

# COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE ON NINTH LOK SABHA POLLS

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the press on the results of the recent Lok Sabha polls on 30th November 1989 :

The ninth Lok Sabha poll has nakedly exposed the nature and character of the mad race of the ruling party for clinging to power, having turned the battle of ballots into one of bullets killing in its course at least officially declared 125 on the very days of the poll, injuring several hundreds, some of whom are still fighting against death, and through massive booth capturing, stamping and stuffing of ballots in the ballot box, i.e. extensive rigging, somewhere openly and somewhere even in a clandestine way through administrative rigging as also through unprecedented flow of black money, fanning up rabid fundamentalist forces among others, thereby subverting the last vestiges of all norms, ethics and values of bourgeois parliamentary democracy as also spirit of secularism.

Despite all these odds

people have rejected the Congress(I) which reflects the degree and intensity of people's wrath, discontent and indignation against not only corruption at the high level but also against all the anti-people policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government that have contributed to galloping price rise, record-breaking unemployment, smothering of fundamental democratic rights of the people through innumerable draconian Acts and amendments to the Constitution against people's interest working havoc in the field of education and acting as the architect of communal, parochial, divisive, casteist and separatist forces although paying lip service to secularism and national integration.

Now, given the outcome of the election results with a hung parliament in the country which took place never before since independence, we

strongly feel that it would be incumbent on all the non-Congress(I) parties including the Left parties to bring about a basic departure from and thus undo all the anti-people policies both in domestic and foreign affairs pursued so long by the Congress(I) Government at the Centre against which people have burst out.

We are of the firm opinion that unless the new non-Congress(I) Government, stable or unstable, besides bringing to book and meting out exemplary punishment to those found guilty by a High Power Inquiry Committee to probe into the scandals in arms deal, Bofors and others, can adopt and implement some pro-people measures, like bringing down the price of all essential commodities through allout state trading, revoking all undemocratic and black Acts and undemocratic amendments to the Constitution, introducing free, compulsory universal education starting from the primary stage to the secondary

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# Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 23 No. 6 5th December '89 Price 80 P.  
Air Charge 5 P

## UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in World Conference on Working Women

Delegates from 79 countries around the world met in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, on September 26-28 last to discuss the status and conditions of working women in different countries. The occasion was the Fifth World Trade Union Conference on Working Women held under the auspices of the WFTU. The delegates represented 105 national trade union organisations and 13 international organisations including the ILO, UNO and UNICEF. The six-member Indian team to the Conference included representatives from the AITUC, CITU, HMS and UTUC(LS).

The Conference deliberated on a large number of issues and problems facing the working women in different countries including all discrimination against women workers, the harmful effects on women as a result of introduction of new technologies and the manifold exploitation of women in the capitalist societies.

The Conference adopted three main documents including a charter of demands of the working women. Comrade Prativa Mukherjee represented the UTUC(LS) and addressed the Conference, discussing the condition and the problems of women in developing capitalist countries in general and India in particular, and also the tasks to be performed by them. Below is printed the address of Comrade Prativa Mukherjee.

Comrade President, Members of the Presidium and Delegates,

At the outset, on behalf of the working people of India and our organisation, the United Trade Union Centre (Lenin Sarani), I convey my warm revolutionary greetings to you all. I do also express my gratitude to the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions as well as the workers of Bulgaria for their warm reception and hospitality. It is a matter of great pride to visit the land of Comrade Georgi Dimitrov whose brilliant exposition of and courageous fight against fascism has always been a source of inspiration to us.

Reflecting deeply over all the issues having bearing on the agenda of this Conference it comes to one's mind that this year marks the seventy fifth and fiftieth anniversary of the two world wars, the First and the Second respectively. The occasion behoves us to take up the forsaken task of building up a militant peace movement free from pacifist illusions. Comrades, please keep in mind that I am coming from a country which is not only a developing country but is also under the rule of monopoly finance capital for a long time. It has been exporting capital to other countries and competing with the advanced capitalist

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## All Kerala Women's Conference

The two-day All Kerala Women's Conference was held amidst great enthusiasm on 27th and 28th of October last in Quilon.

Before the conference started, a large well-decorated, disciplined procession of women holding out placards with different slogans inscribed on them went out from near the Collectorate and paraded the different thoroughfares to converge at the meeting place at Chinmakkada Maidan, Quilon. People on either side of the streets waited with eagerness to watch the colourful procession pass off. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, the All India convenor of the MSS, was the main speaker at the opening session of the conference. In her inaugural address Comrade Mukherjee said that womenfolk in the exploitative capitalist system like ours was forced to

suffer two types of exploitation : one by menfolk in the families and the other by the exploitative system in general. Whether a society was civilized or not could also be determined by the yardstick of status and dignity accorded by it to womenfolk. Unfortunately, barbarism in the form of bride-burning, dowry system, gang rape and such other social menaces against women dominates our society. Surely, no civilized society as we boast of can afford to continue such a sorry state of affairs for long. It is really deplorable that on the last lap of the 20th century womenfolk hit, more often than not, press headlines not as celebrities but because of dowry deaths, molestation, killing by burning etc. From the conduct of the Government it becomes all the more

clear that it has least concern for such inhuman treatments to women of our society. She urged them to come forward and take initiative to organise themselves in thousands against all sorts of social injustices including atrocities on them on the basis of higher democratic values and culture.

Comrade Sudha, President of the Karnataka Unit of MSS and Comrade Jayanthi Swaminathan, Secretary of Tamil Nadu State Unit of MSS, explained their experiences about the struggles conducted by them and extended fraternal greetings to the conference. Com. P. Usha, Kerala State Secretary also spoke.

The delegates' session on the following day held at Government Girls'

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# RECTIFY THE PARTY'S STYLE IN WORK

[ From Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Vol. 4 People's Publishing House Ltd. Bombay 4. Printed in 1956 ]

( This is a speech delivered at the Inauguration of the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party. )

The Party School opens today, and I wish it every success.

I would like to say something about our Party's style in work.

Why should there be a revolutionary party? There should be a revolutionary party because there are in the world enemies of the people who oppress them, and the people want to shake off their oppression. In the era of capitalism and imperialism we need such a revolutionary party as the Communist Party. Without such a revolutionary party as the Communist Party it is simply impossible for the people to shake off the oppression of their enemies. As Communists who are to lead the people to overthrow the enemy, we must keep our ranks in good order, march in step, train our troops well and secure well-made weapons. Without these conditions, the enemy cannot possibly be overthrown.

Now what are the problems that still confront our Party? The general line of our Party is undoubtedly correct and our Party has also made achievements in its work. The Party has a membership of several hundred thousands who are leading the people to fight the enemy amid untold difficulties and with surpassing bravery. This is what we all see and nobody can doubt.

Then is there any problem that confronts our Party? There is, I should say, and what is more, the problem is in a certain sense quite serious.

What is it? It is the fact that a number of our comrades have certain ideas which strike one as not quite correct, not quite desirable.

That is to say, there is still something incorrect in the approach in our study, in the style in our Party work and in the tendency in our literary work. The incorrect approach in study refers to the evil of subjectivism. The incorrect style in Party work refers to the evil of sectarianism. The incorrect tendency in our literary work refers to the evil of the Party "eight-legged essay". (1) These are ill winds, but they do not sweep the sky like the north wind in the winter. Subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay" are no longer dominant in our style in work; they are but a gust of contrary wind, a foul draught escaped from the air-raid shelter. (*Laughter.*) But it is bad that such winds should still be blowing in the Party. We must stop the passage of the foul draught. Our whole Party should take up this job, and the Party School should do the same. These three ill winds, subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay", have their historical origin; though no longer dominant in the whole Party, they still do constant mischief and make assaults on us, and we must stop them and study, analyse and explain them.

It is our task to oppose subjectivism in order to rectify the incorrect approach in our study, to oppose sectarianism in order to rectify the incorrect style in Party work, and to oppose the Party "eight-legged essay" in order to rectify the incorrect tendency in our literary work.

In order to accomplish the task of overthrowing our enemy, we must accomplish the task of rectifying our Party's unsound style in work. The approach in study

and the tendency in literary work form part of the Party's style in work or Party style. Once our Party's style in work becomes completely right, the people of the whole country will follow us. Those outside the Party who are tainted with such bad style in work will, in so far as they are good people, also follow our example and rectify their own errors and we shall then be able to exercise an influence upon the whole nation. So long as the ranks of us Communists are in good order, our steps in perfect coordination, our troops well-trained, and our weapons well-made, we can overthrow any enemy, no matter how powerful.

Let me speak first of subjectivism.

Subjectivism is an incorrect approach in study, opposed to Marxism-Leninism and incompatible with the Communist Party. What we want is a Marxist-Leninist approach in study. The approach we have in mind applies not only to study in the schools but also to study in the whole Party. It is a problem concerning the method of thinking of comrades in our leading bodies, of all our cadres and all our members, a problem concerning the attitude of all our members towards Marxism-Leninism and towards our work. As such, the problem of our approach in study is one of extraordinary importance, indeed, of primary importance.

Certain muddled ideas are now prevailing among many people. There are, for example, muddled ideas about what is a theoretician, what is an intellectual, or what is the integration of theory with practice, etc.

First, we wish to enquire whether the theoretical level of our Party is high or low. Translations of Marxist-Leninist books have lately appeared in greater numbers and found more readers. This is very good. But can we therefore say that the theoretical level of our

Party has been greatly raised. True, our theoretical level is now somewhat higher than it used to be. But considering the rich content of the Chinese revolutionary movement, our theoretical front lags far too much behind and the contrast of the two shows up our extreme backwardness in theory. Generally speaking, our theory has not yet kept pace with revolutionary practice, let alone outstripped it as it should. Our practice with its rich variety still needs to be raised to its proper theoretical level. We have not yet examined all the problems, or rather the important ones relating to revolutionary practice, and raised them to the theoretical plane. Just think, how many of us have, on China's economic, political, military affairs or culture, originated a theory worthy of the name, which can be considered scientific, comprehensive and not crude or sketchy? Especially as regards economic theory, in the hundred years of the development of Chinese capitalism since the Opium War, not a single book has yet appeared that is genuinely scientific and accounts for China's actual economic development. Can we say, then, that the theoretical level is high as regards economic matters in China? Can we say that our Party has already produced some who can pass as real economic theoreticians? Indeed no. We have read a great many books on Marxism-Leninism, but can we claim therefore that we have already got theoreticians? Again no. Marxism-Leninism is the theory formulated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the basis of reality, the comprehensive conclusion derived by them from historical and revolutionary realities. If we only read their works but do not go further and study in the light of their theory the realities of Chinese history and revolution or examine the practice of the Chi-

nese revolution according to the theory, we should not presumptuously claim to be Marxist theoreticians. If, members of the Chinese Communist Party as we are, we do not see the problems of China right under our nose and can only memorise certain conclusions or principles in Marxist writings, then our record on the theoretical front is very poor indeed. If one learns by rote Marxist economics or philosophy, reciting glibly from Chapter I to Chapter X, but is utterly unable to apply it, can one be considered a Marxist theoretician? No, one cannot. What kind of theoreticians do we want? We want theoreticians who, basing themselves on the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, can correctly interpret the actual problems arising in history and revolution and give a scientific explanation and theoretical elucidation of China's various problems in economic, political, military affairs and culture. Such are the theoreticians we want. If one wishes to be a theoretician of this kind, one ought to have a true grasp of the essence of Marxism-Leninism, its stand, viewpoint and method, and a true grasp of the theory of Lenin and Stalin on the colonial revolution and the Chinese revolution, and to apply them in a penetrating and scientific analysis of China's actual problems so as to discover the laws of their development—only thus can one be the theoretician we really need.

The Central Committee has made a decision calling upon our comrades to learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in a serious study of Chinese history, of Chinese economics, politics, military affairs and culture, and to analyse every problem concretely on the basis of abundant data and then draw theoretical conclusions. This task rests upon our shoulders.

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Comrades in the Party School should never regard Marxist theory as lifeless dogma. You should master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the very purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you deserve praise and credit. The more things you can elucidate and the more extensively and penetratingly, the better your record. Now it should be made a rule in the Party School that a student is to be marked or graded according to how he looks at China's problems after he has studied Marxism-Leninism, according to whether he envisages them clearly or dimly, whether he can envisage them at all or not.

Next comes the question of the "intellectual". Since China is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country with a backward culture, the intellectuals are particularly cherished as a great treasure. Two years ago the Central Committee made a decision on the problem of intellectuals (2) that we should win them over in great numbers and welcome all of them in so far as they are revolutionary and willing to take part in the Resistance to Japan. It is entirely right that we should value intellectuals, for without revolutionary intellectuals the revolution cannot succeed. But, as we all know, there are not a few who plume themselves on their intellectuality and give themselves airs and graces for being intellectuals without realising that such airs are bad and harmful and in fact form an obstacle to their progress. They ought to learn the truth that many so-called intellectuals are relatively the least knowledgeable, while the workers and peasants are on occasions more knowledgeable. Some will say: "Ha! You are turning things upside down and talking nonsense." (*Lautgher*.) But, comrades, don't get excited; there is some truth in what I have just said.

What is knowledge?

## Rectify the Party's Style in work

Ever since the existence of class society there have been in the world only two kinds of knowledge: that which concerns the struggle for production and that which concerns the class struggle. The natural and social sciences are the crystallisations of these two kinds of knowledge, and philosophy is the generalisation and summary of the knowledge of both nature and society. Is there any other knowledge besides these? No. Now let us look at some students, the students who have been brought up in schools completely divorced from the practical activities of society. How about them? A man proceeds from a primary school of that sort to a university of the same sort, takes his diploma, and is regarded as stocked with knowledge. But all that he has is knowledge of books, and he has not yet taken part in any practical activities or applied in any branch of social life the knowledge he has acquired. Can such a person be regarded as a complete intellectual? Hardly so; because his knowledge is not yet complete. What then is comparatively complete knowledge? All comparatively complete knowledge is acquired through two stages, first the stage of perceptual knowledge and secondly the stage of rational knowledge, the latter being the development of the former to a higher plane. What sort of knowledge is the bookish information of the students? Granted that their information is entirely true knowledge, it is still not knowledge acquired through their own personal experience but only a matter of theories written down by their forefathers to sum up the experiences of the struggle for production and of the struggle between classes. It is entirely necessary that they should inherit this kind of knowledge, but it must be understood that in a certain sense such knowledge is to them still something one-sided, something

which has been verified by others but not yet by themselves. The most important thing is that they should be well versed in applying such knowledge in life and practice. Therefore, I should advise those who have only bookish knowledge but little or no practical experience that they should be aware of their own shortcomings and be modest.

How can we turn those intellectuals who have only bookish knowledge into real intellectuals? The only way is to make them take part in practical work so that they will become practical workers and to make those who are engaged in theoretical work study important practical problems. Then our aim can be achieved.

What I have said may put some people out of temper. They will say: "According to your definition, Karl Marx himself would not be regarded as an intellectual." I would answer that they are wrong. Marx not only took part in practical revolutionary movements but also originated revolutionary theories. Beginning with commodities, the most rudimentary factor of capitalism, he made a careful and comprehensive study of the economic structure of capitalist society. A commodity is something that millions upon millions of people see and handle every day, but they are so used to it as to fail to notice it. Marx alone studied it scientifically, made great researches on its actual development and formulated thoroughly scientific theories from what exists universally. He studied nature, history and the revolution of the proletariat; he created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of the proletarian revolution. Thus Marx became a perfectly developed intellectual representing the peak of human wisdom, fundamentally different from the intellectuals who have only bookish knowledge. Marx made detail-

ed investigation and research in the midst of practical struggles, formed various generalisations and then verified the conclusions he had drawn by testing them again in practical struggles — activities of this kind are called theoretical work. Our Party needs many comrades who will learn to undertake such work. There are in our Party a great number of comrades who can learn to undertake such theoretical study and most of them are intelligent and promising and deserve our high regard. But they must follow a correct direction and avoid the mistakes they have committed in the past. They must get rid of doctrinairism and must not confine themselves to mere words in books.

There is only one kind of true theory in the world, the theory that is drawn from objective reality and then in turn verified by it; nothing else can be called theory in our sense. Stalin said that theory becomes aimless if it is not connected with practice.(3) An aimless theory is useless, incorrect and should be thrown away. We should say, "Fie, for shame!" to those who are fond of theorising in such an aimless way. Marxism-Leninism is the most unerring, scientific and revolutionary truth derived from objective reality as well as verified in it, but many who study it regard it as lifeless dogma, to the detriment of the development of theory, doing harm to themselves as well as to other comrades.

On the other hand, those comrades who are engaged in practical work will also come to grief if they misuse their experience. True, these comrades are often rich in experience which is certainly valuable, but it would be a great danger if they should rest content with such experience. They ought to realise that their knowledge is usually perceptual and partial, and that they lack rational and comprehen-

sive knowledge; in other words, they are not equipped with theory, and their knowledge is thus comparatively incomplete. Without comparatively complete knowledge it is impossible to do revolutionary work well.

Thus there are two kinds of incomplete knowledge; one is knowledge already contained in books and the other is knowledge which is usually perceptual and partial, and both are one-sided. Only through an integration of the two can excellent and comparatively complete knowledge emerge.

In order to study theory, however, our cadres from the working class and peasantry must first acquire literacy. Without literacy they cannot learn Marxist-Leninist theory. When they have acquired literacy they can learn it at any time. I never entered any Marxist-Leninist school in my youth, and was taught only such stuff as: "The master said: 'How pleasant it is to learn and practise constantly what one has learnt.'"(4) Though such stuff is out-of-date as teaching material, yet it did me some good because it is from this that I learned to read. However, we now study, not Confucius any more, but such fresh subjects as the Chinese language, history, geography and the natural sciences which, once mastered, will prove useful everywhere. The Central Committee now emphatically demands that our cadres of worker-peasant origin should acquire literacy so that they can take up any branch of study, political science, military science or economics. Otherwise, for all their rich and varied experiences, they will never be able to study theory.

Thus, to oppose subjectivism we must make the two above-mentioned types of people each develop the aspect in which they are deficient and merge the two. Those with knowledge of books must develop in the direction of practical work so that they will not stop dead at books or commit

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# World Conference on Working Women in Bulgaria

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countries even in armament race. Ours is the sixth military power in the world and second amongst the capitalist countries in Asia.

Comrades, I hope you would agree that the rule of capital, particularly of monopoly finance capital, in the era of the third intense general crisis of capitalism, is bound to be fascistic in character in all respects. Inevitably and without any exception, it identifies itself with brutal savagery, exploitation and robbery of common people. It generates more and more unemployment, imposes enormous tax burdens on the masses and introduces high technology and automation, not for social advancement but for enhancing the competitive power of the monopolists with a view to earning maximum profit, thus further squeezing the scope of employment and throwing thousands out of work. Workers offer resistance against these onslaughts. And the capitalist class in power, to combat this resistance, snatches away democratic rights through enactment of black Acts and by force, launches a systematic attempt to revive and nourish age-old superstitions, religion-oriented dogmatic values, fosters and foments parochial, divisive and communal forces, thus destroying the unity of the working class and replacing reason by blind faith while usurping the technological development of science. Our country, being a capitalist one, is no exception.

Comrades, I am from a country where women, like men, are victims of this grim situation. Moreover, the working women are denied equal remuneration, equal opportunity for employment, promotion and other facilities. Maternity benefits remain on paper but are not meant to be translated into action and that too are limited to organised sectors. Even expectant mothers are forced to work during night hours,

even in underground mines. Safety measures are virtually absent. Most of our working women are engaged in agriculture, beedi, cigar, tea, construction and rural based small scale industries where they are subject to inhuman and barbaric exploitation perpetrated jointly by employers, contractors, middlemen and the Government. Like other developing and developed capitalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in our country also sex exploitation and sex assault are increasing fast. Prostitution in sophisticated forms is developing as an 'industry'. Child mortality and employment of child labour are increasing rapidly. Moreover, I cannot help pointing out that not only the dowry system is continuing, even the most discarded, cruel and humiliating 'satidaha' (custom (i.e. burning of a living woman along with her dead husband) is being encouraged by reactionary forces in certain corners of the country. Our working women, though most of them are illiterate, are not mute. They are voicing protest, organising themselves in trade union activities more and more, developing resistance struggle against all sorts of exploitation and injustice, thus challenging the design of employers and men-in-power.

Comrades, most naturally, coming from such a country I participate in this conference with the great expectation of going back to my sisters and working comrades in the trade union movements with rich experience and effective education from you all. While expecting this I like to add a few words more for your consideration.

We notice with anguish and pain that in all advanced and developing capitalist countries the rotten moribund culture is flooding the entire population. Sex perversion is rapidly eating into the very kernel of dignity and honour of womanhood. Women in these

countries, even in the most advanced democratic republics and citadels of glorious Renaissance movement are pathetically being turned into an enjoyable commodity. True sense of honour is eroding. Further there is an attempt to push back the women, desirous of coming into production-process more and more, into the kitchen. We hear the Hitlerite slogan 'go back to kitchen' once again.

Socialist countries can no doubt boast of ensuring equality in remuneration, abolition of discrimination between the sexes and preparing an objective condition for assuring proper dignity to the women. But, of late, in some quarters in the socialist countries, a slogan is being heard of sending back women 'to the womanly mission.' The workers of the world are surprised to hear the slogan raised recently in a question form — 'job or home making?'

Under the circumstances, the tasks of the trade unions, among others, ought to be:

1. To launch and develop a continuous movement against discrimination of wages, employment and other opportunities prevailing between the sexes and on the demand of right to work and housing, ban on work during night hours and in the underground, for supply of arms to the women for protection, ban on employment of child labour, arrangement of safety measures in case of hazardous work, extension of full maternity benefits and child care facilities including educational facilities as a compulsion in every branch of industry.
2. To organise workers on the demand of a truly secular, scientific, democratic and compulsory education to all.
3. To draw women more and more into

a militant peace movement free from all pacifist illusions.

4. To launch an ideological campaign against age-old superstitions, parochial conceptions, religious dogmatism on the one hand and against the moribund, rotten capitalist culture, eating up all beautiful values of life and making sex summum bonum of life on the other. Trade Unions must strive, through ceaseless movements, for developing political consciousness, inculcating proper sense of dignity and honour of womanhood, real

significance of woman's emancipation, highlighting and exhausting the lessons of the uncompromising pioneers of Renaissance movement and properly understanding them in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

This is all for the present, comrades.

Thanking you all, once again.

\* Long Live Struggle for Women's Emancipation

\* Long Live Proletarian Internationalism

\* Workers of All Countries Unite

## Orissa MSS Observes Gopabandhu Jayanti

On October 10 last, the Jeypore Unit of the Mahila Sanskritik Sangha Orissa (MSS) organised a meeting in Sorajini Bhawan in Jeypore to celebrate 'Utkalamani Gopabandhu Jayanti'. Sm. Indumati Das, a local organiser of MSS presided over the meeting.

Shri Sadasib Das, rising to speak as the main speaker on the occasion, observed that in the present society celebration of the birth anniversary of a great humanist, poet, self-less social worker was, seldom made in a befitting manner. Leaving aside the economic and social conditions of the people after 43 years of independence, in the cultural arena even, the general standard had been declining daily. Obscenity was spreading like anything. The thinking and reasoning faculty of the students and youth, considered to be the backbone of any nation, was being destroyed very cunningly by the vested interests, who ruled the country. Amidst all round poverty, privation and tyranny, people were forced to lead their life on unethical means devoid of any dignity and humane values. In such a society one could hardly expect dignity and security of women. As a matter of fact, women-

folk had become the worst sufferers in such a horrible state of the society.

Recalling the glorious chapter of life of Gopabandhu, he said that 'Utkalamani' had led his life amidst ceaseless struggles for liberty and rights of the oppressed masses till his last breath. The most unfortunate event today was that the present day youth had forgotten the illustrious son of the soil. They had lost their direction and were involved in petty matters. They never cared to think of what Gopabandhu stood for and never tried to understand the message he handed down to them.

Sm. Bandana Devi, an ardent, organiser of the MSS, presented a charter of demands for consideration of the audience. She exhorted her audience to lend all their support. These included among others, one for declaration of the birth day of Gopabandhu as a holiday.

Earlier, the meeting started with patriotic songs sung by the local women's squad to arouse awareness about the values 'Utkalamani' held aloft. Among the different sections of the people, extensive debate contests and essay competitions on the life of Utkalamani were conducted.

## Total Bandh in Goalpara

At the call of our party, Goalpara district observed a total bandh on 30th October last. Schools, Colleges, market places, all government offices and the public life in a sense came to a halt. All vehicular traffic was off the road.

The revised electoral roll published by Assam CEO, omitted names of thousands of genuine Indian nationals while almost 70 per cent of the names published in the roll were wrongfully printed.

As a result, people are subjected to an ordeal of unheard of harassment for rectification of countless errors. As a matter of fact, publication of revised electoral roll added exasperation and to give vent to people's indignation, Goalpara District Committee of the SUCI gave a 12-hours bandh call.

Prior to it, throughout the district a protracted campaign was launched,

## Kerala Women's Conference

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High School was conducted by a presidium consisting of Lalitha Mathew and Padmaja, V. K. The Organisation Report placed by P. Usha, Secretary of the Kerala State Unit of MSS, was passed unanimously by the house. The Political Resolution condemning the police atrocities on women in Kerala under the CPI(M)-led government, and resolutions on obscenity, liquor and drug menace, dowry deaths etc., were also adopted. Lively discussions followed on each resolution.

Besides electing a powerful State Council with 20 members, an 11-member Executive Committee was elected amidst thunderous applause and ovation.

The State Council in its first meeting in presence of Com. Chhaya Mukherjee adopted a programme for a month long course of movement throughout the state for December this year.

in which thousands of leaflets were distributed besides holding of innumerable street corner and *hat* meetings by the district leadership.

It may be mentioned in this connection that time and again, our party re-iterated that while detection of foreign nationals should be made with right earnest, it is the bounden duty of the concerned authority to see that not a single genuine Indian national is deprived of right to vote and that the process of detection should go on through judicial process. The Election Commission does not have any authority to conduct this exercise. Detection of foreign nationals can only be done through tribunals formed with the help of 'Illegal Migration Determination Act, 1983,' and the Foreigners' Act. Contrary to it, on the promise of the AGP Government in Assam, the Election Commission took up the dual tasks of revision of electoral rolls together with detection of foreign nationals. Again, with regard to revision of electoral rolls, 1971 has been taken as cut-off year instead of 1966 in contravention to general principle adopted throughout the country by the Election Commission. As a natural consequence, serious apprehensions of losing the voting rights have cropped up among the lakhs of minority community people. This is agitating their minds.

So, in the name of revision of electoral rolls what has been resorted to, actually is fraught with a danger of disturbing the peace and harmony delicately hanging in the balance amongst the different sections of the people of Assam.

However, after successful completion of 12-hours bandh, a mass meeting was held in the afternoon at the Madrasa School ground of Goalpara where Comrade Jaynal Abedin, Member Assam State Committee was in the chair. Comrades Nazmul Haque and Chandralekha Das spoke in the meeting.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

...the polling exercise that has just ended across the country, barring in a few pockets where it is to be repeated for various reasons, has proved to be the bloodiest and the dirtiest ever. The scale of violence, the number of election related killings and the incidence of malpractices, as also the brazenness with which they were indulged in, not unoften with the connivance of the very persons who are authorised to supervise or supposed to play the watchdog role — all these undoubtedly have gone to make the 1989 elections a watershed of sorts in the nation's parliamentary history — in the negative sense, that is.

(Indian Express, 27.11.89.)

Everywhere the story was same: rampant booth capturing by the Congress(I), jeeps with masked men firing in the air, bloodied Janata Dal polling agents and workers, and a frightened electorate. Polling in Amethi, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's constituency, broke every law of a democratic election. ...the police provided protection to Congress(I) hordes who scared away several voters by firing in the air and exploding bombs, proceeding to capture booths by stamping ballot papers and stuffing them into the boxes.

(Indian Express, 23.11.89.)

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State and party terrorism made a mockery of the election process in the reserved Jagdishpur segment of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Amethi parliamentary constituency here on Wednesday with blatant booth capturing. This process later spread to other parts of the Lok Sabha constituency also.

(Indian Express, 23.11.89.)

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Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi was beaten up by the police along with some other Janata Dal workers when they protested against irregularities at Jagdishpur.

"Criminals" wearing masks moved around firing in the air to terrorise voters.

\* \* \*

Congress(I) supporters, armed with guns and other weapons, had prevented people from casting their votes. They had stuffed ballot boxes with bogus votes in favour of the Prime Minister.

In Tiwaripur, police officials ran away with the ballot papers. "The polling stations at Amethi have become police station", he said.

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(On 22nd) There (Jagdishpur Assembly) he (Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi) found that police officers were stuffing ballot boxes in booth numbers 59 to 64 and 102 and 103. When he complained to the police, instead of taking action they (police) beat him up.

(The Statesman, 23.11.89.)

In what was a blatant violation of electoral norms, Mr. Balram Jakhar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, mobilized a mafia of armed goons and campaigned publicly in the streets of Sikar on the evening of November 21...

A three member team of the COMB (Citizens' Observers and Monitoring Body), which visited Sikar, "were witness to the pathetic spectacle of Mr. Jakhar publicly campaigning in the streets of the town on the evening of November 21, while under the law, election earning is required to end 48 hours before the actual poll, i.e. November 20 in the case of Sikar constituency.

(The Statesman, 26.11.89)

"Independent Initiative", a voluntary organisation, ...alleged that both the Congress(I) and the Janata Dal workers had used "money and muscles power" in Sikar Lok Sabha constituency contested by Haryana Chief Minister Devi Lal and Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar.

(Hindustan Times, 25.11.89.)

(In New Delhi), Somewhere along the line, there has been massive bungling in the preparation of the city's electoral rolls. Thousands of people, all set to exercise their franchise on Wednesday, had to return home disappointed after they discovered that their names had been deleted from the rolls.

(Indian Express, 23.11.89.)

Nearly 60 per cent of the 266 million electorate in 10 States and two Union Territories voted in the second phase of the Lok Sabha polls marred by violence in which 33 people were killed. The maximum number of casualties were reported from Bihar where 20 people were killed.

(The Statesman, 25.11.89.)

It was a gesture of hand that worked in booth after booth in Vaishali Lok Sabha constituency...

From Dhanushi near Hajipur to Beria near Mujaffarpur, this correspondent found to his utter horror that the polling officials were collaborating with the ruling party workers in making a mockery of democracy.

In several booths Congressmen had a field day. Surprisingly, in many booths the so-called agents of the Janata Dal were collaborating with the rival party.

To scare away genuine voters, bombs were exploded in the vicinity of the booths...

Nowhere did the polling officials try to prevent impersonation. So much so that men voted for women at many places. At one booth a 12-year old boy freely caste his vote...

In a few booths, the Janata Dal saw to it that the ballot boxes were stuffed with votes cast in their favour.

The Scheduled Castes at most places were prevented from voting on the roadside as it would allegedly defame Buddha Stupa at Vaishali.

(Hindustan Times, 26.11.89.)

## Rectify the Party's Style in work

(Contd. from page 3)  
the mistake of doctrinairism. Those with practical experience must turn to the study of theory and take up reading seriously so that they can systematise and synthesise their experiences and raise them to a theoretical plane and will not erroneously take fragmentary experiences for universal truth or commit the mistake of empiricism. Doctrinairism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each issuing from one of its poles.

Therefore there are in our Party two forms of subjectivism — doctrinairism and empiricism. Each sees only a part rather than the whole. If we do not notice this, if we do not know the defect of such one-sidedness and make efforts to overcome it, we are liable to go astray.

Of the two forms of subjectivism, however, doctrinairism constitutes at present the greater danger in our Party. The doctrinaires can easily put on the Marxist mask to bluff, capture and enslave the cadres from the working class and peasantry who can hardly see through them, and they can also bluff and capture the innocent youth. If we can overcome doctrinairism, then the cadres who have knowledge of books will voluntarily unite with those who have practical experience and take to the study of practical things, and then there will emerge many excellent workers capable of integrating theory with experience as well as a number of real theoreticians. If we can overcome doctrinairism, then the comrades who have practical experience will have excellent teachers who can help them to raise their experiences to the theoretical plane and avoid the mistake of empiricism.

Besides muddled ideas about the "theoretician" and the "intellectual", there is the muddled idea current among many comrades about "the integration of theory with practice", a phrase to

which they are paying daily lip-service. They talk every day of "integrating" the two, but actually they mean "severing" them, because they make no attempt whatsoever to integrate them. How can we integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To put it in common parlance, we should "shoot the arrow at the target". Marxism-Leninism bears the same relation to the Chinese revolution as the arrow to the target. Some comrades, however, are "shooting their arrows at no target", shooting at random, and such people are liable to do harm to the revolution. Others, with the arrows in their hands are only caressing them, exclaiming ecstatically, "What a fine arrow! What a fine arrow!" but will never let it fly. Such people are connoisseurs of curios, and have almost nothing to do with the revolution. The arrow of Marxism-Leninism must be used to shoot at the target of the Chinese revolution. Unless this matter is thoroughly thrashed out, the theoretical level of our Party can never be raised and the Chinese revolution can never succeed.

Our comrades must understand that we study Marxism-Leninism not for ornament, not because it is a mystery, but because it is a science which will lead the proletarian revolution to victory. Up to now, there are still many who regard certain words or phrases in Marxist-Leninist works as a sort of patent panacea which, once acquired, can cure all maladies with the greatest ease. This is sheer infantile ignorance, and to such people we must give some elementary education. And it is also these ignorant people who look upon Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly: Your dogma is of no use at all, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly said that their theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But of all their sayings, these people

choose to forget this one, which is of the highest, utmost importance. Only when they become versed in applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, and Lenin's and Stalin's theory concerning the Chinese revolution, and when further they can, through conscientious research into China's historical facts and revolutionary practice, formulate theories to meet China's need in various directions — only when they do that can the Chinese Communists be described as integrating theory with practice. It is useless if one only talks about "integrating" the two but never really attempts to "integrate" them, even though one goes on talking for a hundred years. As we are opposed to the subjective one-sided way of viewing things, we must destroy the subjectivism and one-sidedness of doctrinairism.

So much for today about opposing subjectivism in order to rectify the incorrect approach in study in the whole Party.

Now I shall take up the question of sectarianism.

Thanks to twenty years' steeling, there is no longer any sectarianism that plays a dominant role in our Party. Remnants of sectarianism, however, are still found both in relations inside the Party and in the relations between the Party and the outside world. Sectarianism in relations inside the Party leads to a mutual exclusiveness among the members, hindering unity and solidarity within the Party; sectarianism in the relations between the Party and the outside world leads to exclusiveness towards non-Party people, hindering the Party's work of uniting the whole of our people. Only by eradicating these two evils can the Party advance unimpeded in its great task of achieving solidarity among all the comrades of the Party and all the people of the country.

What are the remnants of sectarianism in the

relations inside the Party? They are mainly as follows:

First, the assertion of independence. Some comrades see only the interests of a part but not those of the whole; they always unduly emphasise the importance of that part of work which is in their charge and wish to subordinate the interests of the whole to those of the part. They do not understand democratic centralism in the Party and do not realise that the Communist Party needs not only democracy but, even more urgently, centralisation. They forget democratic centralism which subordinates the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, the part to the whole and the whole Party to the Central Committee. Chang Kuo-t'ao is one who asserted his independence of the Central Committee, and the result is that he has turned traitor to the Party and become a Kuomintang secret agent. Although the sectarianism now in question is not of such an extremely serious nature, we must still guard against it and must completely remove all traces of disunity. We should advocate the spirit of taking the whole situation into consideration. Every member, every branch of work, every opinion expressed or action taken must start from the interests of the whole Party, and no violation of this principle can be tolerated.

Those who assert their independence often adhere to the view that the individual comes first, and are often wrong on the problem of the relationship between the individual and the Party. Although they pay lip-service to the Party, they actually put themselves in the first place and the Party in the second. Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i once remarked of certain people that they have unusually long arms and are very clever in turning everything to their own advantage, paying little heed to the interests of others and the Party as a whole. "What is mine is mine, and what is yours is mine too." (*Uproari-*

*ous laughter.*) What are they after? They are after fame, after position, and they want to cut smart figures. Whenever they are in charge of any work, they assert their independence. Towards this end they will ingratiate themselves with some people, ostracise others, resort to boasting, flattery and touting; in a word, introducing into the Communist Party the philistine style in work, characteristic of the bourgeois political parties. It is their dishonesty that is the undoing of these people. We ought to be honest and straightforward in doing our work, I think; without honesty nothing can be accomplished in the world. Who are the honest people? Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to be sure, and the scientists as well. Who are dishonest? Trotsky, Bukharin, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-t'ao are all very dishonest; and dishonest are all those who assert independence out of personal or departmental interest. All those who are cunning and do not adopt a scientific attitude towards their work are in reality most foolish persons and will all come to no good end, however much they may be pleased with their ruses and however clever they may fancy themselves. Students in our Party School must pay attention to this question. We must build up a centralised and unified Party and completely get rid of unprincipled factional struggles. In order to make our Party march in step to fight for a common aim, we must oppose individualism and sectarianism.

Cadres native to one locality and those from the outside must unite, and oppose the sectarian tendency. Since many anti-Japanese bases have been established only after the arrival of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and much of the work there has been developed only after the arrival of cadres from other places, we must give good heed to the relationship between the native cadres

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and those from the outside. Our comrades should understand that, under such conditions, only through the perfect union of the native cadres and those from the outside, and only after a host of native cadres has emerged and been given responsible posts, can our bases be consolidated and our Party take root there; otherwise that is impossible. All the cadres, native to the place or coming from the outside, have their merits and defects, and they can make progress only by acquiring each other's strong points to overcome their own weaknesses. Compared with the native cadres, the cadres from the outside often know less about local conditions or have less contact with the masses. Take myself, for instance. I have been in northern Shensi for five or six years, but as to knowledge of local conditions and contact with the people here, I lag far behind many of the native cadres. Our comrades going to Shansi, Hopeh, Shantung and other anti-Japanese bases must take note of this. Furthermore, even within the same base there is the distinction between those sections that are developed earlier and those that are developed later, and between cadres native to the place and those coming from the outside. Cadres coming from a more developed section to a less developed one may also be taken as cadres coming from the outside to that particular section and therefore they, too, should pay attention to the problem of helping the native cadres. Generally speaking, if the cadres coming from the outside who hold responsible positions in a certain place cannot get on with the native cadres, they should bear the principal blame. The comrades who assume leadership are more to blame. At present this problem has not yet received sufficient attention in many places; some people despise the native cadres and jeer at them, saying, "What do the natives know? Clod-hop-

pers all of them!" Such people utterly fail to understand the importance of the native cadres; they know neither the good qualities of the native cadres nor their own defects, and adopt an incorrect, sectarian attitude. All cadres from the outside should take loving care of the native cadres and give them constant help, and must not ridicule or attack them. Of course, the native cadres on their part should also learn from the cadres from the outside, acquiring their strong points and abandoning their own improper narrow views, so that they may be perfectly united with the cadres from the outside and form an indivisible whole with them, thereby avoiding the tendency to sectarianism.

The same holds good of the relationship between cadres in army service and those in civilian work. They must be perfectly united and oppose the tendency towards sectarianism. Army cadres must help civilian cadres, and vice versa. If conflict arises between them each should forgive the other and make proper self-criticism. Generally speaking, wherever an army cadre is actually in the responsible position, he should principally bear the blame if he cannot get on with the civilian cadres. Army cadres must realise their own responsibility and be modest towards civilian cadres before we can create the condition for both military work and construction work in the base areas to proceed smoothly.

The same applies to the relationship among different armed units, different localities and different departments. We must oppose the tendency towards group egoism which looks after the interests of one's own department to the exclusion of those of all others. Anyone is a group egoist utterly devoid of the spirit of communism who ignores the difficulties of others, who refuses to release the cadres as requested by other units or, by way of dumping rubbish in the neighbour's

yard, releases only the incompetent, and who never gives the slightest consideration to other departments, other localities or other persons. Disregard of the whole situation and complete indifference to other departments, other localities and other persons constitute the characteristics of group egoism. We must intensify the education of such persons to make them realise that this is definitely a sectarian tendency which, if allowed to develop, will become a great danger.

Another problem is that of the relationship between old and new cadres. Since the Resistance our Party has grown considerably and a host of new cadres has appeared, which is a very good sign. In his Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin said, "There are never enough old cadres, there are far less than required, and they are already partly going out of commission

## Rectify the Party's Style in work

owing to the operation of the laws of nature." (5) Here Stalin is talking about cadres as well as the laws of nature. If there were not large numbers of new cadres working in perfect co-ordination with the old cadres in our Party, our work would be interrupted. All old cadres, therefore, should greet new cadres with the warmest welcome and the greatest interest. True, the new cadres have their defects since, having but lately joined the revolution, they still lack experience and some of them may have brought with them the vestiges of the evil ideology of the old society, namely, remnants of petty-bourgeois individualism. But through education, through steeling in the revolution, these defects can be gradually removed. Their merit consists, as Stalin

has pointed out, in that they have a sharp sense for everything new and are therefore highly enthusiastic and active — precisely the quality which some old cadres lack. (6) Cadres, old and new, must respect each other, each acquire the other's strong points to overcome their own weakness, so that both will be perfectly united and work for the common cause, thereby guarding against the tendency to sectarianism. Generally speaking, wherever the old cadres assume the principal leadership, they should bear the chief blame if they cannot get on with the new cadres.

The above-mentioned relations — between the part and the whole, between the individual and the Party, between native cadres and cadres from the outside, between cadres in army service and cadres in civilian work, between different military units, localities and departments and between old and new cadres — are all relations inside the Party. In all these, we should promote the spirit of communism and guard against the tendency to sectarianism, so that our ranks will be in good order and our steps in perfect co-ordination to facilitate our struggle. This is a very important problem, a problem which we must solve in rectifying our Party's style in work. Sectarianism is a manifestation of subjectivism in the matter of organisation and, if we want to get rid of subjectivism and promote the Marxist-Leninist spirit of seeking truth from facts, we must clean up the remnants of sectarianism in the relations inside the Party and start from the principle that the Party's interests are placed above all personal or departmental interests, thereby enabling the Party to attain perfect unity and solidarity.

Remnants of sectarianism in the Party's relations with the outside should be eliminated just as those in the relations inside it. The reason is that, in order to defeat the enemy, it is not enough to unite the whole

membership of our Party alone, but necessary for us to unite the whole nation. In the cause of uniting the whole nation, the Chinese Communist Party has done tremendous and difficult work for twenty years, and since the start of the War of Resistance our work has been yielding even greater results. This does not mean, however, that all our comrades have acquired a correct style in work in dealing with the masses and show no sectarian tendency. No. The tendency still exists among a number of comrades and, in some cases, to a very serious degree. Many of our comrades are much given to swaggering before non-Party people, despising and belittling them, and are unwilling to show them respect or appreciate their good qualities. This is precisely a sectarian tendency. Having read a few Marxist books, these comrades become arrogant rather than modest and habitually dismiss others as no good without knowing that they themselves are really mere tyros and smatterers. Our comrades must realise the truth that the Party members are always a minority as compared with non-Party people. Suppose there were one Communist in a hundred Chinese, then among China's population of 450,000,000 there would be 4,500,000 Communists. Yet, even if our membership reached such a colossal figure, the Communists would still form only one per cent of the whole population, while 99 per cent of our countrymen would not be Communists. On what grounds, then, can we refuse to co-operate with non-Party people? As to all those who are willing to or in all probability can, co-operate with us, we have not only the duty to co-operate with them but absolutely no right to exclude them. But, failing to realise this, some of our members despise or even exclude those who are willing to co-operate with us. There is no ground whatsoever for doing so.

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Have Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin given us any ground for that? No. On the contrary, they have always earnestly enjoined us to link ourselves closely with the masses and not isolate ourselves from them. Has the Central Committee of the Communist Party given us any ground? No. There is not a single one among all its decisions that says that we can isolate ourselves from the masses and stand alone. On the contrary, the Central Committee has always told us to link ourselves closely with the masses and not to isolate ourselves from them. Thus any practice that isolates us from the masses has no sanction at all, and it is simply the mischief done by the sectarian ideas of some comrades' own invention. As the error of sectarianism is still very serious in a section of our Party members and forms a hindrance to the implementation of the Party line, we should start a great educational campaign within the Party to deal with it. First of all, we should make our cadres thoroughly understand how serious the problem is and how utterly impossible it is to overthrow our enemy and attain the goal of revolution, unless the Communists are united with the non-Party cadres and people.

All sectarian ideas are imbued with subjectivism and are incompatible with the practical needs of the revolution, hence the struggle against subjectivism and the struggle against sectarianism should go on simultaneously

There is no time to deal with the Party "eight-legged essay" today, and I shall reserve it for another occasion. The Party "eight-legged essay"

is a sewer in which all that is evil and vile finds a home, a form of expression for subjectivism and sectarianism. It does people harm and damages the revolution, and we must thoroughly rid ourselves of it.

To oppose subjectivism we must propagate materialism and dialectics. There are, however, many comrades in our Party who still do not care to propagate either. Some even listen to others' propaganda on subjectivism with equanimity and indifference. They think they believe in Marxism, but they make no effort to propagate materialism and never give a moment's thought to or express any opinion on the subjective stuff that comes to their ears or eyes. This is not the attitude of a Communist. In consequence, the virus of subjectivism has infected many of our comrades, leading to inertia and apathy. We must therefore start an enlightenment campaign in the Party to liberate the minds of many comrades from the bondage of subjectivism and doctrinairism and call upon our comrades to boycott subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay". Such things are very much like Japanese goods, and only our enemy wishes us to preserve these foul things and continue to be fouled by them; we ought, therefore, to advocate boycotting them just like boycotting Japanese goods. (7) Whatever is tainted with subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay" should be boycotted so that it will lose its market, and its purveyors must not be allowed to take advantage of the Party's low theoretical level and sell their stock. For this purpose, our comrades must be trained to have a good nose; they must take a sniff at

a thing to distinguish the good from the bad before they decide to accept or reject it. Communists should never fail to ask "why?" about anything; they should always use their brains and think hard how far it is real and what, if any, is the reason for it, and should never follow blindly or advocate slavish obedience.

Finally, in opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay", we must bear in mind two principles: first "learn from past experience in order to avoid future mistakes"; and secondly, "treat the illness in order to save the man". We must expose without personal considerations all past errors, analyse and criticise them scientifically so that we will be more careful and do better work in future. This is the meaning of the principle: "learn from past experience in order to avoid future mistakes". But in exposing errors and criticising defects, our whole purpose is the same as the doctor's in treating a case; namely, to cure the patient but not to kill him. A person suffering from appendicitis will recover if his appendix is removed by the surgeon. Any person who has committed errors is welcome to treatment until he is cured and becomes a good comrade, so long as he does not conceal his malady for fear of taking medicine or persist in his errors until he becomes incorrigible, but honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and made better. You cannot cure him by subjecting him to hearty abuse or giving him a sound thrashing. In treating a case of ideological or political illness, we should never resort to violence, but should adopt the attitude of "treating the illness in order to save the man", which alone is the correct and effective method.

I have availed myself of this occasion, the open-

ing of the Party School, to speak at great length, and I hope our comrades will think over what I have said.

February 1, 1942

### NOTES:

1. Cf. Note 34 to *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War*, Vol. I of the *Selected Works*. The "eight-legged essay" is an extremely formalised manner of composition in which phrases and paragraphs are arranged in a rigid pattern, and even the number of words is prescribed. The writer spins out his empty discourse by expatiating on the signification of each word in the theme set by the examiner or the tutor. The Party "eight-legged essay" refers to the kind of writing produced by certain people within the revolutionary ranks, which, like the "eight-legged essay", contains no analysis of things but only heaps of revolutionary words and phrases.
2. Referring to the December 1939 resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, *Draw in Large Numbers of Intellectuals*, which appears in Vol. III of the *Selected Works*.
3. J. V. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.
4. The opening sentence of the *Analects of Confucius*.
5. J. V. Stalin, *Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B)*.
6. Cf. J. V. Stalin, *Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B)*, Sec. III.
7. The means frequently adopted by the

Chinese people to fight against Japanese imperialist aggression in the first half of the twentieth century. Witness the campaigns to boycott Japanese goods during the patriotic May 4 Movement of 1919, after the Incident of September 18, 1931, and during the Anti-Japanese War.

## On Lok Sabha Polls

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level, introducing right to work as a fundamental right and right to recall of those elected representatives found to act against people's interest in the Constitution and last but not the least fighting against all sorts of communal, parochial, divisive, casteist and separatist forces, ridding the country of the debt trap, freeing the people from the exploitation of multinationals and stopping henceforth taking loans from IMF and World Bank on humiliating terms, creating and maintaining good relations with the neighbouring countries and following a consistent anti-imperialist policies among others, the question of amelioration of misery of the people will remain a far cry.

Lastly, we cannot but note with pain and anguish and appeal to all Left, democratic and hitherto Opposition parties and also their rank and file to take necessary lessons from the fact of how the utterly reactionary, anti-people and a corrupt force like the Congress (I) which has been practically routed throughout the country could stage a come back in two Southern States in the Assembly elections and in two other Southern States win most of the Lok Sabha seats — all states so long run by non-Congress (I) parties — taking advantage of a serious weakness in their outlook and policies pertaining to people's interest.

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Edited and Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700 013 and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013.