing of the underdeveloped countries.

The political expression of this situation is the considerable influence built over a long period of the social-democratic parties in the working class movement of the imperialist countries. The Right-wing social democrats, who have been the dominant force in the leadership for decades, act as the chief social bulwark of the capitalists and as the labour lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, Lenin long ago told us.

These leaders are able to spread reformist illusions among the workers and ideologically, to divert them from the course of gathering forces for the socialist revolution. And with the formation of the Soviet Union and Communist Parties these leaders have been in the forefront of the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet campaigns, have split the working class movement all along the line.

Another important factor to be considered is that the triumph of socialism in the underdeveloped areas of the world meant that for decades the living standards of the people there were in many respects, lower than that of considerable sections of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

Hence, it was easy for the imperialists and their Right-wing social democratic agents to distort the whole position and claim that socialism would mean the duplication of these conditions in

the advanced imperialist countries as well.

It is in this context that we can appreciate the revolutionary significance of the slogan of peaceful competition and of the goal of outstripping the USA in per capita production and living standards in little more than a decade advanced by the CPSU through its historic programme.

Finally, it must be admitted that, thanks to the influence of Stalin's dogmatism and sectarianism, for many years the Communist Parties in the advanced capitalist countries followed a sectarian policy towards the social-democratic parties, especially the Leftwing and rank-and-file. Stalin condemned all social-democrats as social-fascists and considered the Leftwing social-democrats as the first and main enemy to be fought by the Communists.

This sectarian approach was abandoned at the 1935 Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the new tactical approach of the united front outlined here has been creatively developed in the Moscow Declaration (1957) and Statement (1960) of the international Communist movement.

With the speedy growth of the socialist system, the collapse of colonialism and the new tactical orientation of the Communist Parties the prospects of advance to socialism through the anti-monopoly democratic front, have considerably heightened in the imperialist West.

—MOHIT SEN



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghosh,
M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London)
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Naray Chandra Ghosh,
M.B.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.



NEW AGE

APRIL 19, 1964

A Significant Decade Of Indo-Soviet Relations

By NIKOLAI PASTUKHOV



Late Ajoy Ghosh greeting N. S. Khrushchov on behalf of the CPI at the time of his first visit to India.

ber Socialist Revolution, its inspirer and organiser. Lenin extended his hand of brotherhood and friendship to the Indian people groaning under the yoke of colonialism.

Lenin's Declaration

The Great Lenin, on behalf of the land of Soviets, declared before the whole world that his country would build its relations with the peoples of the East on the basis of mutual respect, equality, friendship and non-interference in internal affairs.

"Every nation," read one of the appeals of the Council of People's Commissars issued in October 1917, "whether big or small, wherever situated, whether it lived independently or was included against its will in another state, must be free in its internal affairs, and no power must keep it within its frontiers by force."

In their policy Soviet people firmly follow the path charted by Lenin. And on this path they are guided by the CPSU Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov.

The veteran Indian diplomat K. P. S. Menon, who had spent in Moscow nearly nine years as Ambassador, speaking in his native state of Kerala, declared that Nehru and Khrushchov symbolised the aspirations of their respective peoples.

What are the most distinguishing features of Nikita Khrushchov? Menon asked and answered: Realism and farsightedness are his qualities. A graphic example of these qualities, Menon said, was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Khrushchov's thesis that a world war is not inevitable.

Peaceful Competition

Nikita Khrushchov, while on a goodwill visit to India in 1955, said in Bangalore: "Let us check in practice whose system is better, we say to statesmen of the capitalist states. Let us compete without war. Is this a bad coming closer together between the USSR and India, especially since 1953, has been proceeding at a remarkably fast pace and has borne rich fruits."

Vision Of The Future

Speaking in India's Parliament in 1960, Nikita Khrushchov said: "In the near historical future we can see a time when Asian states, that only yesterday were in the position of oppressed colonies, will enter the ranks of the world's foremost countries with regard to the level of development of their national economy and culture. Like Prometheus Unbound, the peoples of Asia are squaring their powerful shoulders as they embark on the building of a new life."

Soviet people take pride in the fact that it was they who delivered the first blow at imperialism. Soon after the Great Octo-

accompanied Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of his tour of the Soviet Union and Nikita Khrushchov during his visit to India.

Never shall I forget the millions of people who welcomed them whether in Calcutta or Sverdlovsk, Samarkand or Delhi, Bhubaneswar or Moscow, their friendly smiles and great enthusiasm.

I recall Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Magnitogorsk. He was taken up the Ai-Darly Mountain, from the top of which a magnificent panorama of the city unfolds. Spreading before one's eyes from there were the results

This is so because the more aid they will render to the less-developed countries in building up their own industries and in becoming economically independent of the highly developed capitalist countries, the worse it will be for the imperialists: The less-developed countries will gradually set up their own industries, learn to produce themselves whatever they are now compelled to import from abroad, and then

At present the Bhilai Iron and Steel Plant is operating at full capacity, providing the country with steel and rolling stock, yielding vast profits to the public sector. The second section of the Bhilai Works is under construction, the plant at Ranchi has been put into operation, the electric power stations have been completed in Neyveli and Bhakra and dozens of other enterprises have gone up.

Indian oil is being extracted and refined with Soviet assistance, an oasis of abundance has been created in the desert at Suratgarh, the Technological Institute in Bombay has started functioning... The map of old colonial India keeps on changing.

However, to build a new life, to commission factories and plants, to engage in creative work is possible only in conditions of a lasting and universal peace. Many peoples of our planet have learned well this truth, including the Indian and Soviet peoples, especially Soviet people who lived through the horrors and tragedy of the devastating Second World War.

War Must Be Banished

Soviet people love and cherish peace and consistently work for it. This is symbolised by Nikita Khrushchov, this ardent peace champion.

The union and friendship between the socialist nations and the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, with everyone, whether in Europe, America or Australia, who is honestly and sincerely working for peace, the happiness and progress of mankind, are similar to a mighty rock against which all the intrigues of the imperialists, the intrigues of all the enemies of peace and freedom will smash.

And the significant decade serves as a convincing proof of this.

of the heroic Soviet Five-Year Plans which elevated once backward Russia to the heights of industrialisation and progress.

Admiring the view, Nehru asked a cameraman to film the wonderful scene. This film, he said, will show genuine Russia to the Indian spectator. And in December 1957, making an entry in the visitors' book of the Bhilai project, Nehru, thinking of the future of India, recalled the panorama of Magnitogorsk from Ai-Darly... What was a dream once is beginning to take shape and becoming a reality, he wrote, Bhilai is the symbol and picture of India to come.

Dreams Come To Reality

Three years passed, and the Bhilai works began to work full blast—a result of the creative endeavour of the two peoples, a model after which relations between all peoples should be built. In 1960 Nikita Khrushchov visited Bhilai. Those were joyous, historic days...

While inspecting the plant, N. S. Khrushchov met many good friends among Soviet specialists there: whom he had known as heroes of the Soviet Five-Year Plans. In the evening, during the friendly dinner in a hotel, he met with the Soviet and Indian specialists.

He told them that the capitalist countries cannot understand what the Soviet Union is doing.



Late Bankim Mukherjee garlanding Premier Khrushchov during his second visit to India.

NEW AGE

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Lenin's Is Our

Light Guide

Characterising the approach of the world social revolution in our Party programme which we adopted in March of last year, we said that the civil war of the toilers against the imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism.

THIS is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on. It will be the same in the East.

We know that the popular masses of the East will rise as independent participants, as builders of a new life, because hundreds of millions of these people belong to dependent nations, until now have been objects of international imperialist policy, and have only existed as manure for capitalist culture and civilization.

And when they talk of handing out mandates for colonies we know very well that what that means is handing out mandates for spoliation and plunder—handing out to an insignificant section of the world's population the right to exploit the majority of the population which until then had been completely outside the orbit of historical progress, because it could not represent an independent revolutionary force, ceased, as we know, to play such a passive role at the beginning of the twentieth century. We know that 1905 was followed by revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China, and that a revolutionary movement developed in India.

The imperialist war likewise contributed to the growth of the revolutionary movement, because the European imperialists had to enlist whole regiments of colonial peoples in their struggle. The imperialist war aroused the East also and drew its peoples into international politics. Britain and France armed colonial peoples and helped them to familiarize themselves with military technique and up-to-date machines. That knowledge they will use against the imperialist gentry.

The period of awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind.

That is why I think that in the history of development of the world revolution—which, judging by its beginning, will continue for many years and will demand much effort—that in the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement you will be called upon to play a big part and to merge in this struggle with our struggle against international imperialism.

Your participation in the international revolution will confront you with a complicated and difficult task, the accomplishment of which will serve as the foundation

for our common success, because here the majority of the people for the first time come into independent motion and will be an active factor in the fight to overthrow international imperialism.

The majority of the Eastern peoples are in a worse position than the most backward country in Europe—Russia. But in our struggle against feudal survivals and capitalism, we succeeded in uniting the peasants and workers of Russia; and our struggle proceeded so easily because the peasants and workers united against capitalism and feudalism.

Here contact with the peoples of the East is particularly important, because the majority of the Eastern peoples are typical representatives of the toiling masses—not workers who have passed through the school of capitalist mills and factories, but typical representatives of the toiling, exploited peasant masses who are victims of medieval oppression. The Russian revolution showed how the proletarians, after defeating capitalism and uniting with the vast diffuse mass of peasant toilers, rose up victoriously against medieval oppression.

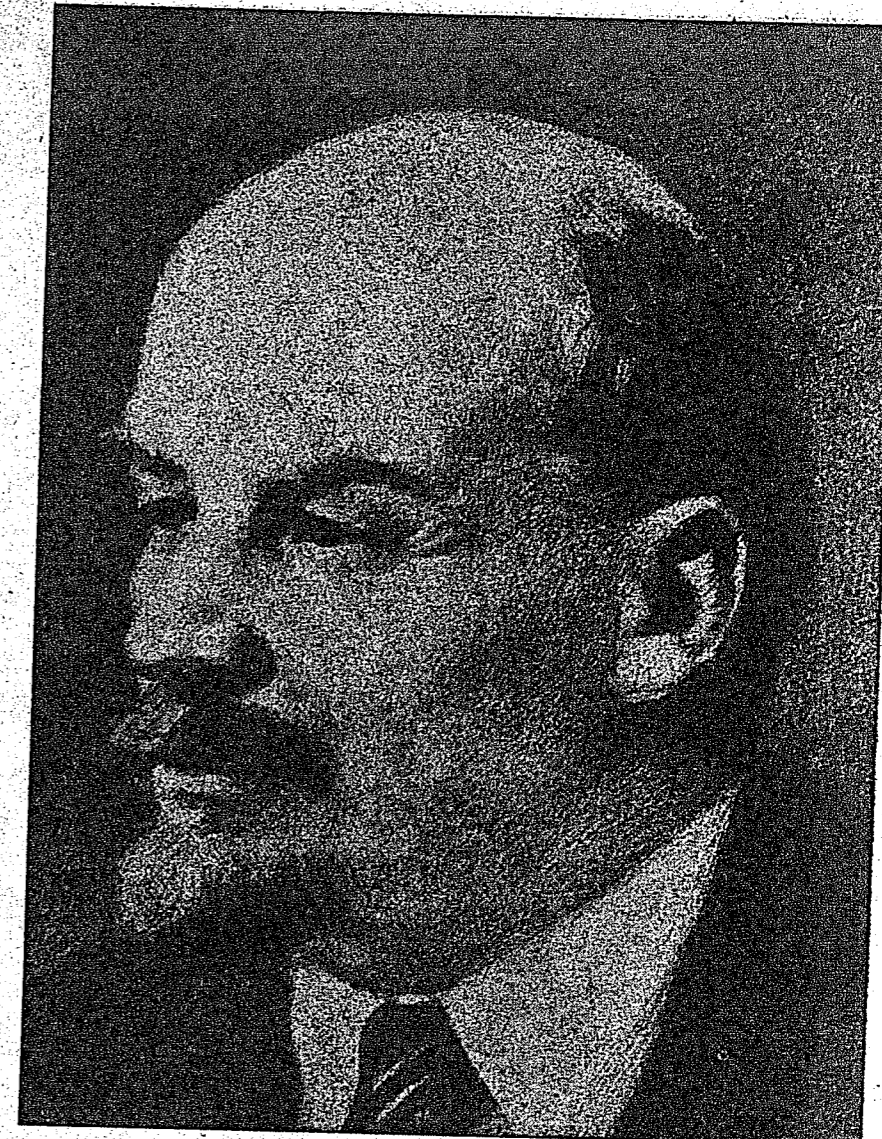
Now our Soviet Republic has to rally round it all the awakening peoples of the East and, together with them, wage a struggle against international imperialism.

Here you are confronted with a task which previously did not confront the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and the practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries and be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism.

UNITY WITH PROLETARIAT

That is a difficult and specific task, but a very thankful one, because those masses are being drawn into the struggle who until now have taken no part in it, and, on the other hand, because the organization of Communist nuclei in the East gives you the opportunity to maintain the closest contact with the Third International. You must find specific forms for this alliance of the foremost proletarians of the world with the toiling and exploited masses of the East whose conditions are in many cases medieval.

We have accomplished on a small scale in our country what you will do on a big scale in big countries. And that latter task you will, I hope, perform with success. Thanks to the Communist organizations in the East, of which you



TO COMMUNISTS OF THE EAST

here are the representatives, you have contact with the advanced revolutionary proletariat. Your task is to continue to ensure that Communist propaganda is carried on in every country in the language the people understand.

It is self-evident that final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the world, and we, the Russians, are beginning the work which the British, the French or the German proletariat will seal. But we see that they will not be victorious without the aid of the toiling masses of all the oppressed colonial peoples, and primarily of the Eastern peoples. We must realize that the transition to communism cannot be accomplished by the vanguard alone.

The task is to arouse the toiling masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and organization, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true Communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to merge with the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle.

Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any Communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it by your own independent experience. In that you will be assisted, on the one hand, by close alliance with the vanguard of all the toilers of

other countries, and, on the other, by ability to find the right approach to the peoples of the East whom you here represent.

You will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and cannot but awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification. At the same time, you must find your way to the toiling and exploited masses of every country and tell them in the language they understand that their only hope of emancipation lies in the victory of the international revolution, and that the international proletariat is the only ally of all the

hundreds of millions of the toiling and exploited peoples of the East.

Such is the immense task which confronts you, and which, thanks to the era of revolution and the growth of the revolutionary movement—of that there can be no doubt—will, by the joint efforts of the Communist organizations of the East, be successfully accomplished and crowned by complete victory over international imperialism.

(LENIN — ADDRESS TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S OF EAST, 22.11.1919)

Stubborn Wiseacres

BUT politics is more like algebra than arithmetic; and still more like higher mathematics than elementary mathematics. In reality all the old forms of the socialist movement have acquired a new content and, consequently, a new sign, the "minus" sign has appeared in front of all the figures; but our wiseacres stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and others that

"minus three" is more than "minus two."

We must see to it that Communists do not make the same mistake, only the other way round; or, rather, we must see to it that the same mistake, made by the other way round, made by the "Left" Communists, is corrected as soon as possible and overcome as quickly and painlessly as possible. It is not only Right doctrinarism that is a mis-

* See page 16

a small and easily remediable one. A boycott of the Duma in 1907, 1908 and subsequent years would have been a serious mistake and one difficult to remedy, because, on the one hand, a very rapid rise of the revolutionary tide and its conversion into an uprising could not be expected, and, on the other hand, the whole historical situation attending the renovation of the bourgeois monarchy called for combining legal and illegal activities.

Today, when we turn back at this completed historical period, the connection of which with subsequent periods is fully revealed, it becomes particularly clear that the Bolsheviks could not have in 1908-14 preserved (let alone strengthened, developed and reinforced) the firm core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat had they not upheld in strenuous struggle the viewpoint that it is obligatory to participate even in a most reactionary parliament and in a number of other institutions restricted by reactionary laws (sick benefit societies, etc.).

In 1918 things did not reach a split. The "Left" Communists at that time only formed a separate group or "faction" within our Party and that not for long. In the same year, 1918, the most prominent representatives of "Left Communism," for example, Comrades Radek and Bukharin, openly admitted their mistake. It had seemed to them that the Brest-Litovsk Peace was a compromise with the imperialists that was inadmissible on principle and harmful to the party of the revolutionary proletariat. It was indeed a compromise with the imperialists, but it was a compromise which, under the circumstances, was obligatory.

The conclusion is clear: to reject compromises "on principle," to reject the admissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to take seriously. A political leader who desires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must know how to single out concrete cases when such compromises are inadmissible, when they are an expression of opportunism and treachery, and direct all the force of criticism, the full intensity of merciless exposure and relentless war, against those concrete compromises, and not allow the past masters at "practical" socialism and the parliamentary Jesuits to dodge and wriggle out of responsibility by disquisitions on "compromises in general".

It is precisely in this way that Messrs. the "leaders" of the British trade unions, as well as the Fabian society and the "Independent" Labour Party, dodge responsibility for the treachery they have perpetrated, for having made

such a compromise that is really tantamount to the worst kind of opportunism, treachery and betrayal.

Compromises

There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot.

In politics this is by no means always as easy as in this childish simple example. But anyone who set out to invent a recipe for the workers that would provide in advance ready-made solutions for all cases in life, or who promised that the policy of the revolutionary proletariat would never encounter difficult or intricate situations, would simply be a charlatan.

So as to leave no room for misinterpretation, I shall attempt to outline, if only very briefly, a few fundamental rules for analyzing concrete compromises.

The party which concluded a compromise with the German imperialists by signing the Brest-Litovsk Peace had been working out its internationalism in action ever since the end of 1914. It was not afraid to call for the defeat of the tsarist monarchy and to condemn "defence of the fatherland" in a war between two imperialist robbers. The parliamentary representatives of this party took the road to Siberia rather than the road leading to ministerial portfolios in a bourgeois government.

The revolution that overthrew tsardom established a democratic republic put this party to a new and tremendous test; the party entered into no agreements with its "own" imperialists, but prepared and carried out their overthrow. Having taken over political power, this party did not leave a vestige either of landlord or capitalist property.

Having made public and repudiated the secret treaties of the imperialists, this party proposed peace to all nations, and yielded to the violence of the Brest-Litovsk robbers only after the Anglo-French imperialists had frustrated the conclusion of a peace, and after the Bolsheviks had done everything humanly possible to hasten the revolution in Germany and other countries. That such a compromise, entered into by such a party in such a situation, was absolutely correct, becomes clearer and more evident to everyone every day.

THE FIGHT AGAINST "LEFT" COMMUNISM

ON THE 94TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN WE BRING TO OUR READERS EXTRACTS FROM HIS "LEFT-WING COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER" WRITTEN IN APRIL 1920.

It is far from sufficiently known as yet abroad that Bolshevism grew up, took shape, and became steered in long years of struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which smacks of, or borrows something from, anarchism, and which falls short, in anything essential, of the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle.

FOR Marxists, it is well established theoretically—and the experience of all European revolutions and revolutionary movements has fully confirmed it—that the small owner, the small master (a social type that is represented in many European countries on a very wide, a mass scale), who under capitalism always suffers oppression and very often, an incredibly acute and rapid deterioration in his conditions, and ruin, easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organization, discipline and steadfastness. The petty bourgeois "driven to frenzy" by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries.

The instability of such revolutionism, its barren-

ness, its liability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, fantasy, and even a "frenzied" infatuation with one or another bourgeois "fad"—all this is a matter of common knowledge. But a theoretical, abstract recognition of these truths does not at all free revolutionary parties from old mistakes, which always crop up at unexpected moments, in a somewhat new form, in hitherto unknown vestments or surroundings, in a peculiar—more or less peculiar—situation.

On two occasions the struggle that Bolshevism waged against "Left" deviations within its own party assumed particularly large proportions: in 1908, on the question of whether or not to participate in a most reactionary "parliament" and in the legal

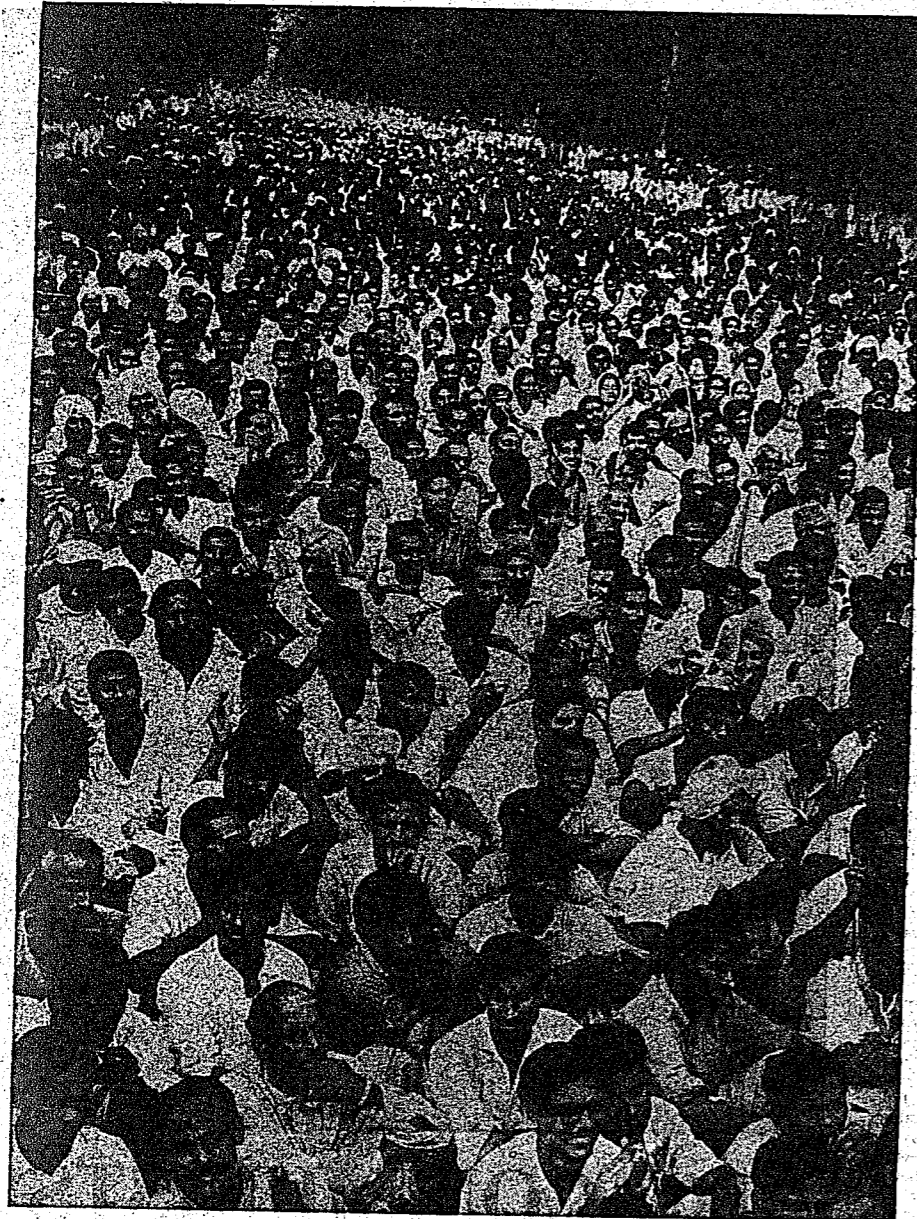
workers' societies, which were being restricted by most reactionary laws; and again in 1918 (the Brest-Litovsk Peace) on the question whether one or another "compromise" was admissible.

In 1908 the "Left" Bolsheviks were expelled from our Party for stubbornly refusing to understand the necessity of participating in a most reactionary "parliament". The "Lefts"—among whom there were many splendid revolutionaries who subsequently bore (and still bear) the title of member of the Communist Party with credit—based themselves particularly on the successful experience of the boycott in 1905.

The Bolshevik boycott of "parliament" in 1905 enriched the revolutionary proletariat with highly valuable political experience and showed that in combining legal with illegal, parliamentary with extraparliamentary forms of struggle, it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms. But it is a very great mistake indeed to apply this experience blindly, imitatively and uncritically to other conditions and to other situations.

The boycott of the "Duma" by the Bolsheviks in 1906 was, however, a mistake, although

PARTY OF THE PEOPLE



FROM THE THROBBING CITIES TO THE REMOTEST CORNERS OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE ON THE MARCH. THEIR VIBRANT VOICES PULSATE IN THE AIR. THE CLARION CALL IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE AND THE TOILERS, EVOKES MIGHTY RESPONSE AND THE RANKS OF MARCHING MILLIONS SWELL AS LIFE REVERBERATES IN THE THUNDEROUS ROAR SUCH AS WAS NEVER HEARD BEFORE.

THE past few months, a short span of coordinated actions throughout the country, in every state and in every district, have brought about an upsurge that never came before. And it was not a futile exhibition: these actions constituted the tremendously powerful mass pressure that secured significant and substantial concessions from the government.

What were these struggles? Under whose leadership were these waged? Answers to these are forever embodied in the golden

pages of the history of Communist movement in our country. It is the Communist Party that conducted these actions, the sweep of which was unprecedented. And these were conducted in the teeth of extreme opposition of reactionary forces and under most unfavourable circumstances.

The past few months are a proud record of ceaseless campaigns carried on by the Party, and of widest mass mobilisation around its slogans. One need not go into the day to day actions undertaken by the Party, but only look back to more recent days,

the memory of which should be fresh for every body.

Take the movement initiated by the Party against the draconian "Defence of India" legislation and the legal battle waged to secure its repeal. This was the follow-up of the Party's "Release Detenus" campaign. Then there were the actions against VOA deal, Air Umbrella etc. which blasted the imperialist manoeuvres to drag India into the war blocs.

These were political actions, and then the simmering discontent of the toiling people against the unjust policies of the government in the inter-

nal sphere, and for its failure to keep the employers within control and make them abide by the industrial truce resolution; for failing to keep the prices in check and for becoming a party to the continued and intensified exploitation of the workers; all these were properly channelled by the Party in the correct direction.

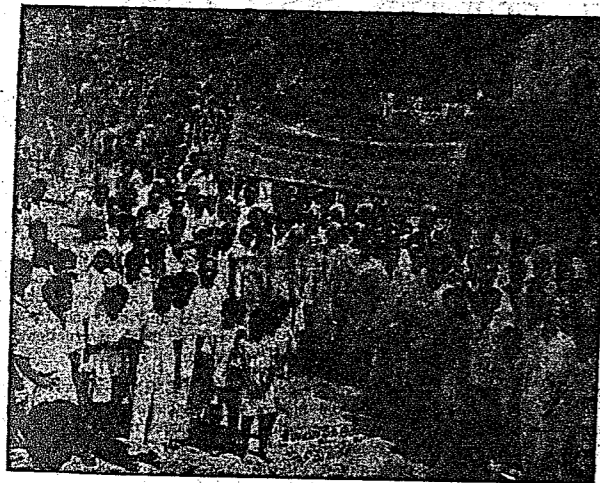
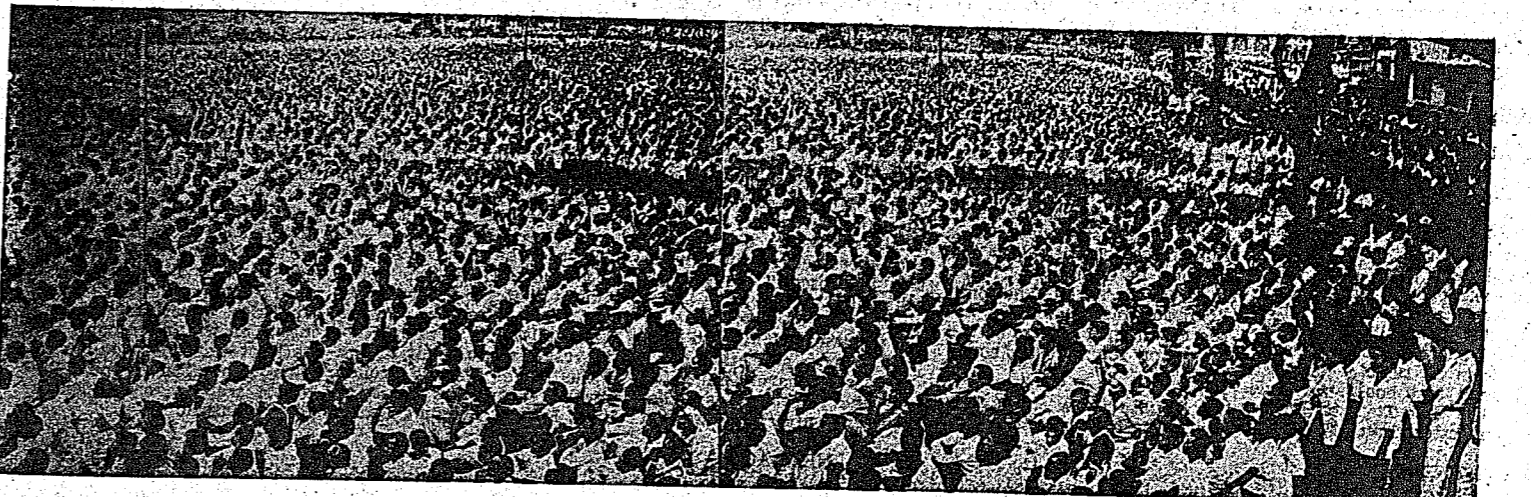
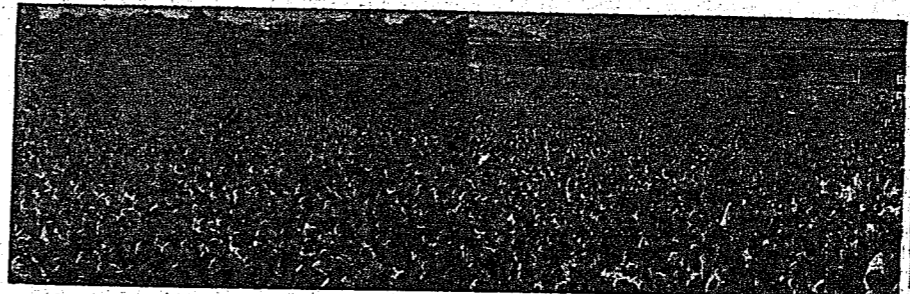
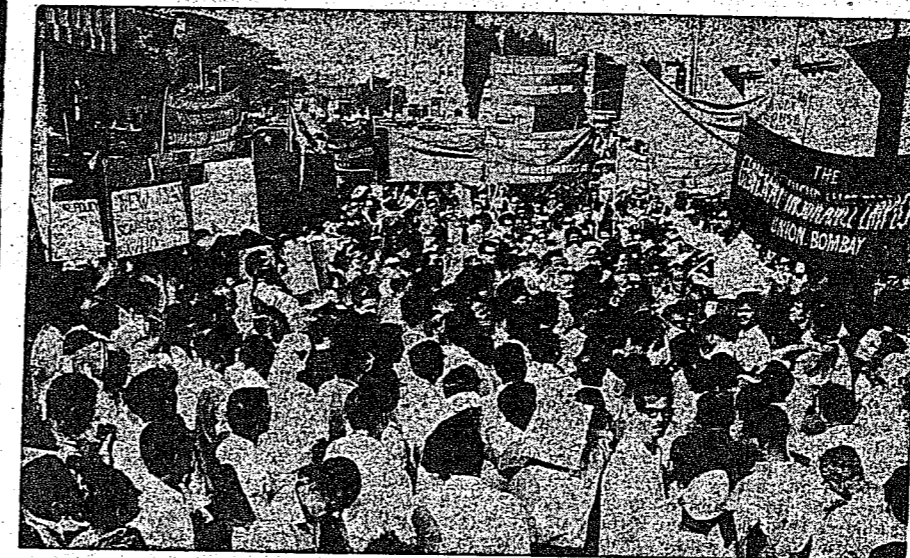
The Bombay Bandh action of workers, the nationalisation campaign etc., were the forerunners of the Great March and Great Petition of the peoples of the country. The gains of these mighty actions have brought the Party closer to the people and hold it in highest esteem.

As the people emerged victorious from this campaign, the Party chalked out new programmes and new actions for consolidating the gains and to achieve further successes. These have infused a

new campaign spirit among the people at all levels resulting in statewide actions. One of the most significant and widest action is the Andhra Peasants satyagraha, which is still on.

The National Campaign of the toilers consisting of a three-phased programme has enthused the workers, irrespective of trade union affiliations, to unitedly fight for their demands. This is to shortly culminate in a countrywide general strike.

These are the campaigns of the people, directly led by the Communist Party. There are other actions which were inspired by the examples of our Party. All these have adduced an unassailable proof that this is the Party of the people, ever alert and constantly fighting in defence of people and leading them into militant actions. Those who therefore try to split this Party simply fail to grasp this reality.



★
Workers, peasants and other sections of our people are on the move under the leadership of the CPL.



Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was born 70 years ago, on April 17, 1894, in the village of Kalinovka, Kursk region, which lies in the heart of European Russia. His grandfather had been a serf. His father was a miner.

The working life of Nikita Khrushchov began very early. He herded cattle in summer when he was a boy, attending the village school during the winter. Then he worked for a rich landowner. At the age of 15 he joined his father in the Donets Coal Basin, where he worked as a fitter in mines and factories.

The most politically advanced miners and steel workers in the Donbas were waging an active struggle for their rights and for an end to exploitation. A young man with a keen, inquisitive turn of mind, Nikita soon espoused the cause of the workers' emancipation and began to take part in organizing miners' strikes.

In the autumn of 1917, the Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia under the guidance of the Communist Party and its leader, Lenin. All power in the country passed into the hands of the people. With other active workers and intellectuals Nikita Khrushchov enthusiastically threw himself into the work of setting up the first Soviets in the miners' towns. In 1918 he joined the Communist Party.

AT THE FRONT

The young Soviet Republic soon came to resemble a besieged fortress. Practically the whole capitalist world was pitted against the new Russia. Many Communists volunteered for the front immediately after joining the Party in order to fight the foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolutionaries. That was what Nikita Khrushchov also did.

He was at the front, in the fighting ranks, throughout the civil war, from 1918 to 1920, conducting political propaganda among the men.

After the civil war Khrushchov returned to the Donbas where he was appointed assistant manager of a mine. He proved to be a good organizer. Soon the Party organization of the mine offered him the opportunity to attend the workers' faculty at the Donets Industrial Institute. After finishing the workers' faculty Khrushchov was elected secretary of the Petrovsko-Maryinsky District Committee of the Party in the Donbas, then worked in Party committees in Donetsk and Kiev.

In 1929 Khrushchov entered the industrial academy in Moscow where he was elected Secretary of the Party Committee by his fellow students.

FIRST PLAN PERIOD

That was in the period of the first Five-Year Plan when the main goal before the Communist Party and the nation was rapid industrialization. Khrushchov had by that time come through a great schooling in life. His political experience was combined with an extensive knowledge of economic construction.

In 1931 he was elected Secretary of a Moscow District Party Committee, and then Secretary of the Moscow Regional and City Party Committees. At the 17th Party Congress in 1934 Khrushchov was elected to the Central Committee of the CPSU, and has since been elected to it at every Party Congress.

In 1938 Khrushchov was elected First Secretary of the Central

KHRUSHCHOV:

The war brought Khrushchov a great personal loss. His eldest son Leonid, a flyer, perished in 1943 in action against enemy aircraft.

After the war Khrushchov continued to work at his post as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. He played a big part in the economic advance of the Republic, in raising the cultural standards and well-being of the Ukrainian people.

In 1949 he was elected Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and at the same time First Secretary of the Moscow Regional Committee of the Party. In March 1953, after Stalin's death, it was found necessary that Khrushchov should devote himself entirely to the work in the Central Committee of the CPSU, in view of which he was relieved of his duties at the Moscow Committee of the Party.

Khrushchov was with the army in the field throughout the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the German fascist invaders. His name is connected with the decisive battles of Volgograd and Kursk and the liberation of the Donbas and the Ukraine.

In September 1953 he was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. In March 1958 Khrushchov became Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

One often reads in the foreign press that the rise of the erstwhile shepherd boy and miner Khrushchov to his present high position is nothing short of a "mystery", an inexplicable "riddle". But here is Khrushchov's own explanation of the phenomenon:

"The revolution opened the doors of education, of science, to the workers, to all the working people of our country. I am only another example of that kind of revolutionary advancement."

His indivisible bond with the people is the most revealing trait of the Head of the Soviet Government. He has always en-

deavoured to be in the thick of the people's life and pays close attention to their thoughts and general mood.

Distance does not prevent him from frequently visiting factories, building sites, collective farms, educational and research institutes, and the families of workers and collective farmers up and down the length and breadth of the land. He stops to talk to people in the street, in shops, out in the fields. He always speaks frankly and likes to take the bull by the horns.

In the responsible posts he has been entrusted with by the people, N. S. Khrushchov has followed the policies collectively worked out by the Presidium of the Central Committee, the plenary meetings of the Party's Central Committee, the Congresses of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the

THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT

Council of Ministers of the USSR.

"Our goal," he said once, "is to do everything best for people. A Communist is happy when he achieves happiness for all people."

His guiding principle could be defined thus: to build communism, taking careful stock of the possibilities of the country and the people, so that the present generation will also be able to enjoy the wonderful fruits of a society of abundance.

After Stalin's death, the Leninist core of the Central Committee of the CPSU launched a determined fight against the personality cult and its consequences. N. S. Khrushchov was the moving spirit and leader of that historic fight. In February 1956, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, he levelled principled criticism at the Stalin personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The Congress ruled that the Central Committee had issued a perfectly correct and timely denunciation of the personality cult, and instructed the Central Committee to ensure the complete overcoming of its harmful consequences in all spheres of Party, government, economic and ideological work, to create firm guarantees for such phenomena never to occur again in the Party and the country.

GLORIOUS YEARS

The years following 1953 stand out in Soviet history. Soviet industrial output increased 2.7 times in the ten years.

"We have grown accustomed," Khrushchov said at the December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in 1963, "to high rates of growth of our economy, and consider them ordinary and natural. But just think, comrades, of the meaning of these figures: side by side with the giant that our industry was in 1953 there have emerged two more such giants in one decade! This, like a light into outer space, takes one's breath away. We have every reason to be proud, every reason to rejoice!"

The Party has drawn up measures for the accelerated development of the chemical industry as the most progressive branch of the country's economy. In the next seven years (1964-1970) the USSR plans to build 200 new chemical establishments and to reconstruct 500 operating chemical enterprises. Attention will chiefly be paid to the development of mineral fertilizer production and to consumer goods output.

Stressing the great importance the Party attaches to chemistry, Khrushchov said:

"Lenin said that communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. Were Lenin alive today he would probably say it in this way: Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country, plus the chemicalization of the national economy."

The changes in agriculture in these years have been truly gigantic. The output and state purchase of farm products have greatly increased. Even in

1963, marked by a severe drought, over 1.4 times more grain, nearly 2.6 times more meat, and nearly 2.7 times more milk were purchased than in 1953.

The decade has proved exceptionally fruitful for the development of science and technology. The network of research estab-

lishments has grown considerably in size and strength. The number of research workers has reached the enormous figure of 580,000. Guidance of scientific research has been improved in every way in order to provide the most favourable conditions for the work of the scientists, and to consolidate the ties of science with production, with life.



The socialist culture of the Soviet peoples rapidly developed in the past decade. At present, 64 million people, i.e., one-third of the country's population, excluding children of pre-school age, are engaged in some form of study at schools and courses. Every other Soviet working man or woman has a secondary or higher education.

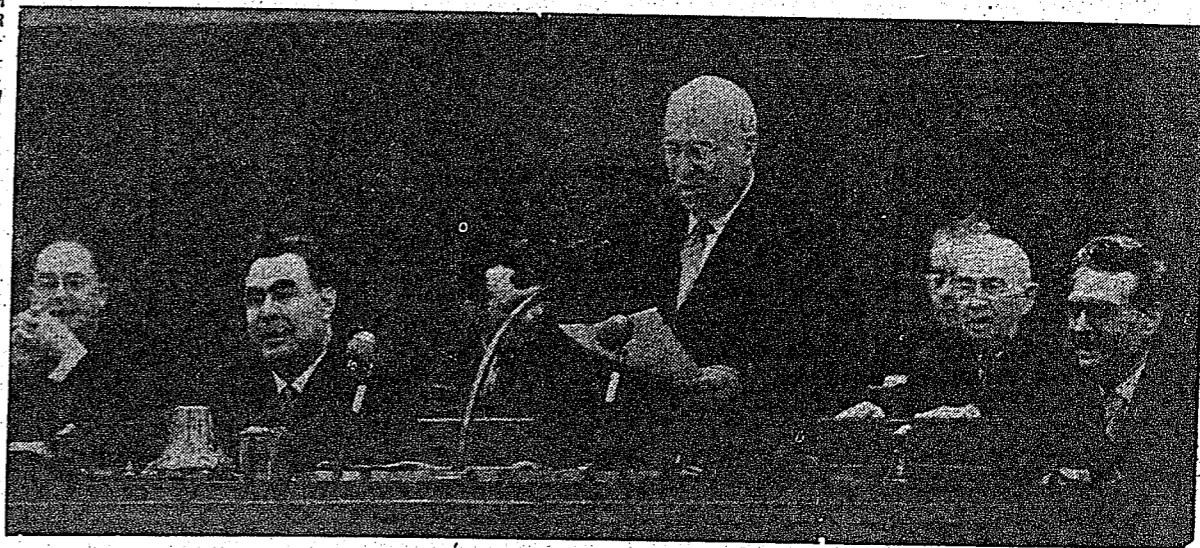
Outstanding achievements of Soviet scientists in the solution of problems of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, space conquest, mathematics and geology, as well as industrial automation, have won general recognition.

The entire meaning of the activity of the Communist Party lies in its concern for the welfare of the people. The living standard of the Soviet people steadily rose in the past decade.

Large-scale housing construction has been launched in the

ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Khrushchov's energetic organizational activities do not at all mean that he allows practice to



Khrushchov making a report as Brezhnev (second from left) and Suslov (right) look on.

push theory into the background.

In 1956, at the 20th Party Congress, Khrushchov advanced number of profound theoretical principles on pressing problems of international life. Creatively developing Lenin's idea of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, in conformity with present-day conditions, the Congress came to a conclusion that war was no longer inevitable and could be averted in the modern period.

HISTORIC PROGRAMME

That idea, put forward for the first time at the Congress, has been fully confirmed by the entire course of subsequent events.

A scientific explanation of the fundamental processes of social development in the USSR and throughout the world during the recent historical period can be found in the Programme of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress, the drafting of which took place with Khrushchov's active participation. The CPSU Programme is a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

N. S. Khrushchov devotes much attention at all times to the problems of culture of a new society, the problems of the development of the literature and art of the peoples of the USSR.

Khrushchov has been working tirelessly and consistently to implement the foreign policy of the Soviet Government that was originally laid down by Lenin—the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. It will be no exaggeration to say that owing to the unflagging efforts of Khrushchov, the principles of peaceful co-existence have been taking firmer and firmer root in international relations in the past decade.

Khrushchov's diplomatic activities are inseparably bound up with all the important acts in support of peace that have taken place in the past decade. Suffice it to recall, such historical achievements as the peaceful settlement of the dangerous crisis in the Caribbean in the autumn of 1962 or the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in three spheres in the summer of 1963.

Also closely linked with N.S. Khrushchov's name is the great peace programme of our time, the plan for general and complete disarmament under strict international control, which the Soviet Premier introduced in a speech at the UN General Assembly.

On the eve of 1964, Khrushchov came forward with another important proposal to the Heads of States (Governments). In this message of peace he called for an agreement on renunciation of force in solving territorial disputes. This message met with wide support from the world public and the governments of the vast majority of countries.

Khrushchov is an ardent champion of the complete abolition of colonialism, of freedom of all peoples and the rendering of all-round assistance to the newly-independent countries in Asia and Africa in the development of their economy and culture.

INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION

Khrushchov has made an invaluable contribution to the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the strengthening of fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the world socialist community.

Faithful to Lenin's behest on the need to preserve the unity of the international Communist movement, Khrushchov tirelessly works to rally all Communist and Workers' Parties, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, against both right-wing opportunism and dissenters who take shelter behind "left" phraseology.

On his 70th birthday Khrushchov is as tirelessly active as ever. "I've still got some fight in me," he says when asked about his health. He is strong, cheerful and full of energy. He likes hunting and walking in the woods. He has four children, six grandchildren and a great-granddaughter. They are all well. His wife, Nina Petrovna, is also in excellent health, and active in Soviet public life.

Along with Nikita Khrushchov's fellow-countrymen all people of goodwill send him sincere wishes for a long and happy life.

I'LL BE THE ENGINE DRIVER...

Playing a train is a delightful pastime for Children. So it is all the world over.

The Railways have always been a part of your life from infancy. They are a part of the life of the nation too. As our largest nationalised undertaking the Indian Railways belong to YOU. Railway property is YOUR property.

Do not ignore or encourage anti-social activities like ticketless travel, pilferage or destruction of Railway property and misuse of alarm chain.

It is PUBLIC CO-OPERATION that helps the Railways to help YOU.

INDIAN RAILWAYS
SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL AND BUILD THE NATION

111 YEARS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

National Council Resolution

ON THE QUESTION OF THE ALLEGED DANGE LETTERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, in its meeting in Delhi on April 14 adopted the following resolution on the alleged Dange letters:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India has given preliminary consideration to the question of the alleged letters in the National Archives.

It has heard an exhaustive explanation of Com. Dange on the subject. Com. Dange has categorically reaffirmed his denial that he ever wrote such letters. The Council has also heard several members on this question including some of those who have personally examined the documents concerned.

The National Council however considers it necessary to go on record that those members of the Council who had earlier made public statements or otherwise expressed themselves to the effect that the alleged Dange letters are genuine were absent from the meeting when this question was discussed. These members did not return to the meeting, having walked out of it two days earlier.

LONG IMPRISONMENTS

Though the National Council had their press statements and documents before it, their non-participation naturally denied the National Council the opportunity of hearing their views and their case on the subject in person. For this, however the responsibility rests with these members themselves.

On the basis of these alleged letters which relate to the years 1924-25, some people have contended that Com. Dange has been a British

agent. Even those who think that the letters are genuine have not produced any convincing evidence at all to prove this contention.

Their entire case in regard to this charge is sought to be substantiated by these letters and inferences from certain observations and remarks of British officials in connection therewith. All this does not make even a prima facie case in favour of this charge.

THEIR RESPONSIBILITY

The National Council cannot but recall the fact that Comrade Dange not only served the full term of his sentence in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy case but was later arrested and tried against in the Meerut Conspiracy Case.

He was held in custody as undertrial prisoner for nearly four years and was awarded by the Trial Court 12 years' rigorous imprisonment. This sentence, however, was reduced to three years by the High Court, along with that of Comrades Muzaffar Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani. This was the highest sentence given to any Meerut case prisoner on appeal.

During the second world war, Comrade Dange was arrested in 1939 and 1940 and was in continued detention from the later year till 1943. He continued to be in detention even when almost all the Communist detenues in the country were released. All this, together with Com. Dange's record of work and active service to the cause of the working class and in the national liberation movement would refute the charge that he has been a British agent.

The public records of Com. Dange's political activity in the years that followed his release from the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case would on the contrary show him to be a staunch

anti-imperialist fighter. The National Council repudiates this charge as slanderous.

From the reports which have been made to the National Council by members who examined the documents, it does appear that there exist a number of glaring inconsistencies and discrepancies in these "letters", such as the wrong spelling of Comrade Dange's name and signature, the general tenor of handwriting and also discrepancies regarding the stationary, ink etc. used.

It has to be noted that in the copies of the letters circulated by Comrade M. Basavapunniah the differences in the spelling of Comrade Dange's name has been suppressed.

Similarly in the notings given in the papers circulated by Comrade Basavapunniah there are some vital words and sentences which are not faithful to the papers in original file.

NO PRIMA FACIE CASE

From the reports that have been made to the Council by its members, the Council has come to the conclusion that not even a prima facie case has been made out that the letters are genuine.

Nevertheless, in order to make a more extensive examination of all relevant and available materials and documents, including the circumstances as to how these letters were found and then distributed to the outside world and by whom, the National Council decides to set up a committee which shall submit its report within a month.

The Committee will consist of Comrades S. V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, C. Rajeshwar Rao, Bhupesh Gupta, Achutha Menon, Sohan Singh Joshi and Hiren Mukherjee.

TOWARDS 7TH CONGRESS OF THE C. P. I.

The National Council of Communist Party of India, which concluded its six-day meeting on April 15 adopted the following resolution on the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India:

ACCORDING to the provisions of the Party Constitution, Party Congress should normally be held once in two years. Hence, a Congress of the Party was due in the year 1963. This, however, could not be held because of the serious political situation that developed in the country following Chinese aggression and the arrest of a large section of leading Party members. The National Council considered this and adopted a resolution postponing the Party Congress to 1964.

National and international developments of great importance have taken place since Vijayawada. These have to be properly assessed and the Party unified on the basis of a common political understanding. Besides, serious organisational problems are facing the Party today.

These problems need to be discussed and thrashed out in the highest forum of the Party so that the cohesion and organisational solidarity of the Party is guaranteed and promoted.

The National Council in its meeting held in October 1963 had taken a decision to hold the Party Congress towards the end of 1964 and had directed the CEC to take steps for preparation of necessary documents.

The Central Executive Committee in its meeting held in January 1964 decided to recommend to the National Council that the Seventh Congress of the Party be convened in October 1964. It also decided on its recommendations regarding membership, as also the agenda and the documents and also appointed a drafting commission.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, having considered the recommendations of the Central Executive Committee, resolves that—

★ The Seventh Congress of the Party be convened in September 1964; the venue of the Congress will be in Maharashtra.

★ The Drafting Commission appointed by the Central Executive Committee should finalise the documents, namely the

Draft Programme of the Party, Report on Developments since the Vijayawada Congress of the Party and ideological questions in the international Communist movement and the stand of the CPI.

★ The National Council to meet in the second week of May to discuss and finalise these documents and release them for discussion.

★ The following schedule for the Party Conferences in the provinces has to be adhered to:—The Provincial Councils have to finalise the programme of conferences in their respective provinces and finish them by the end of August 1964.

★ The National Council accepts the following recommendations regarding the membership basis for the Party Congress:

* 1962 membership shall be the basis of representation to the Party conferences at all levels and to the Party Congress;

* The enrolment of membership for the year 1962 ended on June 30, 1963;

* Every Party member who was in jail during the period of renewal of membership for the year 1962 would be deemed to have renewed membership after he pays up his membership dues to the appropriate committee;

* In the case of disputes regarding payment of dues of enrolled membership to the committees concerned, the Central Executive Committee would set up a mechanism

to examine and settle such disputes;

* In case of any objection to the enrolment or renewal of the membership of any specified person, the State Council will set up an adequate machine to examine this objection and settle the issue;

* In the case of such local committees where, due to large-

scale arrest of the office-bearers of these committees, the membership campaign could not be pursued, the question of renewal of old membership which has been left out of the Party rolls, shall be referred to the Central Secretariat which shall examine the facts and take the necessary decision in each case on its merit.

FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the new stage of aggravation of the open controversy and conflict in the world Communist movement reached since February 4, 1964 when the leadership of the Communist Party of China in their editorial in the *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* gave an open call for organising splits in the Communist and Workers' Parties of every country in the name of fighting alleged "revisionism" of the CPSU.

FROM an attempt to give an alternative interpretation of the basic new appraisals and conclusions regarding the present day world situation reached by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties through their collective effort and incorporated in the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, the leadership of the Communist Party of China proceeded, on the eve of their bilateral talks with the leadership of the CPSU, to put forth unilaterally an entirely alternative line for the world Communist movement.

After the breakdown of the bilateral talks, the leadership of the Communist Party of China launched an unprecedentedly venomous campaign of open polemics,

distorting the guiding principles laid down in the aforesaid collective documents, the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, on the role of the world socialist system, on the possibility of averting a World War, on peaceful co-existence of different social systems, on the forms of transition to socialism in the developed capitalist States and in the countries which have newly won their independence from imperialism.

In these open polemics, they resorted to such gross vilification and slanders against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, including our Party, violating all norms of be-