

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SEVENTH CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDIA

Bombay, 13-23 December 1964

VOLUME THREE  
**DISCUSSIONS**

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PUBLICATION

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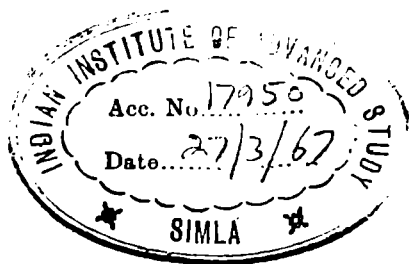
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## CONTENTS

OPENING SESSION	1
Address of the Chairman, Reception Committee	1
SECOND DAY	8
THIRD DAY	9
FOURTH DAY	11
Report of the Commission on Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist Movement	12
FIFTH DAY	21
Report of the Commission on the Political Resolution	22
PUBLIC MEETING	29
SIXTH DAY	33
Report of the Commission on the Draft Programme	34
SEVENTH DAY	48
Report of the Commission on Organisational Report and Amendments of the Constitution	53
CONCLUDING SESSION	64
APPENDIX I: Report of the Credentials Committee	71
APPENDIX II: Work Report of the Central Control Commission	76
APPENDIX III: National Council	79
APPENDIX IV: Central Control Commission	81

## P R E F A C E

This is the third volume of the proceedings of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

As already announced in the preface to the first volume, this contains a brief account of the day-to-day proceedings of the congress, the discussions that took place and the points made by the comrades who participated, as also the reports presented to the plenary session by the commissions of the congress. The report of the credentials committee and the work report of the central control commission have been given as appendices.

We hope the readers will find this volume interesting—perhaps a little more interesting—because for the first time in the history of our party, we are placing before the public such an account of the proceedings of its congress. The details of the proceedings of the plenary session and of the various commissions which processed the main documents will convey to the reader the thorough nature of the discussions in the congress, where the major points and even some minor points were hotly debated.

This should enable the reader to get an idea of the democratic way in which our congress was conducted—a feature noted and favourably commented upon by some of the delegates of the fraternal parties present.

With this volume we conclude the record of the proceedings and the documents of the Seventh Congress of our party which evoked great interest in the political circles of our country as well as abroad.

New Delhi,  
19 August 1965

SECRETARIAT  
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## OPENING SESSION

SUNDAY, 13 DECEMBER 1964

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India opened at 4.00 p.m. on Sunday, 13 December 1964, at the AJAY GHOSH NAGAR in Purandare Stadium in the city of Bombay.

Comrade G. Adhikari unfurled the Red Flag, marking the beginning of the congress, and delegates, observers and fraternal delegates who had assembled for the ceremony filed past the Martyrs' Column erected on the congress premises, paying homage to their memory.

The delegates, observers and fraternal delegates marched into the spacious pandal of the congress and took their seats.

Then the proceedings of the congress began.

Comrade C. Rajeswara Rao proposed a panel of names for the presidium which was unanimously accepted. The following formed the presidium of the congress: Comrades S. A. Dange, Sohan Singh Josh, C. Achutha Menon, Renu Chakravartty and Maqdoom Mohiuddin.

Comrade G. Adhikari, chairman of the reception committee, then read out the welcome address.

### ADDRESS BY CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Comrades of the presidium, delegates from fraternal parties and fellow delegates,

I extend my hearty welcome to you on behalf of the reception committee of the Maharashtra State Council on the occasion of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. We are thankful for the honour given to us by the National Council by its decision to hold the congress in this state.

Bombay is the cradle of the working-class and communist

movement in our country. It has been the battleground of many of the most heroic struggles of the working class and the national movement in India. The glorious strike of the workers of Bombay in protest against the conviction of Lokamanya Tilak to six years' imprisonment in 1908, is reputed all over the world.

The first communist journal, the *Socialist*, was started in this city in 1922 by our chairman, Com. S. A. Dange. The working class of the city played a glorious role in the strike wave that swept over our country after the first world war, and once again, in the late 'twenties. The working class of this city responded valiantly to the call for rushing aid to the Soviet people in the famine in 1922, by donating one day's wage. The mass struggles of this period covered the economic demands of the workers and political demands connected with the freedom movement. What was then hailed as the biggest trade union in Asia, the Girni Kamgar Union, was founded in the throes of a bitter and prolonged strike in 1928, and the red flag was hoisted in that strike, literally reddened by the blood of one of the earliest martyrs of the Indian working-class movement, Parsuram Jadhav. The First Congress of our party was held in Bombay in 1943.

Maharashtra played a unique role in our freedom movement, dating back to the popular revolt in 1857. The industrial centres in the state are covered by militant red flag unions. The *patri sarkar* movement in Satara in 1942 has become a byword throughout the country. Maharashtra played a glorious role in the liberation of Goa.

Nearly four decades have elapsed since our early formative years. The Meerut Conspiracy Case, the anti-war general strike at the beginning of the second world war, the national freedom upsurge of 1942, the postwar strike wave and the RIN mutiny, what to speak of hundreds of other glorious struggles, stand out in our memory, to each of which the working class and the people of Maharashtra and this city have made a creditable contribution.

During these decades, the working-class and peasant movement and the Communist Party have spread to the nooks and corners of the country. They have become a major political

force in our country. Our martyrs are numberless. Today, in this hall, we have fighting champions of the toilers and people's movements from every state in India, comrades who have spent years in jail and underground, steeled through years of struggle and suffering. Women have contributed in no small measure in building and strengthening our movement and this is particularly true in the case of the working women who took part in many heroic actions. We are recognised by friends and foes alike as the strongest and most influential party in the country fighting for socialism.

But we are not going to rest on our oars. We are passing through very difficult times, a testing period of trials and equally great tasks.

Over seventeen years of national freedom have brought no material improvement in the life of the people. Unemployment, soaring prices, corruption and blackmarket, and now the worst food crisis since independence, stare the people in the face. Reaction is on the offensive, the Congress governments launch repeated attacks on the toilers and protect their exploiters. Many fighters for the cause of the people are confined within prison bars.

Against these intolerable conditions, the people are fighting back. The Great March to Delhi, the mass satyagraha movement and the series of *bandh* actions in Gujarat, Maharashtra, UP, Kerala, Bengal and other states are the clearest expressions of the growing militancy and unity of the people and the glorious role played by our party, the trade unions and other popular forces in the country.

Bellicose imperialism, headed by the USA, threatens the freedom of countries and people who have attained independence in recent years, as also those who are still struggling for freedom. We have our fraternal duty to perform in support of the cause of colonial liberation.

Our difficulties have been enhanced by the fact that precisely at such a moment, when the unity of the Communist Party is a vital necessity for fighting the battles that lie ahead, a section of our party has gone out and has formed a rival party.



We have the confidence that this congress will tackle the difficult problems that confront us with success and give the Indian people the bold and courageous lead which they need and demand. We will emerge from this congress with a clear programme, our guiding star, an international line in defence of the general line of the world communist movement and with the inspiring decision to broaden and deepen mass struggles.

Once again I welcome the delegates from our brother parties who have honoured us by their presence at this congress.

Comrades, the reception committee is deeply conscious of the inadequacies and shortcomings of our arrangements for your comfort and conveniences during your stay here. I hope you will bear with us for our failings. We have had to organise this congress in the throes of the mighty wave of struggles that has been rising and continues to rise in our state and city during the last six months. We are meeting in the midst of big mass battles. We will strive our hardest to give you in the spirit of comradely service, what we may not be able to give in terms of material comfort.

All success and glory to the Seventh Congress of our party, the party of the fighting people of our country!

. . .

Through separate resolutions, the congress condoled the deaths of *Comrade Ajoy Ghosh*, General Secretary of the CPI, *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru*, Prime Minister of India, and *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, former President of the Indian Republic.

Through a separate resolution the congress paid homage to the memory of the leaders of the international communist movement who had died since the last congress of the party held at Vijayawada in April 1961, viz., *Comrade Salam Adil*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq who was murdered by the Baath fascists of Iraq, *Comrade Julian Grimau*, a leader of the Communist Party of Spain who was murdered by Franco's hangmen, *Comrade Otto Kuusinen*, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *Comrade Maurice Thorez*, President of the Communist Party of France, *Comrade Alexander Zawadzki*, Member of the Polit Bureau, Polish United

Workers' Party, *Comrade Palmiro Togliatti*, Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party, *Comrade Benjamin Davis*, Member of the Secretariat of the National Committee, Communist Party of USA, *Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*, Chairman, Communist Party of USA; *Comrade Otto Grotewohl*, Member of the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and *Comrade Leslie Morris*, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada.

Another resolution of condolence paid homage to the memory of the outstanding leaders of the Indian communist and democratic movement—*Comrades Rahul Sankrityayana, Bankim Mukherjee, P. Jeevanandam, B. Srinivasa Rao, V. D. Chitale, Dr. K. M. Ashraf, R. K. Bhogale, Atmaram Shinde and Arjan Singh Gargaj.*

The congress stood in silence for a minute in memory of the departed.

After this the fraternal delegates who had arrived to attend the congress were introduced to the delegates. Fraternal delegates from the following parties were introduced: Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of France, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of the USA, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Iraq, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Finland, Communist Party of Australia and the AKEL of Cyprus.

The leader of the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal delegates from the Communist Party of France, AKEL of Cyprus, Communist Party of Argentina (on behalf of the whole Latin American delegates) and the Italian Communist Party delivered brief informal speeches greeting the congress.

Comrade Romesh Chandra read the messages of greetings received from the fraternal parties to the Seventh Congress of the party till then. These messages were from the Irish Workers'

Party, the chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, the National Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Party of Norway, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, the Communist Party of Jordan, the Communist Party of Austria, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq, the Communist Party of Tunisia and the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

With this the open session concluded and the congress adjourned.

### *Evening Session*

When the congress reassembled at 6.40 p.m. Comrade Rajeswara Rao introduce the document on the agenda and procedure for the conduct of business of the congress on behalf of the National Council. The proposal was that the discussions on the various drafts after they were introduced in the plenary session of the congress should take place in the commissions into which the delegates were to divide themselves. It was proposed that four commissions be formed to discuss and process the major documents of the congress. They were: (1) the programme commission (2) the ideological commission (3) commission on the political resolution and (4) the commission on organisation and amendments to the constitution of the party.

The advantage in the suggested procedure would be that effective businesslike discussions with the maximum participation of the delegates could take place. Amendments could be considered at this stage elaborately and the documents processed carefully. The finalised document would come before the plenary session of the congress for adoption.

Comrade Rajeswara Rao also proposed the names for the steering committee and the credentials committee on behalf of the National Council.

After a brief discussion in which Comrades Biswanath Mukherjee (West Bengal) and Mohan Kumaramangalam

(Tamilnad) participated the agenda and the procedure proposed on behalf of the National Council were adopted.

The agenda for the congress as adopted was:

1. Draft Programme of the Communist Party of India
2. Resolution on Ideological Controversies in the International Communist Movement
3. Political Resolution
4. Organisational Report
5. Amendments to the Party Constitution
6. Report of the Central Control Commission
7. Election of the National Council and the Central Control Commission

It was also agreed that resolutions on current topics would be prepared by the steering committee and placed for consideration and adoption by the congress from time to time.

The congress unanimously elected a steering committee of 13 proposed by the National Council. The comrades on the committee were: G. Adhikari, P. C. Joshi, Romesh Chandra, Yogindra Sharma, M. N. Govindan Nair, Z. A. Ahmad, Rajeswara Rao, Bhupesh Gupta, Bhowani Sen, Avtar Singh Malhotra, N. K. Krishnan, S. G. Sardesai and Indrajit Gupta.

The congress also unanimously adopted the proposal of the National Council for the credentials committee. The following seven comrades were elected: Jagannath Sarkar, Kalishankar Shukla, B. V. Kakkillaya, Manali C. Kandaswamy, Phani Bora, Bira Singh and Balakrishna Gupta.

After this the session adjourned for the day.

## SECOND DAY

MONDAY, 14 DECEMBER

### *Morning Session*

The morning session opened at 9.30 a.m.

The congress condoled the death of *Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Dr. A. V. Baliga, Dr. N. M. Jaisooriya, Prof. J.B.S. Haldane* and *Shri Maithili Saran Gupta*, all present standing and observing a minute's silence in memory of the departed.

Then Comrade G. Adhikari made the report on the draft programme of the CPI.

This was followed by a general discussion on the document in which the following comrades participated: P. T. Punnoose (Kerala), Ranen Sen (West Bengal), Y. V. Krishna Rao (Andhra Pradesh), V. D. Deshpande (Maharashtra), Bhowani Sen (West Bengal), Bhogendra Jha (Bihar), Madan Sharma (Delhi), P. D. Thakur (MP) and Subodh Mehta (Gujarat).

### *Afternoon Session*

Mohan Kumaramangalam spoke on the draft programme.

Then Comrade Boris Ponomarev, Secretary, CC, CPSU, leader of the fraternal Soviet delegation, delivered his address and conveyed the fraternal greetings of the CC, CPSU to the delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

After him, Comrade Vasil Bilak, Member of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, who headed the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, addressed the congress conveying the greetings of his party to the delegates of the CPI Congress.

After these two speeches, the general debate on the draft programme was resumed. The following comrades spoke in the evening session: Avtar Singh Malhotra (Punjab), B. V. Kakkilaya (Karnatak), P. C. Joshi, Kameswar Pandit (Himachal

Pradesh), Jharkhande Rai (UP), Ramanand Agarwal (Rajasthan), Baren Roy (PHQ), K. T. Jacob (Kerala), Hiren Mukerjee (West Bengal) and Tammareddy Satyanarayana (Andhra Pradesh).

## THIRD DAY

TUESDAY, 15 DECEMBER

### *Morning Session*

At the beginning of the session the congress was addressed by the following fraternal delegates on behalf of their respective parties: Comrade Mihaly Korom, Secretary of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Comrade Norman Freed, Member, CC, Communist Party of Canada, and Comrade Etienne Fajon, Member of PB, Communist Party of France.

Comrade R. A. Aryanayakam, Member of the PB of the Communist Party of Ceylon, who had arrived that morning and Comrade Ibrahim Mohamed Nugud, Member of the CC, Communist Party of Sudan, were then introduced to the congress delegates.

In the general discussion on the draft programme which was taken up after this, the following comrades took part: Chandra Sekhar Singh (Bihar), N. K. Krishnan (Tamilnad), Narayan Desai (Goa), Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab), Indrajit Gupta (West Bengal), Kalishanker Shukla (UP) and S. A. Dange.

The general discussion on the draft programme was concluded.

### *Evening Session*

In the evening session, the congress unanimously adopted the resolutions on "India and the Atom Bomb", "South Africa", "Southern Rhodesia" and "Portuguese Colonies".

Comrade Claude Lightfoot, Member, National Board, CC, USA, fraternal delegate from USA, Comrade Krste Crvenkovski, Member, CC and head of the fraternal delegation of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Comrade B. Zhargalsaikhan, Member of the CC and fraternal delegate from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and Mustafa Abdul Majid, First Secretary and leader of the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of Iraq, addressed the congress.

Then Comrade S. G. Sardesai made the report on the draft resolution on the ideological controversies and the unity of the international communist movement.

Comrade S. A. Dange made a speech introducing the political resolution.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma formally introduced the proposed amendments to the Party Constitution.

Comrade Rajeswara Rao formally introduced the organisational report.

The main draft documents on the agenda of the congress having thus been moved before the plenary session, it was announced that they would now be taken up for discussion and processing in the four commissions which would meet separately on 16 and 17 December and submit their respective reports to the plenary session one after another from 18th onwards.

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WEDNESDAY, 16 DECEMBER

THURSDAY, 17 DECEMBER

On these days there was no plenary session, but they were devoted to meetings of the various commissions for discussing the documents before the congress.

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## FOURTH DAY

FRIDAY, 18 DECEMBER

*Morning Session*

The congress reassembled in plenary session.

Messages of greetings to the congress from the following fraternal parties were read out in the morning session: the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, the Four Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru, the Communist Party of Chile, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark and the Communist Party of El Salvador.

Then the following fraternal delegates delivered their addresses to the congress on behalf of their respective parties: Comrade Horst Sindermann, Candidate Member of the PB and head of the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Comrade Dinos Constantinov, Member of the PB, AKEL of Cyprus, Comrade Ruben Avramov, Member of the CC and head of the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and Comrade Ralph Gibson, Member, Political Committee of the Communist Party of Australia.

The following newly arrived fraternal delegates were then introduced to the congress delegates: Comrade Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary and head of the delegation from the Communist Party of Ceylon, Comrade Khalid Bagdash, General Secretary and head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Syria, and Comrade Omar Sibayi, Member of the CC of the Syrian Communist Party, Comrade Albert De Connick, Member of the CC and delegate from the Communist Party of Belgium, a fraternal delegate from the People's Party of Haiti, and Comrade Eduardo Mora, Member of the CC and delegate from the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.



After the introduction of the newly arrived fraternal delegates, the congress went on to adopt unanimously resolutions on the situation in Congo, on South Vietnam and Laos.

Then Comrade Achutha Menon, introducing the draft resolution on the Kerala elections, gave a report on the situation in Kerala and the party's line in the coming elections.

### *Afternoon Session*

The congress began discussion on the resolution on Kerala elections. Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair while making a supplementary report on the Kerala election situation appealed for the collection of funds for the Kerala elections in other states.

The discussion on Kerala elections was held over for some time and the following fraternal delegates addressed the congress on behalf of their respective parties: Comrade Franco Calamandrei, Member of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, Comrade Marti Malmberg, Member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, and Comrade Albert De Connick, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Since the programme commission had not yet finished its work, the discussion on the report of the commission on ideological controversies was taken up first in the plenary session of the congress.

Comrade S. G. Sardesai, convenor, delivered the report of the commission on ideological controversies.

### REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The commission on the draft resolution on ideological controversies and the unity of the international communist movement consisted of seventy-five delegates from fifteen states, ten observers from states and five members appointed by the National Council.

Its proceedings were conducted by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, a member of the presidium of the congress.

At the outset the commission elected a drafting committee composed of Comrades S. G. Sardesai, N. K. Krishnan, P. R. Nambiar, Y. D. Sharma and Ali Ashraf.

The commission had three sessions in all, one on the 16th morning and two on the 17th. The average attendance was between fifty and sixty-five. The drafting committee met on the 16th afternoon to classify the amendments and make its recommendations to the commission on each of them. It held one more meeting on the 17th.

The first session of the commission was devoted to a general discussion on the resolution in which seventeen comrades participated. The discussion was lively and on a number of important questions distinctly divergent viewpoints were expressed.

When the drafting committee met in the afternoon it had seventy-five amendments to deal with, besides one recommendation asking for a rewriting of the resolution since the comrade concerned considered parts of the draft resolution as being in conflict with the Moscow Statement.

The recommendation for rewriting the resolution was rejected by the drafting committee as not being based on valid grounds. Out of the 75 amendments, twenty-four were accepted by the committee as involving necessary corrections in the draft resolution or as important and better concretisation of some of its parts. Thirty-one amendments were rejected as being formal, verbal, redundant or altogether outside the scope of the resolution. One such amendment went back to the positions of the CPC in 1948. Another had to be referred to the commission on the organisational report as that was its proper place.

Nine more amendments were also rejected by the committee but considered as being of major importance.

Twelve other amendments related to paragraphs two and three on page nine of the draft resolution dealing with the question of the cult of personality and socialist democracy. The drafting committee decided to redraft the two paragraphs alto-

gether and on that basis to request the movers of these twelve amendments to withdraw them. Besides, the drafting committee on its own, decided to recommend to the commission the deletion of para four on page ten referring to the Comecon.

The two sessions of the commission on the 17th thoroughly discussed all the recommendations of the drafting committee both as regards the amendments accepted and the amendments rejected. The new draft pertaining to the cult of personality and socialist legality was also considered.

We are happy to report that after the discussion all the recommendations of the drafting committee were unanimously accepted by the commission.

Amendments accepted by the commission are now in the hands of the delegates to the congress. Most of them are self-explanatory and it is not necessary to give any further explanation about them than what has been given above.

A few words of explanation are however needed about the important amendments rejected by the commission as also about two accepted amendments regarding the Comecon and socialist legality.

Three of the rejected amendments put forward the concept of the world socialist system increasingly fulfilling the role of proletarian hegemony on a world scale. One of them refers to nonproletarian classes and strata in some countries, playing the role that the working-class leadership played traditionally.

Now, comrades, our resolution itself refers to nonproletarian democratic elements playing a far more radical and revolutionary role than what was anticipated even a few years ago. It further states that forces objectively working for the victory of Marxism-Leninism are emerging even outside the stream of the traditional communist movement.

The commission is of the opinion that our party has to make a fuller study of the theoretical implications of these developments before arriving at the generalisations recommended by these amendments. They have a number of serious consequential implications which have to be gone into. The new historic role of the socialist system is, of course, there, and there is

no question of underplaying it. This issue was also discussed in the recent international seminars held in Berlin and Moscow, but not all of its facets have yet been studied. Under the circumstances, the commission is of the opinion that this congress should not hastily incorporate any conclusive opinion on the question in the resolution before us.

Three other amendments refer to the question of the responsibility for the present state of disunity in the socialist camp. Our resolution, in the first para on page ten states that this responsibility rests on the leadership of the CPC.

The amendments seek to modify this statement by saying that the responsibility lies primarily or mainly, or above all on the leadership of the CPC.

We have rejected any such modification which is sought on the ground that the polemics conducted by parties opposing the CPC line and policies has often suffered from certain faults, or that such parties also have committed certain mistakes in observing international norms.

We have rejected the modification because when we speak of the responsibility for the state of disunity what we have in view is the immensity of the damage done by the policies of the CPC leadership on questions like war and peace, peaceful coexistence, border disputes, the unity of the communist parties, and so on. What one has in view is its actions in the Cuban crisis, the India-China border, its attitude towards its borders with the Soviet Union, the partial test ban treaty, the explosion of an atom bomb, and so on. We have also in view the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders in the sphere of state relations pertaining to economic cooperation between the socialist countries. What we have in view is the splitting policies of the CPC leaders in relation to brother parties, the WFTU, and so on, as also the unity of the national-liberation struggle and the forces of the world communist and working-class movement. We knew of their appeals to colour differences and so on.

Comrades, the immensity of the damage done by these acts to the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism can bear no comparison whatsoever with the question

of harsh polemics or procedural norms, where, too, the mistakes of the CPC leaders far outstrip any committed by others. And we consider it wrong to provide any extenuation or alibi for the grievous actions of the Chinese leadership by referring to certain polemical and similar faults on the other side. That is why we are opposed to qualifying the responsibility of the Chinese leadership for the present state of affairs by such words as "primarily", "above all", "in the main," and so on.

One amendment relates to the question of the possibilities of peaceful transition. On page eight, our resolution states that it is incorrect to equate the two possibilities, meaning the possibilities of peaceful and nonpeaceful transition. The amendment seeks to delete this statement.

We reject this amendment, which is argued on the ground that though the possibilities of peaceful transition are growing, we cannot say whether they are more or less than the other possibility, and as such, we should not categorically state that it is wrong to equate the two possibilities.

We reject the amendment for deletion because equating the two possibilities in practice paralyzes mass initiatives for a peaceful transition and leads to passivity. Besides, we all know from experience that equating the two possibilities is one of the sly methods by which left-sectarians attempt to smuggle in their adventurist tactics in the mass movement.

Comrades, there is no measuring rod and no scale by which we can measure or, so to say, quantitatively weigh the two possibilities, either internationally or in any given country. Situations change fast, they change abruptly and unexpectedly. Hence our task is to take the maximum of initiative in utilising every possible opportunity for a peaceful transition, while being vigilant and remaining prepared for the other. There is no sense in attempting to size up which possibility is greater and which less.

Two rejected amendments deal with the question of open polemics between brother parties and the means and methods of maintaining the unity of the international communist movement.

One of the amendments states that, "under no circumstances should there be a cessation of the present widespread and free discussion of contemporary problems being conducted inside the world communist movement." The other calls on communist parties to uphold the principles of proletarian internationalism and to reinforce the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The importance of this amendment lies in the fact that it is substituted for the sentences of the draft resolution in para one, page eleven which call on communist parties to submit to the discipline of the revolutionary proletariat and carry out the commitments accepted by them in relation to the international communist movement as a whole. The commission has rejected both these amendments.

Comrades, our resolution very clearly states that both in principle and practice the unity of the international communist movement has to be based on full freedom for each party to work out its policies within the framework of the commonly accepted international line. It states that open polemics should be conducted with responsibility in the event of one or more parties disagreeing on specific questions even though they are in complete agreement with the international line.

Having stated this, our resolution is also emphatically clear that open polemics however responsibly conducted cannot be the norm of relations between brother parties. Nor can the political and organisational solidarity of the international communist movement be left to each party deciding for itself what does or does not constitute creative Marxism.

The position of our resolution is that besides basic loyalty to proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, a conscious observance of the commonly accepted international line and also the observance of commonly accepted norms of inter-party relations are necessary for the unity of our world movement. Our resolution holds that the norms laid down by the Moscow Statement in this regard are correct. It is not necessary to repeat that the norms laid down by that statement were voluntarily and freely accepted by the communist and workers' parties who attended the conference.

The key outlook of the Moscow Statement on this question is that in the event of differences arising between brother parties, every effort has to be made by them, through bilateral and multilateral discussions to overcome them. If all such efforts fail, only then does the question of a public expression of differences, even with restraint, arise.

This emphasis is absolutely correct because, comrades, imperialism and reaction exist. The war danger is serious and exists. The Goldwaters and Adenauers exist. The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the fundamental and indispensable condition for the victory of peace, democracy, independence and socialism against all these vicious and still very powerful odds.

Public polemics on contemporary problems involves and relates to questions of trade-union unity, democratic unity, national unity etc.—all of which are vital questions relating to mass struggles and mass movements. They are not ivory tower problems. We respect all the revolutionary forces in the world. But in all humility we, communists, can still state that the task of unifying the forces of peace, democracy and national independence, both internationally as within each country, rests on the shoulders of Marxists-Leninists and the communist parties. That is why communists and communist parties have to think a hundred times before voicing their differences on contemporary problems publicly.

Further, once the voicing of such differences openly becomes the norm, it would be extremely difficult, in practice to decide when and where one party could be considered as transgressing into a sphere which another party considers as falling within its freedom and authority. Complicated questions of one party interfering in the national sphere of another party can arise.

Bearing all these factors in mind, the commission wants that the positions maintained by our resolution must remain. They provide all the necessary scope for the freedom of each party and for public debate when it becomes unavoidable.

So much about the rejected but important amendments.

Among the accepted amendments, reference is needed only to two.

The para referring to the Comecon on page ten has been deleted because the problem is clearly stated in the preceding para. The reference to the question is not deleted. The deleted para deals with the causes behind the problem about which many comrades felt that more concrete facts are needed. They can and must be studied by the new National Council which this congress will elect. They can be taken up at the proposed world conference. At the moment, the commission does not think it advisable to go beyond stating the problem and the need for its solution.

As stated earlier, we have redrafted the paras dealing with the question of the cult of personality and socialist democracy.

The new draft brings out more clearly the great achievements of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the subsequent efforts of the Soviet leadership in restoring socialist legality and the development of socialist democracy. It points out that the question of the cult is not limited to the Soviet Union alone. It emphasises the basic superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois parliamentary democracy. It states the problem of the further advance of socialist democracy in its final form and not as though it was related to one or another event. The new draft placed before you would enable us better to present this question in its proper proportion in relation to the main questions before the international communist movement. It would also help to fight spurious bourgeois claims about parliamentary democracy and the equally malicious slander of the socialist countries not being based on democracy.

Comrades, the commission places the finalised draft before you for your acceptance. It feels confident that it would become a powerful weapon in the hands of the entire party for fighting dogmatist deviations, for eliminating revisionist deviations, and to unify all our ranks on the basis of the accepted general line of the international communist movement. The draft is also an humble contribution to the great task of unifying the international communist movement.

Forward to the unity of the world communist movement!

Forward to the victory of peace, independence and democracy!



Forward to the victory of socialism all over the world !

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Comrade Amiya Das Gupta (West Bengal) moved his amendment which had not been accepted by the commission in the plenary session. It related to the form of transition to socialism. While discussing this point the resolution on ideological questions noted that both peaceful and nonpeaceful possibilities of transition existed in the new epoch, quoting the Moscow Declaration and Statement, but underlined that peaceful possibilities were growing. Hence, the resolution pointed out that "it is therefore incorrect to equate the twin possibilities". Comrade Amiya Das Gupta sought the deletion of the sentence in quotes and its replacement by another sentence "and communists everywhere should move with that perspective in view". His amendment if incorporated would mean that both possibilities would have to be equally kept in view, that is to say it would have equated the two possibilities without taking note of what was specifically in the new situation.

After some discussion the amendment was put to vote and lost overwhelmingly.

The congress then unanimously adopted the resolution on "Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist Movement" as processed and finalised by the commission.

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After this, the discussion on the resolution on Kerala elections was resumed. Responding to the appeal made by Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair, representatives from the state delegations came to the rostrum and announced the amount they would try to collect towards the Kerala election fund.

In the discussion of the Kerala election tactics which continued, the following comrades took part: Satpal Dang (Punjab), A. B. Bardhan (Maharashtra), J. V. K. Vallabha Rao (Andhra), Bhupesh Gupta, P. T. Punnoose (Kerala), K. T. Jacob (Kerala), C. Rajeswara Rao and Mohan Kumaramangalam (Tamilnad).

## FIFTH DAY

SATURDAY, 19 DECEMBER

### *Morning Session*

Discussion on Kerala elections was continued. Comrade Manali Kandaswamy (Tamilnad), Shakir Ali Khan (MP), R. K. Garg (UP), Mohmed Elias (West Bengal), Baladandayudham (Tamilnad) Satish Loomba (Punjab), Naresh Guha (West Bengal), K. P. Gopalan (Kerala) Sultan Niazi (UP) and Tejnarain Jha (Bihar) took part.

Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair summed up the discussion. He suggested that the National Council to be elected by the congress might finalise the draft resolution, taking into consideration the speeches made in the course of the discussion and concrete amendments put forward by the delegates.

The congress accepted the proposal put forward by Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair.

After this, the following fraternal delegates delivered their speeches greeting the congress on behalf of their respective parties: Comrade Khalid Bagdash, General Secretary and head of the delegation from the Communist Party of Syria, Comrade Alberto Altesor, Member, Executive Committee, delegate from the Communist Party of Uruguay, and Comrade Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary and head of the delegation from the Communist Party of Ceylon.

Comrade Renu Chakravartty read out from the presidium a message of greetings to be sent to the people of Goa on the third anniversary of their liberation from Portuguese imperialism on behalf of the Seventh Congress.

The report of the commission on the political resolution was then taken up. Comrade Romesh Chandra delivered the report of the commission on behalf of Comrade Indrajit Gupta, convenor, who had had to leave for Delhi.

### *Evening Session*

Resolutions moved on behalf of the steering committee on "Misuse of the DIR and Emergency Powers", "Release of Vic-

tims of Fascist Tyranny in Latin America, Spain and Portugal" and "Solidarity with Cuban People" were unanimously adopted by the congress.

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## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The commission on the draft political resolution held 4 sessions, two on the 16th and two on the 17th. The list of intending participants in the work of the commission showed 71 names, of delegates and observers from 15 states, but in actual fact approximately 100 attended in all.

The commission elected Comrade Romesh Chandra to preside over its deliberations. It also elected a drafting committee consisting of Comrades Farooqi, K. T. K. Thangamani, Y. V. Krishna Rao, Somnath Lahiri, Mohit Sen, Jagjit Singh Anand, Bhogendra Jha, Harish Tiwari, Romesh Chandra and Indrajit Gupta.

The commission's work began with a general discussion on the draft which had been introduced by Comrade Dange in the plenary session of the congress on 15th. This discussion lasted for 5 hours and 25 comrades spoke in the course of it.

Some of the important issues raised in the general discussion were:

(a) Whether there has or has not been a shift to the right in the policies of the government of India since the Sixth Congress of the party despite the fact that there was no basic change in the internal and external policies.

(b) The need to emphasise the fight against right reaction and particularly against the forces of communalism.

(c) Problems of the peasantry and their demands, including an assessment of agrarian legislation under the Congress regime.

(d) The need to fight all-pervading corruption inside and outside the government.

(e) Characterisation of the mass movements and struggles in the recent period:

(f) Caste-system as one of the disruptive weapons of reaction.

(g) The proposal for arbitration on the India-China border dispute.

(h) Assessment of the strength and effectiveness of the democratic forces inside the Congress.

(i) Urgency of the problems of national integration.

It was found that sections 5, 9 and 13 of the draft attracted the greatest attention in the general discussion.

A few comrades were of the view that the entire draft was unsatisfactory and should be rewritten. This suggestion was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

The commission then proceeded to take up specific amendments. These were 216 in all, together with 21 suggestions for incorporation of various ideas. The largest number of amendments received for particular sections of the draft was 66 for sec. 13, 27 for sec. 3, 16 for sec. 5 and 14 for sec. 9.

There was lively discussion on those amendments to sec. 5, in particular, which suggested that the government has shifted to the right, as evidenced by its reactionary handling of the food and price situations and its massive repression against the democratic forces, although the basic national policies still remained intact. This view was opposed by those who held that while very serious concessions on some issues had certainly been made under reactionary pressure, it would be wrong to suggest that this amounted to a "shift to the right", which would imply a basic change in the dual class character of the bourgeoisie.

Eventually, the commission set up a sub-committee consisting of Comrades S. Lahiri, Krishna Rao, Indrajit Gupta to redraft this section in the light of the consensus of opinions expressed. This procedure was adopted by 51 votes in favour, against 41 who wanted a vote to be taken straightway on the amendments. The draft produced by the sub-committee was accepted by the commission, and is now put forward as the main amendment to section 5.

In the case of section 9, too, a sub-committee consisting of Comrades T. C. N. Nayar, Krishna Rao, Bhogendra Jha and M. Kathamuthu was appointed to prepare a suitable draft pinpointing the main features of the peasantry's conditions and problems. Their draft has been approved by the commission.

The commission was unanimously of the view that the draft has a serious defect in its omission of a proper reference to the urgent problems of national integration. A new section dealing with this point has now been added after section 7, based on a draft prepared by another sub-committee consisting of Comrades B. K. Gupta, Farooqi and Balan.

Some other omissions, now sought to be rectified, were those relating to the place of working women in the democratic front, the problem of centrally-administered areas like Manipur, Delhi and Tripura and the problems of defence policy.

Keen discussion took place on the suggestion for banning communal organisations (this was rejected) and for arbitration by friendly, nonaligned powers on the India-China border dispute (this was also rejected by an overwhelming majority as being an unreal and impracticable proposal in view of China's attitude).

On our attitude to the splitters and their party, the commission resolved to delete the reference in sec. 11 to the "call" of the CPC (only one vote was recorded against this), and to incorporate in sec. 1, para 2, an appropriate reference to the international links of the splitters.

The specific reference to Kerala in point 13 of sec. 13 aroused controversy, and a number of comrades wanted its deletion. It was eventually retained by a majority vote of 38 to 30.

Another topic on which sharp differences were expressed was the list of industries whose nationalisation should be demanded in the platform of immediate action (sec. 13). The viewpoint that inclusion of too many industries was impracticable and also politically incorrect was defeated by the view that major industries notable for their profiteering should be nationalised. As a result, it was decided by voting that the following industries should be mentioned: sugar (34 votes to 24); jute (24 votes to 22); cement (32 votes to ? ); tea (overwhelming majority).

A large number of comrades abstained from voting.

The commission has improved the draft to the best of its capacity. It did not record any opinion on the whole draft as amended, but resolved to place it before the congress for its acceptance after such further discussion as is considered necessary. It hopes

the draft will finally emerge as a fighting resolution capable of galvanising the party into mass actions on genuinely democratic issues of the people's life and livelihood.

The commission resolved to recommend to the party congress that special steps be taken for making a detailed study of (a) problems of the tribal peoples, (b) problems of persons of Indian origin living abroad, as it considers these to be very important subjects of national concern, and (c) the conditions, problems, demands, slogans and forms of action of the kisans and the kisan front.

The commission also strongly feels that the congress should direct the National Council to prepare, as speedily as possible, a detailed political/organisational review-report of the party's activities on the basis of the state conference reports and to place it before the party ranks for discussion.

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Comrade Romesh Chandra, supplementing the report of the commission on the political resolution informed the congress that a paragraph has to be added to the resolution assessing the Republican Party of India. He also stated that an additional paragraph on the role of women in the recent mass struggles would also be included in the resolution. This had been accepted by the commission but left out in the report circulated to the delegates.

He also informed the congress that the commission had accepted an amendment incorporating a reference to the invitation extended by the government of India to private foreign and Indian capital to enter fields hitherto reserved for the public sector.

The congress then proceeded to consider the amendments which had been rejected in the commission but were now pressed by the comrades for consideration by the plenary session.

Among them two amendments entailed considerable discussion.

There was an amendment seeking deletion of the formulation in the political resolution as processed and presented to the congress by the political commission that suggested that "there

has been recently a shift in the (political) situation for the worse".

The idea contained in the formulation was there in the draft political resolution. It was retained in the resolution by the political commission in a slightly modified form. As processed by the commission it read:

"The government has not made basic changes in the national policies, it carries forward both the positive and negative aspects of the policy in general in respect of both foreign and internal affairs. But there has been recently a shift in the situation for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of right reaction both inside and outside the Congress, government has been making a series of anti-people concessions especially on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights, etc, etc. This reactionary trend is likely to become even more pronounced unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles".

There was another formulation in the resolution a little later:

"Under these conditions, the formulations given in the political report adopted by the Sixth Congress that there has been 'a shift of the government to the right on many issues' and that 'the real and immediate danger is that of a further and more pronounced shift' still holds good, the danger has rather increased now."

The amendments sought the deletion of sentence: "But there has been a shift in the situation for the worse" from the first of the above paragraphs, and the entire latter paragraph. In the sum these amendments contested the assessment of the political situation contained in these formulations. The understanding that a shift to the right has taken place was disagreed with by the comrades who moved the amendments or participated in the discussion. An important point made during the discussion on these amendments was that the formulations do not take into sufficient account the fact that the democratic movement and struggles have been able to force the government to yield

concessions on a number of issues affecting the people's interests vitally.

The following comrades intervened in the debate on the amendments, opposing in varying degrees the assessment of the political situation contained in the above-quoted formulations. Comrades Satish Loomba (Punjab), Biswanath Mukerjee (West Bengal), Harban Singh (UP), Raj Bahadur Gour (Andhra) and S. A. Dange, Comrade Subodh Mehta (Gujarat) spoke in defence of the formulations.

Comrade Somnath Lahiri (drafting committee) replied to the debate. At the outset he stated that after Comrade Dange's intervention, the drafting committee would reconsider the whole thing. At the same time, he elucidated the premises on which the political commission based its formulations.

In the light of this discussion in the plenary session the drafting committee of the political commission reconsidered the whole assessment of the situation contained in the formulations in question. The first paragraph was reformulated incorporating substantial alterations.

As reformulated it read—

"The government has not made basic changes in the national policies. It carries forward both the positive as well as the negative aspects of the policy in general.

"But there has been a change in the internal situation for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of the right reaction both inside and outside the Congress, the government has made dangerous anti-peoples concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights, etc.

"But in recent period, the democratic movement has through mighty campaigns and struggles not only compelled the right to retreat on occasions but also forced the government to make concessions in favour of the people. The situation may deteriorate further unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles."

The latter paragraph with its reference to the assessment of



the situation made in the Political Report to the Sixth Congress of the party was dropped.

The paragraph as finalised by the drafting committee was put to vote and passed in the plenary session of the congress.

Whether the demand for a ban on political parties based on communalism and paramilitary organisations should be included in the immediate platform of action of the party was another question which was discussed at length in the plenary session. The political commission had not agreed to include this demand.

In the plenary session, Comrade Satish Loomba moved an amendment for inclusion of this demand in the political resolution. Comrades L. N. Malhotra (MP) and Madan Mohan Sharma (Delhi) supported the amendment.

Comrade Ali Ashraf (Bihar), while he did not support the inclusion of the demand for banning political parties based on communalism, wanted that the CPI should demand the banning of the RSS and he moved an amendment to that effect.

On behalf of the drafting committee of the commission, Comrade Romesh Chandra explained why they could not accept the amendments.

When the amendments were put to vote, the amendment of Comrade Ali Ashraf demanding a ban on the RSS was passed by the congress. The other amendment for inclusion of demand for ban on political parties based on communalism was not accepted.

After this, two amendments remained to be disposed of. One related to the specific industries whose nationalisation we should demand. The second related to the three-language formula. It was decided to defer consideration of these two points till after the adoption of the party programme.

Adoption of the political resolution was also deferred till after the adoption of the programme.

The plenary session of the congress was then adjourned to Monday, 21 December.

## PUBLIC MEETING

SUNDAY, 20 DECEMBER

There was no plenary session on this day. It was the day of the public rally of the congress.

The city witnessed a massive turn out of Bombay's working class, as also considerable sections of the middle class and intelligentsia at Shivaji Park where the rally was held.

Over two hundred thousand people gathered in the rally to hear the leaders of the Communist Party of India and the delegates from brother parties who also addressed the meeting.

The rally was preceded by a colourful demonstration. From working-class districts of the city, a massive procession estimated at over 35,000 poured into the maidan after marching through the main streets of central and northern Bombay and through the approach roads to the park. Delegates and observers marched in a disciplined and impressive procession from Ajoy Ghosh Nagar and joined the main demonstration. The route of the procession was profusely decorated with red flags and banners and as the procession wended its way with the demonstrators carrying hundreds of red flags and red banners, blending in the surroundings harmoniously, giving the effect of one huge solid mass of red in motion.

Comrade S. G. Sardesai presided over the rally. On the huge platform were seated members of the National Council and fraternal delegates from brother communist parties who had come to attend the Seventh Congress.

Comrade Sardesai through a short speech welcomed the vast assemblage and briefly explained the significance of the rally, the Seventh Congress of the party and the presence in the congress and the rally of representatives of more than 24 fraternal parties. He declared the rally open.

The introduction of fraternal delegates followed. Starting with the leader and members of the Soviet delegation, all the other fraternal delegates were introduced to the rally one after another and garlanded. They were received with thunderous applause by that huge mass of Bombay's working class which constituted the major part of the gathering at Shivaji Park. It was for the

first time in a mass rally of the congress of the Communist Party of India that so many representatives of brother parties participated. It was a historic occasion—a vivid demonstration of international proletarian solidarity with Indian working class and the Communist Party.

Several fraternal delegates to the Party Congress addressed the rally.

Comrade Boris Ponomarev, leader of the Soviet delegation, speaking in the rally conveyed to the working people of Bombay and India the heartfelt greetings from the Soviet communists and all the Soviet people. He said:

“Your mass rally symbolises trust and popularity that common people feel towards Indian communists. There are many representatives of various fraternal communist parties of all continents attending this meeting today. International proletarian solidarity with the working class and toiling masses of India finds expression in this fact. The proletarian solidarity is a great force in the common struggle for peace, national independence and democracy.”

He highly evaluated the role of the Communist Party of India in India's national-liberation struggle and in the post-independence period.

Comrade Ponomarev then dealt at some length on Indo-Soviet relations and the economic cooperation between the two countries which is helping India in its industrialisation. He also explained to Bombay's workers what fundamental changes have been brought about by socialism in Soviet society and in the lives of the Soviet peoples. He expressed confidence that the 450 million strong Indian people, along with other peoples, would not allow the imperialists to transform our planet into a new Kurukshetra for a thermonuclear war. Noting the important revolutionary changes taking place in the world, the leader of the Soviet delegation concluded:

“We wish the working class, all working people of India further successes in the struggle for their vital interests, for peace, democracy and socialism. We assure you that the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do every-

thing for further strengthening of proletarian solidarity of the communists of the Soviet Union and India."

Comrade Claude Lightfoot (USA) took great pride and pleasure in conveying the greetings of the Communist Party of the United States to the working people of Bombay and India. Following closely the deliberations of the Seventh Congress, he stated, he was convinced that "your great nation will once again make great contributions towards solving some of the perplexing problems of our times." Referring to the role of the US he said:

"When I view the role my government has played in these cold war years in trying to maintain oppressive systems, tyrannical governments in all parts of the world, my heart hangs heavy. As a result we have gained the hatred of most of the world... New trends are emerging in America. They represent communists and non-communists and I foresee the day when this will be the dominant trend.

"People of India and the rest of the world, progressive and democratic forces of the US are preparing to march with you to the sunlight of a free, happy and prosperous world—together we will march, march, march on till victory is won."

Comrade Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud (Sudan) warning against imperialist machinations, said:

"It is high time that the workers of India and other Afro-Asian countries liquidate all splits, build broad unity in the day-to-day struggles, raise their consciousness, combat capitalist and feudal ideology and be capable of seeing the new bright horizon that has opened before them towards national democracy and socialism."

Comrade Khalid Bagdash speaking in the rally stressed the friendship and solidarity between Arab and Indian working class. He stated:

"We are certain that the Indian working class which has played such an important role in the struggle against colonialism and won national independence together with all other patriotic forces, will in the future play a still greater role in the formation of a national front...to liquidate the legacies of imperialism and feudalism."

Comrade Bagdash reported to the Bombay working people on the gains of the Syrian working class who had achieved nationalisation of banks and major industries like railways, electricity, tobacco and large manufacturing industries.

Comrade Etienne Fajon (France) said:

"It is a great honour for me to express here to the working people of Bombay, to the heroic people of India the ardent solidarity of the French working class and of its Communist Party."

He stressed the interdependence of the struggles of the working class of capitalist countries and national-liberation struggles and pointed out how their (French) struggle against the French capitalists "helped the peoples of Indo-China and Africa and recently the Algerian people to win their freedom."

Comrade Ricardo Cortes addressed the rally on behalf of all the Latin American delegations represented at the Seventh Party Congress and conveyed their greetings to the rally. He declared the solidarity of Latin American communists—themselves fighting for the liberation of the continent from Yankee imperialism and native feudalism—with the liberation movements of Asia and Africa.

"We greet the victory of the Sudanese people, we condemn the aggression and provocation of imperialism in Vietnam, the Congo, Laos."

After the speeches of the fraternal delegates Comrade Z. A. Ahmad addressed the rally. Having explained the efforts made by the party to maintain its unity, he stressed that the party would march forward despite the efforts of those who had to gone out of it to weaken it. He said that the massive support of the working class witnessed in the rally was itself a proof of the strength of the party and a fitting reply to those who attempted to belittle it.

There was a thunderous applause from the audience as Comrade S. A. Dange, chairman of the party, rose to address it.

Comrade Dange briefly traced the history of the party as a champion of the workers and the people. He explained the signi-

ficance of the Seventh Congress of the party being held in Bombay for carrying forward the people's struggles for their economic demands and for strengthening Indian democracy. He dwelt on the perspective of the struggle for building the national democratic front and for the achievement of socialism.

## SIXTH DAY

MONDAY, 21 DECEMBER

### *Morning Session*

The plenary session of the congress began at 9.35 a.m. More messages of greetings from fraternal parties were read out. They were from the Communist Party of Colombia, the Socialist Party to Nicaragua, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communists of Algeria, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, the Swiss Party of Labour, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, the People's Party of Panama and the Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia.

After the messages of greetings were read out, the fraternal delegate from the People's Unity Party of Haiti addressed the congress.

The congress then took up consideration of the report of the commission on the programme of the party.

Comrade Adhikari presented the report. He informed the congress that some of the amendments accepted by the commission had been left out in the cycloed report and amendments circulated to the congress delegates.

Comrade Parvati Krishnan read out the amendments which had been accepted by the commission but had been left out in the circulated copy of the report. They related to protection to

religious and communal minorities and were to be added in chapter X, section 97.

### REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

The commission on the draft programme consisted of 155 delegates from 14 state units and 10 observers from 3 state units. It was generally attended by nearly three hundred delegates and observers except on the 18th night. Seventeen members of the National Council were allotted to the commission.

The commission at the beginning of its first session elected a drafting committee to conduct the proceedings and to make preparations for the discussions in the commission and for drafting its decisions. The drafting committee consisted of: G. Adhikari (convener), Bhowani Sen, Rajasekhar Reddy, Avtar Singh Malhotra, Bhupesh Gupta, Parvati Krishnan and Vasudevan Nair. Comrades Dange, Ahmad and Damodaran also helped in the work of the committee as virtual members of it. The commission held in all six sessions: morning and afternoon sessions on the 16th, morning, afternoon and night sessions on the 17th and a final night session on the 18th.

The commission had before it the 29 amendments adopted at the Trivandrum session of the National Council, which were circulated to the entire party ranks through the *New Age* and the language journals of the party in November. The general discussion on the draft programme took place on the 14th December in the plenary session after which the commission received a total of 323 amendments.

The largest number of amendments were to chapters VIII and X which deal with the list of items of the actual programme of the national democratic front and with the path forward, i.e., with the question of national democracy and non-capitalist path. There were 57 amendments in the first case and 64 in the second. Section 84 in chapter VIII which defined national democracy and the leadership of the working class in the NDF and its relations with the leadership of the other allied forces, alone had 17 amendments. The following table gives the

number of amendments proposed to each chapter and the number finally accepted as a result of the deliberations in the commission:

<i>Chapter No.</i>	<i>No. of amendments proposed</i>	<i>No. of amendments accepted</i>
I	39	6
II	19	4
III	24	5
IV	3	2
V	24	9
VI	41	14
VII	10	3
VIII	57	17
IX	32	7
X	64	38
XI	8	6
XII	2	1

The amendments accepted by the commission are submitted herewith for final discussion and adoption in the plenary session of the congress.

Firstly, I shall give a general survey of the amendments accepted by the commission chapter by chapter and indicate the major changes and improvement they represent.

The amendments to chapter I, on the achievement of national independence, further emphasise the role of the workers, peasants and states people's struggle and their contribution to the struggle for national liberation. The amendments also bring into focus the compromising role of the national bourgeois leadership.

Amendments to chapter II, on the consolidation of independence and march towards economic independence, underscores the compromising policies of the Congress government in seeking, in the early days of independence, aid from US and British imperialists and its negative effects. They also further



strengthen the significance of the socialist aid for our economic independence.

Amendments to chapter III on the contradictions of the path of capitalist development underlines the heavy concessions made to the monopolists, and how they facilitate their efforts to infiltrate into the state sector and weaken it.

Amendments to chapter IV on the conditions of the people are minor improvements.

Amendments to chapter V on the agrarian question, are by way of certain improvements. Role of the cooperative movement in the countryside has been mentioned and some minor corrections and additions have been made.

Amendments to chapter VI on the bourgeoisie and the state, centred round the question of the class character of the state. The question was: how to express the compromises with and concessions to the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, in terms of the class characterisation of the state and its governmental composition? Should this be done by replacing the present characterisation by defining the present state as a "*bourgeois-landlord*" state? Then, again, the question was raised whether the big bourgeoisie does not wield "*decisive influence*" in the government. Both these were debated and voted upon as amendments but were rejected by an overwhelming majority. Regarding the character of the state, the original formulation of the draft stands unamended. An amendment that was accepted to this section is one which further strengthens and makes more explicit the tendency of the present government to compromise with landlords.

The antidemocratic aspects of the present government were stressed in the draft but the reference to the dismissal of the communist-led ministry in Kerala in 1960 which was the most blatant expression of this tendency was completely missing in the draft. This serious lacuna is corrected by an amendment.

Other examples of antidemocratic tendencies have been added.

Amendments to chapter VII on foreign policy are minor additions.

Amendments to chapter VIII on the national democratic revolution and the path forward were the subject of a lively debate. The discussion centred mainly round two vital questions. Firstly, a more accurate definition of the noncapitalist path, and secondly, the role of the working class in building up the national democratic front and the question whether there is a joint leadership of the NDF or only the power is shared in the national democratic state.

(1) In defining the noncapitalist path more accurately, two important formulations are made in the amendments accepted. Firstly, this path is described as a reversal of the present process of development of capitalism and its disastrous consequences as outlined in the programme. It is further described as a stage in which the growth of capitalism will be progressively restricted and the prerequisites created for putting the country on the road to socialism.

Secondly, in describing the specific features of this noncapitalist path in the concrete conditions of India, another amendment has replaced the old formulation of "curbing the Indian monopoly groups" by "breaking the Indian monopoly combines who have concentrated immense economic power in their hands." The amendment also states that any tendency towards the development of monopoly will be effectively checked.

This is a concrete and a clear definition of the noncapitalist path, which is an improvement on the earlier formulations.

(2) The drafting committee, in its effort to emphasise the role of the working class as the initiator and builder of the NDF, so completely altered the original National Council amendment to section 84, that many comrades felt that the reformulated text reversed the basic point of the original amendment. While a number of comrades argued that it was a change in the right direction, as it gave a better formulation of the role of the working class and other classes in building the national democratic front. There was a fairly close voting on this amendment in its first form and though it was passed, heated debates followed among the delegates. The question was reconsidered in the drafting committee and the amendment was again reformulated, by making two additions from the original

amendment to it. After this, the reformulated text of sections 83, 84 (first two paras) and section 85, which is now before you, was unanimously accepted by the commission. We hope that the discussion in the plenary session on this point will further clarify and consolidate the unanimous understandings achieved.

On the whole, the amendments to this section should go to further sharpen and clarify the conception of the noncapitalist path in the Indian context as the most effective path of national regeneration and transition to socialism, and also the conception of the process of building the NDF and achieving the state of national democracy and emphasise the essential role of the working class as its initiator and builder. But while doing this, the specific character of the NDF and national democracy as its organ of power—which enables us to win new and broad alliances, to bring about a national upsurge of struggle against antinational reaction and the right forces—the specific feature of the alliance of all patriotic forces and their joint leadership in the NDF, should not be whittled down. Our programme can only indicate in general terms how the NDF is initiated, how it develops and leads to mass national upsurge of struggle against reactionary and rightwing forces. It cannot make a cut-and-dry scheme for this. Main strategic and class principles of this are indicated and in doing this, we must keep both class and the national aspect of the NDF in the concrete conditions of India firmly in view. I hope the debate and decision, on the main amendments to chapter VIII, will achieve this.

An amendment accepted to section 82 stresses the importance of the struggle in the field of ideology and culture in building the NDF.

Chapter IX deals with political parties. In the commission, some comrades moved for the deletion of the whole section. This was rejected by overwhelming majority. The NDF acquires flesh and blood only in terms of political parties in our country. The struggle for building the NDF proceeds in the context of healing the breach among the masses—in the main, the division between the masses that follow the ruling party and the masses that follow the parties of democratic opposition. It is spear-headed against the forces of right reaction and the rightwing

forces in the ruling party. That is why a brief characterisation of the National Congress Party, of the parties of democratic opposition (in general terms) and of the all-India parties of right reaction, of communalism and separatism is absolutely essential in the programme.

The formulation in this chapter about "No general united front with the Congress as a whole" was under debate. A proposal for its deletion was made. This was rejected. But there is a reformulation of the same which says: "The formation of the NDF does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or forming a general alliance with it."

Com. P. C. Joshi submitted a long amendment describing the history and development of the National Congress, particularly in the postindependence period, the differentiation that is growing within, etc. This amendment was read out to the commission, as it was handed over too late for the commission to go into it. It was rejected with only three members voting for it. It was felt that such a detailed and lengthy analysis was not needed in the programme and that what stands in the programme on this point is sufficient and correct.

Two amendments were accepted unanimously—one making a general characterisation of the left parties without naming any and the second making the formulations about Jana Sangh and the RSS more specific and precise.

There was a voting in the commission as to which right reactionary and communal parties should be mentioned and characterised. Jana Sangh and RSS and the Muslim League were already there. By a small majority, it was voted to include the Jamat-e-Islami and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, while the Akali Party was voted not to be included.

Amendments to chapter X accepted by the commission go to concretise and improve and add to the programmatic demands of the NDF which the NDF government will implement. Most of them are not controversial and go to improve the section.

Some additions were made to the section on agriculture where important amendments are the reformulation of the clause about agrarian reforms and addition of clauses about the revenue system and cooperatives.

There was quite a lively debate on the question of the languages and on the relation between the all-India state language and the regional languages, and the three language formula. But the text as it stands was not altered except for the inclusion of the demand for the recognition of the Sindhi language and of the demand that the candidates for the all-India competitive service examinations should be free to answer the question papers in their mothertongue.

Amendments to chapter XI, on the struggle for the peaceful path and its possibilities are mainly verbal.

Finally, the amendments to chapter XII (sections 111-112) puts more explicitly our adherence to creative Marxism and a direct reference to the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Statement is deleted and the idea put in a general and better manner as required in a programmatic document.

Comrades, such are the main features of the amendments the commission has adopted and the main features of our discussion.

I propose that we now take up the amendments chapter by chapter for adoption. The general impression of the commission is that as a result of these amendments the draft programme has been considerably strengthened and clarified. We hope the plenary session of the congress will confirm the impression. The discussion in the commission has been very searching and fruitful and we hope that its results which are before you will considerably facilitate the task of the plenary session in finalising the programme of the party.

. . .

Comrade Adhikari stated that the commission had no objection to include a reference to the postworld war I actions against the British such as the agitation against the Rowlatt Act etc. as suggested by Comrade Shakir Ali Khan (MP).

The idea in Comrade Sohan Singh Josh's amendment about reference to the Ghadr movement in a proper place in the programme was accepted by Comrade Adhikari but he did not accept the amendment as such.

Afterwards the other amendments, not accepted by the commission but which the sponsors wanted to move were taken up.

There was not much discussion on the amendments moved to chapter I. Movers explained briefly why they considered their amendments necessary and, Comrade Adhikari, on behalf of the drafting committee of the programme commission, replied. And if the former decided to press their amendments, vote was taken.

There were several amendments seeking specific references to several important episodes in the anti-imperialist liberation movement of our people, such as the struggles in Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad, etc. There was an amendment to pinpoint the impact of the October revolution on our freedom struggle. One amendment sought to mention that because of the mistakes of the party in the preindependence period, the bourgeoisie could dominate the political scene in the post-independence period.

Finally there was the amendment to the last paragraph of chapter I. This paragraph points out that one stage of the revolution was over. The new (next) stage is the stage of completion of the unfinished anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks so as to open up the road to socialism. On this issue, this paragraph notes, a conflict developed between the left forces in the national-liberation movement and the dominant leadership of the National Congress. The amendment wanted to replace the formulation about the conflict between the left in the national-liberation movement and the dominant Congress leadership by another, that "on this issue the contradiction has sharpened between the ruling party and the people."

Among these amendments only one was accepted by the plenary session. That was Comrade Subbiah's amendment for mentioning of the role of the freedom struggle of the people of former French India in the national-liberation movement of India. All others were rejected.

After this, chapter I of the programme as amended was unanimously passed by the plenary session.

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Comrade S. A. Dange moved a resolution on firing in Goa which was passed unanimously. Two other resolutions on the strike of dock-workers of Marmagoa and the strike of medical interns of Bombay were also passed unanimously.

*Evening Session*

Comrade Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud, Member, Central Committee and fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of Sudan, and Comrade Oscar Arevalo, Member, CC and fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of Argentina, delivered their address of greetings to the congress on behalf of their respective parties.

Then the discussion on the report of the programme commission was resumed.

There were a few amendments to chapters II and III. None were accepted by the congress. One of them, that of Comrade Deben Das (West Bengal) to chapter II, section 16, may be mentioned. It sought to state that "the bourgeoisie has thrown away our traditional and national strong sentiments against foreign capital." Since the passage tended to deny the oppositional role of the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis imperialism, it could not be accepted. It went against the main line of the programme draft.

There were no amendments to chapter IV.

These three chapters were passed as they had emerged after being processed through the commission.

In chapter V, two minor amendments were accepted. One of these sought the inclusion of "education" as one of the issues—along with free housing sites, employment, higher wages, etc.—for which the agricultural workers had taken recourse to struggle in recent years. This was in section 40 of the draft programme.

Another amendment wanted incorporation of price support to agricultural produce as one of the measures of reorganisation of agriculture.

The drafting committee accepted both these amendments.

With these amendments chapter V as processed by the programme commission was passed unanimously.

In chapter VI there were important amendments which wanted to change the formulation about the character of the state power in India made in the draft programme as processed

by the commission. The draft characterised the state in India as the "organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole." It was further stated that "in the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence."

Comrade P. K. Vasudevan Nair (Kerala) moved an amendment to the latter point which stated—"In the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie often wields considerable influence, at times decisive." Explaining his amendment, Comrade Vasudevan Nair stated that he wanted to stress the point that the big bourgeoisie wielded more power in the state than was conceded in the formulation of the draft.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta moved a lengthy amendment which covered two points, one concerning the assessment of the influence of the big bourgeoisie over the state and the other the role of the landlords in the state.

On the first point, his amendment stated

"While the state generally represents the power of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, the big bourgeoisie, however, occupies an important position in it and wields considerable influence. Moreover, it strives for establishing itself as the decisive leading force in the state. But this bid for leadership comes up against resistance not only from the people at large, but also, to an extent, from other sections of the national bourgeoisie. The position of the big bourgeoisie is not an exact replica of its predominance in economic life. It is determined by social contradictions and, above all, by the class struggle of anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic forces against the monopolists and reactionaries."

With regard to the landlords, the commission had formulated that "The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admits them in the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state level...."

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's amendment stated

"The national bourgeoisie is in alliance with the landlords, Although the landlords, too, have a share in the state power



and exercise considerable influence in the functions of the state, the power of the landlord class is waning.

"As between the national bourgeoisie which is already in predominant position in the state and the landlord class, the consolidation of the state power is taking place more and more in the interests of the former. However, the partnership of the landlords in the state power cannot be denied and this imparts to the state its present bourgeois-landlord character."

Comrade Y. V. Krishna Rao also had an almost similar amendment on the role of landlords in the state.

Replying on behalf of the drafting committee of the commission, Comrade Bhowani Sen stated that the issue had been discussed at considerable length both in the commission and even before in the party. To say, as Comrade Vasudevan Nair sought to put through his amendment, that the big bourgeoisie often wields decisive influence in the formation and exercise of governmental power was not in consonance with the existing reality. While there have been occasions when the monopolists have exercised something like a decisive influence, there have also been other occasions when nonmonopoly sections and people, too, have exercised decisive influence. Of course, on both occasions, there is an element of compromise. Further, while it might be correct to say on certain occasions the big bourgeoisie wielded decisive influence, it would be wrong to say that it did so often. The formulation in the draft had been made after mature consideration and it correctly reflected the reality of the situation.

As regards the contention made in Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's amendment that landlords shared power in the state, Comrade Bhowani Sen maintained that this question could be determined on the basis of what mode of production was being built by the state. Only on the basis of the direction of the political line and economic policy of the state one could determine the character of the state power. What was being built today in India was capitalism. It was in that context that the significance of the land reforms—despite all their halting and compromising

nature—should be understood. Landlord elements were of course there in the administration and there was compromise also. Yet it was a fact that feudalism was getting modified and curbed under this state. He said if the formulation about bourgeois-landlord state was accepted, then we would not be in a position to explain why such a process is taking place.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, who sought and was given special permission to reply to the points made on behalf of the commission against his amendment, stated that landlords were a powerful social group in the country owning means of production, moving in the direction of capitalist development backed by a bourgeois state. Their influence on the bureaucracy and in the army should not be ignored. If his formulation of "bourgeois-landlord state" was not found suitable, he would have no objection to any other suitable formulation being put which would convey correctly the role of this powerful class in the state.

Both these amendments which sought to amend the formulation made in the commission draft with regard to the influence of the big bourgeoisie in the state and the character of the state were rejected by an overwhelming vote.

After this, chapter VI as processed and put forward by the programme commission was adopted.

There were no amendments to chapter VII. It was also adopted as recommended by the commission.

In chapter VIII, a few minor amendments were moved in the plenary session but none of them was accepted. The chapter as processed and amended by the commission was passed unanimously.

Then there was a proposal for the deletion of the entire chapter IX on political parties. Comrades J. V. K. Vallabha Rao (Andhra) and Saroj Roy (West Bengal) moved identical amendments. They said the programme being a document for a whole stage, it was not the proper place for evaluation of political parties. To judge a political party for an entire period would be wrong. Maybe, even the character of a party might undergo a change.

Comrade Bhowani Sen, speaking on behalf of the drafting committee, did not agree with this reasoning. He said that what was stated in the chapter left sufficient scope for flexibility when it came to concrete questions. A programme without the characterisation of political parties in it would be like a soul without a body.

When the proposal for deletion of chapter IX as a whole was put to vote, it was rejected by the plenary session.

There were a few amendments centring round one formulation in the programme (section 85) defining the party's attitude to the Congress. The commission had formulated "The formation of the national democratic front does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or entering into a general alliance with it."

Comrade Giri Prasad (Andhra) objected to the first part of the formulation, saying that the danger of other parties merging into the Congress was too remote to be noted in a programme document. Further, he wanted to replace the commission's formulation by the one put in the Political Resolution of the Vijayawada Congress which stated "The formation of the national democratic front does not mean progressive parties entering into a general alliance with the Congress." He was against any reference to merger.

Comrade Paramanand Singh (Bihar) wanted the point to be reformulated thus: "But the question of the Congress participation in the national democratic front cannot arise unless it is freed from profeudal, proimperialist and promonopoly influences." He said the question was not that of anybody joining the Congress, but how the Congress could join the national democratic front.

Comrade Bhowani Sen (drafting committee) did not agree with either of the approaches. At the time of the Vijayawada Congress, the question of merger into the Congress had not been raised by anybody. Since then new developments have taken place. Asoka Mehta has appealed to the progressives to join the Congress. It was necessary, therefore, to counter this slogan. Hence a specific warning against both merging and general

united front with the Congress was necessary in the programme. As regards posing the issue as a question of how the Congress could join the NDF, the Congress was the party of the whole bourgeoisie and hence we could not state that the Congress as a whole would join the NDF. It was a harmful statement to make.

Both the amendments were rejected when put to vote.

Then there was some discussion as to whether any mention of the Akali Party should find a place in the programme and if so what should be the attitude of the party towards the Akali Party.

An amendment moved by Comrade Raj Kishore (Bihar) characterised the Akali Party as "an organisation of a particular religious faith imbued with separatist and communal tendencies whose activities are contrary to the spirit of secularism and dangerous to the growth of democratic forces in the country."

Comrade Satish Loomba's amendment, while it also characterised the Akali Party as a communal party, took note of the split in that party and stated that while the group led by Sant Fateh Singh "generally supports nonalignment, nationalisation of banks, etc." the other wing led by Master Tara Singh allied itself with "parties of right reaction".

On behalf of the drafting committee Comrade Bhowani Sen stated that in the opinion of the commission it was not necessary to take note of and characterise the Akali Party in the programme. As for the attitude the party should adopt towards that party, this could be decided by the National Council in consultation with the state unit of the party.

Comrade Avtar Singh Malhotra (Punjab) intervened to state that the amendment moved by Comrade Loomba represented the considered position of the Punjab delegation. He, however, agreed that characterisation of the Akali Party need not find a place in the programme.

The plenary session of the congress decided by a vote in favour of an amendment moved by Comrade Triveni Sharma of Bihar that a mention of the Akali Party should be included in the programme.

Comrade Z. A. Ahmad announced that the drafting committee of the commission would come forward with a formulation embodying the evaluation of the Akali Party in the next session.

The plenary session then adjourned for the day.

## SEVENTH DAY

TUESDAY, 22 DECEMBER

*Morning Session*

Comrade Romesh Chandra read out the messages of greetings to the Seventh Congress from comrades in jail.

### MESSAGES FROM COMRADES IN JAIL

1. *From Kedar Das, Ali Amjad & Barin Dey, Central Jail, Hazaribagh, Bihar. (8 December)*

Please convey to the Seventh Party Congress, the presidium, the delegates assembled and the fraternal delegates, the warmest revolutionary greetings on our behalf, the prisoners of the Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case at present in Hazaribagh Central Jail.

The Seventh Party Congress meets in a critical situation facing the Indian people and the democratic movement in our country. The most serious threat to the working-class movement arises from the fact that a section of its members and leaders have split away from the CPI.

In howsoever revolutionary a phraseology the split may be sought to be presented to the party ranks and the democratic masses, we have no doubt that those who have split away from the CPI have done the greatest disservice to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of the Indian people.

We are confident that in this difficult situation, the Seventh

Party Congress will be able to lead the party ranks, the revolutionary movement and the democratic masses in the struggle for the democratic regeneration of our country under the initiative of the working class.

We are also confident that the party congress will take positive steps to overcome the differences and the split in the communist movement in our country, while steadfastly adhering to the great cause of serving the interests of the Indian people, and upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the international working-class movement.

Once again we send you our revolutionary greetings from behind the bars.

2. *R. Shanmugasundaram, Central Jail, Madurai, Tamilnad*  
(10 December)

Our hearty congratulations on the occasion of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. Our three comrades (S. Sambandam, R. Sivam, V. Sudalaimadan) and self wish the conference a grand success. Namaskaram to all comrades.

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Messages of greetings from the following fraternal parties were then read out: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon, the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico.

Comrade Eduardo Mora, Member of the Central Committee and fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of Costa Rica, addressed the session.

After this the discussion on the programme commission report was resumed.

Comrade K. T. K. Thangamani (Tamilnad) sent an amendment for deletion of all references to state parties like the DMK, Akali Party, etc. in the programme.

Comrade Dange who was presiding, ruled that since the congress had already decided on inclusion of a reference to the Akali Party, Comrade Thangamani's amendment could not be entertained.

Comrade Adhikari read out the formulation of the drafting committee on the Akali Party. It read—"The Akali Party is a communal party which has split into two groups with differences on important issues."

Comrade Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab) moved an amendment to the formulation made by the drafting committee which sought to replace the words "with differences on important issues" by "with opposing views on a number of nationally accepted policies."

The amendment of Comrade Anand when put to vote was lost.

Comrade Rajkishore's amendment (moved in the previous session) was also put to vote and lost.

Then the formulation of the drafting committee regarding the Akali Party was passed by the plenary session.

Chapter IX as amended by the commission was passed unanimously.

When chapter X was taken up for consideration, Comrade Bhowani Sen on behalf of the drafting committee informed the plenary session that in section 96(d) in the portion dealing with industry and commerce, the drafting committee had accepted an amendment which stipulated that small-scale industries would be provided with raw materials, credit and marketing facilities, etc. It was also stated in the same section in sub-section (c) a new paragraph would be added stating the national democratic government will take over industries where mismanagement, corruption, profiteering could not be prevented by control measures.

In section 95, a new sub-section (g) would be added stating that the national democratic government would ensure that effective steps were taken to settle all problems of displaced persons.

In section 97 dealing with agriculture, in sub-section (g) a stipulation would be made that the national democratic state would provide "cheap" electricity. At the end of the section it would also be stated that effective measures of flood control would be undertaken.

The committee had also agreed to add a new section after section 97 on the problems of religious minorities. Comrade

Bhowani Sen read out the text of the amendment which the committee proposed to include.

In the discussions on this chapter, Comrades K. V. Sankaran and K. T. K. Thangamani moved an amendment seeking the inclusion of the three-language formula in the programme of the national democratic government.

Comrade Bhowani Sen on behalf of the drafting committee stated that what was given here was the programme of the national democratic government and we need not circumscribe what that government will do on this point. The three-language formula concerned an immediate problem and it had a place in the political resolution and not in the programme.

Comrade Dange who was presiding proposed that the plenary session should first decide whether the three-language formula had to find a place in the programme or the political resolution.

When the proposition that the three-language formula should find a place in the programme was put to vote, it was defeated.

In section 99 which dealt with education and health, the commission had proposed that there should be provision for free and compulsory education up to the age of 16 years. Comrade Rajkishore (Bihar) wanted free and compulsory education to be extended up to matriculation. Comrade T. C. Narayanan Nambiar moved another amendment which stated that free and compulsory education should be provided "up to the secondary stage". Comrade Rajkishore withdrew his amendment and when Comrade T. C. Narayanan Nambiar's amendment was put to vote, it was carried.

Comrade Indrajit Gupta's proposal for addition of a new subsection (f) stating that the national democratic government would encourage and assist mass participation of youth in sports and other forms of physical culture was accepted by the congress.

Then chapters X, XI and XII as processed by the commission and amended were passed unanimously.

After this the whole document—Programme of the Communist Party of India—as amended was put to vote and adopted unanimously by the plenary session of the congress. All the delegates,



observers and fraternal delegates from brother parties stood up and greeted the adoption of the programme with thunderous applause.

The congress authorised the new National Council to be elected by the congress to appoint an editing committee to edit the finalised programme and publish it.

After this, the two amendments to the political resolution which had been held over till after the adoption of the programme were taken up.

The amendment regarding the three-language formula was accepted by the congress and it was decided to include it in the political resolution.

The other amendment about which industries should be included in the list for nationalisation came in for a lot of discussion. Comrade Bhogendra Jha (Bihar) moved an amendment for inclusion of "jute, tea, cement and sugar" in the list. Comrade V. D. Deshpande (Maharashtra), Biswanath Mukerjee (W. Bengal) and Raj Bahadur Gour (Andhra) took part in the discussion.

The proposal for inclusion of jute, tea, cement and sugar in the list of industries which should be nationalised was put to vote and lost. It was decided to stick to the formulation made in the programme in this regard.

Then the political resolution as a whole as amended by the commission was put to vote and adopted unanimously.

It was also decided that the drafting committee of the political commission would act as the editing committee and finalise the political resolution and release it to the press incorporating all the amendments that had been accepted.

With this the morning session ended.

### *Evening Session*

Comrade Renu Chakravartty moved a resolution on repression in Tripura which was passed unanimously.

Comrade Bhowani Sen moved a resolution on price rise and food crisis. Comrade E. P. Gopalan (Kerala) wanted incorpora-

tion of the demand for statutory rationing throughout Kerala. The mover of the resolution agreed to put the demand for "statutory rationing in all towns and deficit states like Kerala". This was accepted and the resolution as amended was passed unanimously.

Two other resolutions, one demanding recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the other on multilateral nuclear force were also adopted unanimously by the congress.

Comrade Ricardo Cortes, member of the Central Committee and fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of Ecuador, then addressed the congress, conveying the greetings of his party.

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Comrade Rajeswara Rao introduced the report of the organisational commission highlighting the major points of the organisational report.

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON ORGANISATIONAL REPORT AND AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

The commission had to consider two subjects, viz. report on organisation and the amendments to the constitution.

The commission had an attendance of about 125 comrades including the National Council members appointed to participate in it. It elected Comrade Manali C. Kandaswamy to the chair. It had in all four sittings; two each on the 16th and 17th respectively. In the first sitting and half of the second sitting on the 16th there was general discussion on both the items in which 30 comrades took part. After the general discussion, amendments were taken up and further discussed and decided. Many more comrades took part in the discussion on amendments. The discussion was very lively. All comrades felt that this method of discussion in commissions has proved very useful.

The commission elected a drafting committee consisting of the following seven comrades: C. Rajeswara Rao, Unni Raja, Yogindra Sharma, H. K. Vyas, Chandra Gupta Choudhary, Ajoy Das Gupta and Satyapal Dang.

The drafting committee processed the amendments, sorted them out and proposed the order in which they were to be considered.

The commission then discussed them and decided upon each.

The further detailed report of the commission is being given in two parts; one for each of the subjects it considered.

## PART I

### DETAILED REPORT ON ORGANISATION

In all about 110 amendments were received to the report, some of them being only minor or verbal ones.

The largest number of amendments related to the section "Causes of the Party Split" from pages 3 to 14; and amongst these, most of the amendments related to pages 10 to 12, dealing with the causes which created a fertile soil for the splitters. Another section to which many amendments were proposed was "How and Where to Begin" (Pages 53-56 of the report).

The commission has accepted about 60 amendments. It rejected about 50 amendments out of which only 10 were major amendments. Many of the rejected amendments were not pressed after discussion and in many cases the decisions of the commission were unanimous or near unanimous.

The amendments accepted and adopted by the commission are being separately given.

On page 3, para 4, a suggestion was made that particular reference to Jyoti Basu should not be made. The reference to him was also contested on factual grounds. The para has been reworded removing this particular reference.

On page 4, para 1, there is reference to the efforts to blackmail the Party Congress at Vijayawada. Some comrades said that this reference is inadequate. We should take note of not only these efforts but also of the fact that they succeeded in these efforts. Hence the words "not without some success" have been added at the end.

An amendment suggested the deletion of the first sentence

of para 4 on page 9; because the wording is not happy and proper in approach. This was accepted. The idea of summing up of our entire estimate of the split and our attitude to the rival party has been incorporated in a new para added at the end of this section on page 14.

Para 2, page 10, has been repeated word to word on page 13 at the bottom. Hence it was deleted from page 10.

Para 3, page 10 was deleted because it was repetitive and moreover this idea is incorporated in the new para added to this section on page 14.

There were many amendments to pages 10-13 dealing with the question as to what provided a fertile soil for the splitters.

The amendments suggested that amongst such causes our failure to educate the party on the new understanding of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declaration and Statement, our failure to combat the long prevailing dogmatist and sectarian ideas about the Indian situation, our method of keeping political and ideological differences confined to the top level alone and not informing the party ranks about these differences etc.—all these also should be noted. Amendments saying that organisational methods we followed during this period have also contributed to it were proposed. One amendment suggested the deletion of the quotation of the resolution of the Hyderabad National Council, another suggested that due to our failure to combat sectarian understanding the splitters were to an extent able to successfully use left demagoguery and in this some of the utterances of our leaders and units gave them ground for it.

The drafting committee suggested the acceptance of all these amendments, of course, some of them in a modified form. It therefore redrafted the pages 11, 12 and 13. The redrafted portion was approved by the commission.

The chart on page 15 has also been corrected basing on the latest information received from states whose figures were calculated at the state conferences.

In the section on "New Organisational Forms Needed for New Period, New Tasks" on page 18, some amendments suggested

the need for paying special attention to building the organisation in the new industrial complexes that are coming up, some suggested a similar special attention to tribal areas, and some emphasised the need for special attention and help in building the party in Hindi-speaking states where the organisation at present is weak. A para incorporating these ideas has been added on page 18.

Amendments were suggested to the last portion of the last para on page 22 dealing with AISF, AIYF and Women's Organisation, objecting to the present statement as too sweeping and inaccurate. The last part of this para has been reworded accordingly. The amendments also suggested that a note should be taken of the party's failure to make conscious efforts to build these movements, specially the women's and the youth. Paras incorporating these ideas have been added to this portion.

An amendment suggested that note should be taken of our failure in properly and democratically functioning of mass organisations. This has been incorporated in a para on page 23.

There were many amendments which wanted that a more specific and concrete note should be taken of the importance of party education and our failure in this regard, while discussing the problem of "Gap between Mass Influence of the Party & Party Organisation". Accordingly two new paras have been added after para 3 on page 25, embodying this.

Another amendment suggested that in the idea of party education should also be included the need for proper reporting on decisions of higher committees, reviews of campaigns and discussion on political problems. This has been incorporated in a newly written point instead of the present point 2. This has however been renumbered as point 3 on page 26.

Amendment was suggested nailing down the incorrect methods of gossip, loose talk, back biting which have developed in the wake of individual functioning. A para dealing with this has been added on page 25 just before the last para.

Another amendment made reference to the serious evil of leakage. A para dealing with this has also been added.

While dealing with the question of promotion of cadres an amendment suggested to the need for special efforts at promot-

ing cadres coming from working class and peasantry, and the need to help them to grow. This has been incorporated on page 35 after para 2.

Amendments were suggested to the section dealing with personality cult. Accordingly changes have been made. On page 37 last para has been reformulated. Moreover the portion beginning from last line on page 38 to first para on page 40, which emphasised the need for changing a certain percentage of leadership at every congress, and quotes from the Rules of the CPSU, has been deleted. The reason for this is that even as it is there is a considerable paucity of cadre in our party at present. Moreover after the split the cadre position has become even worse. Therefore, this system was considered impractical in the present circumstances.

On the basis of amendments received, the section "How & Where to Begin", pages 54-55, has been recast. Some new tasks and responsibilities have been added to it, like party education and party schools, women's meeting, meeting of journalists, A Hindi weekly etc.—and these have been rearranged.

Similarly in the all-India campaigns, the campaign for food has been reframed as campaign for food and against high prices and has been put as number 1.

The words "Grow More Food" have been replaced by "Increasing Food Production" because "Grow More Food" has a past connotation.

In the end a concluding portion has been added.

This much about the amendments accepted and incorporated by the commission.

Mention should also be made of major amendments rejected by the commission.

There was an amendment to page 3, suggesting the insertion of words "directed against monopolists" after the mention of struggles at the beginning of the page. The commission rejected it because these struggles were directed not only against the monopolists but also against the policies of the government.

On page 23 an amendment suggested the specific reference of trade union accounts not being kept properly. This was rejected as unnecessary.

On page 26 an amendment was received which while critically reviewing the actual working of the three-tier system suggested the incorporation of the strict need of the CEC members doing exclusively central jobs and the need of their being not allowed to be members of the state or district units. This amendment was rejected as impracticable in the present situation.

An amendment was received to page 27, which suggested that in states and districts instead of the two suggested tiers namely council and secretariat there should be council and executive. This was rejected because there is need for a small compact body and the executive cannot be such a body.

Another amendment suggested page 29 was that the function of the state and district secretariat should be defined in the report. This was considered unnecessary as it is already laid down in the constitution and may further be amplified in the rules.

One amendment to pages 37-38 suggested that specific mention should be made that the danger of personality cult has increased after the split. This was rejected because the question of personality cult has been adequately dealt with in the report and moreover there is no basis to say specifically that this danger has increased after the split. The same amendment sought to lay down the norm, that the task of the leader should be laid down as one of leading the team apart from discharging his own responsibility. This was rejected because it does not give a complete idea of collective functioning.

An amendment was proposed to page 55 suggesting the starting of a rectification campaign. This was rejected. In the section of the report dealing with all-India party and mass campaigns, the first item is a campaign for toning up the party organisation. This outlines the tasks of proper functioning, for discussion of this report and drawing necessary lessons from it and of tightening up of party discipline. The commission considered that this is a concrete way of improving matters. Moreover to seek to achieve all the correction at one stroke will be too ambitious. Also, apart from such concrete and specific corrections if rectification is sought to be achieved by pious

confessions and promises of better conduct, this may disrupt rather than help the party. Hence this amendment was rejected.

We have mentioned only the major amendments which were rejected. Many others were just formal or minor and so have not been mentioned in this report.

## PART II

### DETAILED REPORT ON AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Besides 29 amendments proposed by the National Council, about 100 other amendments were before the commission. Some of them were amendments to the amendments proposed by the National Council. Many amendments covered the same subject.

Annexure A contains all the amendments which the commission recommends for acceptance. It also includes explanations wherever found necessary.

Following additional points may also be noted.

1. Quite a few delegates had proposed the amendment to the preamble to the effect that the strategic objective of people's democracy be replaced by national democracy. While agreeing with this view, the commission was unanimously of the view that the redrafting of the preamble in the light of the new programme be left to the National Council which should be given the necessary authority and directives by the congress.
2. Most of the recommendations are unanimous while voting took place in case of some others. The difference of opinion was sharpest regarding recommendation of the National Council to abolish the provision of candidate membership. The voting was 3 to 50.
3. There was a wide variety of opinions regarding the functioning of the chairman and the general secretary as recommended by the National Council. After a good deal of discussion, the commission came to near unanimous view that the congress should leave it to the National Council to lay down the detailed functioning in this matter.
4. There were a number of amendments which incorporated



correct ideas but which really came within the purview of rules and by-laws to be framed by the National Council. The commission strongly felt that the new National Council should frame these by-laws and rules as soon as possible.

Some of the important amendments which came from delegates and have been recommended for acceptance are as under:

1. Provision for candidate members for the CEC.
2. Provision for the office of treasurer at national, state and district levels.
3. Provision that levy be made compulsory and it be regarded as one of the duties of the members to pay the same.

The commission also accepted some important modifications in some of the amendments proposed by the National Council.

Out of the amendments moved by delegates and not favoured by the commission, the most important one seeks to provide that one-third of every elected body should necessarily be renewed at the subsequent election.

Another amendment relating to the circulation of the views of the minority when a decision is taken by majority could not be discussed by the commission due to lack of time.

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Comrade H. K. Vyas on behalf of the drafting committee informed the congress that in addition to the amendments accepted by the commission as contained in the circulated report, a few more amendments had been accepted subsequently. The first of such amendments was that of Comrade Indrajit Gupta in the section dealing with the causes of split in the party. He wanted the fourth para in that section to be rewritten as follows: "As early as the Meerut session of the National Council in 1959 where there was a sharp difference of opinion on the India-China border question, some of the leaders of the splitters had threatened a parting of ways."

Then there was an amendment moved by Comrades K. T. K. Thangamani and Somnath Lahiri who wanted an additional paragraph to be included in the chapter on "Causes of Party Split" regarding attitude to comrades who have refused to join the rival party but have not yet made up their mind about joining the party. The amendment stated "We should try to draw

the bulk (of them) into the party, firstly, by taking a very fraternal and persuasive attitude to them; secondly, by seeking their cooperation in the mass organisations where we jointly work; thirdly, by drawing them into our campaigns and struggles; and fourthly by assuring them, through our policy and practice, that there is full freedom for the expression and consideration of political and organisational differences inside the party within the framework of normal party discipline."

The organisational commission had accepted the amendment. It would be incorporated as the last para in that chapter.

After this statement made on behalf of the committee, the congress took up for consideration the major amendments which had not been accepted by the commission but were pressed by the movers.

First of these was an amendment moved by Comrade Deben Das (West Bengal). In the chapter dealing with reasons for the party split, the drafting commission had formulated—"In the situation when the ideological positions had not been explained to the party members for a long time, when serious efforts had not been made to combat the deep rooted *dogmatic and sectarian* understandings and when the party members had not been informed about these problems or the differences that existed and developed in this situation, when some concrete problems of organisation arose, efforts were made somehow to solve them with a view to keeping the unity of the party". Comrade Deben Das sought to add the words "also revisionist" after "dogmatic and sectarian." He wanted mention of both the trends, which are two sides of the same coin.

Comrade H. K. Vyas (drafting committee) in his reply stated that in general there was no dispute about need for fighting both the trends. But in the concrete context, when the causes of the split were being dealt with, only what we thought were the causes of the split should be stated. Failure to combat dogmatic and sectarian understanding was one of the reasons for the split. Here there was no room for a general statement on necessity to fight on both fronts.

Comrade Deben Das's amendment was put to vote and lost.

Comrade K. Damodaran (Kerala) moved an amendment

which sought to substitute the entire section in the report on the three-tier system in the leading organs of the party. The main points of the amendment were that the secretariat should not function as a separate tier but function as a part of the CEC; and the CEC should be the unit responsible for implementing the decisions of the National Council and the National Council should function as the political leadership of the party. He contended that the constitutional changes made at the Amritsar Congress of the party had not envisaged the secretariat as a separate tier. In short, what Comrade Damodaran advocated was a two-tier system in place of the three-tier system. He wanted the same to be applied at the state level also.

Comrade Damodaran maintained that this alone would restore to the different tiers of the leading bodies their respective functions as envisaged in the Party Constitution. He pointed out that a certain distortion of the functions of these bodies had taken place, which, according to him, was due to the three-tier system, in which the secretariat sometimes functioned for the Central Executive Committee and the National Council.

Replying on behalf of the drafting committee Comrade H. K. Vyas pointed out that Comrade Damodaran's understanding that the structural changes in the leading organs of the party made in Amritsar Congress did not envisage the secretariat as a separate tier was not correct. The secretariat is a tier and should function as a unit though not like the Central Executive Committee or the National Council. He admitted that there had been a minimising of the functioning of the CEC which was wrong and should be rectified. But that did not mean that we should give up the three-tier system. The commission itself had included a criticism of the minimising of the role of the CEC in the report.

When Comrade Damodaran's amendment was put to vote, it was rejected by the congress.

Comrade Mohamed Elias (West Bengal) wanted to add a para in the section on "selection, training and promotion of cadres" suggesting that "serious consideration should be given by the leadership to reserve a definite percentage of seats for the working-class and peasant cadres from the mass organisa-

tions so that in the next congress and thereafter we find substantial number of working-class and peasant cadres represented in the leadership of the party."

Comrade Ajoy Das Gupta (drafting committee) explained the organisation commission's position on the question. He pointed out that the commission accepted the need for utmost efforts to promote working-class and peasant cadres to the leadership. The amendment of the commission itself had stated what should be concretely done to obviate the difficulties that come in the way of promotion of cadres from the working class. However, reservation of a particular percentage of seats to working class and peasant cadres is not feasible.

Comrade Elias's proposition was put to vote and lost.

Comrade Satyapal Dang moved an amendment for the deletion of the following portion from the paragraph which discussed the campaign for toning up the party organisation: "...for tightening the discipline... etc. The question of tightening discipline and strengthening observance of party norms has to be implemented from the Central Secretariat downwards if it is to become effective." In its place, he sought the substitution of the following:

"The National Council and the state council should take effective steps for tightening discipline, observance of party norms, for fighting out selfishness and other tendencies of bourgeois habits, for rooting out corruption in any form from within the party and establishing at all levels communist norms of life and behaviour. This question of tightening discipline, etc. has to be implemented from the Central Secretariat downwards if it is to become effective."

Comrade Rajeswara Rao on behalf of the drafting committee stated that there was no underestimation of the disease noted in Comrade Dang's amendment. It had been mentioned in several passages in the organisational report. However, overestimation of it would be incorrect as well. The amendment in question, if accepted, would give a lopsided impression about the weaknesses inside the party.

Comrade Satyapal Dang's amendment was put to vote and it was lost by a very narrow margin.

On behalf of the drafting committee Comrade H. K. Vyas then appealed to the comrades who had moved other minor amendments not to press them for discussion. This was accepted by the congress since all the major amendments had already been disposed of.

Comrade P. C. Joshi then moved his proposition that the new National Council should be empowered to rewrite the organisational report introducing a "more self-critical and less self-righteous tone".

On behalf of the drafting committee Comrade Rajeswara Rao replied to the issues raised by Comrade P. C. Joshi in his speech and denied the allegation that the report was "self-righteous."

After Comrade Rajeswara Rao's reply, Comrade Joshi got up and said that he did not want to press his motion for a vote.

The organisational report as processed through the commission and amended was then adopted unanimously by the congress.

The plenary session adjourned for the day.

## CONCLUDING SESSION

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23

### *Morning Session*

The congress took up consideration of amendments to the party constitution.

On behalf of the drafting committee, Comrade Yogindra Sharma informed the congress that the committee had accepted an amendment moved by Comrade Mohan Kumaramangalam in article XIV to add a new clause, "The principle of maintaining continuity as well as ensuring renovation leadership shall be continuously applied throughout the party."

He also stated that the drafting committee had not accepted the other amendments. He suggested that first some of the im-

portant issues be considered in the plenary session. These were (1) the question of candidate membership; (2) alternate membership of the National Council and CEC; and (3) the constitutional provision regarding posts of general secretary and chairman.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma also introduced the amendment proposed by the National Council to alter the provision in the constitution which stipulated that there should be at least *two* members in the National Council from each state. The National Council proposed that this provision be changed to reduce the minimum from a state to *one* member.

The first point, about the provision of candidate membership, was taken up for discussion.

The commission had recommended that the provision for candidate membership in the party should be deleted.

Comrade Kanai Bhowmick (West Bengal) opposed the deletion of the provision. At this stage Comrade Krishan Chandra Choudhary (Bihar) raised a constitutional objection against consideration of the amendments to the party constitution. He said the party constitution explicitly stipulated that amendments to it should be circulated two months in advance to their being taken up for consideration. Since in the present case such advance circulation had not taken place, Comrade Choudhary maintained that amendments to the constitution should not be entertained by the congress.

Comrades R. K. Garg (UP), Yogindra Sharma (drafting committee), Hajrah Begum (UP), Satish Loomba (Punjab) and Mohan Kumaramangalam (Tamilnad) participated in the discussion on the point raised by Comrade Krishan Chandra Choudhary.

Finally, by a resolution the specific provision in the constitution stipulating the advance circulation of amendments was waived by the congress.

Discussion on candidate membership clause was then resumed. Comrades Satyapal Dang (Punjab), Diwakar (MP), P. K. Vasudevan Nair (Kerala) spoke in favour of retention of the provision for candidate membership.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma, on behalf of the drafting committee, defended the proposal to delete the provision regarding candidate membership.

When the proposal of the commission for deletion of the provision for candidate membership was put to vote, it was rejected by the congress.

Then the question of providing for candidate members to the National Council was taken up. Comrades Sibulal Bardhan (West Bengal), Diwakar (MP), Gopal Banerjee (West Bengal) spoke in support of the proposal for providing alternate membership to the NC.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma on behalf of the drafting committee opposed the proposal.

On being put to vote the proposal was lost.

Comrade Deben Das (West Bengal) moved an amendment proposing that the CEC have 5 candidate members. Comrade Parvati Krishnan (Tamilnad) and Yogindra Sharma (drafting committee) opposed the proposal which was put to vote and lost.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh (Punjab) opposed the provision in the constitution for the post of chairman. He said there should not be dual responsibility. Hence there should be only one spokesman for the party—the general secretary. Comrades K. Govinda Rao (Andhra) and Saroj Roy (West Bengal) spoke in support. Comrade Rajeswara Rao, on behalf of the drafting committee, replied defending the position of the commission.

On being put to vote, the amendment of Comrade Josh was lost.

Comrade Deben Das's proposal to provide for two vice-chairmen was rejected by the congress.

Another amendment providing for the post of chairman at state and district levels was also rejected by the congress.

The congress discussed the proposal of the commission regarding local conferences of party to be held annually. Comrades Yogindra Sharma (drafting committee), Raj Bahadur Gour (Andhra), Kanai Bhowmick (West Bengal) and Satyapal Dang (Punjab) participated in the discussion on this proposal.

On being put to vote the proposal was defeated.

The commission's amendment that all-India party congress be held once in three years was passed by the congress. The earlier provision was that the congress shall be held once in two years.

Comrade Yadugopal Sen moved an amendment for deletion of the new provision made by the commission that if a higher committee failed to act upon a disciplinary action taken by a lower committee against a comrade and submitted to it for confirmation *within three months*, the action should be deemed to have been confirmed. Comrade R. K. Garg supported the deletion.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma replied on behalf of the drafting committee.

When the amendment of Comrade Yadugopal Sen was put to vote it was carried. The original provision of confirmation of disciplinary action by the next higher committee was retained.

Comrade Mohan Kumaramangalam's (Tamilnad) amendment that at least one-fifth of the candidates in the panel for the new National Council shall be persons who were not members of the outgoing National Council in every party congress was opposed by Comrade Yogindra Sharma (drafting committee). But the amendment was passed by the congress by a majority vote.

Comrade Mohan Kumaramangalam moved an amendment to qualify the provision requiring two months' advance notice for constitutional amendments: It stated: "provided that in cases of emergency and for reasons to be placed by the National Council before the party congress, notice may be waived by a two-thirds majority". It was accepted by the congress.

The constitution of the Communist Party of India as recommended by the commission and amended by the congress was then passed unanimously.

The drafting committee was empowered to incorporate the amendments and finalise the constitution as the editing committee. The congress then adjourned to meet at 9 p.m.



*Night Session*

Comrade Kalishanker Shukla presented the report of the credentials committee.

Comrade Vimla Dang (Punjab) made a short intervention, stressing the need for having more women comrades elected as delegates. She pointed out that for years there are several states which have never sent women delegates. In this congress, she said, women constituted only 1 per cent of the delegates present. This was not a good position.

The report of the credentials committee was then adopted unanimously. (See Appendix I)

Comrade S. V. Ghate, chairman of the Central Control Commission presented the Work Report of the Control Commission which was also adopted unanimously. (See Appendix II.)

Comrade Sardesai moved a resolution on "National Integration" which demanded merger of the former foreign pockets like Goa, Pondicherry, etc. into the neighbouring states, which was passed by the congress.

The congress then considered the resolution moved on behalf of the National Council on the alleged Dange letters by Comrade C. Rajeswara Rao. There was a brief discussion over an amendment moved by Comrade R. K. Garg (UP), which was rejected by an overwhelming vote. Then the congress by an overwhelming vote adopted the resolution moved by Com. Rajeswara Rao.

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After this the congress took up the final item on its agenda, namely, the election of the leading bodies of the party. Comrade Rajeswara Rao introduced the panel proposed by the outgoing National Council for the new National Council. 95 names were read out. 6 places had been kept vacant to be filled up subsequently—one from West Bengal, three from Tripura, one from Kashmir and one from the PHQ. Comrade Rajeswara Rao moved that the panel be approved and the new council be authorised to fill up the 6 vacancies.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta proposed that the seat from West Bengal should not be kept vacant and Comrade Ranen Sen's

name be included in the panel. Comrades L. N. Malhotra (MP), N. Rajesekhara Reddy (Andhra), Y. D. Sharma (Delhi), Biswanath Mukherjee (West Bengal), Z. A. Ahmad and P. C. Joshi took part in the discussion on the panel.

Comrade Rajeswara Rao replied to the discussion and it was decided to include the name of Comrade Ranen Sen in the panel.

After this the panel of 96 names was put to vote and unanimously accepted and the new National Council was authorised to fill up the remaining 5 vacancies. (See Appendix III)

Comrade Rajeswara Rao then proposed the panel of names for the Central Control Commission which was passed unanimously by the congress. (See Appendix IV)

Comrade Romesh Chandra then moved the resolution on 40th anniversary of the Communist Party of India which was passed unanimously. It has been decided to celebrate the anniversary in a big and befitting way in December 1965.

With this the business of the congress came to a close.

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Comrade B. N. Ponomarev, leader of the CPSU delegation, addressed the concluding session. He stated that the fraternal delegations were assured that the decisions of the Seventh Congress would go a long way in strengthening the party in the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia and the entire Indian people. He thanked the congress for the feelings of fraternal solidarity expressed on many an occasion from the rostrum of the congress and also the concern shown for the unity of the international communist movement. He concluded his speech by wishing success "to the work of your party in the tasks ahead", for the future of the Indian people, for the triumph of socialism all over the world.

Comrade Claude Lightfoot, fraternal delegate from the CP USA, stated that he had attended congresses of several fraternal parties and thought that this congress "was the most democratic congress he had ever seen." It seemed to him that the "leadership of the party planned it that way and that a politically

highly literate cadre ensured that it came about that way." Concluding he said: "My heart goes out to Comrade Dange. This comrade, a veteran of almost half a century of struggles, has become the prime target of forces emanating from Peking down to the splitters of your party in India and I say to you—what is needed in Comrade Dange's defence is not a gentle shower but a thunderstorm."

Comrade Dange then delivered the concluding speech of the Congress. He said:

"Here for the first time representatives from 25 brother parties were present as fraternal delegates. 35 fraternal parties had sent messages of greetings to the congress. In all 56 countries in a way participated in the congress.

"The new epoch we are talking about is vividly represented here. Here are representatives of the CPSU, the leader of the new epoch, and the representatives of the parties of the socialist countries who have come and are physically present to show what the epoch is; then there are comrades who are at the head of struggles, giving a fighting lead to their people in the underdeveloped and newly-liberated countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. From this you can see what kind of a congress this is. It is an unprecedented event. Here is the best in the socialist camp, here is the best in the underdeveloped countries. We, who are present here, have had the fortune to be in such a company."

The congress concluded with the singing of the Internationale and amidst slogans of Communist Party Zindabad!

## APPENDIX I

### REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The following report is being submitted on behalf of the credentials committee to the Seventh Party Congress:

Representing a membership of 1,36,888, including 26,286 members recruited after the expiry of the date of renewal of party cards for 1962, a total number of 581 delegates and 259 observers and invitees are participating in this congress of the CPI.

Delegates to the congress were elected by the state party conferences in accordance with the decision of the National Council that one delegate was to be elected for every 200 party members on the basis of membership of 1962, excluding those who have joined the rival party. As per this decision of the National Council, the state conferences elected 564 delegates on the basis of a membership of 1,07,762. Party members in the central headquarters branch elected five delegates. Members of the CEC and CCC could participate as full delegates in accordance with the Party Constitution.

Total number of delegates elected or ex-officio is 593. Out of this, 581 delegates, i.e., 98 per cent are attending this congress. The number of delegates as also the percentage of delegates attending the congress is higher than in any previous Party Congress.

259 observers were elected by the state conferences or selected by the state councils and the National Council in accordance with the decision of the Trivandrum meeting of the National Council.

The credentials committee could not obtain duly filled up forms from every delegate and observer. Some of them have not filled up all the columns. So the credentials committee had to draw up its report on the basis of information supplied by 514 delegates and 187 observers.

The bulk of the delegates, 407 out of 514, belong to the age

group 35-55. Similarly, as regards the observers, 115 out of 187 belong to this age group. In the age group below 25, there was not a single delegate and only 3 observers. In the age group above 55, there were 30 delegates and 10 observers.

Bulk of the delegates are members of the party for more than 16 years. 296 delegates joined the party before 1948, 24 delegates have been party members for more than 30 years. Among the observers, the largest number belong to the group that has joined the party in the post-independence period.

An analysis of class origin of the delegates shows that delegates of working-class origin are only 47 in number and those who came from the class of agricultural workers are even smaller—only 20. The largest number of delegates, 400 came from the peasantry and the urban middle class. The same features are to be noted among the observers. Among them, those who came from the working class are only 32 and from the agricultural labourers 7. And 137 out of 187 observers came from the peasantry and the urban middle class.

Here another fact may also be noted, that out of 840 delegates and observers attending the Party Congress, only 12 delegates and 10 observers were women.

That the bulk of the delegates came from the middle classes is also underlined by the analysis of the delegates on the basis of their education. 198 delegates have had university education and the number of delegates who have had education below the standard of matriculation is only 123. Among the observers, 47 hold university degrees and 57 had education below the matriculation standard.

While the high degree of education of the delegates and observers is a matter of satisfaction, perhaps it would have been better if we could have a larger number of delegates from our party members who work in the fields and factories. But we find that among the delegates, only three are actual workers and 65 are cultivators. Likewise, among the observers, only four are actual workers and 27 cultivators. Overwhelming majority of the delegates—443—are wholetime functionaries of the party or mass organisations. Among the observers too, 101 are wholetime functionaries.

Analysis of delegates working in different fronts shows that 229 delegates work on party organisation, 140 in trade unions, 100 in the peasant front. The number of those who work on the women's front is 5, on student and youth front 14, and on peace and allied fronts 29.

Analysis of delegates on the basis of their position in the party organisation shows that vast majority of them belong to the various state councils and only 7 of them belong to the lowest rung of the party organisation—the branches.

Analysis of delegates with regard to terms of imprisonment and periods spent underground on account of their revolutionary activities is a matter of great pride. 452 out of 514 delegates and 122 out of 187 observers have suffered imprisonment. 16 delegates have been in jail for more than 10 years, 42 delegates from 5 to 10 years and 224 delegates from 1 to 5 years. 262 delegates have suffered the rigours of underground revolutionary activity. 22 of them remained underground for more than five years and 240 of them from one to five years. Among the observers as well, four remained underground for more than five years and 39 from 1 to 5 years. This proud record of years in jail and years underground undergone by vast majority of the delegates and observers clearly proves that this congress represents the tried and tested leaders of numerous class struggles, that the congress represents the fighting masses of our country.

Among the delegates are 13 members of the parliament, 48 members of the state legislatures and 77 members of local bodies. It may be mentioned that the number of members of state legislatures does not include those delegates from Kerala who were members of the state legislatures before its dissolution.

Among the observers are five members of the state legislatures and 36 members of local bodies.

The credentials committee would like to refer to a complaint that was sent by a party member pointing out some irregularity in the election of delegates by the central party headquarters branch. By careful examination of the facts, the credentials committee came to the conclusion that there is no substance in

the complaint and that the election of delegates by the headquarters branch was valid.

In conclusion, the credential committee would like to report that 42 delegates from 24 fraternal parties from all the five continents of the world are present in this congress. Their presence demonstrates the unshakable bond of unity of our party with the international communist movement.

KALI SHANKAR SHUKLA (*Convener*)  
 JAGANNATH SARKAR  
 B. V. KAKKILAYA  
 MANALI KANDASWAMY  
 PHANI BORA  
 BIRA SINGH  
 BALKRISHNA GUPTA

*Members of the Credentials  
 Committee*

TABULATION CHARTS

	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
1. <i>Age</i>		
(a) Under 25 years	—	3
(b) 26 to 35 years	77	58
(c) 36 to 45 years	250	89
(d) 46 to 55 years	157	26
(e) Above 55 years	30	10
2. <i>Education</i>		
(a) Literate	27	9
(b) Lower Secondary	96	48
(c) Higher Secondary	192	49
(d) University (Graduate & Post-graduate)	198	47
3. <i>Class Origin</i>		
(a) Working Class	47	32
(b) Middle Class	409	137
(c) Agricultural Worker	20	7
(d) Landlord	39	11
(e) Trader	4	—

	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
4. <i>Profession</i>		
(a) Worker	3	4
(b) Cultivator	65	27
(c) Service	10	18
(d) Liberal Professions	39	15
(e) Business, Trade & Mfrg.	8	13
(f) Journalism	24	8
(g) Political & Social Work	358	98
5. <i>Year of Joining Party</i>		
(a) Pre-1935	24	3
(b) 1935 to 1942	182	28
(c) 1943 to 1948	164	56
(d) 1949 to 1962	142	98
6. <i>Front</i>		
(a) Trade Union	140	56
(b) Kisan Sabha	100	44
(c) Student and Youth	13	7
(d) Women	3	10
(e) Peace & Culture	29	14
(f) Party	229	56
7. <i>Number of Wholetimers</i>	443	101
8. <i>Number of Part-Timers</i>	64	68
9. <i>Party Position</i>		
(a) Branch	7	11
(b) Area Committee	16	17
(c) District Council	99	82
(d) State Council	330	45
(e) National Council	49*	—
	*(57 attended)	
10. <i>Mass Organisation</i>		
(a) Trade Union	175	56
(b) Kisan Sabha	122	30
(c) Student and Youth	14	8
(d) Women	5	8
(e) Peace & Culture	14	11
(f) Others	67	18
11. <i>Members of Parliament</i>	13	—
12. <i>Members of State Legislature</i>	48	5



	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
13. <i>Members of Local Body</i>	77	36
14. <i>Years Spent in Jail</i>		
(a) Nil	35	44
(b) Under 1 year	170	69
(c) 1 to 5 years	224	44
(d) 6 to 10 years	42	6
(e) Above 10 years	11	3
(f) Above 10 years at a stretch	5	—
15. <i>Years Underground</i>		
(a) Below one year	87	30
(b) 1 year to 5 years	240	39
(c) Above 5 years	22	4
16. <i>From Other Political Parties</i>		
(a) Congress	128	48
(b) Socialist Parties	69	8
(c) Others	19	8

## APPENDIX II

## WORK REPORT OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

We are presenting to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India a brief report of the work done by the central control commission since the Vijayawada Congress in 1961.

At Vijayawada the following five members were elected to the central control commission—Comrades S. V. Ghate, Abdul Halim, Uddham Raju Ramam, P. Narayanan Nair and Hajrah Begum.

During the period under review, the main assignment of the CCC was the enquiry into the functioning of a parallel centre referred to it by the National Council at its meeting in June-July 1963. In the process of the enquiry only three members of the CCC took part. Comrade Uddham Raju Ramam was in jail for a brief period and on his release had informed the CCC

through a letter that because of his illness he could not at that time join in the work of the enquiry but would do so when he had recovered his health. In actual fact, the commission never received his cooperation. Comrade Halim was in jail continuously for some months and on his release, in November last, informed the commission that under medical advice he could not join in any active work of enquiry. At the time when the final draft of the report was being prepared, Comrade Halim was in Delhi and he informed us that he could not sign the report since he had not gone through it. Thus the work of the commission was carried on by the three comrades, viz. S. V. Ghate, Narayanan Nair and Hajrah Begum.

In the process of the enquiry during the period August to December 1963, the CCC visited Madras, Kerala, Andhra, Bombay, West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and met comrades from Punjab and Delhi. In all more than 450 comrades were interviewed.

The report of the investigation was submitted to the National Council at its meeting of 10-15th April, 1964. The National Council has printed and circulated the report and we understand some of the state committees have translated in state languages and circulated it to the ranks.

Apart from this enquiry, other cases which were referred to us were from the following states: Rajasthan, Kerala, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar. These cases dealt with appeals against disciplinary actions taken either by district or state units against individuals or party units for the following offences—defiance of party decisions, violation of party discipline, factional or anti-party activity or on grounds of moral lapses. There were also some cases arising from the general elections or functioning in the trade unions and kisan sabhas.

In some cases, the party units concerned referred to us for the interpretation of the Party Constitution in such matters as the rights of suspended members or the rights of state or district units to take action against members belonging to the National Council or higher bodies.

It may be of interest for the comrades to know that one Pande who was residing in No. 4 Windsor Place and whom the

previous CCC had found to be a suspect in connection with the "leakages enquiry" has since been revealed in the Russian sailor's case to be an agent in the service of the American government.

The CCC had at its meeting on 8th August, 1961 adopted and circulated to all state units a set of rules for functioning of the control commissions in the centre and in the states but it has to be noted that in general there have been difficulties in coordinating the work of the CCC with state control commissions, as well as other party units.

In certain cases, state control commissions have not functioned at all and in other cases the party committees concerned have delayed inordinately in replying to the queries of the control commission or in carrying out its recommendations.

It should be mentioned here that the period under review was an extremely complex one in which on the one hand there was a growing defiance of discipline and flouting of established party norms and standards and on the other, under the plea of saving party unity, a hesitation on the part of leading comrades and committees to take disciplinary actions. Under the present Constitution, the CCC is precluded from initiating proceedings on its own in cases of violation of party forms and discipline and can act only if an appeal or reference is made to it by the committee concerned.

Today we feel it necessary to reiterate the urgent need for restoring proper functioning inside the party if the tremendous harm done by the past wrong actions has to be wiped out.

We would like to place the following portions of a resolution on organisation unanimously adopted by the National Council in its meeting at Hyderabad held in August 1962 for the consideration of the entire Party Congress.

"It would be idle to hope that the party will be able to combat incorrect political trends and work out a correct political line if those who consider themselves to be fighting for correct policies disregard the principles of party organisation and discipline. On the other hand, correct principles of party organisation cannot be enforced and discipline maintained if those who are fighting for the disciplined function-

ing of the party do not carry on a principled struggle against incorrect political trends.

"Furthermore, neither can the struggle be waged against incorrect political trends nor will the enforcement of correct norms of party organisation and discipline be successful unless the entire party is moved into vigorous practical action in the direction of developing and strengthening the mass movement and of building the party.

"In other words, continuous and sustained mass activity, serious and principled direction of all the ideological and political problems facing the party and the struggle for the strict observance of the norms and principles of party organisation should all be combined."

Lastly, we would recommend that the central control commission to be elected at the Seventh Party Congress should maintain liaison with state control commissions through holding periodic conferences with their members and with their co-operation, working out the interpretation of the Party Constitution and frame rules for the safeguarding of party democracy and maintenance of party discipline.

### APPENDIX III

#### NATIONAL COUNCIL

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. S. A. Dange         | 12. Chitta Biswas       |
| 2. C. Rajeswara Rao    | 13. Sarada Mitra        |
| 3. G. Adhikari         | 14. Vimla Farooqi       |
| 4. Z. A. Ahmad         | 15. N. Rajasekhar Reddy |
| 5. Bhupesh Gupta       | 16. Y. V. Krishna Rao   |
| 6. P. C. Joshi         | 17. Tammareddy          |
| 7. M. N. Govindan Nair | Satyanarayana           |
| 8. Yogindra Sharma     | 18. Baddam Yellareddy   |
| 9. Romesh Chandra      | 19. Sanku Apparao       |
| 10. Hiren Mukherjee    | 20. N. Giriprasad       |
| 11. Satish Loomba      | 21. Raj Bahadur Gour    |

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 22. G. Yellamanda Reddy  | 60. Eknath Bhagwat         |
| 23. Y. Vijayakumar       | 61. Narayan Desai          |
| 24. Y. Balaramamurty     | 62. Th. Bira Singh         |
| 25. J. Satyanarayana     | 63. Th. Meghchandra Singh  |
| 26. Makhdoom Mohiuddin   | 64. Gurucharan Patnaik     |
| 27. V. Srikrishna        | 65. Ramkrishna Pati        |
| 28. Phani Bora           | 66. Durgacharan Mohanty    |
| 29. Barin Choudhury      | 67. Avtar Singh Malhotra   |
| 30. Indradeep Sinha      | 68. Sohan Singh Josh       |
| 31. Sunil Mukherjee      | 69. Teja Singh Swatanatra  |
| 32. Jagannath Sarkar     | 70. Satyapal Dang          |
| 33. Chandrasekhar Singh  | 71. Jagit Singh Anand      |
| 34. Bhogendra Jha        | 72. Darshan Singh Canadian |
| 35. Ali Amjad            | 73. H. K. Vyas             |
| 36. Chaturanan Mishra    | 74. Swami Kumaranand       |
| 37. M. Farooqi           | 75. Manali C. Kandaswamy   |
| 38. Y. D. Sharma         | 76. N. K. Krishnan         |
| 39. Subodh Mehta         | 77. Parvati Krishnan       |
| 40. P. D. Gandhi         | 78. K. T. K. Thangamani    |
| 41. B. V. Kakkillaya     | 79. M. Kalyanasundaram     |
| 42. M. S. Krishnan       | 80. P. Manickam            |
| 43. Kameshwar Pandit     | 81. V. Subbiah             |
| 44. Prakash Kapadia      | 82. K. Baladandayudham     |
| 45. C. Achutha Menon     | 83. S. Mohan               |
| 46. S. Kumaran           | Kumaramangalam             |
| 47. C. Unni Raja         | 84. Kalishanker Shukla     |
| 48. P. K. Vasudevan Nair | 85. Jai Bahadur Singh      |
| 49. K. Damodaran         | 86. S. S. Yusuf            |
| 50. C. Janardhanan       | 87. Sarjoo Pande           |
| 51. P. T. Punnoose       | 88. Ramesh Sinha           |
| 52. P. Balachandra Menon | 89. Rustom Satin           |
| 53. N. E. Balram         | 90. Jharkhande Rai         |
| 54. B. K. Gupta          | 91. Bhowani Sen            |
| 55. L. R. Khandkar       | 92. Indrajit Gupta         |
| 56. S. G. Sardesai       | 93. Biswanath Mukerjee     |
| 57. Nana Patil           | 94. Somnath Lahiri         |
| 58. S. G. Patkar         | 95. Renu Chakravartty      |
| 59. V. D. Deshpande      | 96. Ranen Sen              |

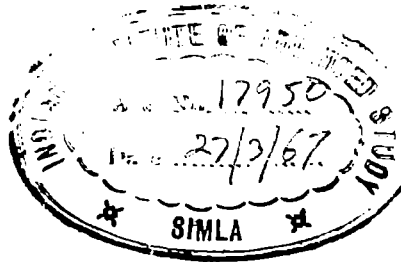
APPENDIX IV

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

1. S. V. Ghatc
2. P. Narayanan Nair
3. Hajrah Begum
4. Master Hari Singh

5. Karyanand Sharma
6. A. S. K. Iyengar

7. T. B. Vithal Rao



**PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

*Bombay 13-23 December 1964*

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**VOLUME ONE  
DOCUMENTS**



**VOLUME TWO  
GREETINGS**



**VOLUME THREE  
DISCUSSIONS**

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