

Communist Party of India in Struggle for United Democratic Front, for People's Democratic Government.

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I.

The Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India published in, August,* exposes the real nature of the “freedom” given to India. It describes the Nehru Government as a government of National betrayal, a government of landowners and monopolists, a government of truncheons and bullets. It points out that British rule continues in India, though in a new and veiled form, that people are facing starvation and death, that only the princes, landlords, big monopolists and their friends, the Congress leaders, are prospering.

Here are a few recent facts:

While the Manifesto was still in the press, on August 11th to be precise—four days before the fourth anniversary of “freedom”**—the news appeared that nine peasants had been shot dead in Bihar because they objected to the cutting down of a dam which, while helping a big landlord, meant ruining the land of the peasants. Of these nine killed, one was an old man of ninety, four were women and two were children of nine and eleven years respectively.

On August 20th, a Memorandum from the Assam Government to the Food Minister of the Central Government said: “Famine conditions prevail in many parts of the State. Unless the position is quickly retrieved, the consequences are bound to be serious”. On the same day, a spokesman of the Food Department of the Government of Bengal reported that “the statutory rationing system in Calcutta and the industrial areas serving food to about four million people is threatened with breakdown”. On August 23, it was stated in the Madras Legislative Assembly that “the Government was obliged to reduce the rice ration from 8 to 6 oz. only, when it found it could not carry on with the stocks in hand” (The minimum requirement for an adult, as admitted by the Government, is 16 oz). On August 25, 3,000 hunger marchers in Calcutta, who wanted to see the Food Minister and ask for increased rations, were attacked by mounted police and tear-gassed, resulting in serious injuries to at least 20.

On August 27, Mr. Munshi, the Food Minister of the Central Government, made the gloomy announcement that “food production in 1950-51 was four million tons less than the previous year”, which itself had been six million tons less than the average annual production between 1936 and 1939 in the area now constituting the Indian Union.

*See “For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy”, August 31, 1951. **Ed.**

The proclamation, on August 15, 1947, of India as Dominion, of the British Empire. **Ed.

These tersely-worded news-items, given in official pronouncements or published in the pro-Government press during August alone, do not adequately reflect the grim reality of the situation. Millions in Bengal, Assam, and Bihar are today literally starving to death or subsisting on roots, leaves and grass seeds.

Prices have risen five to seven times higher than in pre-war years. There is acute shortage not merely of food but of cloth and every other necessity of life. Education has become so expensive that even the middle classes are finding it impossible to send their children to schools and colleges. The incidence of disease has risen sharply as seen in the recent devastating outbreak of cholera in Calcutta.

The reason lies, as the Election Manifesto of the Communist Party lays bare, in the pro-imperialist and pro-landlord policies of the present Government, its refusal to break with the British who continue to dominate our country and its economy behind the smoke-screen of “freedom”—its refusal to liquidate feudalism, give land to the peasant and to curb the monopolists and profiteers who trade in the people’s misery.

Such is the “freedom” granted to the Indian people by British Imperialism.

II.

Three-and-a-half years ago, at its Second Congress, the Communist Party of India exposed the real nature of the “freedom” that had come. It characterised the leaders of the Congress as compromisers and betrayers, and called upon the people to fight against them.

In those days, illusions of “freedom” were still strong. The prestige of the National Congress still stood high. Most people still believed in its promises to break with the British Empire, to give land to the peasant, to provide food, clothing, employment and education for all. Nevertheless, the advanced sections had already become critical, the working class was moving into action for its immediate demands.

Taking advantage of the still widely-prevalent illusions—especially among the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, except where the Party was strong—and afraid of the growing strength of the Party, the Government launched an all-out attack against the Party and its strongholds in Bengal, Madras Presidency and in the major industrial centres. Tens of thousands of Party members including the elected members of Legislative Assemblies and Local Boards, militant Trade Unionists and peasant organisers were thrown into jail without trial, the Party was banned in several provinces and its legal functioning made impossible everywhere. Funds and properties of the Party were seized, Party journals closed down forcibly. Hundreds of Party members were shot or tortured to death in prisons. The number imprisoned exceeded 25,000.

The offensive against the Party was not the result of “violence and bloodshed” by Party members, nor their “preparation for insurrection” as the Government sought to make out. Even their own Ministers, when challenged, could not produce a single fact to substantiate the charge. Nowhere was a single weapon recovered by the police, though Party members were imprisoned without trial on the pretext that they were organising an “illegal army”.

“Violence and bloodshed” had already been started—by the Government—in Andhra (where the Party had won 36 seats in Municipal elections shortly before), Tamil Nad (in Madras Presidency), and other areas. The offensive against the Party was a preparation for, and part of, the offensive against the common people—against their wages and already miserable standard of life, their right to land, and their civil liberties. Its aim was to wipe out the Party physically before discontent against the Government gathered strength. Its aim was to deprive the masses of effective leadership in the battles that were already looming ahead and smash up their organisations. It began with the attack on the strongholds of the Party and rapidly “spread throughout the country.

Wages lagged far behind the advancing prices, the Government itself, the biggest employer of labour, refusing to implement even the niggardly recommendations of its own wages Commission in relation to Railway, Postal and other workers. Landlords were given a free hand to evict the peasants from land. In every successive budget, new burdens were imposed on the people, while giving concessions to the British capitalists and Indian big business. The grain procurement policy of the Government became a policy of plundering the peasant, of compelling him to sell his foodgrains at miserably low prices while leaving the hoards of the landlords intact. As a result of removal of control on prices of cloth for a period in 1948, the textile magnates made higher profits than even in the war years, by raising prices to fantastic heights.

Every struggle waged by workers, peasants—by the common people—against the devastating effects of these policies was met with an iron hand. Industrial areas were placed under permanent police rule. The functioning of the All-India Trade Union Congress and its militant unions was made impossible, scores of workers were shot and hundreds imprisoned. Calcutta witnessed repeated firings on students, youth and women. In Malabar, where a mass peasant movement developed in 1948, village after village was raided by the military, armed police, “homeguards” and Congress “volunteers”, who killed and beat up people, looted their properties and committed unspeakable atrocities on peasant women. In Telangana 500 Communists, peasant partisans and women and children were killed, the 3,000 democratically elected village councils were dissolved and an army of 30,000 was stationed to “pacify” the area. In Andhra, 200 comrades—leaders of workers and peasants—were shot dead in a period of six months in 1950—in most cases after they had been taken into custody. Manipur, Tripura, Kakdwip, Midnapur, Ballia, Ahmednagar and other centres of the peasant movement became scenes of military and police depredations. All news about these atrocities was blacked out in the press.

All this was combined with tactics of splitting the trade unions through the government-sponsored “National Trade Union Congress”, and with the aid of Right-wing Socialist leaders, some of whom “criticised” the Government for being “too lenient” towards the Communists. The Government also launched (here again the Right-wing Socialists gave them full support) a campaign of lies against the Party, charging it with every imaginable crime, including derailment of trains.

In this way, the rulers of the Congress Party tried to maintain themselves in power and preserve the colonial-feudal order to end which the Indian people had fought for so many years.

Against this offensive of the Government and the vested interests, the Party and the popular masses fought heroically. Party members defended the people at the cost of their own lives, pointing out to the people that the Party had been made the main target of repression precisely because it was the most irreconcilable enemy of the landlords' and vested interests. Despite the most ruthless terror and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of rupees, the Government failed to crush the peasant struggle in Telangana.

III.

The offensive continued and intensified as the "freedom" illusions were more and more shattered by the deeds of the Congress Government. Thirteen workers were shot dead in the 1950 strike of 250,000 textile workers who fought for nearly two months in Bombay. While the Communist Party remained the main target of attack, other progressive parties and especially their militant members were not spared. Members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Maharashtra, the Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party, the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party and even members of the Congress Party were thrown into jail wherever they participated in the struggles of the people.

Were it not for the militancy and doggedness displayed by the masses in these struggles, the fear that these caused among the National Congress rulers and the mounting opposition against them, there is no doubt that the Government would have succeeded in imposing even worse conditions than it did, especially on the working class, and would have succeeded in establishing full-fledged fascism. There is no doubt that the role played by the Party in these struggles made large numbers of people look upon it as the most militant Party in the country fighting for the interests of the people. There is no doubt that these struggles also helped, to expose the real character of the Congress Government and create hatred against it.

Our Party is proud of the martyrs who, in the struggle, laid down their lives, of the heroes who stood by the people in face of ruthless terror, of the countless men and women of all classes, supporters of all parties who in the struggle for liberation, suffered, sacrificed and fought.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that our Party was unable to make use of all the tremendous possibilities that developed in these years—possibilities for co-ordinating the many actions and struggles to develop a united mass movement of the people, for building a fighting united front of the democratic and progressive forces, for creating strong and powerful mass organisations of workers, peasants, students and other anti-imperialist classes and sections. In a period when the masses of people in our country were fast becoming radicalised, and hatred against the Congress Government was mounting, at a time when the forces of Socialism, democracy and peace led by the great Soviet Union were registering gigantic victories all over the world, when the historic triumph of the Chinese people was galvanising the entire people of Asia, including the people of our own country, when the mighty peace movement

had drawn hundreds of millions in all countries into its orbit—in such a period, the liberation movement in India remained unorganised and, on the whole, weak; the immensely powerful democratic and peace sentiment of our people did not find complete, effective expression.

This, to a great extent, was due to the failure of the Party leadership to evolve a correct revolutionary line, the prevalence of a left-sectarian outlook, policies and methods—the attempt to skip over the democratic stage of the revolution and refusal to see the semi-colonial nature of our country which demanded the unification of all anti-imperialist classes and forces for carrying out anti-feudal and national-liberation tasks, the attempt to run ahead, the failure to build unity on the immediate and concrete issues facing the workers and peasants, the failure to evolve effective and flexible methods of struggle and organisation to meet the Government offensive, the failure to carry out among the masses a policy of patient and systematic work, taking into account the existing level of mass consciousness, the revolutionary phrase-mongering and the issuing, in many cases, of calls and slogans unrelated to realities and the existing relation of class forces, minimising the role of consciousness and organisation, the attempt to draw mechanical parallels with other countries and failure to take into account the specific features of the Indian situation—in brief, to our failure to master and correctly apply the great teaching of Lenin and Stalin, our failure to learn from the rich experience of the international Communist movement, from the great victory of the Chinese people under its glorious leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, from our own history and from the masses of our own people.

Left-sectarian policies, tactics and slogans, together with bureaucratic measures to implement them, disrupted or paralysed even the existing mass organisations, prevented us from effectively combating the splitting tactics of the Right-wing Socialists in the working class, and played havoc with the Party organisation itself, leading to a prolonged and deep crisis inside the Party and virtually immobilising it for a period.

It was only recently that, with the adoption of a new Draft Programme and policy by the Central Committee, the mistakes of the past began to be corrected, that the Party revived mass work in real earnest, reforging its links with the people and again leading their campaigns. Conferences of Party units are being held to discuss the long | new Programme and Policy which will be finalised at an All-India Party Conference.

The Party has stated that, at this stage, it will fight for full national independence and democracy, for liquidation of feudalism and transfer of land to the peasants, for confiscation of British capital and breaking with the British Empire, for the establishment of a People's Democratic Government which, in the conditions of India, will be a Government of the representatives of workers, peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie. It has declared that in order to achieve these ends, it will strive to build the broadest unity of the people based on the firm unity of the working class and peasantry in action. It has urged the necessity of all parties, patriotic strata and groups to unite for this great and noble task.

The response that the people have already given shows the basic correctness of the new line of the Party.

Forty thousand people—mostly factory workers—participated in a tally at Madura when the Election Campaign of the Party was launched. At Tamluk in Midnapore, formerly one of the strongholds of the Congress, 12,000 people greeted the slogans of the Party. In the course of his tour in Malabar, Comrade A. K. Gopalan, a recently released Party leader, addressed hundreds of thousands of people. In Andhra, Party members, recently released, were welcomed by thousands of workers and peasants. Cochin-Travancore witnessed bigger meetings and demonstrations than ever in its history when Communist leaders were released from jail. The demand that military terror should end in Telangana, that the just demand of the peasants be met, civil liberties restored, the partisans amnestied and the people allowed to take part in the elections, has been supported by all democratic elements in Hyderabad. People all over the country are coming to see that the Communists were correct in their characterisation of the Nehru Government.

Tunis phenomenon is not confined to one or two provinces, but is evident everywhere. In Cawnpore, one of the biggest industrial centres where the Government with the aid of the I.N.T.U.C. disruptors had done its utmost to crush the Party and the militant unions, Aruna Asaf Ali, former Socialist Party leader who broke with the Party because of its reformist and anti-Soviet policies, declared before a mighty rally of 25,000 workers that the Communists alone can lead the popular struggle. The appearance of Comrade Yusuf (the most popular working-class leader in Cawnpore) before the workers after 4 years of imprisonment, internment and underground existence, was greeted by 20,000 workers.

All this shows how mistaken the Government was when it thought that it had crushed the Communist Party, how mistaken many of our own comrades were when they drew the defeatist conclusion that, due to left-sectarian mistakes, everything had been smashed up and a period of “retreat”, of “regrouping” of forces, lay ahead.

The reality of the situation is that the masses hate the Congress Government as never before, are awakened as never before, are conscious as never before, and they look upon our Party as the only Party that can be the spearhead of the democratic movement.

In this connection one may note the significant statement made by Premier Nehru at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on September 9th. Exhorting Congress members to bestir themselves, Nehru was forced to admit: “The self-sacrificing spirit imbuing the Indian Communists and the hard persistent work they put in are worth taking note of. In my opinion, the Communist Party has adopted many wrong methods but the spirit and sacrifice of its members, the selfless hard work they put in and their robust confidence remain.” (Amrita Bazar Patrika Dt. 10.9.51.)

This statement coming from the head of the Government that for four years tried to crush our Party and wipe it out of existence is itself an indication of the position that the Party has won among the working masses, despite failures, despite mistakes.

IV.

One of the most ancient countries in the world, with immense natural resources, with a population of over 300 million and occupying a key position in Asia, India has a great role to play in the battle of all peoples for freedom, democracy and peace. The liberation of India from the yoke of British imperialists and their agents and collaborators will be as great a victory for the peoples of the world as was the victory of the Chinese people under the glorious leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. There is no doubt that our liberation will be achieved—and sooner than our enemies expect.

While the British imperialists continue to dominate India's economy as before, the American imperialists also have been trying to secure a grip through World Bank loans, through their "food supply"—the cost of which already runs into hundreds of millions of dollars—and through investment in strategic materials. Interrupted by all this, the Nehru Government pleads for more loans, which it claims will help to "develop" our country.

Opposition to the Government has grown among all sections of our people. And with it has taken place a shift in the position of classes and parties. The urge for unity among the democratic parties and forces was never so strong as it is today.

One of the major victories of the democratic forces was registered when the Government was compelled to rescind the death sentences passed on the 12 partisans in Telangana. The firing on the hunger-marchers of Cooch Behar (May, 1951) and the attack on the 26,000 fighting students of Cuttack (Capital of Orissa State) in August, led to solidarity actions in which every class and every section participated. Many similar instances can be given.

A big step towards the unity of the working class has been taken by the unification of the two major textile unions in Bombay to form a single mass trade union. In Maharashtra, Communists, Left Socialists Workers' and Peasants' Party have decided to form united working class and peasant organisations and fight the elections jointly. The decision taken to form a united All-India Peasant organisation is another significant event.

The three municipal workers' unions of Bombay have formed a joint council of action to organise a strike 25,000 workers for their demands.

In the District Board elections at Burdwan, held in June, 18 out of the 26 seats were captured by a coalition of progressive parties including the Communist Party and the Forward Bloc, the Congress Party—the previously dominant Party—getting only eight seats. At Rajnandgaon in Pradesh, the twenty-four year domination by Congress over the Municipality ended when the progressives won 11 out of the 13 seats. At Chandranagar, and Forward Bloc won all the 26 seats, defeating the Congress Party in every constituency.

International events have played a big role in bringing about this awakening and this urge for unity.

The historic victory of the Chinese people and their success in liquidating the imperialist and feudal yoke, in fighting famine and industrial backwardness, disease and illiteracy, inflation and blackmarketing, bondage of women—all the evils that India suffers from—have

profoundly influenced our people and make them ask: “Why can’t do the same here ?”—a question to which the Congress rulers have no answer.

The American intervention in Korea, the heroic resistance of the Korean people and the atrocities committed on them by the American bandits created such a stir that even the Nehru Government had to come out with various peace proposals. The growing admiration of our people for the Soviet Union can be seen in the cheering that greets every mention of the Soviet Union by speakers. The tributes paid to the achievements of the Soviet Union by the recent delegation of Indian writers, artists, poets, journalists, well-known physicians, scientists and engineers, were applauded by the large gatherings addressed by members of the delegation. The Soviet Film festivals were witnessed by tens of thousands in Bombay and Calcutta. Thousands of workers flocked to the docks to greet the Soviet ships bringing food to India.

Along with love and admiration for the American Soviet Union and the Chinese People’s Republic, for the European People’s Democracies, hatred for the Anglo-American warmongers has grown among the masses. So widespread is the sentiment for peace and democracy that the Nehru Government has had, on several occasions, to take a stand against the dictates of the American imperialists, the latest instance being the Nehru Government’s refusal to sign the American-sponsored Japanese “Peace Treaty—an action for which the Government was sharply criticised by the “Eastern Economist”, organ of Indian big business led by the multi-millionaire Birla. The Government, the paper said, was following a “path isolation”—isolation from Britain America.

Alarmed by these developments, the American imperialists are making desperate efforts to “influence” public opinion in India—not merely through Hollywood films which glorify debauchery, murder and the crimes of the American interventionists in Korea—but also through subsidies to corrupt newspapers, for which, as reported by “Cross Roads” of Bombay, a sum of 15 million rupees is at the disposal of the American Embassy. The transformation of “Atom”, formerly a popular democratic weekly, into an unashamed mouthpiece of Wall-Street under a new editor, has been widely commented upon in the democratic press. Americans, it is widely believed, are linking themselves up with the extreme Right-wing reactionaries in the Congress and with rabidly communalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha and the fascist RSS (the body responsible for the murder of Gandhi). The United States Information Service has become a centre of espionage, provocation and lies.

For long, the Peace movement in India was at a low level. During the last months—especially since the All-India Convention held in May—the Peace movement has made significant headway and a network of Peace committees on a broad basis has been formed in many parts of the country. Already Peace partisans in India count in their ranks many leading figures in the cultural world—artists and writers, poets and journalists, professors and teachers, lawyers and doctors and people of all shades of political opinion including a number of progressive leading figures in the Congress Party. The signature campaign has registered a big success in the Punjab, (the traditional recruiting ground for the Indian Army), in Delhi, in parts of

repression-ridden Andhra and Tripura and in other areas. Every day, from ten to fifteen thousand people attended the Youth Festival (held in Calcutta in August). The success already achieved shows the tremendous possibilities for uniting our entire people in the struggle against war. It cannot be claimed yet, however, that the Peace movement has become a real mass movement—the mass of peasants and even large masses of workers in the key industrial centres have not been drawn into the movement.

One of the gravest problems faced by the Peace movement and the entire democratic movement is the growing war tension between India and Pakistan, a tension deliberately created by the British and American imperialists in order to keep both countries dependent on them and seize the strategic area of Kashmir under cover of Uno. The Communist Party, while demanding a peaceful and democratic settlement of Kashmir issue by agreement between India and Pakistan and on the basis of the will of the Kashmir people themselves, has revealed the imperialist hand behind the war tension and pointed out that only the imperialists and the most reactionary vested interests in India, who want to divert the attention of the people from their real tasks, gain from the conflict. Peace partisans have held a number of mass meetings in the district of Gurdaspur, situated on the Indo-Pakistan border.

V.

The biggest obstacle in the popular unity against imperialism and its collaborator, the Congress Government, is represented by the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party of India who have established close relations with all enemies of the Soviet Union and of the working-class movement. Every issue of the official organ of the Party, “Janata”, carries vile slanders against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of all countries. Leaders of the Party openly support the American intervention in Korea. Dr. Lohia, “foreign expert” of the Party and one of its key leaders who attended the Frankfurt session of “Comisco”, went afterwards to Belgrade where he expounded the “foreign policy” of the Socialist Party of India. “I do not like Communism”, he said, “but I like the Communist Party of Yugoslavia better than many Socialist Parties”. He divided Asia into three Socialist categories and placed People’s China in the category of “Asia in chaos”, whose policy, he emphasised, “he did not like”. According to a statement issued in Tokyo, he also “opposed” the stand that “the Kurile Islands be turned over to Russia, and Formosa to Red China”.

The “Socialism” of the Right-wing Socialist leaders can be seen in the fact that they hail not only the traitor Tito but also Attlee and Schuman, in fact everyone who is anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and an agent of the imperialist warmongers. Some of them openly glorify America as a “land of democracy”.

Claiming to represent the mythical “third force”, the Right Socialist leaders in India preach class collaboration in the name of “democratic Socialism”, denounce every militant action as “violence”, split the trade unions and betray workers as they recently did when they called off the railway workers’ strike after the overwhelming majority of workers had voted for strike action.

The Right Socialist leaders declare that there is “a vast amount of agreement between Gandhi-ism and Socialism” (Jai Prakash Narayana) but that the Socialist Party will have no truck with Communists or with “near-Communists”, in which category they include all genuine Socialists and democrats who denounce American and British imperialism and love and respect the Soviet Union and People’s China.

Against the anti-Soviet, anti-people and anti-working class policies of Right-wing Socialist leaders, a revolt has grown in the Socialist Party and large sections led by Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali have broken away. They are co-operating with the Communists and other democratic parties and groups to build a united working-class organisation and develop a united mass movement.

Under the impact of the growing opposition to its rule, its growing isolation, and as the result of the growing conflict caused by quarrels over jobs, contracts and sharing the loot, the National Congress is experiencing a profound internal crisis. It is fast disintegrating. A very large number of Congress members, including Kripalani, the President of the Congress in 1947, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, a Minister of the Government of India and other front-rank leaders of the Congress, broke away two months ago and formed the Krishak-Mazdoor Praja Party (Peasant-Worker-People’s Party). This did not end the crisis but deepened it and it has now culminated in the resignation of Tandon, President of the Congress, an arch communalist and reactionary, together with his entire Working Committee, and in the election of Nehru as President, who alone can be counted upon to delude the masses with “progressive” and “democratic” demagoguery. It is an indication of the desperate situation in which the ruling classes find themselves today that on the eve of the general election, due to take place in December-January, they had to resort to this tactic. They will now, undoubtedly, try to create new illusions about a “revitalised” Congress with the “progressive” Nehru at its head carrying out a programme of democratic reform. Every effort will be made to bring back the “seceders” into the Congress and present a “united front” against the progressive forces of the people of India.

VI.

Big tasks face the Party and serious difficulties have to be overcome. Working-class unity has yet to be established, the Party has yet to rebuild the mass organisations and win the leadership of the people. The coming elections will be a big political battle, into which the Party enters, as pointed out in the Election Manifesto, with military and police terror still raging, with over 3,000 of its members in jails—as détenus, as convicts facing trial, falsely charged with offences punishable by death and transportation for life. Warrants of arrests against many of the leaders of the Party have not been withdrawn. Recently, the leaders of the banned Cochin-Travan core unit of the Party who, on their release a few weeks ago, were greeted by 80,000 people, were re-arrested. They have not been released to this day.

The Government talks of free and fair elections but is determined to prevent us, Communists, from participating in the elections for it sees that it has failed to crush the Party and is afraid of its growing popularity. The Communist Party is contesting the elections and calls upon the

popular masses by their militant activity to rout the Congress and make the people's candidates victorious. At the same time, the CPI does not create the illusion that it is possible, through the ballot-box alone, to establish a People's Democratic Government. In its Policy Statement, it has clearly pointed out that the path to freedom and democracy lies through the development of a united mass revolutionary movement of all democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, especially of the working class and the peasantry. It looks upon the elections as a means to mobilise the masses against the present Government and for a programme of freedom, democracy and peace. At the same time, it has pointed out that, if a democratic government is formed which will carry out a minimum programme of democratic reforms, the Party will support it in its tasks.

Learning from the experience of the past, the Communist Party is determined to root out all remnants of sectarianism from its outlook, its policies and methods. At the same time, it will fight against all opportunist tendencies, legalist illusions, against all rejection of militant actions, against relapse into reformism, that is, against all that worked havoc in the period immediately preceding the 2nd Party Congress and prevented the Party from mobilising the people under its own banner and from carrying out a revolutionary policy.

In waging this battle on two fronts, the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, the experience of the international Communist movement, the writings of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party—Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and others—and finally, the rich experience of our own movement which has yet to be properly assimilated, will be invaluable weapons. On this basis the entire Party will have to overcome ideological and organisational weaknesses and grow into a mighty force, capable, with its full responsibility, of discharging its duty in the big battles that lie ahead.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy
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