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For Party Members Only

Party Letter

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ON THE RESULTS OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE TASKS BEFORE THE PARTY

The Central Committee in its meeting of March, 1952, discussed the General Elections and their lessons. This report was prepared after the Central Committee meeting was over on the basis of these discussions. It should be read along with the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee.

Ajoy Ghosh,

April 5, 1952

General Secretary.

THE General Elections are over. As expected, the Congress has won the majority of seats in the Parliament and in the State Assemblies, but it has suffered heavily in prestige and influence and is facing a critical situation in the States of Madras and Cochin-Travancore. The high hopes entertained by the leaders of the Socialist Party have been dashed to the ground. Confounding its critics and enemies and belying the pessimism of friends who had thought that Government repression on the one hand and left-sectarian mistakes on the other had smashed it up, the Communist Party has emerged from the elections as a major force, as the most serious opposition to the Congress. Even in States where the Party has not done well, the prestige of the Party stands higher than ever before. There has been a big swing towards the Party in recent weeks, circulation of newspapers run by the Party has gone up, meetings organised by the Party are better attended than those of any other party, thousands everywhere want to join the Party.

All these have given confidence and courage to our friends, sympathisers and supporters, created pride in our comrades, drawn millions of people towards the Party. Everyone wants to know how the Party succeeded in winning 41 seats in Andhra as against 40 won by the Congress, how the Congress was routed in military and police-occupied Telengana, how Travancore-Cochin gave quit orders to the Congress, how obscure Tripura shot into prominence by electing a majority of Communists to the Electoral College. People all over the country want to know all this not merely in order to satisfy their curiosity but because they too want to defeat the Congress and they have seen that the Congress has suffered its heaviest defeats precisely in areas where the Communist Party is strongest. Hence they want to know more about the Party, about its Programme, about its views on all matters facing the country. They also want to know what the Party proposes to do now, how it intends to carry forward the struggle for the establishment of a real popular Government in place of the present Congress Government that has violated every pledge it gave to the people and has proved itself to be a Government of princes and landlords, of monopolists and blackmarketeers, a defender of the vested interests—Indian and foreign.

BACKGROUND OF THE ELECTIONS

These elections were the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise and the first elections after the transfer of power. They were taking place in the background of worsening economic conditions of the people, growing disillusionment with the Congress and mounting opposition to its rule, in the background of heroic struggles of the people in many of which the Communist Party had played a leading role, in the background of suppression of civil liberties, police and military terror in many parts of the country, in the background of growing disintegration of the Congress and desperate manoeuvres (like Nehru's becoming the President) to arrest this disintegration.

Disillusionment with the Congress was universal. Hatred against the Congress was mounting, especially in areas where big struggles had taken place and people had seen the real face of the Congress. More and more masses were ranging themselves against the Congress.

Further, the elections were taking place in the background of immense strengthening of the forces of Socialism and democracy, freedom, independence and Peace led by the Soviet Union, in the background of epoch-making victories of the Chinese people, the cracking up of imperialist bases in South-East Asia, the deep ferment among the peoples of the Middle East, the fiasco of imperialist war policies in Korea and Vietnam, the rising tempo and sweep of the World Peace movement, desperate efforts of the American imperialists to stem and defeat the movement and intensify the drive towards war.

All these events had exercised profound influence on our people, drawn them towards the democratic camp, roused their hatred and hostility against the imperialist war-mongers, made them increasingly see that the real cause of their poverty and degradation lay not in "natural calamities" but in the class rule that prevailed in the country.

The question of power had come to the forefront, especially in areas where the democratic movement was strong, the question of removing the present Government from power, the question of forging an alliance to effect this removal, the question of establishment of a Government that would solve the problems facing the country and make India play a worthy role in the battle for freedom and Peace.

WHAT THE ELECTIONS HAVE REVEALED

Elections, even in countries where bourgeois-democratic conditions prevail, can never be a real index of the strength of the popular movement, a correct reflection of the correlation of class forces. The dice is always heavily loaded in favour of parties that represent the propertied classes. This is even more true in India where civil liberties are severely restricted, where the Communist Party, the main party of the opposition, has been the target of severe repression all these years and where the power of the State machinery is freely used by the Congress Party to ensure victory for itself in the elections.

Despite all these, however, it would be a profound mistake to ignore the results of the elections or even to minimise their significance. It would be a mistake to focus attention only on bogus voting or tampering with the ballot boxes and to fail to see that while these elections do not *adequately* reflect the reality, they do reveal, in a broad and general way, the pro-

found changes that have taken place in the outlook, sentiments and loyalties of the masses during the last five years as the result of events in India and abroad. They do reveal *the shift in the position of classes and masses*, the *nature* of the shift, *its main direction* and *the role* that the Party has played in bringing about this shift.

They do answer some of the basic questions on which many of us were not clear in the past—questions such as: What is our over-all estimation of the political situation in the country; how broad is the mass base that the Congress has still got; which forces are growing at a greater pace as the result of disintegration within the Congress—forces of democracy and revolution or forces of reaction and counter-revolution; what is the dominant mood of the masses as a result of the betrayal of the Congress—hatred against the Congress and the desire to remove it from power or frustration and demoralisation?

Inevitably, in a vast country like India, where conditions are different in different parts, where the popular movement is marked by its extremely uneven development, no generalisation can be made which would hold true for all areas. Nevertheless, broad generalisations are both possible and necessary. Possible, because we have enough facts, enough knowledge of the history of the last 5 years, enough data. Necessary, because a revolutionary party has to base itself on the masses—not only on the existing level of their movement, on their existing consciousness but also on the *shift in their position* in order to work out a correct policy.

SHIFT AWAY FROM THE CONGRESS—SHIFT TOWARDS STRUGGLE

What are the broad facts that the elections reveal?

First and foremost, they reveal that vast mass of people have *shifted away from the Congress*, have lost confidence in its ability or desire to ensure for them land and bread, work and adequate wages, civil liberties and freedom from police oppression. The fact that Congress which only a few years ago enjoyed unrivalled prestige and influence, could this time secure only 43 per cent of the votes cast—this cold fact gives the lie to Congress claims to represent the country. Except in 4 small States—Coorg, Delhi, Saurashtra and Bhopal—nowhere could the Congress secure a majority of votes, not even in U.P.

Even this, however, does not give full indication of the loss suffered by the Congress as an organisation in prestige and influence. The factors that operated in favour of the Congress were not merely the traditional influence of the Congress—unlimited resources, the power of the press, the pressure of the administrative machinery, intimidation of Muslim voters, social and economic pressure brought about by landlords and rich peasants, especially in areas where a broad peasant movement has not yet developed, large-scale corruption and suppression of the Communist Party in its strongest bases. There was also the disunity of the Left forces which made it appear to many people that there was no alternative to the Congress. There is no doubt that Nehru's assumption of the presidency of the Congress on the eve of the elections, created new illusions in many sections, disrupted the KMPP, temporarily arrested the swing away from the Congress and exerted a powerful pull on the Muslim voters. Finally, there was the psychological factor—many people desired that the Congress should be defeated but did not believe it was possible to do so. Hence they either abstained from voting or willy-nilly voted for Congress.

Due to all this it can be safely asserted that the real loss in the influence of the Congress is far greater than that indicated by the voting figures. The Congress has suffered *the biggest political and moral defeat in its entire history*. This of course, should not lead one to the conclusion that the Congress has now lost all influence and is relying solely on repression to maintain itself in power. Even when all factors are taken into account, the Congress still has greater following than any other single party in the country. But its mass base is cracking up—and cracking up rapidly all over the country.

Secondly, on the whole the shift away from the Congress has been a *shift not to the Right* but to the Left, towards democracy and struggle and not towards counter-revolution—a fact which is of decisive importance not merely for a correct estimation of the events of the last five years but also for working out of correct slogans and tactics for the future.

The three all-India parties whose following can be broadly described as democratic and Left—the Socialist Party, the KMPP and the Communist Party and parties allied to it in the UFL and PDF of Cochin-Travancore and Hyderabad—together won 49 seats in the Parliament and 385 seats in the State

Legislatures. They polled 20.9 and 16 per cent of the votes cast respectively.

The Jana Sangha, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad, parties of Hindu communal reaction, backed by landlords, princes and some of the most reactionary elements of the big bourgeoisie, won only 10 seats in the Parliament and 87 seats in the State Assemblies. They polled 4.5 and 7.3 per cent of the votes cast respectively.

Of the 87 seats won by these parties no less than 51 are situated in the princely States of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat where the democratic movement has always been weak and where Congress policies of appeasement of the Princes and jagirdars enabled them to strengthen their position. The same happened in Orissa where another party of feudal reaction, the Ganatantra Parishad, which assumes a "non-communal" garb, won 31 seats in the Orissa Assembly and polled 7.6 lakhs of votes, securing its most impressive victories in the districts of Sambalpur, Koraput, Bolongir and Kalahandi where even the Congress never had any influence. In Punjab and PEPSU, where parties of Hindu and Sikh communal reaction expected to score their biggest victories and even form the Government, they actually secured only 12.4 lakhs out of 63 lakh votes polled.

Feudal and communal reaction still retains considerable hold in its traditionally strong bases, has capitalised anti-Congress discontent to some extent in U.P., C.P. and parts of West Bengal but has failed to make significant headway in areas where it was not already strong.

Further, forces of communal and feudal reaction triumphed precisely in areas where the peasant movement led by the Communist Party was either weak or non-existent. They were routed where a militant peasant movement, a broad popular movement had been developed by the Communist Party. The contrast between Rajasthan and Hyderabad, between Cochin-Travancore and Madhya Bharat, between the Orissa States and Tripura is not only an eloquent commentary on the real nature of the "bloodless revolution" effected by Sardar Patel, it also delivers a smashing blow against the Nehruite thesis that feudal reaction can be defeated by supporting the Congress.

The masses, it is evident to all today, are moving away from the Congress. They are moving towards the Left, towards the democratic camp, towards struggle. Failure to

see this, failure to understand its significance, failure to make this the basis of our work would lead to trailing behind events, to being taken by surprise, to right opportunist deviations in relation to mass struggles.

This process, however, is not taking place in a simple and uniform way, nor is it expressing itself in the same form everywhere. Failure to realise this would lead to deviations of an opposite nature.

Local parties have come into existence in many parts of the country, parties most of which were formed on the eve of elections and they together polled nearly 90 lakhs of the votes. Among these are parties like the Tamilnad Toilers' Party that professes a progressive programme, parties that express the urge of the tribal people for a homeland like the Jharkhand Party, parties led by feudal princes like the Ganatantra Parishad, parties that profess Congress ideology and declare that they oppose the Congress only on specific issues like the Lok Sewak Sangh, the Tamilnad Congress of Travancore, etc.

Another marked feature of the elections has been the very large vote polled by "independents". Taking the country as a whole, they polled nearly 20 per cent of the votes in the Assembly elections—a figure much higher than that polled by any party other than the Congress. In most provinces and States, the total votes polled by the independents were only next to the Congress. The exceptions are Cochin-Travancore, Hyderabad, Andhra, Malabar and Tripura.

This phenomenon is significant. Equally significant are the exceptions.

They reveal on the one hand the *disintegration of the mass base* of the Congress, the rift in the Congress itself—many former Congressmen standing as independents in order to capitalise the anti-Congress discontent; they show on the other hand insufficient development of political consciousness among large sections of masses, their vacillations, the weakness of organised all-India parties in many areas which enables local men of influence and local parties formed on the eve of elections, to utilise mass radicalisation. Also they are a reflection of the existing disunity of the popular forces which bewilder many who hate the Congress and make them repose their trust not in any party but in the men they "know"

It is a fact worth noting that in States and areas where the Communist Party is strongest and where a broad united front was forged, unattached independents not merely failed

to win many seats but even polled poorly. A number of independents in these areas who were either formally or in practice integrated in the Democratic Front won on the basis of progressive support and are standing firm even after the elections.

All these show the complex and tortuous process that is going on in our country, the divergent forms which the break up of the Congress is assuming, the strength and weakness of the popular forces. While the basic shift is clear and unambiguous, the specific extent and nature of the shift in each area, the classes it involves, the form in which it expresses itself—all these must be concretely studied by provincial units of the Party in order that over-simplification is avoided and correct tactics are evolved in relation to parties and movements.

EMERGENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS A MAJOR POLITICAL FORCE

Not merely have the broad masses moved away from the Congress, not merely have the majority of them moved to the Left, but inside the camp of the democratic masses, the Communist Party has become the strongest single factor, the most powerful challenge to the Congress. Even the worst enemies of the Party are forced to recognise this. The Party stands forth today as the first Party of the Andhra people, as the most powerful force in Kerala, as the Party that has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the people of Tripura, as the Party which constitutes the main opposition to the Congress in Bengal, as the Party which is rapidly growing in Orissa and Punjab, as the Party which people *all over the country* consider to be the Party of the future.

This is a factor of decisive significance for our country and our people. The Communist Party has carved out for itself a place on the political map of India.

If this had not happened, if the Socialist Party of India which claimed at one time that it would capture "at least 800 seats" had emerged as the main "opposition" to the Congress it would have tried to capitalise its victory not in order to fight the Congress but in order to bargain with it. It would have sown new illusions among the people and tried to organise them for anti-struggle, anti-unity and anti-Soviet, anti-China policies. It would have diverted the democratic

movement into disruptive, professedly anti-Communist but in reality anti-democratic channels and served the interests of American imperialists.

No genuine democrat, therefore, need shed tears over the Socialist Party's debacle in the General Elections.

Attempt is being made by the Socialist Party leadership to prove that their claim to be the "alternative" to the Congress has been proved by the fact that they have polled many more votes than those polled by the Communists and the UFL and the PDF—99 lakhs against 62 lakhs. This claim has no basis in reality.

In the first place, the Socialists contested more than 3 times as many seats as contested by the Communists and the PDF and the UFL. Even in Madras State, Socialists contested 161 seats while Communists contested only 133.

Secondly, in many constituencies it put up candidates who were selected only because of their "local influence". A notorious example of this is the Maharajah of Vizianagaram and his lieutenants who stood as "Socialist" candidates from Andhra. It formed alliances with Dr. Ambedkar, with careerists, even with Congress factions in some areas.

Thirdly, the Socialist Party basked in the sunshine of patronage of the ruling party all these years, was given unhampered freedom to disrupt the workingclass movement, freedom for propaganda and agitation and did not have its leaders and workers in prison and underground.

Fourthly, the 6 million votes polled by the Communist Party, UFL and PDF are no real indication of the effective influence of the Party. In many constituencies of Telengana and other areas, the Party could not set up candidates. Above all, taking into account the undemocratic nature of the Constitution and with a view to forge unity and defeat the Congress, the Party did not put up its own candidates in many constituencies, but supported the independents, the KMPP and other parties and even the Socialist Party. To give only a few examples, five out of the 12 Socialists who won in Cochin-Travancore won with the support of the Party, the Party supported the Socialist candidate in order to defeat Madhava Menon in Malabar, it was with the Party's support that Kumaraswamy Raja was defeated in Madras State, no less than 14 KMPP and independents elected to the Madras Assembly from Andhra had the support of the Party.

Despite all this, even in Bihar where the Socialist Party

contested and won the largest number of seats (264 and 23); it polled 6,540 votes per seat contested and the strength of the Socialist Party in the Assembly is less than one tenth the strength of the Congress (240).

As against this, to take only one example, in Travancore-Cochin, the UFL contested 73 and won 37 seats including 5 supported independents, polling over 11,000 votes per seat contested, and its strength in the Assembly is 82 per cent that of the Congress Party.

Even if we take the percentage of voting alone, the Socialist Party in its strongest base, Bihar, has secured only 18.2 per cent of the votes cast while the PDF of Hyderabad has secured 22.5 per cent of the votes and the UFL of Cochin-Travancore 25 per cent.

The Socialist Party has done best in the States of Bihar, U.P. and Vindhya Pradesh. In these States and in some others where the Party has secured 10 seats or more, the number of seats won by it as against the Congress are as follows:

	Socialists	Congress
Bihar	23	240
Uttar Pradesh	18	390
Vindhya Pradesh	11	40
Cochin-Travancore	12	44
Madras	13	152
Hyderabad	11	93
Orissa	10	63

Nowhere is the Socialist Party in a position to challenge the Congress, to oppose it effectively, to substantiate its claim of being the "alternative" to the Congress.

The Communist Party, the UFL and the PDF have won most of their victories in the States of Cochin-Travancore, Hyderabad, Madras, Bengal and Tripura, where their strength *vis-a-vis* the Congress in the Assembly is as follows:

	Communists & UF	Congress
Hyderabad	45	93
Cochin-Travancore	37	44
Madras	62	152
Bengal	30	150
Tripura (Electoral College)	19	9

While the Socialist Party cannot become an "alternative" to the Congress or even the major constituent of an alternative democratic coalition government in any State Assembly, coalition of democratic parties including the Communists as its major constituent party, can replace Congress rule in a number of States.

In the contiguous States of Madras, Hyderabad and Cochin-Travancore which have a total area of 219,146 sq. miles and a population of 8.48 crores, the Communist Party, the PDF and the UFL have won 144 seats as against 289 seats won by the Congress.

In the contiguous States of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh which have a total area of 207,491 sq. miles and a population of 10.7 crores, the Socialist Party has won 52 seats as against 671 won by the Congress.

The strength of the Communist Party, the UFL and the PDF in the former three Legislative Assemblies is 49.7 per cent of the Congress strength. The strength of the Socialist Party in the latter three Legislative Assemblies is only 7.4 per cent of the Congress strength.

Whereas, therefore, in the former area, the United Front constitutes a serious challenge to the Congress in the latter area the Socialist Party does not constitute such a challenge.

No amount of jugglery with figures can hide this patent fact.

In every State where the Socialist Party is the main opposition, the correlation of forces both inside the Assembly and outside, is still heavily in favour of reaction headed by the Congress and the ruling classes are not confronted with an acute crisis.

In several States where the Communist Party and the United Front constitute the main opposition to the Congress, the correlation of forces has either already changed or is fast changing against reaction headed by the Congress and the ruling classes are facing a serious crisis.

And where the crisis is most acute—Cochin-Travancore—the Socialist Party which once dreamed of replacing Congress rule has already become the main prop of the tottering Congress Government. The same may happen soon in Madras State also.

These facts show that the Communist Party and the United Front have not merely emerged as the strongest opposition to the Congress but also that their successes have

created a qualitatively new situation in Indian politics. They have created a serious *crisis* for the ruling classes, have created possibilities for the *defeat* of the Congress in several States, have shattered the myth of the invincibility of the Congress and destroyed the *monopoly position* which the Congress enjoyed in the political life of the country. All this is bound to exercise a profound influence on the masses even in areas where the Congress has won the overwhelming majority of seats, and draw them towards struggle, towards unity and thus undermine the position of the Congress throughout the country.

Already the eyes of the masses of all States are focussed on the South—on Hyderabad, on Cochin-Travancore, on Madras.

The “instability” that has developed in these States is not just *governmental* instability, which occurs when rival parties of the ruling classes are evenly balanced. It is *political* instability caused by changed correlation of class forces—the emergence of the party of the working class as a major force. It may mark the beginning of a political crisis for the ruling classes. Therein lies the reason of their panic.

Therein also lies the reason for Dean Acheson’s plea for “aid” to India and his speech of March 13th in the course of which he said:

“India is fighting a desperate battle to save herself from Communism....

“India is a most striking example of the need for urgent and effective action....

“...the unexpected strength shown by the Communist Party in the recent national elections....”

The significance of the victories won by the Communist Party and the United Front must not, therefore, be measured merely in terms of seats won and percentage of votes secured. The significance lies deeper.

All this is being stated not in order to create sectarian arrogance in our comrades, not in order to induce them to make the false claim that “not Socialists but we are the alternative”; but in order to stress that history of the Communist Party is not “merely a history of deviations” as cynics think but a history of bold leadership of mass struggles, in order to point out the *new* situation in Indian politics and the role the Party has played in creating this situation.

ODDS AGAINST THE PARTY

For four years, the entire power of the State was directed against the Party and the movement led by it. Party units were banned, mass organisations were suppressed, tens of thousands were thrown in prison without trial, thousands involved in cases of murder, dacoity, arson and rioting, and thousands shot. Terror was let loose against people in areas where the Party had its main bases and struggles led by the Party were drowned in blood. Military and police terror reigned in Telengana and other areas; women were subjected to worst indignities. A virulent campaign of lies and slanders was launched against the Party, a campaign in which the Socialist leaders fully participated.

Even when elections were being held, hundreds of the finest cadres of the Party remained in prison, warrants continued against over a thousand in Hyderabad, arrests, beating up and even killing continued in Telengana.

The victories that the Party and the United Front have won show clearly that the Government offensive against the Party has failed. The areas of mass struggles stood firm like rocks. Those who slandered the Party as a party of bandits and murderers have been silenced. Telengana has acquired a new meaning in the eyes of the democratic masses in our country in general and of the oppressed peasantry in particular. No longer is it associated with “Communist atrocities”; today it is associated with the mass peasant movement for land which all the might of the Government failed to crush, with resounding defeats suffered by the Congress, with the victory of the Communist candidate Comrade Ravi Narayana Reddy, who polled the highest vote in India.

Not merely has the policy of repression suffered fiasco but the vaunted morality of the Congress leaders also stands exposed. They stand exposed as hypocrites and liars, as organisers of mass butchery.

How did the Party and the United Front win such victories in face of such overwhelming odds?

This question will be taken up later but here it is necessary to point out one thing. Nothing would be more harmful than any attempt to explain the victories won by the Party in the States of the South, in Bengal and Tripura, in Orissa and Punjab by basing oneself on the events of the last

created a qualitatively new situation in Indian politics. They have created a serious *crisis* for the ruling classes, have created possibilities for the *defeat* of the Congress in several States, have shattered the myth of the invincibility of the Congress and destroyed the *monopoly position* which the Congress enjoyed in the political life of the country. All this is bound to exercise a profound influence on the masses even in areas where the Congress has won the overwhelming majority of seats, and draw them towards struggle, towards unity and thus undermine the position of the Congress throughout the country.

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3-4 years *alone* or the events of any particular "period". Such "explanations" would lead to wrong conclusions and wrong practice. What we have to understand is that in the result of the elections stand revealed, though within limitations, the *entire* work carried on by the Party ever since its formation in various States and Provinces—the struggles it has led, the classes on which it has based itself, the causes it has championed, the organisations it has built, the links it has forged with the masses by selfless and sustained hard and patient work.

LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS

Not merely Communists but all genuine democrats, all classes except the monopolists and landlords, desire the removal of the present Government and its replacement by a popular government. It is necessary, therefore, for all of them to examine the causes which led to the defeat of the Congress at the hands of the progressive forces in certain States and areas and not in others. The general national and international factors, sketched earlier, which include the food crisis, operated in *all parts* of the country, and played a big role in weakening and disintegrating the Congress everywhere. The very fact, however, that the democratic forces succeeded most in *specific* areas shows the need to examine the *specific* factors that led to their victories.

The "theory" put forward by Congress leaders and their henchmen that Congress lost where the food shortage was acutest and where, therefore, "mischief-mongers" could turn the wrath of the people against the Government—this theory has no basis in reality.

If this theory were correct, then the worst famine-affected province of Bihar would not have returned the Congress Party to power with such majority. If this theory were correct, then the Congress would not have lost heavily in the Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari Districts of Andhra, in the Tanjore District of Tamilnad—all of which are surplus districts—and done comparatively better in other districts in the same province where the food situation is far worse.

The leaders of the Congress put forward this "theory" because they want to make out that Communists *want* famine and starvation for through that alone they can win the support

of the masses. This is on a par with the other bourgeois theory that Communists want unemployment, chaos and war for that alone would create the situation in which they can "capture power".

Study of the election results shows that the most impressive victories were won by the Democratic Forces—

(1) Where the Party boldly led mass struggles in face of terror and repression, where it established its claim to be the leader of the people by determined championship of the cause of the masses, unflinching courage, utter devotion to the cause of the people, self-sacrifice and heroism;

(2) Where the Party had developed a broad peasant movement uniting the entire peasant masses and on the firm foundation of unity of agricultural workers and toiling peasants. Also where the Party had built a powerful trade union movement;

(3) Where flexible United Front tactics were adopted, the Communist Party coming before the people as the party of unity, as the party giving concrete expression to the popular urge for unity, as the party subordinating everything to the supreme task of defeating the Congress;

(4) Where the election campaign could be developed into a broad popular movement with the slogan of an alternative Government as the key slogan;

(5) Where provincial units of the Party brought out their own Manifestoes based on the Central Manifesto, where agitation was positive and concrete and such concrete factors as the *national* factor, the factor of unification of the nationality into linguistic provinces, were effectively utilised (the contrast between Andhra and Kerala on the one hand and Maharashtra and the others is striking);

(6) Where the weakness of organisation was overcome by developing mass initiative, rank and file initiative to the utmost extent, drawing the masses into the electoral battle as active participants in selection of candidates, in planning work through broad-based United Front Committees at all levels;

(7) Where the Party was strongest; where the Party was unified and went into the struggle as a team.

All these factors must be taken together and in their totality. Any attempt to isolate any single factor and focus attention only on that factor would lead to wrong conclusions, to deviations of right opportunist and left-sectarian nature.

Long before the elections—in the Policy Statement and in the Election Manifesto—the Party had pointed out that the Congress had lost the backing of the majority of our people and was relying on popular disunity to maintain itself in power. Hence the key task before the Party, before all the democratic forces, was to forge unity in order to defeat the Government.

The elections have proved the correctness of this analysis. They have brought home to the people the urgent need for unity.

They have done something more. They have shown that the unity that can defeat the Congress must be unity for *developing mass struggles*, unity not merely of top leaders of parties but unity of the masses, unity to build a *mass Trade Union and mass peasant movement* on the firm foundation of agricultural workers and toiling peasants, unity to create linguistic provinces, unity to fight for the demands of all classes and sections—workers, peasants and students, teachers, office-employees, shopkeepers, artisans, youths and women and build their *mass organisations*. They have shown that the masses have to play an active leading role in the struggle against the Government and their initiative has to be developed to the utmost extent. They have shown that only united mass organisations and broad-based united front Committees at all levels can be the firm foundation of the United Front movement. Finally, they have shown that only a politically and organisationally unified mass Communist Party can be the builder of the United Front.

The elections, therefore, have not merely stressed the need for unity; they have also shown what kind of unity is needed, which classes must form its basis, what form it must take, which force can build it.

The lessons that the elections teach are valuable not merely for "future elections". They are valuable for every struggle, for the entire democratic movement, for the establishment of a popular Government—a movement of which the general elections were only a part. These lessons must guide us in all our future work, these lessons should be made a part of the consciousness of all *democratic parties and elements*.

All of them desire that the Congress should be defeated. All of them must know *how* the Congress can be defeated.

UNITED FRONT TACTICS DURING ELECTIONS

Complex and varied were the problems facing the Party in forging electoral alliances with other parties and groups and their tackling demanded the utmost flexibility. Despite the absence of effective directives from the Centre, in the majority of provinces the comrades tackled these problems effectively demonstrating thereby the maturity they had attained.

The chief obstacle in the path of United Front was the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party of India which contested no less than 1786 Assembly seats and which refused to ally itself not only with the Communist Party but with any democratic party while preferring alliance with Dr. Ambedkar and notorious careerists, many of whom it adopted as candidates. Its leaders went to the length of saying that they preferred victory of the Congress to victory of the Communist Party in any constituency. And they actually ensured victory for the Congress in hundreds of constituencies by splitting the democratic votes.

In view of the anti-unity policy of the Socialist Party, in view of their record of sabotage of mass struggles and moral support to the Congress in the suppression of the militant struggles of workers and peasants, in view of their hostility towards the Soviet Union, People's China and other democratic countries and in view of their open subservience to the British and American imperialists—it was perfectly correct on the part of the Communist Party to lay down that there should be no *general support* to Socialist Party candidates—even in constituencies where the Party or the United Front were not contesting. Such support, no matter what name was given to it, would have meant in practice acceptance of the Socialist Party's claim that they and they alone are the "alternative" to the Congress. It would have meant tacit support to the anti-people and pro-American policy of the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party.

It was also correct that where we or our allies were not contesting, we should support such Socialist candidates as were pro-unity; pro-struggle and not anti-Soviet.

However, it was *also* necessary to stress that where a

top leader of the Congress or a hated Minister could be defeated only by supporting the Socialist candidate in the constituency, such support should be given despite the fact that the Socialist candidate could not be placed in the category of progressive Socialists. Experience has shown the galvanising effect of the defeat of top Congress leaders on the masses.

This omission, however, was corrected in most of the constituencies where such a situation arose before the polling.

It was also necessary to point out that in bases of working class and peasant movement, the unity of the movement should be preserved and that if the Socialist candidate was one who was looked upon by the masses as *their* real leader, if he enjoyed *their* confidence and thus he alone had reasonable possibilities of winning—in such places the Party should support the Socialist candidate as against the Congress, while demarcating itself from the policies of the Socialist Party. Such tactics would have helped to strengthen the movement against the Congress and drawn the honest elements of the Socialist Party, especially rank and file workers and peasants into the unity movement.

With the Left-Socialist Group, the Party worked in closest cooperation in almost all constituencies where the group existed. Cadres of the Left-Socialist Group as well as their leaders wholeheartedly supported the Party in the election struggle.

The Party achieved electoral agreement with the Forward Bloc (Marxist) in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with the Kamgar Kisan Party in Bombay and several parts of Maharashtra and the Marathwada region of Hyderabad. In several constituencies of Maharashtra, the Party and the Peasants' & Workers' Party opposed each other though they worked together at Sholapur. In Uttar Pradesh, the Party and the U.P.R.S.P. worked together. In Punjab, the Party had united front agreement with the Lal Communist Party. The failure to reach agreement with the Forward Bloc in Punjab had adverse effect on the election in several constituencies.

The united front of the Communist Party with the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Kerala Socialist Party which led to the formation of the United Left Front in Cochin-Travancore had a galvanising effect on the entire people of the State and created the conditions for broad United Front Committees on a local basis into which all democratic elements were drawn.

The People's Democratic Front of Hyderabad also was in essence a United Front of Left Parties and groups with its main base in Telengana where the Communists have become the undisputed leaders of the peasant movement.

The specific feature of these United Fronts were that they were in the nature of agreement between Left parties, that accepted the goal of Socialism, parties most of whom claimed to be Marxist. Such United Fronts were necessary and desirable. But they were not broad enough to draw the vast masses into the movement, they were not strong enough to defeat the Congress.

The Party, therefore, tried to build a broader united front—a united front which would exclude the parties of communal reaction backed by feudal and counter-revolutionary elements but includes all parties, groups and individuals who opposed the Congress from a progressive and democratic standpoint—even though the opposition in many cases was not firm and consistent.

In Tamilnad where the main base of the Party lay in working class areas and among the peasant masses of Tanjore, the Party supported the Toilers' Party candidates in Arcot District, a number of progressive independents, and strove for a province-wide united front with the Dravida Kazhagam. While the latter as an organisation did not join the United Front, most of its leaders and cadres supported the Party and Left candidates and played a big role in the defeat of the Congress.

In Andhra, even after attempts to reach agreement with the KMPP and the KLP had failed, the Party did not content itself merely with "exposing" these parties and opposing them everywhere; it supported and worked for a number of candidates set up by KMPP to ensure the defeat of the Congress. United Front on a local basis was arrived at in several areas and no less than 11. KMPP candidates elected to the State Assembly from Andhra had the backing of the Party. Gopala Reddy and Kala Venkat Rao have openly ascribed their defeats to the support given to their opponents by the Communists.

In Malabar, the Party succeeded in achieving a united front agreement with the KMPP, a United Front which played a big role in ensuring the rout of the Congress.

In Bengal, a United Front embracing the Communist Party, Forward Bloc and the KMPP and covering the whole

province could have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Congress. Such a Front did not come about mainly due to the insistence of the KMPP on contesting too many seats. The Party was late in giving the slogan of an alternative Government and could not also develop a sufficiently strong unity movement.

Certain mistakes committed in our approach to the Scheduled Caste Federation have been dealt with in a resolution of the Central Committee.

It can be seen from the above that while some successes were undoubtedly achieved in achieving United Front agreements, on the whole the slogan of the Party that all progressive forces must unite to defeat the Congress remained unfulfilled. Even Left unity was not fully realised in most provinces.

What was this due to?

Some would ascribe this solely or mainly to sectarian approach on the part of the Communist Party towards other parties. Such explanation would lead to the wrong conclusion that once the Party adopts a "correct approach", unity will be achieved.

Undoubtedly a correct approach is necessary. Undoubtedly we have to get rid of all sectarianism, remnants of which are still very strong among us and is hampering the development of the United Front movement. But the real causes as to why effective United Front could not be forged in the elections lie deeper.

They lie first and foremost in the *weakness of the Party* itself. Only the Communist Party, as history of all countries has proved, can be the leader, builder and driving force of the United Front movement.

Sectarianism itself is both the cause and the result of the weakness of the Party. Without ridding ourselves of sectarianism, we cannot take effective steps towards the development of a broad mass movement. Without developing such a movement we cannot root out sectarianism.

If the Party were strong among the masses, above all strong in its own class, the working class, it could have brought them on the streets with the demand for unity, it could have developed a mighty unity movement whose very strength would have convinced all democratic parties and elements that

Party, its independent mobilising power, *combined with* correct approach that made United Front between the Communist Party and the KMPP in Malabar possible.

Secondly, before the elections most of the other parties with which we sought United Front *exaggerated their own strength* and influence and refused to recognise the strength and influence of the Communist Party, which though far less than what the situation demanded was far greater than what the bourgeoisie thought or wanted to make out. Accustomed to methods of bourgeois parties, other parties looked upon appeals for unity made by the Communist Party as a sign of its weakness, as recognition of the "fact" that the Party was "played out". Hence, while professing to stand for unity many of them laid down conditions to accept which would have meant liquidation of the Party's own bases.

Thirdly, the issue of United Front came to the forefront only on the eve of elections and United Front itself, therefore, could not but be only an electoral agreement. It was not as though a united mass movement had been developed for the realisation of the immediate demands of the people, united mass organisations built as the organ of the movement and the election struggle looked upon by all as part of this movement, as a means to establish a Government which would carry out the minimum accepted Programme of the movement. Inevitably, therefore, disputes arose not on any basic issue but on which seat which party should contest.

Due to all these reasons the United Front realised during the elections could neither be sufficiently broad nor sufficiently firm.

A new situation has developed after the elections. Not merely the urge for unity has grown but also its possibilities have increased immensely. All can see today that no single Party can defeat the Congress and dislodge it from power. All can see today that the Communist Party is a major force, that the Congress suffered its heaviest defeats precisely where the Communist Party is strongest; that therefore, *only a United Front which includes the Communist Party* can replace the Congress. All can see today that mere discontent is not enough, that this discontent has to be given concrete form and direction through *mass struggles* and consolidated in *mass organisations*. All can see today the Congress can be defeated

a serious crisis in the ruling class, that the measures which they are adopting to overcome the crisis (like the appointment of a Counsellor in Cochin-Travancore and the refusal to form Andhra Province) are deepening the crisis, are giving rise to *opposition even in Congress circles* and thus the basis is being created for broader United Front than any of us visualised before. Even the Socialist Party leadership dares not today reject the slogan of United Front offhand but is compelled to pursue its anti-unity policy in a more subtle way. The joint walk-out from the Hyderabad Assembly on the occasion of the Rajapramukh's address is an indication of the growing strength of the urge for unity. The rank and file and even the leadership of the KMPP has come closer to the Party and expressed readiness to cooperate with us.

The elections have underlined the need for unity. They have also created conditions for the development of a broad united movement to defeat the Congress and instal a popular Government in power.

WEAKNESSES REVEALED

The elections have also revealed serious weaknesses of our movement which have to be overcome with the utmost rapidity.

One common failing, a most serious failing almost in every area, was the complete ignoring of the issue of Peace and also to a great extent the issue of solidarity of the Indian people with Vietnam and Malaya, with Egypt and Iran. It was inevitable that issues of food and cloth, of wages and employment, of police terror and suppression of civil liberties would figure prominently in our agitation. But together with them, it was also necessary to popularise the struggles that are being waged against imperialists in other lands, to denounce the atrocities of the imperialists against the peoples of these countries, to develop international consciousness in our people, to make them conscious of the menace of world war and to demand that India should play a leading role in bringing about a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers. It was necessary to expose the role that the Indian Government is playing by refusing to take a firm stand on Peace. It was necessary to warn the people that the continuation of the Nehru Govern-

revealed itself as the enemy of freedom and independence of peoples of all lands.

Not that all these were not done at all but as comrades will admit, that these were not done with sufficient vigour and effectiveness.

This is being stated here not merely in order to point a serious weakness of our agitation but also in order to emphasise the importance of the resolution on Peace adopted by the Central Committee and in order that serious attention may be paid by Party units to implement the directions of that resolution as well as of the circular on Peace and Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples.

The weaknesses that the elections have revealed, however, are not confined to this and certain other aspects of our agitation and organisation only. There are other basic weaknesses also.

The most serious weakness which the results of the elections showed is the weakness of the Party in the working class, the weakness of the trade union movement, the deep split in the working class.

Except in some of our trade union bases of Tamilnad, in Kolar Goldfields where Tamilian workers predominate, in the small industrial areas of Kerala, in Sholapur and in predominantly Bengali workingclass areas of Calcutta and suburbs, we fared poorly in industrial areas. In most of the *major industrial centres*, the Party failed to win seats. It failed to win a single seat in Bombay which had first hoisted the Red Flag, it failed to win seats in Nagpur, in Kanpur, in Delhi, in Ahmedabad, in Tatanagar, etc. The overwhelming majority of the seats in all these areas were captured by the Congress, including most of the seats in the mining belts of Bihar. Hindustani speaking workers of Bengal voted for the Congress.

The serious state of affairs that these results reveal need not be dilated upon. The Policy Statement adopted by the Party has stressed the importance of the industrial working class in our economy and in our political movement, has pointed out that the leadership of the working class movement has to be established not merely through the leadership of the Party but also primarily through *action by the class itself*. Due to the position which cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras

coming the major force in these cities, in the working class of these cities.

Explaining how mass action of the proletariat transformed "slumbering Russia, into a Russia of the revolutionary proletariat and revolutionary people", Lenin drew attention to the striking fact "the bigger the city, the more significant was the role the proletariat played in the struggle."

The weakness of our working class movement, the weakness of the Party in the major industrial centres, is the key reason why we are unable to give concrete expression to the popular hatred against the Government in an effective manner, why we are unable to develop a powerful movement against rise in the price of foodstuffs, against suppression of civil liberties, against imperialist atrocities in Korea. The Party can be constantly before the people, appear as their tribune and champion, rally the democratic masses under its banner only if it is able to move the working class into action on national and international issues.

To overcome the disunity of the working class, to develop a powerful working class movement, to create political consciousness in the working class—this, therefore, is the key task facing the Party today. This must not remain a pious wish as in the past but be translated into deeds.

Equally weak is the state of the peasant movement in most provinces. In Maharashtra, where the Party has been working for many years, small working-class centres of Amalner and Dhulia voted mostly for the Party but due to our weakness in the surrounding peasant areas, we failed to win seats.

It is not a question of elections alone. By confining its work to small industrial areas, by not spreading out in the surrounding rural areas, the Party would isolate the working class in such centres and render it impotent in face of Government attack. This holds true even for relatively large working class centres of the north, many of which are industrial islands in a vast agrarian sea.

The Party in Maharashtra has also to take up the issue of *Samyukta Maharashtra* in right earnest. The ignoring of this issue by the Party is a serious failing which has nothing in common with the Marxist principle that the party of the

to the fact that the movement for linguistic province has remained weak. Further, the demand for disintegration of Hyderabad State can never acquire irresistible strength as long as the Marathwada regions are not drawn into the struggle for a United Maharashtra.

While the mass base of the Congress is disintegrating all over the country, the disintegration is not proceeding at the same rate in all areas. Nor should we draw the conclusion that mere weakening of the Congress necessarily means the strengthening of the democratic movement.

In Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh, the Congress has secured a minority of votes polled but in all these States the democratic parties too have done poorly and the combined strength of the Congress and the parties of communal and feudal reaction is many times more than that of the democratic parties. In Punjab, PEPSU and Orissa, the Party has made considerable headway in recent years, but reactionary forces are still in a dominant position there. The struggle in all these areas and Delhi is not a struggle against the Congress alone. It is simultaneously a struggle against feudal and communal reaction. To forget this would lead to the worst type of opportunism, to entanglement with parties of reaction which would strengthen them and help the Congress leaders to retain their influence on the democratic masses.

In the vast Hindustani speaking region which stretches from Ambala to the borders of Bengal, the region of which the Uttar Pradesh forms the heart and core, the Congress is still an immensely powerful force. The Communist Party failed to win a single seat in this whole region. Even the Socialist Party which claimed this area as its stronghold fared badly—much worse than anyone expected. So did the KMPP. The democratic movement in this area is extremely weak—weaker even than in many other areas where too the Congress secured only a minority of votes.

The following facts will show this. They will also show how wrong it is to measure the strength or weakness of reaction only by reference to the support secured by the Congress.

In Maharashtra, where the Congress won 82 per cent of the seats securing 42 per cent of the votes, the democratic

munist Party) constitutes 32.6 per cent of the poll, while the parties of communal reaction got only 1.1 per cent.

In Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand, the Congress won 390 out of 430 seats securing 49 per cent of the votes; the democratic votes (Socialist Party, KMPP, RSP and Communist Party) were 20 per cent, while communal reactionaries secured 15 per cent.

In Bihar, Congress won 73 per cent of the seats and as in Maharashtra, got 42 per cent of the votes; but the democratic votes constituted only 23.7 per cent of the poll, even the Janata Party, a party of big landlords securing nearly 3 times as many votes as the Communist Party and as much as the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, United Kisan Sabha and RSP put together.

In all these States, the basic task is to develop a mass peasant movement, in close cooperation with all democratic parties and elements, paying special attention to the agricultural workers and poor peasants, vast masses of whom have not yet been drawn into the Kisan Sabhas. This alone will shatter the base of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, this alone will defeat the efforts of the communal and feudal reactionaries who are diverting the anti-Congress sentiment of the people into disruptive and counter-revolutionary channels. Feudal remnants are still immensely strong in most of these regions, caste and social oppression rampant—against which the Party must mobilise democratic opinion.

Further, the Party has to pay special attention to the disabilities from which the Muslim minorities suffer—the suppression of Urdu, the discrimination against Muslims in services, etc. the open or veiled intimidation to which the Muslims are frequently subjected.

It should also be noted that in several regions, especially in the Chotanagpur regions of Bihar, the movement for a tribal homeland has gathered immense strength. The spectacular victories of the Jharkhand Party which swept the polls, especially in the tribal districts of Singbhum and Ranchi and won 32 seats in the Bihar Assembly are phenomena to which utmost attention has to be paid. Failure to evolve correct slogans and tactics and conduct vigorous work among the tribal people would mean leaving them in the hands of their present leaders who are striving to use them for purposes of bargain with the Congress leadership and who will use their just aspirations for disruptive purposes. The causes

of the failure of the Party in Darjeeling and the success of the Gurkha League must be studied.

It must be clearly realised that at the present stage when events are marching rapidly, when the ruling classes are facing a crisis, the uneven level of our movement, the extreme weakness of the democratic forces over the greater part of the country constitutes a serious menace to the entire democratic movement.

At the same time, it must be remembered that it is not as though in areas where the Congress and extreme right-wing have triumphed, the base of reaction is firm and broad. On the contrary, the base is weak and is disintegrating under the impact of the victories of the democratic forces in the South, under the impact of growing mass opposition and due to dissensions in the Congress camp itself. There is no need, therefore, for defeatist outlook and demoralising conclusions. What is needed is intensive work, overcoming of weaknesses that the elections have brought out.

From all that has been said above, it should not be thought that special efforts are needed on the part of the Party only in States of the North, that in the areas where the Party has scored its biggest victories the Congress has been *smashed*, that no unevenness of the movement prevails in those regions.

Such conclusions would be wrong. They would lead to complacency and sliding back. They may also lead to left-sectarian tactics.

In Andhra, the Party contested 67 seats and won 41. It polled 14.52 lakhs of votes. In the constituencies where the Party contested, the Congress polled 9.98 lakhs of votes. Altogether the Congress contested 136 seats, won 40 and polled 21.84 lakhs of votes.

This shows that the Congress is not a negligible factor even in Andhra. It is still a very big force. Same is even more true about Malabar, Tamilnad and other areas.

Further, of the 41 seats won by the Party in Andhra, no less than 31 are situated in the four districts of Krishna (10), Guntur (10), East Godavari (6) and West Godavari (5)—the traditional strongholds of the Party. Three seats were won in Nellore. From the remaining 7 districts, the Party contested 18 and won 7.

In Tamilnad, 6 out of the 16 seats won by the Party were from the district of Tanjore.

In Malabar, all the 5 seats in the Moplah regions were captured by the Muslim League.

In Bengal, the Party won 30 seats of which 22 lie in Calcutta and in the adjoining districts of Howrah, 24 Parganas, Hooghly and Burdwan. Six seats were won in Midnapore. Party's base in Bengal, in many areas lies, as elections show, mainly in the middle-classes and not in the working class. In North Bengal, the arena of the Tebhaga struggle, the Party failed badly. Even in Cooch Behar, which witnessed big food demonstrations and firing last year, the Congress won all the seats.

In Telengana, out of the 45 seats won by the PDF in Hyderabad State, 35 lie in the Districts of Warangal, Nalgonda and Kareemnagar. The movement in the Marathwada area of Hyderabad is extremely weak.

Again, if we take Orissa and Punjab, where the Party has won a number of seats, we get the following picture.

Out of the 7 seats won by the Party in Orissa, 6 lie in the districts of Ganjam and Dhenkanal. Out of the 6 seats won by the Party and the Lal Communist Party in Punjab, 5 are in the districts of Amritsar and Ferozepur.

What do these facts show?

They show that great unevenness prevails even in States and Provinces where the Party has become a force, the movement has yet to be broadened and extended. Further, that in a State like Bengal where the Party is already looked upon as leader of the democratic forces, it has yet to acquire a firm and broad proletarian and peasant base, while extending and consolidating the position it has won among the middle-classes.

The unevenness which the elections have revealed is not merely a *geographical* unevenness. It is something far more serious. In the greater part of the country, we have yet to acquire firm base in the proletariat and in the most oppressed strata of the peasantry—the classes that alone can constitute the granite foundation of a proletarian party.

While we have every reason to be proud of our achievements, proud of our Party, we cannot also afford to ignore the serious weaknesses which are not the weaknesses of the Party alone but of the entire democratic movement. They must be overcome by the united effort of all those who desire our

SITUATION AFTER THE ELECTIONS

The results of the elections have given immense confidence to the masses. It has, as already pointed out, created a critical situation for the ruling classes. It has made the imperialists panicky.

Frightened by the growth of the democratic movement in India and frightening the Congress with the Red bogey, the American imperialists are striving to effect economic and political penetration into our country, by "loans", "aids" and "agreements", and transform the Indian Government into their subservient tool—an instrument for violent suppression of the democratic movement, an instrument of war against the democratic countries.

"The U.S.A. believes it necessary" said Dean Acheson in a statement before the American Congress on March 19, "to stop and reverse a trend in the recent Indian elections in which the Communist vote increased to a very great extent. If this trend should continue, you will have a growth of Communist strength in India and a very dangerous situation in Asia."

Every patriotic Indian must be made to ponder over the significance of these words which presage shameless interference in the affairs of our country by the American imperialists. "The USA believes it necessary to stop and reverse" the trend to the Left. The means which the Americans adopted for this in China and Greece and even in countries like France and Italy, what it meant for those countries—for their freedom as well as economy—all this must be explained to our people.

The Party has to come before the people today as the Party of full national freedom, as the Party that defends national independence and national sovereignty, as the Party that wages determined battle against those who are selling our country to the foreign imperialists.

Faced with the deepening economic crisis and the growing food shortage—products of their own policies—the ruling classes are resorting to standardisation, to wage-cuts, to raising the price of foodstuffs. As always, they are shifting the burden of the crisis on the workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, 30,000 workers of Ahmedabad have been thrown

The Party has to come before the people as the Party that resists these attacks of the ruling classes, as the Party that defends the day-to-day interests of workers and of all sections of the people, as the Party that organises them for struggle to defend their right to live.

Having suffered serious political and moral reverses in the elections—the Congress is striving to forge alliances with the most reactionary elements (release of Razakar Ministers of Hyderabad is an instance), disrupt the growing unity of the people (Nehru's overtures to the KMPP and Socialist Party, move to form "National Kisan Sabha" on the lines of the INTUC), isolate the revolutionary forces led by the Party, continue repression against the Party and launch a new terror drive against the Party.

All these efforts of the government can be defeated today. The Congress is weaker than it was at any time. It is torn with internal dissensions—dissensions that will again come to the surface. The appointment of a Counsellor in Travancore-Cochin has evoked a protest even from Congressmen in the State and the crisis which developed after Congress defeat in the State has deepened. In Madras State, the crisis that developed as the result of the defeat of each one of the top Congress leaders, is being sought to be overcome by bringing back C. Rajagopalachari who, however, has not been able to find suitable "colleagues". In Hyderabad, the precarious majority is being sought to be maintained by extending the number of Ministers, by creating jobs for Congressmen who threaten split. Such is the state of the Congress!

The democratic movement is stronger than ever before; the Party is not merely stronger than ever, it has learned many lessons from its own history and the history of the mass movement.

The Party has learned that the "first task of every Party of the future is to convince the majority of the people that its Programme and tactics are correct" (Lenin), that for this propaganda and agitation, though essential, are not enough but also experience is needed, experience which the masses can acquire only through struggles.

The Party has learned that "in its struggle, the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation" (Lenin) and that even

The Party has learned that one deviation cannot be corrected by jumping into another deviation, that deviations both of the right opportunist and left-sectarian types have to be *simultaneously* fought, that both result very often from failure to see a complex situation in its entirety and from focussing attention only on a part and not the whole.

The Party has learned that it must neither be cowed by repression nor fall victim to the tactics of provocation resorted to by the enemy but develop the whole movement in a resolute, planned and coordinated manner on the basis of sober assessment of the situation in order to defeat the enemy.

Above all the Party has learned that it is today a major force, that millions follow its lead, that millions more sympathise with it and are coming towards it and all this imposes on it heavy duties and responsibilities, failure to discharge which will mean greater setback than ever before.

The Party has to give concrete expression to the popular urge for unity which expressed itself during the elections, which got strengthened after the elections and place the movement for unity on firm basis.

The Party must not get dizzy with success and propagate the wrong thesis that the Communist Party is the "alternative" to the Congress. Congress rule which represents the rule of landlords and monopolists can be replaced only by a Government of *democratic coalition* of all anti-imperialist parties, including the Communist Party. An attitude of sectarian arrogance towards other parties like the KMPP, the Forward Bloc and others, towards non-party democrats, and towards the ranks of the Socialist Party and honest followers of the Congress who still number millions, would disrupt unity and prevent us from carrying out our tasks.

Due to the victories won by the Party and democratic forces in the States of Madras and Cochin-Travancore and the serious reverses suffered by the Congress a new situation has developed there and new possibilities have opened up. In these two States, especially in the State of Madras, the possibility has arisen of the formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front.

The specific features of the situation in these states are:

(1) A big majority of people have taken up a position of

(2) The opposition on the whole is a democratic opposition.

(3) Communist Party is the single biggest force in the opposition.

Such is not the situation in a State like PEPSU where too the Congress is in a minority but where main force opposed to the Congress is represented by the Akali Party, a party of feudal and communal reaction and the Communist Party is not a major force. Nor does such a situation exist in Orissa, where too the main opposition consists of the Ganatantra Parishad—a party formed and led by princes. Hence there can be no UDF Governments in these States at present.

The formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front in Madras and in Cochin-Travancore would be a gigantic step forward. Such Governments would press for the formation of linguistic provinces, undertake measures to give relief to the peasantry, the agricultural labourers and the workers as well as to the middle-classes, combat black-marketeering and corruption, restore full civil liberties and would thus help the people in their struggle for a better life. Such a government would be a Government of struggle against the monopolists and the feudals and a champion of the common people.

At the same time, one must remember the limitations of the present United Democratic Front.

It is a product of electoral defeats suffered by the Congress and represents a coalition of those who inflicted these defeats and came together only when the possibility of a non-Congress Government arose. It is not a product of a victorious mass struggle in which the constituent units have stood together and fought together. The present UDF has not been forged in the fire of mass struggle. It does not, therefore, yet represent the fighting unity of the masses.

As such the UDF itself is not yet sufficiently firm, nor sufficiently united. It is only a rapid growth of the mass movement, mass pressure and united mass organisations that can give it stability, unity and firmness.

Was it then premature for the Party to make efforts to form a Government of the UDF?

Not in the least. When the possibility of forming an alternative Government arose, it was the duty and the responsibility of the Party to make every effort to translate this possibility into reality. Masses want an alternative Government.

They want the non-Congress parties and individuals for whom they voted to form such a Government. Only by giving expression to this mass urge, only by taking steps for its materialisation, the Party could unite the masses and develop the mass movement. If a Government of the UDF comes about, it will be a great step forward. If, for any reason, it does not come about, the masses will have known whom they can trust and whom they cannot. They will know whom to hold responsible for the reimposition of the Congress rule over them.

Petty-bourgeois "Lefts" may shout about "opportunism", "betrayal of revolution" and "watering down of programme". The ruling classes know better. Hence their desperate efforts to form coalitions, to buy over independents, to work up anti-Communist hysteria—to do everything to prevent the formation of a Government of the United Democratic Front.

MAIN TASKS FACING THE PARTY

What are the main tasks facing the Party today?

Broadly speaking, they are:

(1) Revive the trade unions and kisan sabhas as united organisations by not merely uniting the existing organisations but also by drawing into them workers of the Forward Bloc, KMPP, Socialists and rank and file Congressmen.

(2) Develop a broad-based mass movement for civil liberties, for withdrawal of warrants, release of detenus and lifting the ban on the Party in Hyderabad; for release of detenus and withdrawal of warrants in Bengal, Punjab, Bombay, Tripura; for defence of accused in Hyderabad, Madras State, Cochin-Travancore and Uttar Pradesh (Ballia); for repeal of the Detention Act, for full freedom of the Press, for TU rights.

(3) Intensify the movement for linguistic Provinces in Andhra and Kerala and draw all elements, including Congressmen into the movement. Develop similar movement in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Demand ending of Commissioner's rule in Tripura and other Part C States and conferring of the right of Legislative Assembly on the Electoral College.

(4) Develop a mass movement for Peace, for a Five Power Peace Pact, for solidarity with colonial peoples fighting for freedom, for friendship with Soviet Union, China and other democratic countries, for close economic relation with them, against germ war in Korea, against suppression of Indians in South Africa, for withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from UNO.

(5) Build a united movement for help to the people in the famine-stricken areas, force Government to give relief, mobilise people for adequate rations and against rise in prices of foodstuffs.

(6) Place all these movements on the firm foundation of united organisations and united committees. Form UDF committees wherever necessary in order to broaden the movement. Develop a passion for organisation and overcome lag between movement and organisation.

(7) Wage determined struggle against parties of feudal and communal reaction while drawing masses under their influence into united mass organisations.

(8) Transform our newspapers into powerful instruments of mass education, mass agitation and mass mobilisation. (All comrades must study Chapter Five of the *History of the CPSU (B)* which describes what a Bolshevik mass newspaper must be); create mass literature in the form of cheaply priced pamphlets on current national and international subjects.

(9) Undertake education of Party cadres and draw cadres into the Party (first as candidates) so as to build a mass Party which alone can fulfil the tasks of the mass movement.

(10) Overcome all dissensions that still exist inside the Party in certain areas, fully unify the Party and tighten up discipline.

Due to strengthening of the democratic forces, it is possible today to give every movement a mass character. It is possible to develop a broad movement of writers, artists, and cultural workers, a theatre movement, movements of all sections, all strata of our people and to draw into them all honest and progressive elements.

The growing hatred against the British and American warmongers, the immense sympathy and goodwill among our people for the Soviet Union and China, that have been expressed in enthusiastic reception to the cultural delegations that visited our country are a powerful factor for Peace and for brotherly relations with our neighbours. The fiasco that the slander propaganda carried on by American imperialists against these countries has suffered, the contempt with which those who reveal themselves as American agents are looked upon by our people is an indication of the profound democratic sentiments of our people. Basing themselves on this sentiment, the democratic forces can today decisively defeat

the war plans of the imperialists and enable our country to play a worthy role in humanity's struggle for Peace.

The election of a large number of Communists to the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament have imposed new responsibilities on our Party. In order to discharge these responsibilities in a befitting manner, in order to fulfil the hopes that people have reposed in them, in order that they may effectively champion the cause of the people, our comrades have to take their Parliamentary duties seriously—as seriously as they take their extra-parliamentary work. Every PC and Parliamentary Fraction must see to it that comrades maintain live contact with the people of the constituencies which elected them, go there frequently, address meetings reporting on what they have done and are doing in the Legislatures. Also it is necessary that rules and procedure are studied and mastered, that each comrade equips himself for effective participation in the debate. The practice of bourgeois parties in which a few "leaders" do all the work in the Legislature and most of the members merely raise hands—this practice must find no place in our Party groups in the Assemblies and Parliament.

In the forefront of all tasks stands the task of reorganising and rebuilding the Party itself.

It must be recognised that never was the lag between the influence of the Party on the one hand and the organised strength of the Party on the other so great as it is today. It is evident today that with a little more preparation, the Party could have contested many more seats, especially in its strong bases, and polled at least 8 million votes. The membership of the Party, however, is not even a minute fraction of this. Perhaps in no other country of the world there is such a lag between the influence of the Party and the organised strength of the Party. This lag must be overcome by a bold policy of recruitment to the Party and measures to educate the cadres.

A necessary step towards the overcoming of this is the setting up of an effective Party Centre which will run the Central Journal, bring out a theoretical monthly, prepare educational material and give political guidance to the Party as a whole. We do not have such a Centre today. We did not have a Centre throughout the election period—a failing which affected our election campaign seriously.

Provincial Committees too must put an end to the present chaotic methods of work, stabilise their finance, set up frac-

tions and fraction committees, guide the provincial journals and help the DCs to function the Party units.

Organisation has always been the most neglected subject in our Party. Again and again we have seen what this neglect leads to. Not merely repressions takes us unawares and severs our links with the masses but even during a big struggle or a campaign Party units cease to function in an organised manner.

With the loosening of the political grip of the Congress over the people and because of the worsening conditions of their lives, big struggles are going to break out in near future. The Party will be overwhelmed by the immensity of the tasks that these struggles will create unless it overcomes its organisational weaknesses and grows into a mass Party.

Above all, it must be kept in mind that reaction will not take its defeats lying down. It is planning a new onslaught—an onslaught which we shall be able to face and defeat only by strengthening our Party and striking deep root in the masses. Any complacency, any slackening of efforts, any illusion would be fatal.

A period of tremendous possibilities has begun. The relative "political stability" of the last five years is over. The "stability" was based not on mass support for the Government but on the fact that while the masses waged many economic and even political struggles, the Congress enjoyed a monopolist political position in the country and the vast masses did not see any alternative to Congress rule. Today the United Front constitutes a *political* challenge to the Congress in a vast area.

This is a new factor in the Indian situation. It is a factor of immense significance for our country and for the whole world because of the position which India has come to occupy in international politics. It is a factor that is exercising profound influence on the people of the whole country.

Hence immense responsibilities rest on our shoulders. We shall discharge them only by fully unifying the Party politically and organisationally, overcoming all weaknesses in our work and resolutely fulfilling the tasks that our movement demands.

(April 6, 1952)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE C.C. MEETING HELD IN MARCH 1952

1. ORGANISATIONAL FORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The question of the building up of the Democratic Front (DF) has become a practical problem during the course of the General Elections for the unification of all the democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals and the defeating of the Congress and other reactionary forces. This question has received added importance due to the resounding victories, in some of the States, of the Democratic Front, which includes the Communist Party, and of the Communist and other progressive candidates. As a result, the urge of the unification of the democratic forces has not only grown in States where such significant events have taken place, but also in the States where the Congress was able to secure big majorities in the Legislatures. Under these circumstances, the question of what form this urge for the unity of the democratic forces should take, has also become an important practical problem.

Already such United Fronts have been formed during the course and immediately after the General Elections and have been growing in several States like Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Madras, etc. under different names. The functioning of these Democratic Front organisations has given us much valuable experience and has given rise to a number of organisational problems such as whether primary membership can be enrolled to Democratic Front, whether the Front has to function on the basis of the agreement of parties and groups constituting it or otherwise, etc. It is not possible at this stage to give a categorical answer to the question as to what definite shape or shapes these Fronts would take in different States in future and what shape the All-India Democratic Front would take. Nevertheless, it is possible and necessary to give certain guiding principles for the successful building up of the democratic unity of the progressive forces.

The guiding principles are:

1. The Democratic Front has to function on the basis of the agreement between different parties, groups, mass organisations and individuals constituting it.

2. There cannot be any individual primary membership for the Democratic Front at this stage because this will give rise to unhealthy competition in enrolling primary membership for the controlling of the Front, because this will divert the attention of ours as well as others from the urgent task of developing and strengthening the class organisations and other mass organisations which are the solid mass foundation of the Democratic Front. Middle-class elements who want to build a mass political organisation of the type of the Congress should be convinced of the necessity of building mass organisations of workers, peasants, youths, students and others on whose basis alone a powerful mass movement can be developed. Units of the Democratic Front, however, should, at all levels, include such individuals whose presence in the Democratic Front would make it more effective and representative.

The Party should not, in today's condition, take the initiative in forming petty-bourgeois political parties under any designation like Democratic League, People's Party etc.

3. Mass organisations also can be brought into the Democratic Front on the condition that their unity is not disrupted by such a measure or where such affiliation may become a hindrance to developing united mass organisations.

4. Democratic Front Committees have to be formed wherever other progressive parties, groups and individuals are made to feel the necessity for them. But, it is wrong to waste our energies in forming and functioning such committees consisting of our Party, of mass organisations under our influence and our sympathisers alone. Instead, we have to put all our available energies in building up class and mass organisations of the people.

5. In places like Telengana and Tripura where big militant struggles were fought under the banner of such popular organisations as the Andhra Mahasabha and Mukti Parishad and where they have developed into mass political organisations embracing the majority of the people, they can and should be developed into Democratic Fronts of these localities. It is for the comrades of those areas to study the conditions carefully and determine what organisational form they should take.

* * *

2. ON THE RELATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WITH OTHER PARTIES, GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN THE LEGISLATURES

1. The election of a large number of Communists in the Legislative Assemblies and in the Parliament has posed several questions before the Party. What should be the relation of the Communist Party in the Legislature with other parties in the Parliament and State Legislatures? Should the Party function as a separate party on the floor of the House or join hands with others to form an Opposition bloc against Congress? If an Opposition bloc is to be formed, should the Party be in the bloc as a party or should all legislators of different parties forming the Opposition dissolve their party identity and become members of a new Parliamentary Party or United Democratic Front with its separate Programme, rules, leadership, etc.? With what parties can we ally ourselves? And, finally, should there be uniform tactics in all State Assemblies and the Parliament or shall it be different from State to State on these questions?

2. There can be no uniform tactics in all the States because the strength of the Party differs from State to State and the Party Legislators have to find the best mode of discharging their function of fighting for defence of the interests of the people on questions of land and wages, taxes and trade, repression of the peoples, civil liberties, Government's foreign policy, etc. On all these questions, the Communist Legislators must find the most effective means of giving expression to the views and policy of the Party, of achieving the demands of the people and of unifying the democratic forces.

3. Under no circumstances can we agree to such a form of the Parliamentary Front, bloc or Party as will restrict our Party from expressing its views through the forum of the Legislature. The presence of the Party as the defender of the people and the Communist Legislator as its spokesman in the Legislature must be felt by the people.

4. While trying to mobilise the democratic forces on the floor of the House against the reactionary Congress Party, we should try to build Fronts or blocs in such a way that while giving expression to agreed Programme, the independent expression of our views, where all parties do not agree on a common view, is not restricted. Similarly, the Party should enter a Front or bloc *as a Party* or group and our members.

must not lose their identity and become merely individual members dissolving their identity into any new Parliamentary Party as such.

5. In the House of the People, the MPs of the Communist Party with their friends today form the largest single group, though they have not got that number which would entitle them to become the recognised Opposition Party in the Parliament.

Besides the Communist Party, there are KMPP, the Socialist Party and many small groups and parties. The Communist Party in the Parliament will adopt a programme on the basis of which it will be prepared to form a bloc with other democratic parties to form a United Democratic Opposition to the Congress Party on the floor of the House. In this bloc, the Communist Party and other parties will retain their separate identities with their own special viewpoints and programmes, where they do not agree, but debate, consult and vote together where they agree. Parties and groups and individuals should be invited into such a consultative bloc after prior consultation with them.

6. In the Parliament or in any State Assembly, the Communist Party will not ally with or form any front or bloc with any communal party such as the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Rajya Parishad, Akali Party, Muslim League.

The United Democratic Front, it must be clearly understood, is a coalition of Democratic Parties, groups and individuals and no party that is based on the principle of division of the people in accordance with religion can be a component part of the UDF.

This does not prevent the Party or the UDF from coming to an understanding with any Legislative Party on specific issues that come up in Legislatures.

7. In the State Assemblies, the Party in the *Madras State* has to follow tactics which are peculiar to the Madras State and under present conditions cannot be applied elsewhere. There the Party is the largest party next to the Congress in the Legislature with 62 members. It can thus become the recognised Opposition Party. Besides this, there exists the possibility of forming a Democratic Coalition, which can be larger than the Congress Party and thus defeat the Congress Government if it is formed or prevent its formation.

8. Under these peculiar circumstances, the Party took the step of calling a Convention of non-Congress Legislators

and forming a United Democratic Front with an agreed programme. If Legislators numbering more than the Congress and its allies sign a declaration of agreement with the UDF, the Party will agree, if the majority so agrees, to authorise Mr. Prakasam of the KMPP to present the declaration to the Head of the State and thus to act as the leader for the specific purpose of fulfilling the requirements of the Constitution.

9. If the possibility of forming a Democratic Coalition Government of the UDF arises, the Party in Madras State Assembly will best fulfil its revolutionary duty to the people by accepting the responsibility to participate in and support such a Government to fulfil the agreed programme and will function in it as part of the UDF.

10. In the absence of such a Government, however, when the UDF is in opposition the Committee of the UDF should function as a co-ordinating committee of all UDF Parties on agreed matters, but allowing each to function independently as a party, on the floor of the House.

The UDF will not have a separate discipline, rules, etc. as of a Party or Front, when in Opposition. But if it ceases to be an Opposition and becomes a Coalition Government bloc, then other rules of collective responsibility will apply. It is premature to discuss that position now.

11. The holding of the Convention in Madras and formation of the UDF has led some people to believe that the same line is to be followed in other State Assemblies. Such an understanding is not correct.

The peculiarity of Madras is that there in the democratic movement, outside as well as in the Assembly, the Communist Party is the strongest Party. In Madras therefore, there is no danger of its getting submerged or losing its identity. Moreover, the displacement of the Congress as a majority party and its Government even temporarily is such a dire necessity and a near possibility and will be such a galvanising factor that the formation of the UDF on these lines has to be carried out. But such is not the position in other States.

12. No doubt the same possibility exists in *Travancore-Cochin State*. But there the Party has been elected on the ULF platform and as its members. The ULF existed prior to the election and is not a creation of the Parliamentary Coalition as such. And there also, the extension of the ULF on the Madras line can be done if the possibility of a democratic coalition arises.

13. Following the Madras example, it would not be wise to form a UDF on the same type in Bengal where the Congress has secured a big majority in the Assembly. There the task of the Party is to stand forth as the defender of the people in the Legislatures on its own platform and to seek allies on given issues from time to time, where agreement is possible.

14. The P.D.F. in *Hyderabad* has come into existence on eve of the elections under conditions of the illegality of the Party in Hyderabad on the basis of an agreed programme and will continue to function in its present form in the Legislature.

15. In *Orissa*, reactionary elements led by feudal Princes have secured a large number of seats in the Assembly and are trying to form a bloc whose main constituents would be the Ganatantra Parishad and Independent People's Party. The Party in Orissa should not join such a bloc where avowed reactionary feudal and communal elements exist, are in majority and lead. The Party in Orissa should function in the Legislature on its own programme and as a Communist Party and should not get entangled with these reactionary parties in any way.

16. The two Communist Party Members in the *Bombay* Assembly should work in co-operation with the members of the KKP and the PWP on agreed questions, but should retain their identity as Communist members and should not merge into any Parliamentary bloc as individuals.

17. The *Assam State* Assembly has one Communist Member. No decision is taken regarding Assam pending an inquiry into the position there.

18. In the *PEPSU*, the Communist MLAs are two and together with Lal Communist Party MLA, they are deciding factor between the Congress and the Akali Party. The Party MLAs should not align themselves with either of them in order to help them to become a Government. But they support or vote against the Government whether it be of Congress or Akali according to the measures and policy they follow. The three members must retain their independent existence and viewpoint and should not form a bloc with the Akali Party or the Congress.

19. In *Punjab* Assembly, the four Communist Party MLAs should constitute themselves into Party group in which the Lal Communists can be admitted if they are prepared to work under the direction of the Party in Punjab and its Legislative unit.

Such in brief, are the tactics that the Communist Party members should follow in different State Assemblies and the Parliament.

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3. ON AKALI PARTY

1. The Akali Party is a communal reactionary party which represents the interests of landlords, princes and other reactionaries.

2. With the support of Sikh princes, it organised the communal massacre in East Punjab at the time of partition. Later on, it carried on the policy of communal disruption by fanning Indo-Pak war tension, utilising the issues of Gurdwaras left in Pakistan, abducted women, evacuee property and Kashmir. It raised the bogey of Hindu domination and came forward with a demand of Punjabi-speaking province, by which they meant Sikhistan, thus distorting the national urge of Punjabi people and dividing the Hindus and Sikhs on this issue.

3. Because of the openly communal attitude of the State Congress members on the question of language during the Census and because of the failure of the democratic movement to take up the national problems, Akali Party had been able to secure the support of good section of the Sikh peasants, Government employees and Sikh shopkeepers and traders in the cities, specially refugees from West Punjab.

4. It disrupts the united mass movement by diverting the discontent of the Sikh masses into communal channels. It is looked upon by Hindus and untouchables as their enemy. Any hobnobbing with the Akali Party scares away the Hindu masses, including agricultural workers and poor artisans from the Party and disrupts the unity of the peasant movement.

5. Therefore, the CC approves of the stand taken by the Punjab PC towards Akali Party, of having no truck with the Akali Party and of exposing its pro-feudal, communal, reactionary politics, by developing the anti-feudal struggle, taking up the question of merger of PEPSU and of taking up the demands affecting Sikh religious unity and clarifying the stand of the Party on the question of language and national question.

6. The Party in the Punjab can build the democratic unity of the masses only by taking up the national question in

right earnest, campaigning for the merger of PEPSU as a step towards the formation of a linguistic Province, by consistently exposing the game of communal reactionaries of disrupting the democratic movement and by drawing in the masses under their influence into the common class organisations through developing the anti-feudal struggle.

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4. ON COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS LIKE THE JANA SANGH, HINDU MAHASABHA & RAM RAJYA PARISHAD

1. These are parties of feudal reaction backed in some areas by the most reactionary elements of the big bourgeoisie.

2. There should be no alliance with these parties in any form and no entanglement with them. This, of course, does not mean that we debar their individual members from joining common mass organisations like TUs, Kisan Sabhas and participating in the movement for Peace, for civil liberties, etc. But it does mean that even individual members of these organisations unless they are representatives of united mass organisations, should not be taken in United Front Committees.

3. The policy should be one of sharp criticism, uncompromising opposition and ruthless exposure of these parties before the people in general and also before their own masses.

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5. ON SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION

1. The Scheduled Caste masses consist of economically the most exploited and socially the most oppressed sections of our people. Their urge for economic betterment and social equality have been given a distorted and disruptive form by their pro-imperialist and opportunist leader, Dr. Ambedkar who has organised them on a communal, anti-Caste Hindu basis in the SCF.

2. This organisation has acquired a certain amount of mass basis in areas where the democratic movement led by the Communist Party is weak, where this movement has not taken up the economic and social disabilities of the scheduled

caste masses and fought for them vigorously, where the scheduled caste masses have not been firmly united with non-scheduled caste masses in the common struggle for democracy and economic betterment.

3. Despite its communal and, therefore, basically disruptive character, however, the SCF cannot be placed in the same category as the Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Party, Muslim League and similar communal organisations because it is an organisation of the oppressed masses and expresses, though in a distorted and disruptive form, the urge among these masses for social equality and democratic rights. In the interests of drawing the Scheduled Caste masses into the common struggle of workers and peasants and destroying the hold of pro-imperialist reactionaries over them, the following tactics should be followed:

(a) No attempt should be made to form alliance with the SCF on all-India basis. The all-India leadership of the SCF consists of Dr. Ambedkar, who had, till transfer of power in 1947, consistently supported the British Government and opposed the demand for India's freedom, who has never supported working class and peasant struggles, who after becoming Minister defended all the anti-popular policies of the Nehru Government and who, after his resignation from the Government, criticised the Nehru Government's foreign policy on the ground that its friendship with China was depriving India of aid from America. He also advocated the partition of Kashmir on a communal basis. And since the leadership of the All-India SCF means, Dr. Ambedkar, no alliance or agreement with the SCF on an all-India scale is possible or desirable. The Party must sharply expose the policies of Ambedkar and wean the SCF masses away from his influence by boldly championing the democratic demands of the Scheduled Caste masses, by fighting caste-Hindu oppression against them and by drawing them into common mass organisations.

(b) It would be a mistake, however, to adopt the same attitude towards all units of the SCF in all parts of the country. The SCF is not a well-knit homogeneous organisation with a consistent policy. Many units of the SCF and several of its local leaders don't subscribe to the views and policies of Dr. Ambedkar. Every effort should be made to draw these units and individuals into the democratic movement on common issues in order to help the process of radicalisation among the Scheduled Caste masses.

(c) The election tactics of the Party with respect to the SCF in some places were defective and sectarian. While correctly attacking the Socialist Party for aligning with Dr. Ambedkar, who has been propagating reactionary pro-American policies, and refusing to support him, we wrongly rejected, in some places, an electoral agreement with the local SCF units even where they were prepared to take a progressive stand on national and international issues. This resulted from our not differentiating between the reactionary leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and the oppressed masses of the SCF and the possibility of sections of them breaking away from the leadership.

It is necessary to avoid such mistakes in future.

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6. ON RELATIONS WITH LEFT SOCIALIST GROUP

(1) The decision of the Left Socialist group to continue as a group shows that their leaders as well as majority of members feel that the time has not yet come when they should dissolve themselves and join the Communist Party, that they can serve the Communist movement better by maintaining their existence as a group for the present and working in close cooperation with the Party.

(2) We should note this fact and should establish relations of closest united front and cooperation with them at all levels. Political issues facing our movement should be discussed with them and coordinating committees should be set up to ensure joint work. They should be called to meetings of PMs and sympathisers where Party policies are explained, campaigns planned and tasks facing the movement are discussed. They should be supplied with our literature and joint discussions held on them as well as on documents prepared by them. Through all this, as well as common mass and educational work, they should be drawn closer to the Party.

(3) We should not form fractions in the Left Socialist groups. In case of those who feel like joining the Party, they should be taken in only after informing the Left Socialist group in the area concerned.

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7. ON THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The CC discussed the question of immediate revival of the Trade Union movement on a countrywide basis and resolved that a meeting of leading Trade Unionists should be held on or about May 15. Comrade S. A. Dange was entrusted with the work of preparing a preliminary draft which is to be circulated among comrades and discussed at this meeting where TU Fraction and Fraction Committees are to be set up.

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8. ON KISAN WORK

Resolved that a meeting of the leading comrades working on the Kisan Sabha in the various Provinces should be held in May to discuss the main problems of the Kisan movement and to form a properly functioning Kisan Fraction of the Party. The *Note on the Agrarian Question* prepared by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodripad may be taken as basis for discussion in the meeting of Kisan comrades.

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9. ON THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party sends its warm fraternal greetings to the hundreds of millions of men and women all over the world who are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the sacred cause of world Peace.

Incensed at the colossal blows they have received wherever the will for Peace has asserted itself, the Anglo-American imperialists are desperately striving to extend the wars and conflicts they have unleashed in Asia and North Africa into a world-wide conflagration.

Recognising the vital importance of India in any plans for a World War, the imperialist Powers have always striven hard to coerce, cajole, blackmail and dupe India into supporting their aggressive actions.

Unfortunately for them, by the rout of the most reactionary and brazenly pro-American parties in the elections and the victories secured by the democratic parties, the Indian people have asserted in no uncertain manner their opposition.

to American war policies, their love for Peace and for freedom of the enslaved peoples.

The election results have intensified the desperation of the imperialists. That is why today they have redoubled their efforts to penetrate India economically, politically and even militarily through new "aid" agreements and treaties and through fresh pressure and intervention on the issue of Kashmir.

So blatant is this penetration that even the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation has been forced to come out against the ruinous effects of foreign capital and foreign economic interference in our affairs.

The growth in the strength of the forces of Peace is reflected in the categorical declaration of the All-India Congress Committee itself in favour of Peace, of disarmament and of the freedom of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa.

India today can play a great and vital role for world Peace. It has the strength to resist the pressure of the imperialist Powers and thus defend its own national sovereignty. More, it has capacity, if it acts fully and consistently for Peace, to ensure that the plans of the imperialist war-makers are upset and world Peace ensured.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India fully supports the call given by the All-India Peace Council for the holding of Conferences all over the country to demonstrate the Indian People's support for the cause of Peace and Freedom for Asia and North Africa. Let the rallying slogans "Quit Asia!" ring out in every town and village. Let a wave of solidarity demonstrations for the courageous peoples of China and Korea, Malaya and Viet Nam, Egypt and Tunisia sweep across India. We shall thus be striking a mighty blow for Peace of lasting value.

Above all, the Central Committee of the Communist Party calls on all its members and supporters, on all organisations and individuals pledged to the cause of Peace, to campaign actively and unceasingly for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers. Already 600 million signatures have been collected to the historic Appeal of the World Council of Peace. In India, the two million signatures thus far collected do not in any way correspond to the real number of Peace-lovers in our country.

The Central Committee draws special attention to the recent letter of the World Peace Council emphasising the vital

importance of the campaign for signatures to the Peace Pact Appeal. The valuable arguments and suggestions given in that letter will be of inestimable use in intensifying the campaign.

The one real and decisive step towards the solution of all the issues of Peace would be a Five Power Pact. Freedom for the Asian peoples cannot be ensured as long as the danger of a world war remains and provides the excuse to the imperialists for intervention in the affairs of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The freedom and sovereignty of India itself remains threatened as long as the imperialist Powers seek to use its manpower, bases and resources for their plans for a Third World War. The immediate economic difficulties of India cannot be eased as long as world tension and consequent imperialist pressure stand in the way of unhampered trade and economic co-operation with the Soviet Union, People's China and the People's Democracies.

That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India lays the very greatest stress on the necessity for all Party members and supporters, all mass organisations and individuals who stand for Peace, to participate actively in the great world campaign for a Peace Pact.

The Central Committee is confident that Peace can be ensured, that the democratic forces are strong enough to see that India plays its full part in the struggle for Peace and defeat the desperate moves of the imperialists to ensnare India into their war trap.

THE INDIAN PEOPLE AGAINST THE CONGRESS

Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on the "General Elections and After" issued on March, 29, 1952

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India warmly greets the people of India and congratulates them on the clear and unambiguous verdict they have given on the five years of Congress rule in the first general elections held on the basis of adult franchise.

Despite the multiplicity of parties that contested the elections, the main issue that was posed before the people by every Party, including the Congress Party, was whether the Congress Government should continue to rule the country.

On this straight and simple issue, the people of India have given their verdict against the Congress Party. In spite of the tremendous resources it commanded, including the use of administrative machinery, in spite of the denial of even ordinary civil liberties to the Communist Party and other democratic opposition parties, the Congress Party could secure only 44 per cent of the votes polled taking India as a whole. Except in the small States of Coorg, Saurashtra, Bhopal and Delhi, in no State could the Congress Party secure a majority of votes polled, the actual proportion of its votes to the total varying between 30 per cent in Travancore-Cochin State and 49 per cent in U.P., the home province of Pandit Nehru.

The Communist Party of India entered the election battle under very severe handicaps. The illegal ban on the Party continued in Hyderabad and in Travancore-Cochin. Hundreds of its leaders and workers, including many of its candidates continued to be detained in jail. Despite these, the Communist Party indicted the Congress regime and sought the verdict of the people by putting up its candidates precisely in those areas where it had led the struggle of the peasants and workers, against which a most slanderous campaign had been carried on by the Government, the ruling Party and its press throughout the country for the last many years. The resounding victories secured by the Communist Party precisely in these areas is of great significance.

The total rout of the Congress by the biggest margin of votes in those districts of Telengana and in Tripura, where the peasants led by the Communist Party had carried on the most heroic struggle against feudal reaction and for land, and the election of the People's Democratic Front and Communist candidates, constitute the most effective answer to the slander of the Congress and the Congress Party on the Communist Party and the Telengana peasants' struggle.

The total rout of several Congress candidates, including Ministers, by large majorities; the defeat inflicted on the Congress Party in Malabar and Tanjore, where the mass peasant movement led by the Communist Party had been subjected to savage repression; the success of the Communist and Communist-supported candidates in the working class areas of Alleppey in Travancore-Cochin State and in Madura, Trichy, Madras and Vikramasingapuram, where the working class had fought the most heroic battles; the success of the UFL candidates in Travancore-Cochin State; the victories of the Communist candidates in the areas of Bengal, Orissa and the Punjab where the Party had led the struggles of the peasants—these constitute the clear verdict of the people on the question "Who resorted to murder, arson and looting—Congress or Communists?"

In these elections, the Communist Party sought to unite all the freedom-loving democratic classes and their parties, organisations and individuals. On the basis of this unity is to be formed a Government of democratic unity to replace the hated Congress Government and take the country along the wide road of Peace, freedom, democracy and prosperity.

The results of the elections show, without any shadow of doubt, that this is an eminently practicable objective. For, it is precisely in those areas and States where such unity has been forged that the Congress received the most crushing defeats.

These results further show that on the whole, communal and feudal reaction represented by the Jana Sangha, Ram Rajya Parishad, etc. to whose success American imperialism was fondly looking for, received a severe blow at the hands of our democratic people. Such reactionary parties could utilise the prevalent mass hatred against Congress only in those areas and the States where the democratic movement has been weakened or non-existent.

The crushing defeats suffered by the candidates of the Socialist Party throughout the country in general and in those areas and States where it boasted of its ability to form Governments in particular, constitutes the rejection by the people of the anti-struggle and disruptive policies of the leadership of the Socialist Party. Nonetheless, that leadership, by its persistent refusal of the offer of unity by the Communist Party of India facilitated to a great extent the successes of the Congress Party.

But for this disruption of the leadership of the Socialist Party and the failure of the other democratic parties to build a firm unity before the elections, the people would have inflicted a far more powerful blow at the Congress and other parties of reaction. By delivering such a powerful blow against the Congress Party, the people of India have delivered a blow against the Anglo-American imperialists who are trying their utmost to drag India into their war-mongering plans. For, it is the Congress Government with Nehru at its head and with its talk of "neutrality between the two power blocs" that is effectively preventing India from joining her great neighbours, China and the U.S.S.R. in the world-wide struggle for Peace and national liberation.

Despite the clear verdict of the people against the Congress Party, it is able to remain in a majority of the States and in the Centre only because of the undemocratic electoral law, which it has framed. It is this law which has enabled the Congress to capture a far greater proportion of seats both in the State Assemblies and in Parliament, than warranted by the proportion of votes it secured at the polls. For example, in the Uttar Pradesh, the Congress Party polled 49 per cent of the votes but secured 90 per cent of the seats; in Bihar, it polled 42 per cent of the votes but secured 73 per cent of seats; in Bengal, it polled 39 per cent of the votes but secured 75 per cent of seats and so on.

These fictitious Parliamentary majorities secured by the Congress Party cannot, however, conceal the tremendous moral and political defeat it has suffered. Above all, its failure to get a bare majority of the seats in the Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Tripura State Assemblies and the success of democratic parties and individuals has given immense confidence to the people all over the country. A new upsurge and urge for unity has gripped the masses of our people throughout the country.

Out of this great urge for unity has emerged the United Democratic Front in the Madras State Assembly, composed of the Communist Party of India, the KMPP, the TNTP, and independent democrats, based upon a common minimum programme of immediate relief to the people. Out of this too has emerged the unity of the UFL with Travancore-Tamilnad Congress in Travancore-Cochin State on the basis of a minimum programme.

The Central Committee greets the emergence of these United Democratic Fronts as marking a development of great significance for the struggle of our people for Peace, freedom and democracy.

The strengthening of the UDF in the State Assembly would lead to the formation of a government pledged to the implementation of the common minimum programme, thereby translating the will of the people into action. Such a consummation would tremendously strengthen the democratic forces throughout the country, will further strengthen people's confidence in the invincible power of people's unity and would further undermine the base of the Congress and other reactionary parties.

Against these developments are ranged reactionaries in India and abroad. While the Congress Party and its Government at the Centre are doing their utmost to prevent the formation of democratic non-Congress Governments in even a single State, Dean Acheson and other leaders of world reaction have grown panicky at the result of the elections. With demagogic chatter of "struggle against totalitarianism" American and British reactionaries are "advising" the Congress leaders to disregard the clear verdict of the people. Sweet words of "aids" and "grants" are bandied about, food and other commodities are promised, so that a determined struggle is waged against the people and their elected representatives.

The C.C. is confident that the Indian people will defeat all these manoeuvres of Indian and world reaction just as they defeated the plan of the Congress Party and its Government to come out as victors in an election in which the most powerful Party of opposition is gagged in all possible ways.

The C.C. is gratified to note that various sections of the people have already started moving against the plans of Indian and world reaction. The mighty united call of the people of

Travancore-Cochin against the appointment of the Counsellor; the powerful movement for the formation of linguistic provinces in South India, particularly in Andhra; the ever-rising demand for the release of political prisoners and restoration of civil liberties; the universally expressed sentiments of indignation against the imperialist powers who are resorting to naked terror as in Tunisia, Viet Nam, Malaya, etc.; the unanimous voice of protest against the use of bacteriological weapons and other inhuman methods in Korea, the warm welcome offered by the Indian people to the various cultural and trade delegations from the U.S.S.R., China and Eastern European People's Democracies; the growing demand in the trading and industrial circles for closer trade relations with the Socialist and People's Democratic countries—all these show that the plans of Indian and world reaction can be foiled.

The Central Committee, therefore, appeals to all democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals who are genuinely interested in defeating the Congress Party and its Anglo-American allies to come together and form United Trade Unions, United Kisan Sabha, United Student and Youth organisations, United Women's organisations, United organisations of Intellectuals, etc. so that every factory, every town and village, every institution where people come together in daily life can be transformed into a fortress against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital.

The Central Committee also appeals to people of every class and section that is anxious to see that our great country is not transformed into an instrument in the Anglo-American game of suppressing the Asian people's struggle for Peace and national liberation, to come together in broad-based Peace Committees, collect signatures for the demand for Five Power Pact, demand the withdrawal of foreign armies from every Asian country, strengthen the movement for closer economic and cultural ties with all countries of the world, including the U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe and in all other possible ways combat the Anglo-American efforts to make India their satellite.

The Central Committee is confident that the various organs of United Front like the People's Democratic Front Committees in Hyderabad, UFL Committees in Travancore-Cochin, the Joint Election Committees in Malabar, as well as the various committees that are today springing up in the various parts of the country, will address themselves to the

task of building these united mass democratic organisations which alone are the sure guarantee that the game of Indian and world reaction will be defeated.

The Central Committee has no doubt that, if those parties and groups that are already convinced of the need for such a powerful United Front address themselves to those tasks, the United Front that has so far emerged will become so broad that overwhelming majority of Socialists will range themselves against the disruptive policy of their leaders and join the United Front.