STATE Per





At Palam Airport, Union Ministers Sardar Swaran Singh and Morarji Desal, Chou En-lai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Chen Yi.



#### **\*** From ZIAUL MAQ

Talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China have started in New Delhi in right earnest. A prolonged session took place today (April 20), the opening day, and the talks are sche luled to go on till the 25th.

Both Nehru and Chou En-lai in their airport speeches expressed hope and confidence that the talks would yield positive results.



THE Chinese Premier was given a friendly welcome on arrival at Palam on Tues-day afternoon by the distin-guished gathering of Union Ministers, Parliament mem-bers, diplomatic and promi-nent figures in various waks of life We We were preferred. of life. He was profusely gar-landed. As the two Premiers came to the mike the entre gathering formed a close circle round them.

Device round them. Prime Minister Nehra for the first time spoke on the basis of a prepared text. He referred to "other events," that have "put a great strain on this bond of. (India-China) friendship and given a shock to our people." He said the very basis of India-China, rela-tions had been shaken and it was a hard task to go back. and recover that feeling of good faith and friendship. good faith and friendship.

Yet the future depends upon this," he asserted and pro-claimed bis trust that "our efforts will be directed towards undoing much that has hap-pened, and thus recovering that climate of peace and

\* SEE BACK PAGE



3

## HOMAGE TO LENIN

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APRIL 22 THIS YEAR IS the Ninetieth Birth Anni-versary of Lenin. When we pay homage to his memory on this great day it is with deep gratitude that we remember this immortal leader and teacher of the international working class, of the World Communist Movement.

Our yoang revolutionaries of the 'twenties and 'thirties, the present leaders of the Communist Party, dissatisfied with the slow pace and compromising tendencies of the leadership of the national movement, groping towards means to galvanise India's people for the final hid to over-throw British imperialism and march forward to Socialism, found in Lenin an uncompromising opponent of i mperialism and a doughty champion of the people struggling for national liberation, they found in his life, work and teach-ings the path they had to traverse.

Inspired by the Great October Revolution and led by the ever-green teachings of Lenin, the Indian revolution-aries raised the banner of national independence first when even the tallest among the national leaders were still temporising on this demand.

Lenin taught them the need for a Communist Party and that the Communist Party can successfully lead the stroggle for Socialism only if a firm worker-peasant alliance was forged. It was as a section of the Third Communist International founded by Lenin bimself that our Party came into, existence and has ever since striven to organise our working class and build its unity, mobilise our multi-million peasantry and other sections of our toiling people in a broad powerful movement for the victory of Socialism in our country.

Lenin taught us that our struggle for freedom was an inseperable part of the world struggle for Socialism and thus instilled in us the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the organisational principles which Lenin laid down for the Party have proved their correctness in the Parties which are today successful builders of Socialism in one-third of the world and in the tremendous growth of Communist Parties in the other two-thirds, including our own country. As against these mighty triumphs of Marxism-Leninism, what has Social-Democracy to offer the working class with its miserable theories of class collaboration and "people's capitalism"?

Just this success of Marxism-Leninism, its irresistible march forward, prompts the ideologues of reaction to launch another desperate offensive against it. Today under cover of preaching Socialism, they are trying to emasculate it of its revolutionary principles.

Hence the need all the more today to study Lenin, to imbibe his teachings and practise the principles he has laid down so as to enable us to defend the purity of Margian-Leninism, to fight against all the revisionist, dogmatist and sectarian efforts to undermine these teachings, to intensify our efforts to build a strong mass Communist Party and Lend any meanly towards Sacialism our efforts to build a strong mass lead our people towards Secialism

On this great day for humanity, let us rededicate our-selves to the struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism.

hefe u

#### **MORARJI'S** READAD 1D

I T is widely reported that I T is widely reported that it was a pensive Morarji who returned from Pakis-tan. Right at the outset people were inclined to put it down to the breakdown in the financial talks. What a feather it would have been in the Finance Minis-ter's khadi cap if he could have pulled off a settle-ment. This would have pushed his prestige pretty high and he could have claimed exclusive rights to patronage from certain quarters.

This would have been This would have been enough to make any person-thoughtful and crestfallen. But rumour has it that this is far from being the chief cause for the misty look that now peers out of Morarji's eyes. It is said that financial talks apart, he had looked around Pak-istan to see what he could pick up for use in India---for shaping this country nearer his heart's desire.

nearer his heart's desire. Strange as it may seem, it appears that the great man had had some doubts about the possibility of the success of an authoritarian regime in a big country like India—especially with a heterogeneous army. He had, therefore, been argu-ing it out with himself about the form and method of exercising power. reising nower

Now after his talks with

\* From H. K. VYAS

leads to mysterious deaths,

one after another, of people arrested and taken to the police lock-ups, as it has been recently happening in

Rajasthan, it becomes a matter of concern to the

people. There is hardly any day

when reports of rape or molestation of women do not appear in the Press of the State.

State. Some months ago, a jour-nalist, the correspondent of a daily, was handcuffed and paraded in the streets of-

fodhnur, Similar was the fate

of the editor of a weekly paper in Bikaner. These journalists

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PAGE TWO



doubts are being dispelled. He had told a tight and supposedly closed circle that he has seen the future and it works. He now feels that it is quite feasible that a dictatorship can manage the affairs of State, provid-ed it has the instrument of a disciplined corps of men (preferably armed). So now he is working at it and hence the abstracted look, the distant gaze. It is further rumoured that he has decided that the old attempt to get Pantji's portfolio had best be abandoned. I leave it to you to guess the post he is after now.

#### MINISTERIAL PROCESSION

**TROUBLESSENT WOU** must have heard of **East** Godayari but it is a safe bet that very few will know the village Sax-hiretipalli which is situated there. But it is getting ready for a big event—an Andhra Minister's son is getting married there. And the son of so powerful a Minister as Alluri Satya-narayanaraju. The great ceremony will

Three Lock-Up Deaths

In Six Months

**RISING DEMAND FOR CURBING RAJASTHAN POLICE** 

take place on April 19. Everything is abustle in the once sleepy hamlet. But the organisers have a much bigger problem on their hands than just a wedding. They have to provide for any number of VIPs. Natu-rally a lot of money will have to be set aside for their comfort. But quite a few of the Ministers, who naturally

But quite a few of the Ministers, who naturally have just got to be there, have decided to go it cheap. And what could be easier, than organising State-pro-vided tours which will somehow include the now important Sakhiretipalli on the itinerary. That, too, on April 19.

the itinerary. That, too, on April 19. K. V. Ranga Reddy, De-puty Chief Minister, flies to Delhi on April 15 but has arranged to proceed the next day for Sakhiretipalli. Pattabhirama Rao, the Education and Transport Minister, arrives back from Delhi on April 18 and Pro-ceeds straight away for a tour which includes, the same village. D. Sanjivayya, the Chief Minister, also leaves on

Minister, also leaves on tour on April 18, for Rajah-mundry. But the crucial date will find him at exact-

ly the same spot as his other two colleagues. In the note handed out giving details of the tours of the following other Min-lsters—Ramachandra Red-dy (Agriculture and Lab-our), Konda Lakhsman Ba-puji (Small-scale and Cot-tage Industries), Brahma-nanda Reddi (Finance and Law)—there is also the same curious identity. The affairs of Andhra Pradesh are such that each and everyone of them will find it necessary to be at Sak-hiretipalli on Aprill 19! Needless to say all these Ministers will adom the wedding of their colleague's scion and at no expense to wedding of their conceases to scion and at no expense to themselves. Affairs of State, after all, demand the Min-isters' attention but place no demand on their purses.

GOA AND

### THE BISHOPS

THE recent judgement of the International Court has quite bewildered the lay public. More confusion has been produced by the Government of India wel-coming the decision at the same time as Salazar's

Portugal going wild with joy at the verdict. But there are some ac-tions of some people which nor confusion. It only makes any patriot's gorge rise. Of course, with the Government of India .re-cently giving a clean bill to the Catholic Church and its nefarious political activthe Catholic Church and its nefarious political activ-ities, perhaps, our big-wigs will be unperturbed. It has been reliably re-ported that the Indian Car-dinal Gracias (or his repre-sentative) held a conclave with his Bishops—or at least some of them—shortly after the International Court's verdict was anno-unced. He is alleged to have told this high-level meeting of the shepherds of the Catholic flock that the Catholic flock that the Catholic conscience need no longer be perturbed about Goa. It appears that the Day

Catholic conscience need no longer be perturbed about Goa. It appears that the Day of Consecration announced at Lisbon has made it clear for the Catholic hierarchs that God in his wisdom has decreed—through the In-ternational Court—that Goa is Portugal's property. And has not the faith laid down the precept—Thou shalt not steal? So, for any Catholic now to propagate and work for Goa's liberation will be equivalent to his encourag-ing or actually participat-ing in theft. What more heinous crime could there be? Thus, has the dogma been laid down and no Catholic, however patriotic, can challenge it. So much is the fear aroused by the spiritual powers of the Church that the person giving the news was visibly terrified lest he be discovered All the more was he confirmed in his fears after the Government had ridden roughshod over the projected Bill to curb the catholic clergy's inter-ference with the political rights of the Indian citizen.

#### RAJAJI'S WOES

# DESPITE all the Press ballyhoo, circles close to the Swatantra High Priest state that Rajaji has gone back a disappointed man. With all his reputa-tion for political jugglery, he has accomplished pretty little in his North Indian tour.

The poor soul has been rather disturbed by the Hindi hecklers precisely at a time when he wanted to bag the Jan Sangh in Uttar Pradesh, at least. Then as he was wobbling and equi-vocating about Punjabi Suba in talks with fellow octogenerian Tara Singh, down flies a messenger from Baldev Singh, pre-sently at Vienna. And the message—stick to the Con-gress, avoid the Swatantra. In Bihar he had hoped to In Bihar he had hoped to gather support from Jaipal Singh's Jharkhand Party. Singh's Jnarkhand Party. But the rivalry with the Raja of Ramgarh, together with the Congress offer of a Vice-Chancellorship to the Adivasi boss, spoiled that brainy move.

brainy move. To crown it all, it seems that the Ganatantra Pari-shad M.P.s made it clear that they are going to be tough bargainers. With their hopes of bagging in-fluential Congressmen in Orissa, they more or less told Rajaji that they do not need bis services. need his services.

Thus, all the cheering headlines and the crowds headines and the crowds have not brought comfort to the sage of Bazlullah Road. He is nursing a grievance—and his frus-

LENIN...

The Ninetieth Birthday of Lenin will be celebrated all over the world by the international working class marching decisively and firmly towards its final goal. The banner of Marxism-Leninism waves over more than one-third of the world, while the rest is preparing for its inevitable triumph.

India which bases itself on Marxism-Leninism will use the occasion to sharpen its dogmatism, it will not be able to discharge its mission. The Ninetieth Birthday Anniversary of Lenin calls understanding of the great creative principles of Marx-ism-Leninism which have transformed the world.

For ceaselessly struggling to transmit this revolutionary heritage to the Indian masses, for guiding their activities along the Marxist-Leninist nath the Communist Party 0 India has been attacked by its opponents and enemies since the day of its foundation. It was denounced by them to be an alien trend just because it alone of all the parties ad-chred to the revolutionary teachings of Lenin and strove hard to take the masses along the path of national libera-tion and Socialism.

Communist Party Marches On

Undeterred by the repres-sion launched by the British Government and later by the Congress rulers, unway ering in the face of the slanderbus propaganda launched through Press and launched through Fress and platform, the early pioneers and members steadfastly pursued along the Marxist-Leninist path. With im-mense faith in the all-pow-erful principles of Marxism-Leninism, with faith in the mission of the working mission of the working class, the Communist Party of India continues to strike deep roots among the mass-es. It's biggest triumph was in Kerala, where it formed a Ministry which was not Ministry which was not allowed by the Congres rulers to run its normal constitutional term.

But with the banner of So-cialism triumphing in the world, with the growth of Socialist ideas in India, the Socialist ideas in india, the opponents and enemies of Socialism attempt to deck themselves out in Socialist colours. In India, the ruling class talks of a Socialistic pattern, while pursuing the path of capitalist developpattern, while pursuing the path of capitalist develop-ment. Marxism-Leninism is attacked as an alien trend and in the name of an indigenous variety of Socialism, emascu-lation of Marxism is demand-ed

Proletarian internationalism is attacked and pressure is brought on the Communist Party to adopt bourgeois nationalist digits, to rally behind the ruling class.

The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principle of Party organisa-tion\_democratic centralism\_ in fact, every, principle that makes Marxism-Leninism a revolutionary transformatory doctring and optime the workdoctrine, endowing the work-ing class with new creative energy, is attacked, ridiculed and faith in it is undermined by our opponents

Leninism teaches us that inless the working class is steeled in the struggle against those tendencies against revisionism, sectarianism and

APRIL 24, 1960

**POLICE** zoolum is nothing new in India under Congress raj. But when it leads to mysterious deaths. inspector and three constables have been arrested and invesment and the Government in the columns of their newstigations are now going on papers. All this, however, pales into against them in a case charg-ed under Section 304.

insignificance when compared to what has now become a to what has now become a common practice with the po-lice of the State—that of arresting people in connection with some investigation and then mercilessly beating them in the police lock-up.

It is difficult to guess the total number of people who are subjected to such inhuman treatment: but one can get an idea of the extremely grave situation from the fact that during the last six months at least three persons who were arrested in this manner are said to have died as a result of beating in police lock-up.

The latest instance, which also figured in the discussions in the Assembly, concerns one sonar of Nimbherda. He was arrested on March 27 in con-nection with some alleged complicity in an opium smug-gling case. It is said that he was mercilessly beaten after his arrest and, as a result, he died. His body, it seems, was then removed and dumped in a well in the adjoining terri-tory of Madhya Pradesh.

When the report of his death leaked out, the people of Nimbherda in Chittor District were ingnant and there

guard duty were arrested on suspicion. Three days later the dead body of one of the

peared.

NEW AGE

one of his relatives, a woman to her father-in-law's place.

When he was removed to the

hospital after some time by

the police, he was already dead. The story the police put out was that he had died as

a result of some injuries he had received in a private quarrel even before he was arrested.

A similar case happened in

Jodhpur some months ago. The Anti-Corruption Depart-

ment had recovered Rs. 17,000 in a particular case and this money which was lying sealed in the treasury of the court of

the Jodhpur Sub-Divisional

Magistrate suddenly disap-

The police constables on

constables was found in an utterly decomposed state. The other constable had to be removed to the hospital for treatment. A storm of for treatment. A storm of protest was raised against this because the death of the constable was said to have been the result of lock-up beating. Enquirles were promised but nothing came out of it.

The Nimbherda case is not the first of its kind. Some months ago, a 22-year-old resident of Jaipur, Mithanlal The fact that despite public was made and action taken in the case of the death of the who had a young wife and two children, was reported to have been called to the police station in an effort to "per-suade" him to agree to send police constable at Jodhpur and the death of poor Mith-anial at Jaipur, emboldened some people in the police department to pursue their practices, and the result is the ghastly murder in Nimbherda, which even the Government had to admit is a serious He is said to have been beaten very severely in the course of the "persuasion." affair.

Facts and instances can be multiplied but to what pur-pose? The instances given here themselves show beyond doubt that police excesses, their playing with the secu-rity and life of ordinary citi-zens, have become an issue of major importance for the State.

Every decent citizen is condemning such actions, the demand for very rigorous and drastic action against police officers guilty of such helnous deeds is gathering strength The Government will be act-ing foolishly if it resists this popular demand and tries to protect its police officials.

tration. -ONLOOKER APRIL 19

centralism.



Anniversary of Lenin calls upon the Communist Party of India to sharpen its understanding of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party and the working class have to play a leading role in the struggle for Socialism. This responsibility can be discharged only by fulfilling the Leninist behest for a workers' and peasants' alliance It cannot be discharged without enabling the masses to learn through their own experience in struggles. It cannot be ful-filled without working class unity, without a steeled Party based on democratic

Lenin's teachings ask the Communist Party of India to strengthen the struggle for world peace and coexistence

world peace and coexistence carried on by the USSR, People's China and the Social-ist camp. The great initiatives taken by the USSR in pursu-ing world peace, calling for destruction of atomic weapons and for total disarmament are a tribute to the teachings of Lenin. The Communist Party of India has consistently sup-

ported these policies and has wholeheartedly endorsed the principles of Panchsheel as a code of conduct among na-

tions: The fight for peace, for disarmament is in the best traditions of proletarian internationalism, for whi Lenin stood and worked.

When we look back to our past, we find that the name and teachings of Lenin exercised a powerful influence over the young Indian revo-lutionaries of the twenties and thirties, who were turning towards the masses and struggling to strike a new path for achieving the libe-ration of India.

#### Fighter For Freedom

Revolutionaries and anti-Revolutionaries and anti-imperialist Congress leaders of those days alike saw in him a great fighter for free-dom, leader of a great people and a great world-revolutionary. And the lea-ders of the rising working class and peasants' move-ment already recognised him as the great leader who showed them the way to national emancipation and Socialism. Socialism.

The deep impression made by Lenin, the love and respect which his name inspired among the leaders of workers and peasants can be gathered from the following tribute which the Labour Kisan Gazette paid to him after his death:

"Lenin the Great has passed away and joined the choir invisible. The world, workers' world, is today poorer by the passing away

of the Great Teacher and Redeemer. Today, the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their greatest protagonist. It is the worker, the true salt of the earth, that mourns or ought to mourn for him who showed him the path of deliverance from bondage, privation and misery.

by B. T. RANADIVE

"Teachers and prophets, statesmen and scientists, philosophers and metaphysicians, equally great, equally learned, have appeared from time to time and tried to redeem the workers' humanity from its age-long suffering and serfdom, but **Influence On** apply the only true and Anti-Imperialists correct solution for removing the great ills of life which the great capitalist interests of the world have brought upon the once happy human race...

To him who has done so much and who has given the worker a clear vision of his glorious realm in which every human being shall have the right to labour and to live like all his other fellows, we lift our hands in love, devotion and reverence."

Presiding over the First Conference of Indian Communists, held in 1925 in Kan-pur, M. Singaravelu echoed these sentiments. After pay-ing tribute to Rosa Luxeming tribute to Rosa Luxem-burg, "the noblest of woman-kind," he said, "But the great-est loss which the world Com-munists have suffered during ration for Lenin was unnis-takable. To quote from a review of the book — "In the Preface the writer quotes from Bertrand Russil

recent times is that caused by the death of Lenin. By his death, the world has grown sadder. Here was a man who cared for nothing else in the world except the well-being of suffering humanity. Such a man was snatched away by the cruel hand of death at a time when the great Workers' State in Russia needed his advice and guidance. The Communist world has lost in Communist world has lost in him a real benefactor of man-kind whose counsels would have immensely benefited them in these trying times... there can be no doubt that there can be no doubt that the work began by Lenin in Russia will ultimately benefit mankind and shower happiness, and contentme the human race."

The impress left by Lenin on the minds of some of the anti-imperialist fighters in India is seen in a book written by Dr. Vishwanath Mukherjee, a Congress leader of Uttar Pradesh and one of the accused in the Meerut Cons-piracy Case. The book under the title, Mahatma Lenin er a Chapter of the Revolution-ary History of Russia, appear-ed in 1928-29 and was mainly based on information availshle in India at that time.

The British in those days exercised the strictest censor-ship. The ideas of the author were bound to be confused on many points and yet his admiration for Lenin was unmis-



LENIN IN THE PRESIDIUM OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE THIRD COM-MUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE KREMLIN IN MARCH 1919.

NEW AGE

that 'the modern age would be called the Lenin age.' Lenin dedicated his life for the redemption of the poor and afflicted peasants. Jn the words of Bernard Shaw, the statue of Lenin would be erected in the public parks of England. The parks of England. The motto of the Life of Lenin was the protection of the people from the oppression of the capitalists and land-

The author adds : "The main cause of the success of the principles of Lenin was his candid be-haviour and true love for the peasants, workers and the common people. He listened to their grievances very patiently and never left any stone unturned to remove them. Lenin despis-ed pomp and splendour and wanted to pass his days as

wanted to pass his days as a poor man. "The greatest of all rea-sons in the success of Lenin was his unparalleled organ-ising power... he wanted that the poor and ordinary people should have a hand in the administration of the country. He favoured country... He favoured Government for and by the common people themselves. He was of the opinion that without revolution, there

\* SEE OVERLEAF

PAGE THREE

From page 3

could be no awakening. Lenin made friends with the simple and illiterate Asia He peasants of Asia. He thought, if there was an awakening among the pea-sants, and if they were initiated with the mantra of Bolshevism, the capital-ists, rich men, landlords and others would come to an end by themselves and the public in general would govern and the peasants and workers would command chief power." Therefore Lenin wanted to organise the workers and pa-sants and to establish unity among them. He believed that if this was done, Govnt by the people in would last permaernmer Russia nentiv.

#### Meerut Trial

By 1929, Lenin's thoughts began to exercise such a pow-erful influence on young Indians, especially those working among the peasants and workers, that they were considered dangerous to the safety of British rule in India. The Meerut Conspiracy Case in which thirtythree trade in which thirtythee tades union and kisan leaders, a large number of whom were leaders of the Communist Party, were charged in 1929 with conspiracy to wage war against the King, was nothing but a crude attempt to penal-ise the advocacy of Lenin's revolutionary ideas.

Among the evidence adduced by the prosecution were Lenin's pamphlets and books. These, according to the pro-secution, were the final proof that the accused had organis-ed a conspiracy to overthrow the King's regime. Articles on Lenin written by people from abroad, found in possession abroad, found in possession of the accused, were also ad-duced as evidence. The argu-ment was—who else but a conspirator and revolutionary keep such articles in his possession. Needless to say speeches made by the accused on Lenin in observance of the his pos Lenin Day figured prominent-ly among the exhibits.

How everything connected with Lenin was considered to be a part of conspiracy can be seen from the following ruling of Judge Yorke, who sentenc-ed the accused to barbarous ed the accused to barbarous terms of imprisonment:

#### British Judge's Ruling

"Adhlkari, accused, ob-jects to the admission in evidence of P. 506, a life of Lenin by one Max said to be a bourgeois writer on the ground that it is not written or published by a conspira-tor or deal with matters relevant to the cose. relevant to the case. The prosecution contend that the possession by the accus-ed of literature dealing with Bolshevism from any point of views relevant as showing the accused's interests in that subject. A life of Lenin shows an interest in one of Bolshevism and its leading exponents. It appears to me that this book is a piece of evidence admissible under Section 11 of T.E. Act."

Two books of Lenin, On Imperialism and State and Revolution exercised powerful influence on Indian revoluinfluence on Indian revolu- claim, the Indian people had tionaries. Lenin's analysis of a powerful ally. Imperialism gave the revolu-tionaries a real insight into the working of British domi- British Labour Party, the

vanced movements of the ideas showed a real way to as part of the national pro-world working class for So-claism, the Indian people had sequently gave up their earlier a powerful ally. Originally inclusion of such

1.1

of the liberation struggle in

the common fight against

Lenin's book State and

Revolution opened the eyes of

the young anti-imperialist fighters who were already dis-satisfied with the results of

the satyagraha struggle in 1920. The theory of State and

its overthrow was now applied to the foreign Government and the longing for a revolu-

tionary struggle against the British now got a scientific theoretical basis. A number of revolutionaries leading the

mass struggles were inspired

by the thought of organising

an armed struggle of the masses against the British

masses against the British Government and saw in Lenin's ideas and theory a

powerful weapon of national liberation.

In those days, young men from the educated middle-class had formed secret asso-

NEW AGE

ing into

Revolutionary

imperialism

Struggle

munist Party.

The remote Siberian settlement of Shushenskove, where Lenin was in exile from 1897 to January 1900 has changed beyond recognition during the years of Soviet rule. The place has now become the revional centre of the Krasnoyarsk territory and has an agricultural technical school, a milk canning factory and a house of culture.

The influence of Lenin's

were ridiculed. They LENIN'S IDEAS INFLUENCE

# INDIA'S STRUGGLE

nation, laid the foundation of Indian democrats had begun an international outlook and to think that Western Social-gave an insight into the exis-ism was as much for racial tence of classes and class-struggle on a world plane. Indian revolutionaries now understood that in the ad-



TO CONTRACT AND A CONTRACT

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the National Congress was movement yet hesitating to inscribe necessary to that inspiring objective on programme. its banner. It further influenced the radicals in the direction of combining the national liberation struggle with a programme of social advance of the masses, of the direction is a social structure of the masses of the lening su turning the edge of the national movement against

### Demand For Independence

The Congress leadership for years was against a clear-cut economic programme cham-pioning the cause of the peasantry against feudalism and of the workers. The amendment for an economic and agrarian programme moved at the Calcutta Congress in 1928 by representatives of the Workers' and Peasants' Party was defeated. But as the from the equivalent minute- star unrance. Due to the class had formed secret assonational movement broaden-clations to punish the tyran- ed and the pressure of radi-nical bureaucrats. A large cally-minded sections in-number of these, after com- creased, the demands of the ing into contact with Leninist thought, realised that Lenin's peasants, workers and mid-dle-classes had to be included

ed youth was distinctive. It national unity. But those in-gave them courage to de-fluenced by the October Revo-mand complete independ- lution and Lenin's ideas contilution and Lenin's ideas conti-nued their pressure till the broadening of the national movement itself made it necessary to accept the new

demands as eight-hour day, abolition of landlordism, etc.,

### Working Class

Lenin's successful leadership of the November Revolu-with the peasants, there was the working class, whose historic importance was being seen by the young intellec-tuals for the first time.

> The growth of Leninist ideas in India coincided with the great wave of strikes between 1925-30. Hundreds of disciplined workers fought shoulder to shoulder against the emshoulder against the em-ployers and the Government, forgetting distinction of class and caste. The working class raised the Red Flag, its own trade movement and is founded its own Party-the Communist Party of India-

\* SEE PAGE 14

APRIL 24 1960

LENIN LIVES FOR EVER

WHAT THE "FRIENDS OF dom, with the unprecedented 
 WHAT THE "FRIENDS OF dom, with the infreedented

 THE PEOPLE" ARE AND impoverishment and ruin of

 HOW THEY FIGHT THE
 the peasant poor fully explain

 SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS (1894)
 the deep sources of the revolutionary peasant movement,

 In this book Lenin thorou the deep roots of the revolutionary peasant movement,

filly exposed the true charac-ter of the Narodniks, who held that Russia could avoid the capitalist path of deveonment and that the principal part in the revolution would be played by the peasantry and not by the working class. They did their utmost to prethe spread of Marxism in Russia.

Lenin showed that the Narodniks were false "friends of the people," who shut their eyes to the conditions of the poor peasants, to the class struggle in the countryside, to the expluitation of the poor peasants by the kulaks (rich peasants) and sang praises to the development of kulak farming.

Lenin pointed out that the development of capitalism in Russia was an objective fact, irrespective of the wishes of anybody, this development was inevitably accompanied by the growth of the proleta-riat, which would be the grave-digger of capitalism. In this book Lenin for the

first time advanced the idea of a revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants at the principal means of overing isardom, landlordsm and capitalism. Condemning the tactics of

individual terrorism, which substituted the struggle of individual "heroes" for the revolutionary movement of the masses, Lenin also outlined masses, Lenin also outlined the paramount task of build-ing up a united Marxist Workers' Party. He further pointed out that the working class, in alliance

with the peasantry, would cverthrow tsarist autocracy, after which it, in alliance with after which it, in alliance with the labouring and exploited masses, would together with the proletariat of other coun-tries, take the road of open political struggle to the vic-torious Communist Revolu-

#### THE DEVELOMENT OF CAPI-TALISM IN RUSSIA (1899)

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In this work Lenin examin-ed the question of how a home market was being form-ed for Russian capitalism. He graphically depicted the whole process of the development of capitalism in Russia in its entirety with a wealth of statistical data. It was this work that dealt the ideological death-blow to Narodni

views. Lenin here fully clarified the economic basis of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution that was unfolding. He also analysed the dual position and dual role of the peasantry. On the one head, the tremendous one hand, the tremendous relics of corvee economy and all kinds of survivals of serf-

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T HE electors, the people, must demand that their deputies should remain equal to their tasks; that in their work they should not sink to the level of political philistnes; that in their posts they should remain political figures of the Lenin type; that as public figures they should be as clear and definite as Lenin was; that they should he as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic, when things begin to get complica-ted and some danger or other looms on the hori-zon; that they should be as free from all semblance of panic as Lenin was; that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was; that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was; that they should love their people as Lenin did.

Speech at a meeting of voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow, December 11, 1937.

### his major works

tionary character of the pea-

dom, is retained and turns slowly into purely capitalist, "junker," economy. The entire agrarian system of the State becomes capitalist and for long retains feudalist features. Or the old landlord economy

or the one handlord economy is broken up by revolution, which destroys all the relics of serfdom, primarily large landownership. In other words: either—the retention in the main of landlordism and of the main of land-lordism and of the main sup-ports of the old "superstruc-ture"; hence, the predominant role of the liberal-monarchist bourgeois and landlord. the rapid transition of the wellto-do peasantry to their side, the degradation of the pea-sant masses, not only expropriated on a vast scale but

enslaved, in addition, by one or other kind of liberal-pro-posed land-redemption pay-

ments, and downtrodden and dulled by the dominance of reaction; the executors of such a bourgeols revolution would be politicians of a type approximating to the liberals.

approximating to the liberals. Or-the destruction of landsantry as a mass. On the other lordism and of all the main hand, in both the course of supports of the corresponding the revolution, the character old "superstructure", the presupports of the corresponding old "superstructure", the pre-dominant role of the proletaand the numerous ideological-political trends is revealed the inherently contradictory class structure of this mass, tionary its petty-bourgeois character trends within it. is the best circumstances at all conceivable under commodity production for the worker and peasant masses;—hence, the conceivable condition best circumstances at all conceivable under commodity production for the worker and peasant masses;—hence, the condition best circumstances at all conceivable under commodity production for the worker and peasant masses;—hence, the condition thousands of threads the dom to the productive forces on a capitality basis, under the best circumstances at all conceivable under commodity production for the worker and fuerton fuerton the best circumstances at all conceivable under commodity peasant masses;—hence, the fuerton fuer cstablishment of the most favourable conditions for the further accomplishment by the working class of its real fundamental task of Socialist reorganisation.

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (1992)

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In this work Lenin waged relentless war on the "Economists" who tried to justify on theoretical grounds the lack of organisational cohesion and ideological unity that existed among the Social-Democrats at that time. The "Economists" denied the need for political struggle by the working class and felt that the workers' movement should confine itself to the level of

comme itself to the rever of economic struggle. They extolled the sponta-neous movement of the work-ing class and stressed that the role of the conscious element,



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of Socialist theory and orgaideological foundations Marxist-Leninist Party.

Lenin showed that to divert the working class from the general political struggle against tsardom and to confine its task to that of the economic struggle against the em-ployers and the Government, while leaving both employers and Government intact. meant to condemn the work-

ers to eternal slavery. Lenin showed that to extol the spontaneous process in the working class movement, to deny that the Farty had a leading role to play, to reduce its role to that of a recorder of events, meant to preach khyostism (following in the tail), to preach the conversion of the Party into a tailpiece of the spontaneous process, into the spontaneous process, into a passive force of the movement, capable only of contem-plating the spontaneous pro-cess and allowing events to take their own course.

Lenin showed that to bow in worship of the spontaneous working class movement and to belittle the importance of consciousness, of Socialist theory. meant in the first place, to insult the workers, who were drawn to conscious-ness as to light; in the second place, to lower the value of theory in the eyes of the Party, that is, to deprecate the instrument which helped the Party to understand the present and foresee the future: and, in the third place, it meant to sink com-pletely and irrevocably into

the bog of opportunism. Lenin showed that the nomists" were deceiving the working class when they asserted that a Socialist ideoideo-the logy could arise from spontaneous movement of the working class, for in reality the Socialist ideology arises not from the spontaneous movement, but from science. By denying the necessity of imparting a Socialist consci-

ousness to the working class, of Socialist diverse interview of the social structure in the social structure among the working class, and, consequently, they were burying the idea of union between the working class movement and Socialism, thus helping

Summing up all these mis-takes of the "Economictor" Lenin came to the conclusion that they did not want a party of social revolution for the emancipation of the working class from capital-ism, but a party of "social re-form," which presupposed the preservation of capitalist rule. and that, consequently the "Economists" were reformists who were betraying the fun-damental interests of the proletariat.

Lastly, Lenin showed that "Economism" was not an accidental phenomenon in Russia, but that the "Economists" were an instrument of bourgeois influence upon the working class, that they had allies in the West European Social-Democratic parties in the person of the revisionists, the followers of the opportunist Bernstein.

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#### ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK (1904).

In this period the Mensheviks (Reformist opportunists) began a vicious ideological campaign against the very concept of an organised Party. They waged war against the need for dis-cipline and centralism and for freedom of factional and groupings.

It was a campaign of glori-fication of the individualism of the intelligentsia and a justification of anarchist contempt of discipline.

In rebuffing this offensive, Lenin at the same time laid down the main organisational

PAGE FIVE

\* SEE PAGE 8

A GREAT DAY by AJOY GHOSH FOR HUMANITY up their independent econo-mies and quickly overcome their backwardness. Not only do these and quickly overcome their backwardness. Not only do these need peace as much as man needs air to they also realise that

Never has history advanced at such a pace as in the present century. The world 90 years ago and the world today are in entirely different historical epochs. Then we had the heyday of capitalism rapidly trans-Inen we nau the neyday of capitalism rapidly trans-forming itself into imperialism and spreading its tentacles throughout the world. Today we have the tremendous advance of the Socalist States head-ed by the Soviet Union which are more and more be-coming the decisive force in the world.

T O this radical and revolu-tionary transformation no single individual has contri-tionary transformation no single individual has contributed nearly as much as Lenin, whose 90th Birth Anas niversary the entire world existence is a historic neces-joyously celebrates this April sity." 22. By his immortal teachings, his titantic organising and political work Lenin stood out. even in his lifetime as the greatest builder of the modern world—the beginning of the real history of humanity.

As the years pass, as events unfold in rapid suc-cession, the figure of Lenin stands out in events majestic proportions. Far from the swift passage of history rendering him a merely historical figure, it from the makes him more real, more alive to an ever-increasing number of people in all countries of the globe. And his teachings—Leninism— reveal their truth, their riches, their invaluable role as a guide to action, ever more clearly with each passing day. makes him more real, more

#### Struggle For World Peace

Through the ages Man has Through the ages Man has dreamt of a world without war, a world where labour and creation could proceed in the sunshine of peace. But time and again, this dream has been shattered. Since the era of imperialism, particularly, devastation and mass killings have reached unprecedented dimensions. And now, with the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the imperialists pose before the peoples the prospect of unparalleled destruction. the peoples the prospe unparalleled destruction.

Yet, precisely at such a time, the possibility of world peace has also become a tan-gible and realisable target for human effort. Mankind breathes freer these days. And the basic reason is the existthe basic reason is the canis ence of the mighty Socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union which steadfastly up-holds the Leminist banner of opexistence.

Without the great and invincible strength of Socia-lism, without its adherence to Lenin's concept of the possibility of peaceful co-existence, without the rallying of millions upon millions around this banner in all countries, the world could not have been saved from

As Comrade Khrushchov has stated: "As early as 1918, Lenin -derided the harmful idea that the interests of international revolution forbid any peace whatsoever with the imperialists. At that time, he wrote: 'A Socialist Republic surrounded by imperialist Powers could not, from the standpoint of such views,

Socialism and capitalism exist on one planet and their co-

In many other writings, such as the Letter to Ameri-can Workers, Lenin enunciat-ed the idea that all international issues between the two

In the past year, it is this idea that has swept across the continents with unpreceden-ted force. At the same time, as the Soviet peoples hurled a planet into the Heavens and a rocket to the Moon, their leader N. S. Khrushchov, loyaliy carrying out the be-bests of Lenin, has travelled

tirelessly for peace and an-nounced bold proposals for disarmament which have stormed the hearts of the common people and caused disarray among the imperia-lists. The spirit of Camp David is, above all, the pro-duct of this great idea and duct of this great idea strength and work of Soviet statesmen.

Yugoslav and other revi-Yugoslav and other revi-sionist prattle notwith-standing, the people are coming clearly to see that it is the Socialist camp which is making peace a practical possibility, that tension is not caused by the so-called two blocs but by so-called two blocs but by the imperialist orientation to war, as Lenin had long ago taught. The people are coming ever more clearly to coming ever more clearly to see that the prospects of peace become brighter in direct proportion to the inin strength of the crease in strength of the Soviet Union and other Solist countries.

Khrushchov's proposals for disarmament have a particularly strong appeal for the underdeveloped countries, which are struggling to build



Lenin at the unveiling of the monument to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Revolution Square in Mascow on November 7, 1918.

Unveiling the monument, Lenin said: "We are living in happy times, when this prophecy of the great Socialists is begin-ning to be realised. We see the dawn of the international Socialist revolution of the pro-letariat breaking in a number of countries. The uspeakable horrors of the imperialist butchery of nations are everywhere evoking a heroic rise of the oppressed masses, and are lending them tenfold strength in the struggle for emancipation.

"Let the memorials to Marx and Engels again and again remind the millions of workers and peasants that we are not alone in our struggle. Side by side with us the workers of more advanced countries are ris-ing. Stern battles still await them and us. In common struggle the yoke of capital will be broken, and Socialism will be finally won !"

live, but they also realise that if even a fraction of the vast sums spent on armaments could be diverted to the task of liquidating backwardness, their own advance could be much swifter and smoother.

It is no accident that the peoples and Governments of India, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan and other countries have expressed their public and enthusiastic approval of the Soviet disarmament plan. More Aswan Dams! More Bhilais! Destroy all arms!—that is the universal feeling in these countries.

#### Lenin And **Colonial** East

It is a tribute to the greatness of Lenin that in differ-ent parts of the world and at different times, one or ano-ther aspect of his gigantic work and immortal teachings come to mind.

The peoples of India and other newly independent countries of the once downother trodden continents of Afro-Asia specially recall today what Lenin did and taught for our freedom. It is absolutely no exaggeration to say that no figure towers so majestically, no teaching gives more guidance for the peoples of this area once "outside history" area once "outside histon than Lenin and Leninism.

As early as 1903 in his arti-"Inflammable Material in world Politics", Lenin had castigated British rule in In-dia—"there is no end to the violence and plunder which is called the British rule in India." He had highly apprai-sed the strike action of the Bombay proletariat in defence of Tilak

Later, in 1913, he had writ-ten in Backward Europe and Advanced Asia:

"Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, light and liberty. What delight this world movement is arousing in the hearts of all class-conscious workers

"All young Asia, that is, the hundreds of millions of toilers in Asia, have a re-liable ally in the shape of the proletariat of all the civilised countries. No force civilised countries. No force on earth can prevent its vic-tory, which will liberate both the peoples of Europe and the people of Asia."

Speaking at the Second Congress of the Communist International Lenin declared: "Our Chairman has said that our Congress, deserves the title of World Congress, I think he is right, particularly because we have here quite a number of representatives of the revolutionary movement in colonial, backward countries....

"World imperialism must fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country....will unite with the revolutionary onslaught of

A REACTOR FOR A PARTY OF

Guided by this crucial revolutionary understanding of one of the basic laws of histo-rical development in our times, the Soviet Union has always rendered all the help it could to the anti-imperialist movement. Suffice it to recall movement, summer it to recall the denunciation of all un-equal treaties, the renuncia-tion of all extra-territorial rights and the other tsarist privileges, in the very earliest days of Soviet, power.

In the following period there was the example of the help to Sun Yat-sen in his noble efforts to liberate his country, the aid to Indian revolutionaries and the constant moral-political help that came to sus-tain the freedom fighters in their darkest hours.

What a contrast, this pro-What a contrast, this pro-vided to the dastardly deeds of the Social Democratic lea-ders who hypocritically talked of "freedom", of their "sym-pathy" for the colonial peo-ples but in actual practice fully aided "their imperia-lisms" to disrupt and suppress the likeration struggles. The the liberation struggles. The Social-Democratic ideologues poisoned the minds of large sections of the working class in metropolitan countries with chauvinism and ideas of racial chauvinism and ideas of racial superiority. This not only harmed the anti-colonial movements but, above all, pre-vented the advance of the Socialist movement in the ad-vanced capitalist countries. Thus was graphic proof provided of the truth of the interact of Movy..."A people statement of Marx-"A people that oppresses others itself be free."

#### Qualitative Transformation

The great moral-political support of the earlier days has now been radically car-ried forward in the present period. A qualitative trans-formation has been achieved with the growing strangth of with the growing strength of the Soviet Union. Now the possibility exists and has been realised of actual material aid. The strength of the Soviet Union has been used time and again to protect the freedom of the newly independent States. The Soviet warning to all the imperialisms at the time of the Suez crisis was a splendid example of this new historic fact, indicating the new prospects of the freedom movement

Not only this. In their attempts to consolidate their independence through economic advance, through build-ing heavy industries and a sound agricultural base, the under-developed countries have found in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries their true friends

In all the countries of Asia and Africa, which have embarked on the path of national reconstruction, Soviet-aided projects are to be found. The Bhilai Steel Plant and Aswan Dam are only two splendid example which can be repeated in \* SEE PAGE 9

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### GANDHIJI SAID ...

.But be that as it may, there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake, and an ideal sanctified y the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin can in vain; the noble example of their renunciation Il be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

-In the course of discussions with the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

### Millions Of Workers Cherish Him-Nehru

"....They built him a . simple and unadorned mausoleum in the beautiful Red Square of Moscow, and there his body still lies in a glass case, and every and there his body still lies in a glass case, and every evening an unending procession passes silently by. It, is not many years since he died, and already Lenin has become a mighty tradition, not only in his native Rus-sia, but in the world at large. As time passes he grows greater; he has become one of the chosen company of the world's immortals. Petrograd has become Leninthe world's immortals. Petrograd has become Lenin-grad, and almost every house in Russia has a Lenin corner or a Lenin picture. But he lives, not in monu-ments or pictures, but in the mighty work he did and in the hearts of hundreds of millions of workers today who find inspiration in his example, and the hope of a better day."

### When Gallacher Met Lenin

HAD been invited to attend the Second Con-gress of the Communist In-ternational as the represen-tative of the Clyde Shop. Stewards, and in July 1920 Making history, great his-tor attend the second Con-there was a man on whom the eyes of the world were turned. A man who was making history, great his-tion attend the second Con-there was a man on whom the eyes of the world were turned. A man who was making history, great his-tion attend the second Con-there was a man on whom the eyes of the world were turned. A man who was making history, great his-tion attend the second Con-there was a man on whom the eyes of the world were turned. A man who was Stewards, and in July 1920 I left for Moscow... I went to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) where the Con-gress had to open, but by the time I got there the opening had already taken place and the Congress had moved on to Moscow. With little delay I got to Moscow and was soon engaged in dis-ensions which completely. cussions which completely altered my views on revolucompletely

tionary politics. But this change did not take place in any easy manner. At that time the shop stewards' movement was still comparatively strong and I had little regard for parties and still less regard for Parliament and parliamenta-rians. I was an outstanding example of the "Left" sectaexample of the "Left" sectal rian and as such had been referred to by Lenin in his book Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder. But here I was in the com-pany of Lenin himself and the leading international

pany of Lenin himself and other leading international figures, arguing and fighting on the correctness or other vise of these views. I was wise of these views. I was hard to convince. I had such disgust at the leaders of the Labour Party and their shameless servility that I wanted to keep clear of con-tamination

tamination. Gradually as the discussions went on, I began to see the weakness of my position. the weakness of my position. More and more the clear simple arguments and expla-nations of Lenin impressed themselves in my mind. When I got back to Glas-gow, I tried to give the com-rades some idea of how I felt when talking with Lenin. T

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seen it.

Clarke.



### Romain Rolland Wrote...

T attach extreme value to great individualities, and for that of Lenin I have a for that of Lemin 1 have a lively admiration. I know of none more powerful in the Europe of this century. He has thrust the prow of his will so deeply into the chaotic ocean of molten humanity that it will be long before the trail is effaced by the waves. The ves-sel is now launched at full speed, in spite of storms, towards the New World.

Never, since Napoleon has European history seen a will of such steel. Never, since their heroic ages. have the European religions known this granite faith. Never, above all, has human action produced a dominator of men. a master more absolutely disinterested. By his life he has carved his moral figure in the bronze that defles the ages. (February 1, 1924)

tory, yet simple, unaffected, a true comrade in the deepest meaning of the word. Not for a moment could I dream of talk-ing about him—to him. I couldn't even think of him when he was talking to me. The remarkable thing about Lenin was the complete sub-ordination of self. His whole mind his whole being, was centred in the revolution. So when I spoke to Lenin, I had to think not of him but

of what he was thinking— about the revolutionary struggle of the workers. occasionally, in the discus-sions taking place in the various Commissions, Lenin would scribble a note clearing up a particular point and pass it to this or that com-rade. One evening in the hotel I was commenting on the caustic character of such a note he had passed and how certain people would go red in the face if they had

"Where is it?" asked J. S. "Where is it?" asked J. S. Clarke. "I tore it up," I replied. "What!" he exclaimed. "You tore up a note in Le-nin's handwriting?" "Yés," I said, "I have torn up several. I always tear up ubateurs notes I have at the

whatever notes I have at the

end of a sitting." "If you get another, keep it and give it to me," said

The next day I happened to make a heated reference to the criticism in Left- Wing *Communism* and Lenin pas-sed me a note which read: "When I wrote my little book

I did not know you." I kept that one but gave it to Clarke. He now writes fantastic stories about his relations with Lenin.

with Lenin. The more I talked with Lenin and the other com-rades, the more I came to see what the Party of the workers meant in the revolution-ary struggle. It was in this, the conception of the Party, that the genius of Lenin had expressed itself. A Party of revolutionary workers, with its roots in the factories and in the streets, winning the trade unions and the cooperatives with the correctness of its working class policy, a Party with no other interests but the interests of the workbut the interests of the work-ing class and the peasant and petty-bourgeois allies of the working class, such a Party, using every avenue of ex-ceptionally valuable parlia-mentary platform for arousmentary platform for alous-ing the great masse sof work-ers to energetic struggle against the capitalist enemy. Before I left Moscow I had an interview with Lenin dur-

ing which he asked me three

questions. "Do you admit you were wrong on the question of Parliament and affiliations to

the Labour Party?" "Will you join the Com-munist Party of Great Britain when you return?' (A telegram had arrived a

couple of days before, infor-ming us of the formation of the Party.) "Will you do your best to

To each of these questions I answered "yes." Having given this pledge freely I returned to Glass

(From Revolt on the Clyde an autobiograph moir.

NEW AGE

### AS MAXIM GORKY SAW HIM

It was the clearly expressed will to live in him, his active hatred of life's abominations, which attrac-ted me to him. I loved the youthful eagerness which he put into everything he did. His movements were in full harmony with his speech, sparing as it was in words, in thought abounding; and on his slightly Mongolian face glowed and sparkled the keen eyes of a tireless fighter against the lies and sorrows of life-now glowing and burning, now screwed up, now blink-ing, now ironically smiling, now flashing with anger. The gleam of his eyes made his words more glowing. Sometimes it seemed as if the indomitable energy of his soul flew out in sparks through his eyes, and his words, shot through and through with it, hung shin-ing in the air. His words always gave one the impresing in the air. His words always gave one the impression of the physical pressure of an irresistible truth ...

His words always brought to my mind the cold glitter of steel shavings. From these words, with amaz-ing simplicity there rose the perfectly fashioned figure of truth.

### The Torch That Can Never Be Put Out

Vladimir Lenin, DIOfoundly and greatly a man of this world, is dead. His death is a grievous blow to the hearts of those who knew him. Grievous indeed.

But the darkness of death only emphasises the more strongly to the world his great importance as the leader of the working class of the world.

And if the dark cloud of lies and calumny, were even denser than it is, it would not matter

at all. There is no force which can put out the torch which Lenin raised aloft in the stifling darkness of a mad world.

And no other man has so well deserved the eternal remembrance of the world.

Vladimir Lenin is dead. But the inheritors of his thought and will are alive. They live and carry on a work which is more victorious than any other in the history of man-kind.

- MAXIM GORKY



#### \* FROM PAGE 5

Ministry's prigramme principles of a Ma and a Marxistprinciples of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The Marxist Party is a part,

detechment, of the working class. But the working class has many detachments, and has many detachments, and hence not every detachment of the working class can be called a party of the working class. The Party differs from other detachments of working class primarily by the fact that it is not an ordinary detachment, but the vanguard detachment, a class , but the conscious detachment. Marxist detachment of the working class, armed wit knowledge of the life with a

society, of the laws of its development and of the laws of the class struggle, and for this reason able to lead the working class and to direct its struggle. The Party is not only the

vanguard, the class-conscious detachment of the working class, but also an organise ent of the working class, with its own discipline, which is binding on its mem-

bers. The Party can lead the practical struggle of the working class and direct it practical towards one aim only if all its members are organised in one common detachment, welded together by unity of will, unity of action and unity

of discipline. The Party is not merely an organised detachment, but "the highest of all forms of organisation" of the working class and it is its mission to guide all the other organisations of the working class.

tions of the working class. The Party is an embodi-ment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the working class s However fine a vanguard the Party may be, and however well it may be orga-nised, it cannot exist and develop without connections with the non-Party masses, and without multiplying and strengthening these connec-

In order to function DFOperly and to guide the masses systematically, the Party

PAGE EIGHT

mit to the centre, and lower the proletariat to organisations to higher orga- ally who was intere organisations to higher orga- ally who was interested in a nisations. Failing these con- décisive victory over tsardom ditions, the Party of the and who might be disposed working class cannot be working class cannot be a to accept the leadership of real party and cannot carry the proletariat. Lenin conout its tasks in guiding the class. In its practical work, if it

wants to preserve the unity of its ranks, the Party must impose a common discipline, equally oletarian impose a common proletarian discipline, equally binding on all Party members, both leaders and rank and file. Therefore, there should be no divi-sion within the Party into the "chosen few", on whom discinline is not binding, and the many", on whom discipline

TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-

#### DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMO-CRATIC REVOLUTION

In this work Lenin outlined

the fundamental tactical principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The main tactical principlé, one that runs through Lenin's whole book is that the proletariat can and must be the leader of the bourgeoisdemocratic revolution, the guiding force of the bour-geois-democratic revolution in

In order to convert the possibility of the proletarian leadership of the revolution into a reality, in order that munists to do everything the proletariat might actual- to make the bourgeois-demoform Party discipline, one leading organ — the Party



Secondly, it was necessary that the class which was fighting the proletariat for the leadership of the revolution and striving to become its sole leader, should be forced out of the arena of leadership and isolated. Lenin considered that the liberal bourgeoisie was such a class. Lenin considered that the

most effective means of over-throwing tsardom and achiev-ing a democratic republic victorious armed uprising of the people.

To guide the masses to an uprising and to turn it into an uprising of the whole peo-Tenin deemed it necessary to issue such slogans, such appeals to the masses as would set free their revolutionary initiative, orga-nise them for insurrection and disorganise the machin-ery of power of tsardom.

Lenin maintained that following upon the accomplish-ment of the democratic tasks, the proletariat and the other exploited masses would have to begin a struggle, this time for the Socialist revolution. Lenin knew this and regard-ed it as the duty of Comrialist outlook of Marxisn and restated its fundamental premise, namely, that the source of all knowledge is the objective reality which exists independently of human cognition. At the same time Lenin

went on to make a theoretical generalisation of the latest advances made by the natural sciences and showed how it fully conformed to the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. In doing this, he clarified the positions of Marxism with regard to absolute and relative truth and stressed the fact that object tive reality was knowable, contrary to the writings of the agnostics and revisionists. Finally, Lenin made a bril-liant defence of the applica-

tion of these fun nental principles to the field of ocial developr nent, i.e., historical materialism. An important point made

by Lenin in his criticism of the would-be revisers of Marxism, was that their attempts to water down the materialist content of this working class philosophy was bringing grist to the mill of bringing grist clerical reaction. It is in this connection that he trenchantly developed the con-cept of class partisanship in philosophy.

#### IMPERIALISM THE HIGH-EST STAGE OF CAPITAL-ISM (1916)

**\*** 

Complete master of the dialectical method, Lenin was the first to make a thorough and all-embracing Marxist analysis of imperialism, the highest and last stage in the development of capitalism He exposed its sores and the conditions which made its collapse inevitable. He proved that imperialism was moribund capitalism.

He showed that the characteristic feature of imperial-ism in the field of politics is the turn from democracy political reaction towards The vast power wielded finance capital, its comm vast power wielded of the political machinery of the bourgeois State, the sys-tem of lies and political chic-anery it resorts to for the DUPD ose of duping the masses and the "universal" infatuation with the prospect of imperialist conquest, causes "the wholesale transition of all the propertied classes to the side of imperialism." Imperialist ideology permeates the work-ing class and corrupts the aristocracy of labour, conlieutenants" of the bourgeo

Disproving Kautsky's statement that the appearance of international cartels makes peace among the nations possible, Lenin showed that actually these cartels intensify the antagonisms be-tween the capitalist countries to the highest pitch, and that war is the result of imperialism. Lenin characterised im-

perialism as a special stage in the history of, capitalism for which the ground had been steadily prepared by the entire course of its preceeding development. The specific features of this stage of capitalism are that it is 1) monopolist capitalism. 2) parasitic, or decaying capital-ism, and 3) moribund capitalism. This, of course, does not mean that canitalism will ★ SEE FACING PAGE

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#### LENIN'S WORK

\* FROM FACING PAGE fade away of itself, that a proletarian revolution is not needed to abolish it.

In studying imperialism Lenin discovered the law of the uneven political and economic development of capitalism; and he showed that under imperialism, this uneven development and the contradictions of capitalism pecame more marked

The development of capitalism assumes an extremely uneven, spasmodic and contradictory character. The keen rivalry among the pre-datory imperialists for mar-kets and spheres of investment of capital, for colonies and sources of raw materials, makes up the force behind periodical imperialist wars for the redivision of the world. Imperialist wars sap the strength of imperialism and make it possible for the imperialist front to be pierced at its weakest point.

From this Lenin drew the conclusion that the old formula of Marx and Engels to the effect that Socialism could not be victorious in one separate country, that it could be achieved only by the simultaneous victory of the proletarian revolution in all the advanced capitalist countries, no longer accorded with the new historical situation, and that it must be replaced by a new formula, namely that Socialism can be victorious in one separate country, and that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is impossible.

THE STATE AND REVOLU-**TION (1917)** In this brilliant work. The

State and Revolution, Lenin first of all brought to light

rian dictatorship cannot mean nocracy for all, for the rich and the poor. The proletarian dictatorship must be a State that is democratic in a new way (against the bourgeoisle). He further stated that the proletarian dictatorship cannot rise out of the gradual evolution of bourgeois society; it can arise only as a result of a proletarian revolu-tion, as a result of the breaktion, as a result of the break- our peoples were pondering up of the bourgeois State over the significance of Khru-



Congress, and in the inter-vals between Congresses-the Central Committee of the revolution, at least two con-According to this theory the Central Committee of and Party; the minority must sub-mit to the majority, the vari-ing to Lenin. First, it was necessary for

In front of the mausoleum in the Red Square where the bodies of Lenin Stalin lie.



Socialist revolution. According to this theory the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, the proletariat being in tion, the protectivit being in alliance with the peasantry, would grow into the hege-mony of the proletariat in the Socialist revolution, the proletariat now being in alli-ance with the other labouring and exploited masses, while the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry would prepare the ground for the Socialist dic-tatorship of the proletariat.

#### · 🛧 · MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM (1908)

Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution decadence and scepticism affected a section of the Party intelligentsia. They launched a virulent criticism against the philoso-phical foundations of Marxism, againsty dialectical and historical materialism.

This criticism was conducted under the mask of seeking only to "improve" Marxism (actually to rid it of its matein the rialist foundations) in the light of scientific advance. This criticism merged with the general campaign of the reactionaries against the Party and revolution.

In a brilliant and devastating polemic Lenin smashed philosophical revision ists. He reiterated the mateagain the authentic tenets of Marx and Engels on the State; but he did not confine himself to this. In the light of the experience of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, he, in this and other works, carried Marxism still further on the questions of the State and of the proletarian dicta-torship. He stated that the proleta-

machine. He defined the tasks of the working class in the process ing news of the South African

### DATES TO REMEMBER IN LENIN'S LIFE

of Kazan University for taking part in an illegal meeting.

iber 19, 1887—Expel-

of building up its own machi-

nery of State, indicated the economic conditions under

which the State, as such

would fade away, and showed that there would be two stages in the development of

Communist society. He intended to write a

second part to this book in which he was to have sum-med up the experience of the Russian Revolutions of 1905

and 1917 and generalised the experience of the Soviet re-gime. He even drew up the synopsis of this part, but, as

he wrote in the postscript to the first edition of this book, "except for the title, I was

unable to write a single line

of the chapter; I was 'inter-rupted' by the political crisis —the eve of the October Re-volution 1917. Such an 'inter-

ruption' can only be welcom-ed; but the writing of the second part of the pamphlet (The Experience of the Rus-sian Revolutions of 1905 and

1917) will probably have to be put off for a long time. It is

more pleasant and useful to

go through the 'experience of

the revolution' than to write

about it." But death prevent-ed Lenin from completing this work.

\$

THE PROLETARIAN REVO-

LUTION AND THE RENE-

\* FROM PAGE 6

into their own.

GADE KAUTSKY (1918)

November 27, 1891—Passes his examination with his examination with high honours at the St. Petersburg University and receives his degree as a lawyer. 0 92—Returns to Samara

where he practises law and continues to teach in workers' circles. 1893—Comes to live and

in workers' circles. 1893—Comes to live and work in St. Petersburg and writes his first book. 1894—Spends all his time organising and teaching workers and writing. Leads in uniting all the workers' circles into a strong Party.

hav-Sentember. 1895 Goes to Switzerland to meet other kussian re-volutionary leaders who lived in exile. November 1855-Returns to

St. Petersburg where he is the leader of the local Social-Democratic orga-

nisation. December 20, 1895—Arrest-ed in St. Petersburg. 1895—In prison. February 10, 1897—Exiled in Siberla for three

years. May 20, 1897—Arrives at the village of Shushens-koye, in Yenisey Provin-

ship" set the keynote for all subsequent anti-Soviet propa-ganda, and has been faithfully repeated ever since by all the Right-wing Social-Democrats.

Kautsky pretended that the difference between the So-cial-Democrats and the Bolsheviks was the difference of snevics was the interence of two "methods", the demo-cratic and the dictatorial. The Social-Democrats stood for the "democratic" method, the Bolsheviks for the "dic-

tatorial" method. Replying to Kautsky, Lenin shows how false it is to speak of democracy "in general". We must always ask: "demo-cracy for whom?" The question at issue is not between dictatorship and democracy but between proletarian de-mocracy and bourgeois de-mocracy, between the rule of the working class and the

rule of the bourgeoisie. So long as classes exist, Lenin shows, there can be no "pure" democracy. Lenin ex-poses in detail how bourgeois democracy is in reality the rule of the capitalists and how the Soviets represent the rule of the working class, that is, of the vast majority. "Fro-letarian democracy," he says, "is many times' more de cratic than any bourgeois democracy." He proves this by detailed references to the political system in the Soviet Union and in the bourgeois countries.

Answering Kautsky's charge about dictatorial methods Kautsky's catch-phrase of Lenin shows that the rule of democracy versus dictator- the working class, i.e., of the

# Great Day For

country after country. The easy credit terms, the re-payment in local currencies and through the purchase of local goods have excited the ration and imagination of the peoples of the coun-tries who are at last coming

It is no wonder then that N.S. Khrushchov's recent tour of India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan witnessed scenes of unprecedented popular enthusiasm and of brotherly feelings for the envoy of the first Socialist State. The peoples of all these countries have, through long and bitter

experience, come to know their friend and no force can throw out of their hearts this love for the Soviet Union. Just at the time when all

Humanity

assacre, the killing of hundreds to maintain a system where white "supremacy" might reign forever.

Thus, was shown the two worlds—aid to the coloured peoples on a brotherly basis from the State which Lenin founded and bullets and death from a State which is the concentrated expression of the imperialist system. The people will not fail to draw the appropriate lesson from this contrast.

When we celebrate the Ninetieth Anniversary of Le-nin's birth it is the vision of a new world free from all oppression and cruelty, blossom-ing with Man's freedom and fraternity, that comes before our eyes. It is this new life that is rising before our eyes in one-third of the earth. It is this new life that will be triumphant throughout the world. It is the new life which Lenin's work has made possible.

NEW AGE

vast majority, demands the suppression of the bourgeoisle. Lenin showed that the attempt to confine the polithe working tical action of class within the framework of the bourgeois democratic State means to betray the cause of the working class. democratic

#### \*

"LEFT WING" COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER (1920)

Lenin showed the need for a centralised and disciplined Party and for maintaining proper relationships between leaders, Party, class and masses. He shows the need for a firm Party leadership and the danger of Leftist talk which seeks to oppose "masses against leaders." Such Leftist talk, he shows, amounts to repudiation of the Party and of Party discipline, that is, disarming the proletariat for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Such an attitude does not spring from the working class, which understands the need for organisation, but from the

Lenin shows the need for a "mass Party". He shows that the task is to lead the masses not just to lead the Party-to bring millions of people into action. It is necessary for the Party to work wherever the masses are to be found, to penetrate everywhere, to rouse the masses and draw them into the struggle.

Lenin shows that the Party must master all forms of working class struggle. In conditions of illegality it must learn to combine legal with illegal struggle. He particu-larly stresses the need for the Party to master the methods of parliamentary struggle, of in bourgeois parliaments for the purpose of educating the masses.

Lenin ridicules the Leftists who put forward the slogan "no compromise." We must know how to reach compromise agreements with other parties and to apply these tactics to raise and not lower the workers' ability to fight and conquer. It is necessary to win every possible ally and to utilise every division in the ranks of the enemy.

It is necessary, moreover. to learn not to fall into enemy traps—not to accept battle at a time advantageous to the enemy.

Lenin shows that the Communists must find the correct form of approach, the correct road to the proletarian revolution in each country. The struggle has features liar to each country. We cannot lay down general rule applicable to all cases, but it applicable to an eases, but it is necessary that the funda-mental principles of Com-munism shall be correctly adapted to national and (April 6, 1960) national-State differences

ce, where he settled down to live and work. 1895—The First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Democratic Labour Party elects Lenin as editor of the Party paper, Robot-chaya Gazeta (Workers' Journal), although he is still in exile. July 22, 1898-Marries Nadezhda K. Krupskaya who shares his exile. February 11, 1900-Ends exile and returns to cen-tral Russia. June 3, 1900-Arrested in St. Petersburg, but re-leased after ten days in prison.

- leased after ten days in prison. July 29, 1900—Leaves for Germany to begin publi-shing The Iskra (Spark), the first important Marxist paper in the Russian language. December 1902—Writes his great book, What is to be Done? July-August 1903—Partici-
- July-August, 1903-Partici-July-August, 1903—Partici-pates in the Second Con-gress of the Russian So-cial-Democratic Labour Party in Brussels and London. Here the Party splits into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Lenin is the leader of the Bolshe-viks.
- viks. November 20, 1905—Re-turns to St. Petersburg during the first Russian Revolution. May 9, 1907—Goes to Lon-don to attend the Fifth Congress of the Party and remains in Europe. During his life in exile he continues his work as leader of the Bolsheviks. August 1914—World War breaks out, Lenin is imugust 1914—World War breaks out, Lenin is im-mediately arrested in Austria and deported to Switzerland
- Austria and deported to Switzerland. September 5-8, 1913—Takes leading part in a confer-ence of internationalist and revolutionary Socia-lists in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, where he leads the fight against the war. March 15, 1917—While in Zirich, Switzerland, Le-
- March 15, 1917—While in Zurich, Switzerland, Le-nin received news of the beginning of the Revolu-tion in Russia and the overthrow of the Tsar. April 16, 1917—Arrives in Petrograd (which is the new name for St. Peters-
- new name for St. Peters-burg) and is greeted at the station by large crowds of workers and
- soldiers. pril-May 1917 — Takes part in the conference of Bolsheviks where his policies for carrying the revolution on further are
- accepted. July-November 1917—Re-turns in disguise to Smo-lny Institute, headquar-ters of the Bolshevik Party, where he directs the preparations for the unrising.
- uprising. ovember 7, 1917—The Governmer. 7, 1917—The Go-vernment of the capita-lists is overthrown and the Soviet Government organised with Lenin at the head.
- August 30, 1918—Lenin is wounded by a would-be
- March 2, 1919-Opens First Congress of International.
- December, 1919-First ill-
- May 26, 1922-Gets serious-ly ill.
- November 13, 1922—Gets well enough to address the Fourth Congress of the Communist Interna-tional.
- November 20, 1922—Deli-vers his last speech be-fore the Moscow Soviet.
- rore the Moscow Soviet. January 21, 1924—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the first Soviet State and the great leader and teacher of the workers of the world, dies at the village of Gorki, near Moscow.

PAGE NINE

# LENIN SAID .... -Bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy

F we are not to mock at common sense and his-tory, it is obvious that we cannot speak of "pure democracy" so long as differclasses exist: we can only speak of class democracy. (Be it said in parenthesis that "pure demo-cracy" is not only an ignorant phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the but also a thricehollow phrase, since in Communist society demo-cracy will gradually change me a habit, and finally wither away, but will never be "pure democracy.)

"Pure democracy" is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows mocracy of bourgeois de which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois de mocracy...

Bourgeois democracy, ala great historical advance in comparison with mediaevalism, nevertheless remains, and under capitalism cannot but remain, restricted, truncated. false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exted for the poor. It is blotted, for the pool. It is this simple truth, which forms an essential part of Marx's teachings, that Kautsky the "Marxist" has feiled to understand.

Proletarian democracy, of which Soviet Governdemocracy. ment is one of the forms, has brought a development and expansion of demo-cracy hitherto unpreceden-ted in the world precisely for the vast majority of the population, for the ex-ploited and working peo-

Take foreign politics. In no bourgeois State, not even in the most democratic, are they conducted openly. In all democratic countries—France, Switzer-land, America or England masses are deceived on an incomparably wider scale and in a more subtle other manner than in any country. The Soviet Govnment has torn the veil of mystery from foreign politics in a revolutionary wav.

The Soviet Government is the first in the world (or strictly speaking the se-cond, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing) to enlist the masses, the exploited mass-es, in the work of administration.

The Soviets are the direct organisation of the tolling and exploited masses them-selves, which helps them to organise and administer State themselves in every possible way ... The old bourgeois appa-

ratus — the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc. (which are the more varithe more highly bour-

PAGE TEN

geois democracy is deve-loped)—all this disappears under the Soviet forms of rganisation. Freedom of the Press ceases to be hy-pocrisy, because the printing plants and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoiste. The same thing applies to the best buildings, the

nalaces, the mansions and nanor houses. The Soviet Government sands and took thou-thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters, at one stroke, and in this way made the right of assembly— without which democracy is a fraud-a million times "democratic"

Proletarian democracy is a million times more demo-cratic than any bourgeois nocracy; Soviet power is nillion times more demoa million times more demo-cratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic ....

Ts there a single country in the world, even among the most democratic bour geois countries, in which the average rank-and-file worker, the average rank-and-file yillage labourer, or village semi-proletarian generally (i.e., the representative of the oppressed the overwhelming masses, the overwhelming majority of the popula-tion), enjoys anything approaching such liberty of holding meetings in the best buildings, such liberty to use the largest printing plants and biggest stocks of paper to express his ideas and to defend his in-terests, such liberty to promote men and women of his own class to administer and to "run" the State, as in Soviet Russia?

-The Proletarian Revolution and the Rene-gade Kautsky.



A PAGE IN LENIN'S HANDWRITING.

**ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION** 

THE peasantry includes a great number of semi-proletarians as well as pettybourgeois elements. This causes it also to be unstable and compels the proletariat to unite in a strictly class

party. But the instability of the peasantry differs radically from the instability of the bourgeoisie, for at the pre-sent time the peasantry is interested not so much in the absolute preservation of eprivate property as in the confiscation of the landed estates, one of the principal forms of private property.

While this does not make the peasantry become Socialist or cease to be petty-bour-geois, it is capable of becom-ing a whole-hearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution....

For only a completely vic-torious revolution can give the peasantry everything in the sphere of agrarian reforms—everything that the peasants desire, of which they dream, and of which they truly stand in need (not for the abolition of capitalism as the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" imagine imagine. Revolutionaries" imagine, but) in order to emerge from the mire of semi-serffrom dom, from the gloom of op-pression and servitude, in order to improve their living conditions as much as it is possible to improve them under the system of commo-dity production.... Those who really under-

stand the role of the peasantry in a victorious Russian revolution would not dream of saying that the sweep of the revolution would be diminished when the bourgeoisie recoils from it. For, as a matter of fact,

the Russian revolution will begin to assume its real sweep, will really assume the sweep

possible in the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolubourgeois-democratic revolu-tion, only when the bourgeoisie recoils from it and when the masses of the pea-santry come out as active revolutionaries side by side

with the proletariat. In order that it may be consistently carried to its conclusion, our democratic revolution must rely on such forces as are capable of paralysing the inevitable inof the bourgeoisie (i.e., capable sely of "causing it to recoi from the revolution.") which the Caucasian adherents of Iskra fear so much because of their lack of judgement. oca. Ment. rial--Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the De-mocratic Revolution

\* WE maintain that the re-volution has proved and demonstrated how important it is that the land question should be put\_clearly. The outbreak of the armed uprising, the second, the Oct-ober Revolution, clearly proves that the land must be proves that the failt must be turned over to the peasants. The Government that has been overthrown and the compromising parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-**Revolutionaries** committed a crime when they kept post poning the settlement of the land question on various pretexts and thereby brought the country to economic dis-location and a peasant revolt....

Having provoked the revolt, the Government raised a hue and cry about riots and anarchy, for which they riots themselves were respon They were going to crush it by blood and iron, but were themselves swept away by the armed uprising of the revolutionary soldiers, sail-ors, and workers. The first

NEW AGE

duty of the Government of the workers' and peasants' revolution must be to settle the land question, which can pacify and satisfy the vast masses of poor personnt

-Report on Land at the Second All-Russian Con-gress of Soviets of Workers and Peasants' Deputies, 1917 November

#### \* SERFDOM may be. abo-

I lished by slowly trans-forming the feudal landlord farms into Junker-bourgeois farms, by transforming the masses of the peasants into landless husbandmen and knechts, by forcibly keeping the masses down to the pauper standard of living, by the rise of small groups of Grossbauern, of rich bourgeois peasants who inevitably spring up under capitalism from among the peasantry. The Black-Hundred land lords and Stolypin, their Minister, have chosen tha path. They have realised that the path for the deve-lopment of Russia cannot be cleared unless the rusty me diaeval forms of landowner ship are forcibly broken up And they have boldly set out to break them up in the in-terest of the landlords....

The other path of develop ment we have designated the American path of deve-lopment of capitalism, in contradistinction to the for mer, the Prussian path. It. sitates the forcible break-up of the old system of landownership; only the stupid philistines of Rus liberalism can dream of the possibility of a painless peaceful outcome of the exceedingly acute crisis in

Russia But this indispensable and inevitable break-up may be carried out in the interests of the peasant masses and not of the landlord gang ...

The reformist path of creating a Junker-bourgeois Russia nécessarily pre-supposes the preservation of the foundations of the old system of landownership and a slow adaptation of them to capitalism, which would be painful for the masses of the population. The revolutionary path of really over-throwing the old order inevitably demands, as its eco-nomic basis, the destruction of all the old forms of landownership, together with all the old political institutions of Russia....

-The Agrarian Program me of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-07



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ble to T. MADHAVAL and not to NEW AGE.



**P** RE-MARXIAN Socia-lism has been smashed. It is now continuing the not on its own instruggle not on its own in-dependent soil but on the general soil of Marxismas revisionism. Let us, then mine the ideological of revisionism

In the domain of phi nhy, revisionism clung to skirts of bourgeois professorial "science." The pro-fessors went "back to Kant" and revisionism followed in the wake, of the neo-

Kantians.... Passing to political eco-nomy, it must be noted first of all that the "amendments" of the revisionists in this domain were much more comprehensive and circumstantial; attempts were made to influence the public by adducing "new data of economic develop-

ment." The position of revisionism was even worse as far as the theory of crises and the theory of collapse were concerned. Only for the shortest space of time could people, and then only the most short-sighted, think of remodelling the foundations of the Marxian doctrine under the influence of a few years of indus trial boom and prosperity. Facts very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past, prosperity was followed by a crisis. The forms, the sequence, the picture of the particular crises changed, but crises remained an inevitable component of the capitalist system. While uniting pro-duction, the cartels and trusts at the same time, and in a way that was ob vious to all, aggravated the anarchy of production, the insecurity of existence of the proletariat and the opion of capital, thus intensifying class contradictions to an unprecedented

degree. That capitalism is moving towards collapse—in the sense both of individual political and economic crises and of the complete wreck of the entire capita-list system—has been made very clear, and on a very large scale, precisely by the latest giant trusts.

In the domain of politics, revisionism tried to t the very foundation revis n of Marxism namely, the doc trine of the class struggle

cannot be disputed that these objections of th visionists constituted a fairly harmonious system fairly harmonious system of views, namely, the old and well-known liberal bourgeois views. The libe-rals have always said that bourgeois parliamentarism destroys classes and class divisions, since the right to ote and the right to participate in state affairs are shared by all citizens with-

out distinction. The whole history in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the whole history of the Russian Revolution at beginning of the twentieth, clearly show how absurd such views are... A natural complement to the economic and political of revisionism

APRIL 24, 1960

tions for victory over the bourgetifie. And first of all the ques-





was its attitude to the final aim of the Socialist move-ment. "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing"—this catchphrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long

arguments. The policy of revisionism consists in determining its conduct from case to case, in adapting itself to the vents of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics; it consists in forgetting the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capi-talist system as a whole and in sacrificing these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment. And it patently follows

from the very nature of this policy that it may as-sume an infinite variety of forms, and that every more

vity, daydr the name

W E are the party of a class, and therefore almost the entire class (and in times of war, in the period of stirl

period of civil war, the en-

the leadership of our Party.

as closely as possible. But it would be Manilovism

(smug complacency, inacti-vity, daydreaming. From

the name of Manilov, a character in Gogol's Dead Souls) and khyostism to

think that at any time

under capitalism the entire

class, or almost the entire class, would be able to rise

ness and activity of its van-guard, of its Social-Demo-cratic Party. No sensible Social-De-

nocrat has ever yet doubt-

even the trade union orga-

nisations (which are more

primitive and more com-

prehensible to the under-

developed strata) are un-able to embrace the entire, or almost the entire, work-

between the vanguard and the whole of the masses

which gravitate towards it,

to forget the constant duty of the vanguard to raise

ever wider strata to this

most advanced level, means

merely to deceive oneself, to shut one's eyes to the immensity of our tasks, and to narrow down these

-Lenin, Collected Works, Russian Edition, . Vol. VI,

repeat, the experience of the victorious dicta-torship of the proletariat in

Russia has clearly shown

Russia has clearly shown even to those who are un-able to think, or who have not had occasion to ponder over this question, that absolute centralisation and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are one of the fundamental condi-

To forget the distinction

capitalism

to the level of conscio

ed that under

ing class

tasks

pp. 205.06).

ould adhere to our Party

tire class) should act u

question, or less "new every more or less unex-pected and unforseen turn of events, even though it may change the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the shortest period of time, will always inevitably give rise to one or another variety of revision-

ism.... The inevitability of revi-sionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is an international pheno

Wherein lies its inevitability in capitalist society? Why is it more profound than the difference of national peculiarities and degrees of capitalist develop-ment? Because always in every capitalist country, side by side with the pro-letariat, there are broad strata of the petty, bourgeoisie, small masters.

### Capitalism arose and is constantly arising out of small production. A number of "middle strata" are ine-vitably created anew by capitalism (appendages to the factory, homework, and small workshops scattered all over the country in view of the requirements of big industries, such as the bi-cycle and automobile in-

These new small producers are just as inevitably cast back into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite natural that the petty-

bourgeois world conception should again and again crop up in the ranks of the

this should be so, and it always will be so, right up to the peripety of the proletarian revolution. for it letarian revolution, for it would be a grave mistake to think that the "com-plete" proletarianisation of the majority of the popu-lation is ssential before such a revolution can be achieved achieved....

-Marxism and Revisionism

66 LEFT-WING99 COMMUNISM

T HE conclusion to be drawn is clear to reject compromises "on principle", to reject the admis-sibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to take seriously. A political leader who de-

sires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must know how to single out concrete cases when such compromises are inadmissible, as expressive of opportunism and treachery, and direct all the force of criticism, the full edge of merciless exposure and relentless war, against those oncrete compromises and not allow the highly rienced "practical" Socia-lists and parliamentary Jesuits to dodge and wriggle out of responsibility by resorting to arguments about "compromises in general."

There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete onditions of each compromise, or of each variety of

Naive and utterly inexperienced people imagine that it is sufficient to admit the permissibility of compromises in general order to obliterate the

On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise at one stroke. They are creat-ed only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience.

Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assu-mes complete shape only in close connection close connection with the practical activity of a truly ass and truly revolution ary moven

-"Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Dis-order. dividing line between opportunism, against which we wage and must wage an irreconcilable struggle, and evolutionary Marxism, 01

But if such people do not yet know that all dividing lines in nature and in society are mutable and to a certain extent convention-al-they cannot be assisted otherwise than by a long process of training, educa-tion, enlightenment and by political and everyday experience....

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeosie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between States, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilise the con-flict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacil-lating and conditional) allies-is not this ridiculous in the extreme?

Is it not as though, when making a difficult ascent of an unexplored and hitherto inaccessible mountain, we were to refuse beforehand ever to move in zigzags, ever to retrace our steps, ever to abandon the course once selected and to try others?

And yet we find people so immature and inexperienced (if youth were the explanation, it would not explanation, it would not be bad; young people are ordained by god himself to talk such nonsense for a period) meeting with the support—whether direct or indirect, open or covert, indirect, open or covert, whole or partial, does not mattersome members of the Communist Party of Holland!! — "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder:



the face and reverse side of the medal

NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN



THE PARTY tatatati tion arises: How is the dis-cipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it test-

ed? How is it reinforced? First, by the class cons-ciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, sacrifice and heroism self-

Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain degree if you will, merge itself, with the broadest masses of the tollers-primarily with the proletarian but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correct-

ness of the political leadership exercised by this van-guard and by the correct-ness of its political strategy and tactics. provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correct-ness by their own expe-

Without these conditions, discipline in a revolution-ary party that is really capable of keing a party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and trans-form the whole of society, cannot be achieved.

Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline are inevitably transformed into a squib, a phrase, a grotesque gesture.

### LOK SABHA DEBATES INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

When the Lok Sabha debated the Demands for Grants for the Labour Ministry on April 11, the seemingly remarkable improvement in industrial relations in the past year (fall in mandays lost from 78 lakhs in 1958 to 56 lakhs in 1959) did not emerge as signifying any striking success of the Government's labour policy.

WITH the seething dis- important fact-that the content in two large sec- workers always lose when vv content in two large sec- workers alt tors of employment—textiles prices rise. and Central Government ser-wices—over the failure of standard of national wage adjudications workers had to make a satisfactory settle-ment of the workers' demands just recovere and the convection for the second and the consequent moves for direct action, the tense situation in the industrial field was powerfully projected into the House in the course of the lebate

Central Pay Commis-The sion had virtually thrown ers is a relatively small pro-overboard the wage policy of portion of the total income in the Plan evolved at the tri- the country. Since industrial partite Indian Labour Con-ference. The Textile Wage Board paid lip sympathy to the policy but denied its application plication in formulating a of things, that cannot push need-based wage in practice. Moreover, textile millowners —When the prices of manuneed-based wage in practice. the prices. Moreover, textile millowners —When the prices of manu-have made it clear that they factured goods have risen, no mood to pay even the limited wage rises awarded.

d. Nearly two million em-ployees of the Central Government are moving towards a general strike if negotiated settlement is not arrived at and so are the textile workers, to demand their legitimate dues. Initiating the debate, Union Labour Minister Gulzari Lal

Nanda, correctly anticipated the major planks of the Opposition attack and did make some candid observations, broadly agreeing with the justness of the demand for wage increases. He said: -It is very unfair to blame the workers for the inflationary pressures and for the upward trends in prices..... The fact is—and it is a very

of standard of ons workers had living of the declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they had just recovered lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had in-creased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices

> have been to an extent wiped out. -The income of the workproduction is a small proportion of the total production, its effect cannot be very much at all. So, by the very nature

started rising, their gains

they have not been accompanied by any rise in wages. —There are others who have themselves gained out of

this rise in prices.....The indices of variable dividend industrial securities with base 1952-53 at 100, has gone up to 122.5 in 1958 and 142.49 in 1959 -Increase in production

per cent

The Labour Minister rejected the demand for "wage-freeze" and put forward the proposition of linking wages to producti-vity. He said, "wage board is a much higher form o machinery for settlin these things" and pl settling all

with the employers to implement the unanimous recommendations of the

Wage Boards. But the Labour Minister was less vehement when he touched on the Delhi tripartite convention on need-b minimum wages. He, of course, denied that there has been any "repudiation" of the convention by the Govern-ment and argued that it has just not been "ratified".

But were these declarations of the Labour Minister in any way reassuring to the trade union movement? Experience of the trade

experience of the trans-union movement with regard to official policy was express-ed succinetly by S. A. Dange in the following words:

"At the beginning of one Five-Year Plan, we put up a demand and get a Wage Board at the end of that Plan, and the concession at the end of the next Five-Year Plan. Is that the concept, that you

### WAGE BOARD DEMAND REJECTED

solution moved by Dr. Rai Bahadur Gour, M.P., Secretary of the AITUC, urging Government to "take early steps to set up separate wage boards for the Engineering, Iron, and Steel and Chemical Industries." Moving the resolution, Dr. Gour said that his re-

solution "tries to prevent and put an end to the present atmosphere of morality and degradation which the workers in these particular industries are subjected because the wage norms have not been alised and standard-The Second Plan had

laid down that tripartite wage boards should be apwage boards should be ap-pointed for various indus-tries. Later at the 15th Textile Wage Board. Indian Labour Conference, The resolution was re-it was agreed to appoint jected, with the ruling wage boards in certain party's majority voting wage boards in certain specific industries. How-

T HE Rajya Sabha, on ever, the Government has April 8, debated a re- not taken steps to implement these directives, Dr. Gour said.

In regard to chemical, iron and steel and engine-ering, Dr. Gour pointed out that a decision had been taken to appoint wage boards but somehow, the actual constitution of the boards has been delayed for long. The resolution was, therefore, to expedite

im- its constitution. ation Rohit M. Dave, M.P., supported the resolution. Deputy Labour Minister Abid Ali opposed the re-solution. He maintained that in some units, there

have been collective agree-ments on wages and that wage boards would bring in only more problems, as

party's majority voting against.

The failure of the Govern-

ment to live up to its declared

labour policy was highlighted by a number of Opposition M.P.s., including Aurobindo Ghosal, Nausher Bharucha,

Rajendra Singh, Shibban Lal

Saxena, S. M. Banerjee and others.

The policy of discrimina-

ment in favour of the INTUC came for sharp criticism. Aurobindo Ghoshal said that

uttering "rubbish" from INTUC platforms. S. M. Baner-

jee referred to the active

participation of the Deputy

Labour Minister in the forma-tion of rival unions.

The debate served to bring

forth the views of the trade union movement on what a labour policy in a plan for

be. S. A. Dange laid emphasis on the following aspects:

-No Plan policy will suc-

pward revision of wages and

ceed unless there is a drastic

--Dearness allowance should be linked with the cost of

living index. in all organised

industries, with full neutral-

economic developm

nt should

ecurity

# DEFENCE AUDIT REPORT RAISES week in parliament **TOO MANY DISQUIETING QUESTIONS**

The proceedings in Parliament this week were dominated by the fracas in the Lok Sabha over the Auditor-General's Report on the Defence Ministry. It was quite obvious from the excitement of members that this was no usual wrangle over procedural matters but a looming political conflict.

FROM this angle a great deal of significance at-taches to the fact that the attitudes of the Defence Miner and Finance Minister to ister and Finance Minister to the same report were poles apart. This is absolutely strange, to say the least, since both are Cabinet colleagues and we are supposed to be operating under a system of collective responsibility. The Prime Minister seemed to be uncomfortably reticent.

It was Congress M.P. to ease the feeling of suspi-Feroze Gandhi who very ointedly raised the whole problem in all its gravity and with whom Morarji Desai had his angriest exchange of words. But he was not the only Congress member to take up the matter. H. C. Mathur and C. R. Basappa were among the others who made similar points and asked for a pro-per explanation from Morarii Desai, through whose

Ministry the Auditor-Gene-ral functions in Parliament. Communist M.P. T. C. N. Menon stated : "It is guite unfortunate that the Auditor-General, who has been given a very great position in our Constitution and who in the exercise of his powers and in the enjoyment of his immun-ity could be compared to the judiciary in our countrywhich also as one of the fore-most pillars of our Constitu-tion has got so much of immunity-has become the subject of so much comment.

"But in spite of the law that we have made, in spite of the sanctity of the Constitution, in spite of the greatness that we put on the head of a particular man, unless that man is capable of keeping that greatness and unless he behaves in a manner which is beyond suspicion, then people begin to talk."

#### Why This

Hurry?

He felt that the Finance Minister should clarify how it came to be that "the Audit Report was placed on the table of the House barely 24 hours before the debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence was due to start, and without also placing a copy of the Appropriation Accounts on the table "

Without attributing anymotives to the Auditor-Gen ral he felt that "compari paring the behaviour of the Auditor-General in auditing accounts and presenting them to the President, one finds that he has adopted a peculiar method s far as the accounts of the Defence Ministry are con-cerned. If honourable mem-bers look into the audited acounts of the different Ministeries and this particular Ministry from 1954 onwards, they will find a strange thing.

shown great hurry in pre-paring the Audit Report for there and there is further

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the price line. decisively influence the vote Nationalise of millions of ordinary men and women. Herein lay the The Banks danger to the secular foun-Chaudhuri Ranbir Singh dations of our dem òcracy. (Congress) made a bristling attack on the credit and other The Communist member's Bill received the support of Aurobindo Ghosal (Forward policies of the State Bank and the Reserve Bank, both of whose boards of directors he felt were dominated by Big Business. Moolchand Jain the church. Braj Raj Singh (So-church. Braj Raj Singh (So-challst) also made a vigorous speech favouring the Bill higher education to rural while Congress members D. C. Sharma and Moolchand Jain agreed with its principles. But the official Bloc) who used, some very pointed quotations from Ber-(Congress) lashed out at the direct taxation policy, which had just made one concession after another to the wealthy. He and C. R. Basappa (Congress) both made out a strong case for the nationalisation of

agreed with its principles. But the official Congress attitude was made amply clear by B. N. Datar's aggressive banks. How little the Congress intervention. He would not concede that it was wrong for the Catholic clergy to try to "persuade" their following to powers-that-be bother about all this criticism from their own partymen was proved by the speech in reply by Morari Desai. His cavalier treatvote against the Communists. He did not apprehend any universities get only four-anddanger to the Constitution or secular democracy from the affair has already been menurry in placing the Audit tioned, but he was equally

1959-50. When such hurry ment of the Auditor-General

"The Auditor-General has

questions of wage and trade union rights, there were sharp criticisms of Government policies with. regard to the State Bank strike, textile closures, the Bhilai strike and in relation to demands of various sections of industrial workers -The Delhi tripartite formula in regard to minimum wages must be accepted un-Even the INTUC spokesmen had to bitterly com-plain about the attitude of equivocally and tionally. employers in the public sector. Dr. Melkote, for -Control of prices and supinstance, said: "Public sec-tor oftentimes does not plies of essentials at controlled prices must be assured. ----There should be provision

isation.

seem to care even for the for adequate social sec families of insured we labour laws that have been approved. They try to defy the labour laws prevalent in should be covered under the the country either by ignor-ing them or by bypassing them altogether." He gave Employees' State Insurance Scheme. -There should be compul-

a number of examples. The Labour Minister replied sory recognition of trade unions and a ballot to deterthat employers in public secmine their representative character in the industry. ared in Parliament: tor were "not angels"; "some "The Labour Ministry, the of them have to be educated -No governmental inter-ference in the functioning of trade unions.

# **Essentials For A Labour** Policy In Third Plan

statement made here, then the working class is going to repudiate the convention on rationalisation also. That is my statement on behalf of my In his speech, Dange also uttering "rubbish" from

side.

exploded and the employers come and tell us, 'accept the convention on rationalisa-tion.' No. Sir. If the emplo-

yers, the Pay Commission and

the Government of India have repudiated the minimum wage convention of the tri-partite-body by the exclusive

Party and my organisation." In his speech, Dange also highlighted the need for re-

cognition of trade unions, on the basis of a democratic ballot of workers. The high-est form of settlement of dis-

putes is not Wage Board, as

the Labour Minister claimed.

but "negotiation between the trade union of the workers

Apart from the general

questions of wage and trade

and the employers'

workers.

enunciate a policy at the beginning of the Second Plan, and nothing comes about till the fourth year of the Plan, and nothing comes about till the fourth year of the Plan, and nothing the plan, come and tell us, 'accept the convention on rationalisaand then you begin to discuss policy of the Third Five-Year Plan, and ask us all what the labour policy in it should be?'

Dange, however, welcomstatement of the ed the Labour Minister that the wage-price spiral theory wrong theory and that wages have lagged behind prices. "On the basis of that theory we were all along being denied wage increases

Dange then said that the Pay Commission has come to a funny conclusion that "all Indians are shortand. therefore, the calories that they require must be short calories." The calories that whole concept of minimum wage has been blown up in said Dange. And for this pur-pose, recognition of the trade union is of prime importance. wage has been blown up in this manner by the Pay Commission.

"In that case," he remark-"In that case," he remark-ed, the employees "are also bound to say that short stature is bound to have a short hand and it does not reach the machine, it is not long enough. That means the machine stops. That means they take a decision to strike." And, for the first time in

the country, all the Govern-ment services, the Defence Federation, Railways, Post & Telegraph and others have joined together and taken. this great decision, a serious decisi

In all industrial centres in India, the ATTUC unions observed a protest week from April 3 to 10, against the violation of tripartite agree-ments by Government and employers. Expressing the serious concern of the workers on this score, Dange declared in Parliament:

employers and the workers agreed to a tripartite conven-tion on rationalisation. The

FACTS ABOUT FANS The Pankha', a matted screen was nonly used in formionly used in India at the beginning of the 20th century. Pankhas were pulled by servants specially hired CHEAPNESS IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR QUALITY -Kassels NATCHWEL ELECTRICALS (INDIA) LIMITED P.O. BOX 156, NEW DELHI Factories: Poons and Delbi Sets Seming Agents: RADIO LAMP WORKS LTD.

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Report on the table of the House, so much so that the Defence Minister himself.... has to say that his explanation has not been given to the House ..... it is clear that all is not well in the

State of Denmark." All the rigmarole of the Finance Minister's explanation, including his announce-ment of proposed legislation concerning the powers of the Auditor-General, did not help

brusque in his treatment of the problems of tax evasion and tax policy. He put tax evasion at no more than Rs. 20 to 30 crores annually and stated that apart from minor modifications, nothing needed to be nor would be done about the huge tax burden on the mon people.

Worse still was his stout defence of the repatriation of profits by private foreign firms and his alibi for the high interest rates charged by the Western Powers fo their loans. It seems that he, at least, is going full steam ahead with pushing our economy into unhealthy reliance on the Western

felt that the law courts could be moved. And that was that.

There were, of course, the cheap gibes that the Com-munists were raising this issue only because of their defeat in Kerala. It is essential that democratic opinion should note this official Congress attitude to the intrusion of communalism into our political life. The compromise with commu-nalism has moved to its logical culmination of open defence of these obscurantist and mediaeval forces. striking at the very funda-mentals of all the gains of our nationalist traditions and its enshrinement in our

# FINANCE MINISTRY. UNDER

### FIRE FROM ALL SIDES

cion and resentment among several Congress and Opposi-

tion members.

the

It was not the powers of Auditor-General that were in question, nor the facts that he might have placed. What had caused all . the justifiable anger was the method used whereby the Defence Minister was sought to be put in the dock. Political motivations and personal animosities, many members appeared to feel, were lurking in the backng in the background of this controversy which has affected the very top echelons of the Central Government. This issue is bound to come up again in some form or another. Apart from these moments

of high drama, another re-markable feature of the debate on the Finance Ministry's Demands was the almost uni-formly critical note running through the speeches of Con-

gress members. H. C. Mathur led off with a very sharp speech on the questions of tax evasion and the present inequitous tax He also felt that suffipolicy. He also felt that suffi-ciently stringent measure were not being taken to hold

On April 16, the Lok Sabha resumed the debate on the Private Member's Bill moved by T<sub>i</sub> Nagi Reddy, seeking to curb the powers of the Catho-lic church to interfere with

the fundamental political rights of Indian citizens. P. T. Punnose in a dignified and persuasive speech repeatedly stressed the point that it was a canard to say that the Communists were attacking the Catholic religion. This was far removed from the inten-tions of the Bill. What was at issue was whether the Catho-lic church should be allowed to use its religious power to interfere with the exercise of franchise by a Catholic. In this connection he stated that the threat of

excommunication was no small affair for a Catholic. It would affect his entire life and all his social relationships. It was this weapon that was being used to

The Rajya Sabha debate of April 14 on the University Grants Commission developed into a full-fiedged discussion of the entire policy of the Government with regard to higher education. Great interest clustered around the debate, if only because of the background of the troubles in various universities in different parts of the country.

The usual charge made against the Communists by interested quarters is that they are only interested in working up "agitation" among the workers and peasants. Bhupesh Gupta's speech in this debate gave the lie

to this slander. It was obvious, that a genuinely national approach to the problems of higher education was vigorously advocated by the leader of the Communist Group and was conspicuously lacking among official spokesmen of the

activities of the Catholic sities actually received even church. If any particular fact the rather meagre amounts of interference was there he handed out by the UGC, he felt that the system of matching grants was proving to be a major hurd money lapsed because the State Governments could not fulfil their obligations. This system should, therefore, go and the UGC should take the entire responsibility. Next Bhupesh Gupta took

up the woeful conditions of the university teachers. To his personal knowledge there vere professors getting anything between Rs. 125 and Rs. 175 as their monthly salary. salary. It could be said that a very large number of lecturers never got more than Rs. 250 at the end of their long years of service. Then again there was the wonderful practice in some universities of perma-nently keeping the teacning staff, on a temporary basis.

All this was scarcely conducive to getting the best talents into university service and yet the nation needed it. He paid a warm tribute to those who went into the teaching proession despite these discouraging circumstances.

Unequivocally condemning the disorderly certain section the Communist conduct of a of students, eader at the same time stated, that the mass of students "were a good lot." The causes of student indiscipline should, in his opinion, be sought in the depressing and demoralising atmosphere in many universi-

He then outlined many and went on to cite the deplorable facts of the appointment of completely unsuitable persons as Vice-Chancellors Two examples were those of the Banaras Hindu University (Dr. V. S. Jha) and of the Lucknow University. The latter was a particularly flagrant case of disregard of all public opinion. To cap it all there-was the playing of group politics by rival Congress factions in various universities -especially dangerous in view of the increasing State interous in view ference therein

**BHUPESH GUPTA SPOTLIGHTS ATTENTION** 

### **ON EDUCATION POLICY**

Treasury Benches. He straightaway pointed out that the rate of progress of higher education since Independence was inordi-nately slow. Particularly noticeable and specially injurious was the lack of tempo in pushing forward scientific and technical education, so vital

ning and urged the Minister to be more firm and insistent in placing appropriate de-mands at the time when the Plan allocations were made. "One single scandal costs four crores," he said, but 39 a-half crores annually. In seeing that the univer- April 20

And to atempt to remedy this by a show of force-despatch of the armed constabulary to the campusand reliance on authoritari-an measures would be to invite disaster. He strongly deprecated the remarks recently made against univer-sity unions and other democratic institutions.

Bhupesh Gupta advocated the opposite and same course What had to be done was to take the teachers and students into confidence and mobilise their help to stop the rot and clear the

As has been the case in recent years, at any rate, all this good advice fell on deaf ears and there was no sign that the Education Ministry would do anything to improve matters in this crucial sector of our

#### -MOHIT SEN

PAGE THIRTEEN

# Three Wise Men Speak

The Report of the Eco-nomic Mission, sponsor-ed by the World Bank, has been received in New Delhi, and although its contents have not yet been officially released at the time of iting, they are as good as ly known to newsmen in e Capital.

the Capital. The composition of the Mission (it comprised some of the leading lights of in-ternational finance-capi-tal) and the antecedents of the body sponsoring it, had from the very beginning from the very beginning assured for its Report a character no different from the earlier World Bank edicts.

And yet, in the context of a developing nubic And yet, in the context of a developing public sec-tor, and the rebuff which Eugene Black's gratuitous counsels had received in the past, it was expected to be a little more circums-pect, and less brazen-faced in demanding a larger share for private enterprise in India's Third Plan.

Circumspect, no doubt, it is, for, it still considers it Circumspect, no doubt, it is, for, it still considers it necessary for the bulk of external assistance to come on Government to Govern-ment basis. This, however, ment basis. This, however, has, in its view, to be com-bined with a wholesale dilution of the economic policies to permit the pri-vate sector to give a free-play to its genius for or-ganisation and "long expe-rience."

rience." What are the lines in which this "experience" should be harnessed? Agri-culture, of course, is one as the "single biggest pri-vate enterprise." Fertilisers, too, should now be added to

\* FROM PAGE 4

The spread of these ideas

gave the working class movo-ment a single-mindedness and purposive existence it lacked

so far. It gave it a programme and banner. National inde-pendence, end of imperialist-

reutal rule, workers that peasants' Republic — these were the inspiring lessons drawn by the workers. The first revolutionary cadres of

tly reared on Leninism and the experience of the Novem-

There is no doubt that the

spread of the revolutionary

ideas of Lenin served to

broaden the stream of Indian

liberation struggle, deepen

its content and fasten atten-

Writing in 1908 on the pro-

test strike of Bombay work-ers against the barbarous sentence passed on Lok Manya Tilak by the British court Lenin wrote: "In In-

court. Lenin wrote:

PAGE FOURTEEN

"In In-

working class were direc-

feudal rule, workers'

ber Revolution.

Militant

Paths

. (°.

and

the list—a plea which the Government has already accepted. Together with these oil, too, should be open to private enterprise to meet the increasing demand for petroleum pro-ducts. Government's policy has been pliant in this respect as well.

respect as well. Among economic policies taxation should not be "too excessive," lest "incentives" and prospects of "resources available to private busi-ness" be affected. Nor should there be too much of deficit financing since it will lead to inflation.

#### THEIR ADVICE

Obviously, with a "cau-tions" policy in deficit financing, and a still more cautious fiscal policy all that the Government will be left with will be foreign private investments, or ex-ternal assistance in the form of loans. Both of these being available only within limits, the Plan, too, would have to be curitalled to more modest dimensions. Hence the 'draft' Third Plan, in the Mission's view, is "over-ambitious" and "reflects overestimation of probable resources." Naturally, if the Mission's

probable resources." Naturally, if the Mission's advice is accepted in toto, the country can never raise sufficient resources to feed a Plan of Rs. 9,950 crores outlay. At the same time, if the advice is thrown overboard, and the resour-ces are sought from where they 'exist-the moneyed classes, the bankers and the foreign plantation owners, as well as from

LENIN AND INDIA

increasing agricultural pro-duction—there will be no dearth of them to foot even a bigger bill

dearth of them to foot even a bigger bill. The Mission is also un-derstood to have hinted that "certain categories of assistance for the private sector should be processed to a larger extent in con-sultation with the donor nation." In other words, the country will not only have to pay a high rate of interest on the money that comes in, or exorbitant fees on the technical know-how, which is lent, but will also have to respect the donor nation's scheme of prefer-ences in choosing the in-dustries to be set up. Obviously, if it does not suit the United States or the World Bank to further

### S. K. PATIL'S **HOBBY-HORSE**

I NDIA, no doubt, has her own "wise" men. One of them, S. K. Patil, has discovered that building up a buffer stock of imported foodgrains (from the Unit-ed States under Public Law 480) is a better method of reaching the food to the people at reasonable prices than State trading. Patil, no doubt, has never been in love with anything which even remotely smacks of Socialism, but then State trading was no Socialism either. It was, however, a step in the right direction inasmuch as it

could enable the people to feed themselves on the basis of the indigeneous produce itself, without augmenting the import bill. Patil does not like it theoreb since it robs him though, since it robs him of the opportunity of rid-ing his hobby-horse of ing his hobby-horse of building up a buffer stock to "control prices."

to "control prices." Patil's scheme (as pre-sented in the National Development Council meet-ing in the capital last week) envisages import of five million tons of foodgrains-four million tons of wheat and one million tons of rice

the growth of an industry vital to India, they will not lend money for it. Further, in insisting upon having a say in "processing" the aid to private sector, they will be creating a class of people whose interests will be inextricably tied to theirs. from the United States, besides the import of an-other 12 million tons under a "straight single contrac from the same country cover the deficit for t cover the deficit for the first four years. With the help of these, he said, he would regulate the prices. be inextricably tien to theirs. The members of the Mis-sion have been nicknamed the "three wise men." "Wise" they, no doubt, are but about their own inter-ests. As for India, one won-ders if she will not in fact be better off without their "wisdom." He, however, chose to keep mum about the fate of the indigenous produce which the unscrupulous traders and some well-to-do farmers held in stock. Obviously, they would con-tinue to sell it at high

NOTES

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

ECONOMY

Obviously, they would con-tinue to sell it at high prices — minting money thereby to feed the cam-paigns like Swatantra Par-ty's. A part of it will no doubt come to Patil's party as well. If he continues to oppose State trading, but then what would become of Nehru's off-repeated de-claration that his Govern-ment held to it steadfastly. Here, however, it is not only a matter of Nehru's or Patil's conscience. It is rather the matter of utilis-ing the indigenous resour-ces to the maximum to minimise dependence on foreign quarters. Patil, however, thinks otherwise, else, why should he be going about with a begring bowl when with a few firm measures—like State trad-ing-he can help lessen this dependence to a great measures—like State this ing—he can help lessen this dependence to a great extent?

-ESSEN

APRIL 19

tee in 1938. The British were that idea is accepted by the still ruling the land and In-dians had not yet had the only confirmed warmongers oppose it.

> India readily accepted the idea when she became inde-pendent. The Panchsheel agreement between Socialist China and our country gave a concrete form to this very understanding. Practice peace, coexistence, mutual respect follow from Panch-sheel — from the Leninist

continue to influence us even today because they are true. On the Ninetieth Birthday of Lenin, the Indian people must honour the memory of this great leader of the inwho strove for the freedom and for the abolition of exby man will reman member with gratitude that spreading happiness and in this country. Another great idea of Le-vencing rapidly, ensuring a in, coexistence of different social systems, has also be-These victories of the Lenin-

> (April 19) APRIL 24. 1980

INDEPENDENT GUINEA

The young Republic of Guinea in West Africa has already captured the imagination of not only the neople of entire Africa, but large sections of people in the other continents, too, who are following the developments there with great interest. Within a short period of two years of independence, this Re-public has already acquired for itself a very important place among the free nations in the African continent.

HAD the privilege of visit-ing Conakry, the capital city of Guinea during the latter half of last month. I there is a straight of the straigh

was there to attend a me ing of the Executive of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and made use of this opportunity to go round and see the city ll as some remote areas in the countryside.

Guinea was a French colony for more than half a century. After the Second World War the movement for national liberation took shape and be-fore long it developed into a vement for national very powerful one. In 1958, President de Gaulle of France ordered a referendum in all the French colonies on the question of remaining i the French Community, the people of Guinea, the only one among the French colonies, among the French colonies voted for complete indepen-

Fifteen Years Of Struggle

> This heroic decision of the Guinean people should not be considered an accident. During the last 15 years and During the last is years and more, a courageous fight has been going on under the leadership of the Peo-ple's Democratic Party of Guinea. This fight had many phases and several forms. Many had to lay down their lives during the freedom struggle.

From the very beginning, the working class had played an important and vital role. e most important leader of the People's Democratic Party, Sekou Toure devoted most of his time to organising workres. Even though he is the President of the Republic now, he still remains the Se-cretary-General of the trade union organisation in Guinea. He is the unquestioned leader of the party as well as of the entire people. He is comparatively very young, his col-leagues are also all young.

tain interesting features of the current situation in Guinea, it is necessary to state some facts about this country.

In area Guinea is about 250 thousand squire miles, i.e. nearly twenty times the area of Kerala State. But the popu-Jation is only three million-just one-fifth of the popula-tion of Kerala.

Guinea is mainly an agri-Guinea is mainly an agri-cultural country. Many kinds of vegetables and fruits are grown there in plenty, the most important being plantain cultivation. Coffee is also grown abundantly. The staple food of the people is rice. The county is self-sufficient in rice and paddy. Coconut is to some extent grown on the sea coast.

Besides its agricultural products, Guinea has rich mineral deposits. The main item is bauxite which is exported from the country on a

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As far as foreign industries and companies are concerned the Government has not yet taken them over. For the ti being, Government is content with having full supervisory powers over the running of these industries. Some leaders of the People's Democratic Party told me that their ulti-mate aim is to have industries only in the public sector.

Yet another important step was the introduction of Guinean money—till March 1, 1960, French money was in vogue in Guinea.

#### Two-Year Record

the State.

Russian style British regime in India is doomed." These words proved prophetic for, the proletariat was to use this apon repeatedly against the foreign rulers. It was no accident also that thirtyeight years after Lenin wrote these

words, the working class of Bombay, organising a genegave a final death-blow to British rule in India.

Lenin's ideas offered new militant paths for national struggle; new methods of routhe masses and at the same time created a new fervent faith in the ideals of Socialism and Communism. His books against reformist and revisionist distortion of Marxism, especially The Pro letarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky, played a great role in steeling the Marxist consciousness of the ple. tion on the masses, the work-ers and peasants as the driving force of the Indian cadres here.

His writings made it clear that his ideology waged an irreconcilable struggle aga-inst every kind of oppression, against everything that was moribund in the old society. -including religion. To young dia, too, the proletariat has Indians struggling against already developed to cons- the reactionary institutions cious political mass struggle of caste, against the influen-

directly under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution—as a result of the spread of Leninist ideas.

And above all, Leninism instilled in the minds of its young. devotees the truth that revolution was a science which had its own laws.

Two other ideas of Lenin have exercised a profou Bombay, organising a gene-ral strike to support the revolt of the Indian Navy, of Soviet planning. Till So-viet planning had proved successful, people in this country had hardly heard of planning. The mighty success of the First Soviet Plan, the tremendous advance which backward Russia registered in one leap under Socialist planning—all this served to popularise Socialism as well as planning. A Socialist wing arose in the Congress testifying to the fact that ideas of Socialism had begun to be-come popular among the peo-

#### Planning Comes To India

by the achievements of the Soviet Union, the National Congress under the leader-ship of Nehru appointed a National Planning Commit-

power to carry out economic planning of their choice. The National Planning Committee's programme was an attempt to formulate the

future economic programme of national bourgeois deve-lopment. It was realised that without a coordinated effort, vithout basic industries being owned by the State. India could not forge ahead along the path of economic indethe path of economic

The planning efforts of the Government of India after independence have been conducted along the lines of independent bourgeois development, though the Congress leaders describe them as Socialist planning. Nonetheless, Leninist Socialist planning continues to attract larger and larger sections of the people alike daily draw upon the triumphs of Le-ninist planning to guide work of Communist recons-truction going on in his land, the economic development in this country.

Another great idea of Le- vencing rapidly, ensuing tailing, ensuing tailing, coexistence of different prosperous livelihood for all. Simultaneously the idea of coexistence of different prosperous livelihood for all. social systems, has also be- These victories of the Lenin-planning made its first ap- come part of our national ist path inspire the Indian pearance in India. Inspired consciousness. It was Lenin people to progress along the by the achievements of the who clearly stated that the path of Socialism and self-sorial systems can exist side by side, confidence in ourselves. pointed a that their peaceful coexist-Commit- ence was possible. Today

principle of coexistence. Inspire Us

## Lenin's Ideas The great ideas of Lenin ternational working ploitation of man The Indian people

Indian people. Economists, in their dark days the voice theoreticians and common, of this great revolutionary people alike daily draw attacking the British tyrants.

Before passing on to cer-

Land does not belong to any Land does not belongs to any individual. It belongs to the village community, which has an elected council. Anyone can take as much land as he can cultivate with the help of his family, the only condition being that he should get per-mission from the village counmission from the village coun-cil—something not difficult because there is plenty of land left untouched by anyone. The cultivator has to pay a small share of his income as tax to



The French rulers had mer-cllessly exploited this country and its people for more than and its people to the state of loot with the American monopolists as far as the bauxite industry was concerned. In the pre-independence period the entire foreign trade and commerce were in the hands of the French. There is prac-tically no national bourgeosie in the Republic of Guinea.

After independence, Sekou Toure's Government has adopted certain far-reaching steps to banish the rem

The Government has taken over the entire foreign trade and commerce. This undoubtedly was a big blow to the French monopolists, but has helped to stabilise the prices

In the short period of two years, the People's Democratic-Party as well as the Govern-ment has taken many steps for the development of educa-tion and national culture. Large number of new schools have been opened, illiteracy has already come down. Seve ral ballet troupes have been organised.

It will be of interest to any visitor to know that Guinea has only one political party-the People's De-mocratic Party. There is no ban on other parties, but the pro-French reactionaries were so thoroughly discredited and isolated that they are not in a position to lunch any political party or movement. And the people of Guinea do not subscribe to the theory that demo-cracy depends on the number of parties a country has.

### nants of colonialism and The Party feudalism and to recons-truct the economy on na-tional foundations. That Rules

The People's Democratic Party enjoys the support of the entire people. All its deci-sions are made public. The top committee of the party is called the National Political

prices and ending speculation cooks in the hotel where I nise the German Democratic and blackmarketing. stayed were telling me that Republic. stayed were telling me that they felt thrilled with pride in independent Guinea.

> The entire people are united and inspired by the slogans of freedom for the whole of Africa, union of Africa, reconstruction of national economy in Guinea, etc.

And how well they manage their affairs! The French colonialists as all other colonialists had thought that the backward and "ignorant Africans were not capable of managing their affairs. But history has already proved that Africans can very well manage without the 'help' of the Western masters.

Sekou Toure always tells his people that Guinean freedom not complete without the freedom of the entire African people. And Guinea today is the bright star that shows the way to all the other oppressed people in the whole of West Africa. So it is not without reason that the imperialists carry on a consistent malicious campaign against this young Republic.

The French imperialists in unison with their American and British counterparts, are doing everything in their power to put difficulties and hurdles in the way of Guinean

Now to mention the work of the Executive meeting of the WFDY in Conakry from March 23 to March 30 last. The powerful youth organisa-tion of Guinea, the JRDA, made all the necessary arrangements for the meeting. When we reached Conakry we were given a rousing reception at the airport.

#### WEDY Decisions

The WFDY Executive mainly discussed two reports sub-mitted on behalf of the Bureau, one concerning the role of the youth in the fight for peace and disarmament and the other on the streng-thening of World Youth Soll-darity and the fight of the African youth for the winning, and consolidation of national independence and the unity of Africa. Apart from the member organisations, there were observers from nearly 15 African countries.

The Executive declared unconditional and unequivocal support to the national liberation movements in Africa, condemned French atomic tests in Sahara, pledged sup-port to the freedom struggles in Algeria and the Cameroons, and sent a protest telegram to the South African Government against its racial policy and massacre. The Executive has also called on the youth in all countries to launch a powerful movement of protest against racial discrimination in South Africa.

Among the important decl-Among the important decl-sions regarding the struggle for peace and disarmament; was the adoption of a memo-randum to be submitted to the Summit Conference, an ap-peal to the youth of the world and enother armality to the and another appeal to the international youth organisations.

It was decided that April 24 should be widely observed as the day against colonialism and for peaceful coexistence. All member or-ganisations have been urged to mobilise the largest sec-tions of youth in support of the World Youth In support of which will be convened in Moscow in the summer of 1961.

An important step was the constitution of the Inter-national Youth Solidarity Committee for Algeria. The All-India Youth Federation is represented on this Committee.

The proceedings and decisions of the Executive once again demonstrated the un-compromising anti-imperial-ist character of the WFDY and its eagerness to fight for the noble aim of peace and coexistence

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ral of the party.

isational structure. All impor-tant decisions are taken after thorough discussions at the base. A leader of the party told me that every week, on specific days, meetings were held of the respective wings of the party—for example, the youth general bodies are con-vened every Tuesday throughout the country. These meetings discuss both State mat-ters as well as party matters and reports are sent to the top committees. The party and the Government take decisions only on the basis of

### Slogans

Whether it he the worker. the student, the government servant or the peasant, each and every Guinean today feels the pride and excitement of hard-won freedom. Even the

NEW AGE

of imported commodities and in fetching reasonable returns for Guinea's export commo-dities. For Europhy and Eur al of the party. It has a broad-based organ-it has a broad-based organof buildings.

Socialist Aid 

But the imperialists counted without the Sovietled Socialist camp. When independent Guinea was in distress, the Socialist countries readily agreed to help that country with all the re-sources at theis disposal. For example, Czechoslovakia offered the entire equiphis offered the entire equip-ment for the army free of cost. The Soviet Union offered aid worth 40 bil-lion francs. The leaders and people of Guinea ac-knowledge all this help with gratitude and have the best of reletions with the Socialof relations with the Socialist countries. It is signifi-cant that outside the Socialist camp, Guinea was the first country to recog-

ананиминиканания by ссилининининининининини P. K. VASUDEVAN NAIR, M. P. VICE-PRESIDENT, WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The trade in essential articles like rice, sugar, etc., is in the hands of the Government and this helps in stabilisin

PAGE FIFTEEN

# TEXTILE GENERAL STRIKE If wage-increase recommended by Board is not given in May

S. A. Dange, M.P., Gene-ral Secretary of the Al-India Trace Union Con-gress, in a statement issued in New Delni on April 20,

gress, in a statement issue in New Delni on April 20, says: Leading organisers and representatives of cotton textile workers' unions af-fuliated to the ATTUC met at Lonavala, near Bombay on April 14 and 15 to dis-cuss the report of the Textile Wage-Board and imeasures to secure its early implementation. Despite the fact that the Board and the Government took nearly three years to come to conclusions on the question of the wages of the workers, and despite the fact that the wage-increases recommended do not even come up to the level of the minimum standards agreed to in the 15th Tripartite Conference (Delhi, 1957), the millown-ers in India do not seem to be in a mood to give early effect to the recommenda-tions contained in the re-port on the matter of wage-increases. From the statements of

From the matter of wage-increases. From the statements of the leading millowners in the country, it is plain that the millowners will not give wage-increase in the near future, until they have succeeded in reducing the number of workers employ-ed and increasing their work-load by means of rationalisation and secur-ing from Government large financial assistance for the Durpose.

financial assistance for the purpose. In view of this, it is found necessary that the textile workers will have to resord to action in order to secure the wage-increases recom-mended by the Board. The meeting, therefore, took the following decisions:

tomowing decisions: \* it cance upon the work-ers in the textue industry to observe max 6 as a Day of Demonstrations for the implementation of the board's recommendations and securing wage in-creases.

and securing wate in creases. \* if the wage increase, with recrospective effect from January 1900, as re-commenced by the board, is not included in the pay-ment of the month of may hyow, preparations should be made to carry out a GE-Nrikal. STRIKE ON JUNG 14, 1960, inst as a one-day token strike, to be followed by an incennite thereas Strike, if the employers by then do, not fulfil the de-mands.

then do, not fully the user This is in addition to the action being taken by vari-ous unions in their own areas, such as West Bengal, Madras, etc. The following demands will be the central points of action for their fulniment :

will be the central points of action for their fulniment: (1) WAGE INCREASE — (1) A flat increase of Rs. eight in mills of Category I and Rs. six in mills of Category II, for all textile workers, including piece-rate workers. In the case of piece-rated workers, the flat increase should be as a lump-sum addition on their piece-rated earnings. The increase being due from January 1960, accord-ing to the recommendation of the Board, the arrears of Rs. 32 and Rs. 24 must be paid to the workers on the pay day of May 1960. (2) DEARNESS ALLOW-

pay uay or may 1960. (2) DEARNESS ALLOW-ANCE — The Dear-ness allowance must be linked to the cost of living index immediately and Government must take steps to appoint a National

Tribunal referred to in the Government resolution, in order to revise the stand-ards of dearness allowance where they are inadequate and/or not linked to the cost of living index; the revision to be based on full neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living. (3) RATIONALISATION-Set up at the national and regional level in order to work out the norms and process of rationalisation, in terms of the decisions of the 15th Tripartite Conven-tion. All central trade union organisations, thro-

ugh their unions, to be re-presented in this machin-ery. Proposed schemes of rationalisation must be suspended and should not be proceeded with until they are judged by these tripartite bodies. (4) The Government re-solution accepting the recommendations of the Board has tried to cut the wage-increase given by the Board by introducing a proviso that any wage-in-crease that may have been secured by the workers by agreement with the em-ployer, since the appoint-ment of the Board, should

be deducted from the pre-sent wage-increase as given by the Wage Board. The Wage Board itself has made no such suggestion and the Government's reso-ution on this matter is, therefore, an unwarranted interference in the wage-increase recommended by the Board. This proviso should be withdrawn by the Government. (5) Effective measures, including amendment of Company Law to prevent closures and prompt taking over of the closed units by the Government, as envis-aged by the Nainital Con-

ference, should be taken. The AITUC requests the Government of India to see that the employers meet the above demands. The AITUC also requests trade unions of all afilia-tions to join together for common action without which the vested interests of the textile industry will not implement the wage-increases and will resort to dilatory actions on one plea or another. The strike action is forc-ed on the workers, which they would have liked to avoid, in order to meet the tactics of the employers.

### P.M.S REITERATE DESIRE FOR SETTLEMENT

#### \* FROM FRONT PAGE friendship on which our re-lations ultimately depend."

After Nehru's speech had een translated into Chi-After Nentr's speech had been translated into Chi-nese, Chou En-lai speaking; in reply referred to the fact that both China and India, engaged in large-scale and long-term economic conslong-term economic cons-truction, were in need of peace. "Both of us need friends," he said adding further: "Peace and friend-ship are in the fundamental interests of the peoples of our two countries."

He asserted that the Chinese He asserted that the Chinese Government had "always ad-vocated the holding of talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries to seek avenues of a reasonable set-tlement of the boundary ques-tion and other questions." "This time," said Premier Chou En-lai, "I have come

"This time, June, Chou En-lai, "I have come with the sincere desire to settle the question."

He expressed his earnest hope that "through our joint efforts, our meeting will be able to yield positive and use-ful results."

Emphasising that the friend-ship of the two peoples of China and India is everlasting, China and india is everlasting, he concluded by saying : "His-tory will continue to bear out that the great solidarity of the one thousand million people of our two countries cannot be shaken by any force on earth. Long Live India-China Long Liv Friendship."

The airport formalities over the two Prime Minis-ters got into a closed car. As they drove to the Rashtra-pati Bhawan there was a circhie archive sizable number of pepole lining the two sides of the road over a considerable stretch of the route both at its beginning and towards its end. They had gathered spontaneously, and on their own, to wish success to the efforts at reaching a friend-ly settlement.

Next morning before he called on the President and launched on the crucial talks, Premier Chou En-lai, accom-panied by Vice-Premier Chen-VI, went to the Raighat to pay respects to the Father of the Indian nation.

In an atmosphere charged with utter solemnity, the two Chinese leaders carried a huge wreath and placed it on the samadhi and stood in silence for two minutes.

for two minutes. At the banquet given in honour of Chou En-lai late in the evening while reiterating his airport reference to the "different circumstances" of the present meeting. Nehru spoke for settlement, and for the success of the "joint quest for peace". He characterised the present "serious disagree-ments" as "a double misfor-tune", because as he said, "we have opposed not only war but, also what is called the 'cold war" and "events have so shaped themselves as to challenge that very basis of our thinking".

Making an earnest plea he said: "We have to try to the best of our ability to find a right and peaceful solution to the problems that have aris-en. "That solution," he said, "must be in consonance with the dignity and self-respect of each country as well as in keeping with the larger cau-ses of peace in Asia and the world."

CPI NATIONAL **COUNCIL MEE ΓΙΝG** 

THE Central Executive FulfE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India will meet in Cal-cutta from May 3 to 6 and the National Coun-cil of the Party from May 6 to 12. The agenda of the meeting will be : Political Resolution and Work Report of the Se-cretariat. Members go-ing to Calcutta are re-quested to intimate the dates and trains by which they arrive to the West Bengal Council of the Communist Party, 64-A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta a-16, (Phone: Calcutta) Communist, Calcutta)

> \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* NEW AGE

The Chinese Premier also had the same urge for peace and cooperation he felt, Nehru said, and with their Nehru said, and with their joint endeavours "we shall not only halt the unhappy process of deterioration in our countries' relations but also take a step towards their betterment."

#### Chon En-Lai's Reply

In his reply speech Premier Chou En-lai also referred to the "certain difficulties" that had risen in the relations between the two countries during the last one year and more, attributed these to "temporary differences of opinion on the boundary guestion..., and certain un-fortunate and unexpected in-cidents" and volced his faith that "this should not, nor can it, shake the foundation of the long-standing friend-ship between our two peo-ples."

The Chinese Government and people, he declared, "have faithfully adhered to the Five Principles and remained loyal to the Bandung spirt, they have always supported the struggles of Asian and African peoples and safeguar-ded the solidarity of Asian and African countires."

and African countires." This stand of China, Pre-mier Chou En-lai proceeded to say, was "firm and unshak-able" Some people do not be-lieve these Chinese profes-lieve these Chinese profes-sions said Chou En-lai. "But this we do not mind," he added. "We believe that pro-vided they do not bear us any ill-will, they will come to a correct understanding after a period of observation." He emphasised that for both the Chinese and Indian peoples there was "nothing more important" than "our respective cause of construc-tion," and in the recent years the two countries had scored "not a few achievements in building our respective lands."

Voicing his confidence that Asian-African coun-tries could do in this regard what the Western countries had been able to do-"and will certainly do even bet-ter than they"-he passion-ately pleaded. "The dire sufferings brought by colo-nial rule made as unite to-gether; the glorious tasks of construction should make us unite together even more closely."

On the wider world situa-tion Chou En-lai said China like India hoped that confer-ences concerning disarma-ment and the forthcoming Summit will lead to further relaxation of the internation-al situation. Referring to the forces which are still menac-ing the peace and security of the world he said, this called for strengthening of Sino-India cooperation to make "significant contribution to world peace and the progress of mankind."

. Viewed in the background of the larger issues posed the boundary issue between China and India "concerned only one finger out of ten."

Reiterating the hope that the present meeting will yield "positive and useful results" and "our joint efforts will surely uphoid and develop the friendship between our two countries" Chou En-lai in conclusion heartily wished "even more and greater achievements for the Indian people in the great cause of building up their country and defending peace in Asia and the world."

#### People-Beware !

Meanwhile the capital's daily Press which along with certain political parties has arrogated to itself the "hon-ourable" role of seeing to it that the Government of India remains "firm" is dishing out plenty of rumours. Forces ranged against the declared aim of the two Prime Minis-ters—of achieving through these talks an understanding and a friendlier turn in mu-tual relations "on the basis of the dignity and self-respect of both our great nations"— are exerting their utmost to achieve their objectives. It was for such crucial historical occasions that the call was once given—"People Beware".

CORRECTION

NEW AGE last week (Vol. VIII No. 16) carried by mistake its price as 16 nP. instead of the isual <sup>95</sup> nP. We regret the error.