employers and workers. Despite all his attempts at compromise, the government and the employers were adamant in forcing the issue. The militants wanted to extend the strike to the underground train operators and the power workers, and Cousins was forced to consider this. The busmen’s struggle resulted in increases to the railway workers, electric power workers, and other sections.

Cousins manoeuvred very successulgly, placing the responsibility for failure to broaden the strike on the shoulders of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; the latter body was terrified at the demand for extension, as this would have provided an open challenge to the Tory government. The government would have replied to the bringing out of the power workers and petrol lorry drivers by calling in the Army, and this in turn would have promoted further extensions of the stoppage and the rapid development of a pre-revolutionary situation. This frightened the Trades Union Congress more than anything. Behind the scenes, the TUC leaders were whimpering that “constitutional” government would be threatened under such conditions.

Thus once again was the lesson brought out that inherent in reformism lies the inevitability of betrayal once a mass movement of the working class gets under way. On the other hand, the strength of the resistance shown by the bus and other workers compelled the Tory government to retreat — for the time being. The Tories await a more favorable occasion to come to grips with the working class. For the last three years the Federation of British Industries, the banks, the Tory backbenchers and the right-wing press have been clamoring for action against the workers. They were held back, first by Eden and now by Macmillan, on the ground that any gains from a head-on clash would be cancelled by loss in trade and the possibility of provoking a revolutionary outbreak on the part of the workers. Reluctantly, the government has retreated to a formula of 3% wage increases, as compared to the retreat to 5% in former years. The government is waiting for the onset of mass unemployment in the winter of 1958-9, with the spread of the slump, when it will be impossible any longer to postpone a showdown, before moving again to settle accounts with the workers.

While the trade-union and Labour leaders are lulling the workers with a perspective of “compromise” with the employers and the government, the latter is preparing its implacable revenge.

A new consciousness has been developed in the last period within the working class. The attitude of the mass of the organized workers to both economic and political problems is on a far higher level than before the war. In the last months, apart from the big strikes mentioned, there has been a wave of disputes up and down the country in defense of union organization and to prevent the victimization of shop stewards and other militants. The workers, instinctively, have in all disputes regarded with loathing and abhorrence those tools of the class enemy who scabbed or refused to join the unions under these conditions. They have refused to work with, speak to, or have anything at all to do with, blacklegs. This “harsh” and uncompromising attitude has alarmed the employers, who have tried to exert pressure on the workers to change it, through the press, the Church, and even the reformist leaders. Yet, despite this tremendous barrage of propaganda, the workers have proudly maintained their class line.

The workers have understood class solidarity as the most important aspect of all these struggles. They have grasped the necessity of defending their organization, their cohesion and solidarity, as the most precious of weapons. In this way, they are prepared and hardened, at this level, for the great struggles ahead. On this basis, the revolutionary current must explain the need to preserve a class front and to launch an offensive against the bosses at a time favorable to the workers. The revolutionists must consistently expose the cowardice and pusillanimity of the TUC and the reformist leaders.

**Greece**

**ELECTION RESULTS**

The May 11th 1958 parliamentary elections upset the plans of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The EDA, legal camouflage of the Greek Communist Party, brought off a brilliant victory by winning the majority in the country’s biggest urban centres, and the greatest number of votes on the national scale, arriving just after the ERE party of Karamanlis, the present premier.

The election law saw to it that the first two parties would benefit scandalously by their position so as to share between them the greatest number of parliamentary seats. As a result of the EDA’s reaching second place (instead of the bourgeoisie party of the liberals, as had been expected), it had, with 24.3% of the votes, a right to 79 parliamentary seats (out of 300!)

The EDA’s victory is, however, a real one. Compared to the 1951 elections, it won 50% more votes and won in all the big cities: Athens, the Piraeus, Salonika, Volos, Larissa, etc. The fact that it was forced to present itself at the elections alone, without the compromising alliance with the reactionary party of Markezinis (since he rejected the alliance), far from losing it votes, on the contrary contributed to polarizing the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist current of the masses around its banner.

In voting for the EDA, the masses voted above all against the poverty policy of the Karamanlis government and its servile submission to the dictates of American imperialism. The reaction, panicked by the election results, is now trying to neutralize them by every means. In order to reduce the number of deputies elected by the EDA, the government wants to invalidate their election by arguing that the EDA is an alliance and not an autonomous party with a right to the advantages of the election law, etc. And furthermore, to terrorize the masses who voted for the EDA, the government is again stepping up measures of police repression.

The masses, however, stimulated by the election victory, are disposed to fight for their democratic and economic demands. The main obstacle to their militant regroupment remains the arch-opportunist parliamentary policy of the EDA, centred round the slogan of the “Popular Front” with the bourgeoisie parties of the opposition, in order to influence particularly the foreign policy of the Greek government.

**India**

**CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIFICATION**

The three-day unification conference of the Socialist Party (Marxist), the Mazdoor Communist Party, and the Communist League, to form the Revolutionary Workers’ Party of India, took place in Calcutta from May 31st to June 2nd 1958, as a step toward the consolidation of all Marxist forces in India. The conference was attended by delegates of the respective constituent organizations from Bihar, United Provinces, Rajasthan, Bombay, Gujarat, Saurashtra, Madras, Anhara, and...
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

West Bengal. Comrade Kanai Paul of West Bengal opened the conference. A message of greetings wishing success to the conference was sent by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The conference discussed, and finally adopted unanimously, the programme, constitution, and statement of policy of the new party; and elected a 15-member Central Committee with Comrade Muralidhar Parija (Bombay) as the General Secretary, also a three-member Control Commission.

The Programme adopted at the conference laid down the following 15-point transitional demands:

1) Confiscation of foreign assets and withdrawal from the Commonwealth.
2) Nationalization without compensation of all key and basic industries, mines, plantations, banks, insurance companies, and the nationalization of the entire credit system. Monopoly of foreign trade.
3) Workers' control and management of factories.
5) Stoppage of payment of compensation to the landlords.
6) Liquidation of agricultural indebtedness.
7) Distribution of land—subject to a minimum economic holding of land—to the peasantry, through their own committees.
8) Fixation of a ceiling on land-holding.
9) Introduction of large-scale cooperative farming on a voluntary basis.
10) Jobs for all on the basis of a sliding-scale of working hours.
11) Decent living conditions on the basis of a sliding-scale of wages.
12) Social equality for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
13) (text not received)
14) No jingoistic attitude toward Pakistan.
15) In the international sector, the fundamental tasks of the party are defined as:
   a) mobilization of the masses by class actions against imperialist war preparations;
   b) unreserved support to the national-liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin-American countries;
   c) unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, China, and the Eastern European workers' states against all capitalist attacks;
   d) complete support to the workers' struggle inside the Soviet-bloc countries against their present bureaucratic regime, for democracy, national equality, and a higher standard of living.

The Constitution of the Revolutionary Workers' Party of India will be based on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The flag of the Party will be the red flag with crossed hammer and sickle and with a five-cornered star in the top left corner.

The Statement of Policy analyzed the situation in India since the "Independence Deal" of 1947, and showed that not a single basic problem of the masses has yet been tackled by the Congress government, nor can be solved within the existing capitalist socio-economic framework. It characterized the major Left, such as the PSP, SP (Lohia), and CPI, as basically reformist in outlook and as major obstacles to the revolutionary mobilization of the masses against capitalism. It defines the foremost organizational task facing the Indian revolutionaries as the unification of all genuine Marxist forces, now lying scattered in the different parties of India, into a single organization, and it expresses the firm conviction that both the objective and subjective factors in the revolutionary process, which are now fast maturing both nationally and internationally, will inexorably drive all these revolutionary forces ultimately to unite. The RWPI will strive to bring about a speedy consummation of this process.

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JAPAN

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The General Elections held on 22 May gave the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party</td>
<td>22,976,830</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Party</td>
<td>13,093,984</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party</td>
<td>1,012,036</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>2,380,786</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>287,990</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 39,751,636, 100.0 467

Compared to the previous election of February 1955, the SP increased its votes by 1.9 million and its seats by 6. The LP lost 400,000 votes and 10 seats; but since 10 independents are expected to join with the LP in parliamentary voting, it has in practice maintained its position. The CP lost one seat. Its votes increased 280,000; but, since it presented 114 candidates as compared to only 60 in 1955, its comparative strength received a decrease.

Press reports indicate that within the SP the relationship of forces has shifted in favor of the left wing. This is misleading. The 99 left-wing members actually include many centre elements; the left-wing bloc is composed of five warring factions; the largest faction, headed by the SP leader Suzuki, is in sharp conflict with the other factions; and Suzuki himself has been captured by the right-centre group headed by Kawakami and Asanuma.

It was widely expected that the SP would win over 200 seats; a prediction confidently made by the SP leaders. In order to win petty-bourgeois support, the leadership had a rightist electoral policy. But here as elsewhere this manoeuvre did not succeed. In city areas SP growth has been stopped; and in some cities the LP could even increase its seats at SP expense. In rural areas, the SP continues slow growth, exemplifying the uneven rhythm of urban and rural developments.

On the basis of election results, the SP right wing and the bourgeois press opened a big campaign insisting that the SP must be a party, not of the working class, but of the nation as a whole, otherwise it will never win a parliamentary majority. The SOHYO union federation is counter-attacking, insisting that the SP must become more of a class party. After the elections the Kishi government stepped up the offensive against the workers, especially the SOHYO. The unions suffering the most from this offensive have been those of the teachers (Nikkayos) and of the postal workers (Zentsi). Many union leaders have been fined and arrested for striking for their demands. The SOHYO majority leadership cannot mobilize the workers for large-scale defensive battles, so that the teachers' and postal workers' unions are becoming isolated, and in the teachers' union even a large-scale split is possible.

There is still, however, considerable fighting capacity among the rank-and-file militants, and a left-centrist current is growing in SOHYO. Though it includes militant CP members, this current will not be absorbed by the CP. If this tendency succeeds in winning the leadership of SOHYO, there will again be a great possibility for a militant left wing in the Socialist Party. The urgent necessity of an organized defensive is so great that the treacherous role of the SP and CP leaderships is growing quite obvious to workers capable of serious thought. Many of them are