

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SEVENTH CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDIA

Bombay, 13-23 December 1964

VOLUME ONE  
DOCUMENTS

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COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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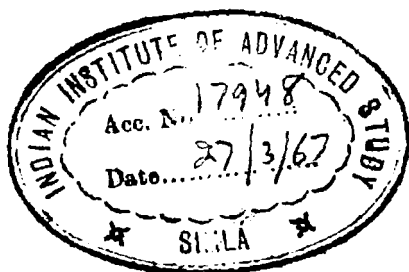
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## P R E F A C E

The Communist Party of India, being the second all-India political party, next to the National Congress, its Party Congress is always considered a significant national event. Its Seventh Congress, coming as it did against the background of a split in the Communist Party itself and a schism in the world communist movement, evoked heightened interest in the country as well as abroad. The documents, decisions and resolutions adopted by the Congress, the speeches and reports made before it and the general account of its proceedings, would be read with interest by a far wider political circle than that of its members and sympathisers. That is why we decided to make this entire essential material of the Seventh Congress of our Party, which held its sessions in Bombay from 13th to 23rd December, 1964, available to the public in three volumes.

The present volume contains the full text of the main documents and resolutions adopted by the Congress. It contains the new Programme of the Party, which sets forth a scientific analysis of the perspective and path before our country in her onward march to national regeneration and socialism. It contains the resolution on ideological controversies, setting forth the Party's stand on the main issues of debate in the world communist movement and on the struggle for restoring its unity. Apart from the Political Resolution, the Organisational Report and the amended Constitution of the Party, this volume also contains a large number of resolutions adopted by the Congress on topical developments both in the country and in the world.

The second volume will contain the speeches made by the fraternal delegates of the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries and the messages of greetings received from other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The third volume will contain the various reports made to the plenary sessions by the commissions appointed by the Congress and also give a general account of the proceedings.

We hope the present volume, as well as the two others which will be published soon, will prove useful to Party members and well-wishers and to the politically-minded public at large.

New Delhi,  
10 February 1965

SECRETARIAT  
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## THE PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

1. The achievement of national independence by India on August 15, 1947, opened a new epoch in the history of our people. This historic event was the result of long, arduous struggles by our people. From the first days of the advent of the British power in India, the Indian people challenged it through countless struggles, peasant revolts and uprisings in different parts of the country. These early beginnings of our freedom fight found expression in the first historic war of independence of 1857 that shook the very foundations of British rule in India. Although this mighty rebellion was suppressed, the freedom fight, however, continued in myriad forms. This was witnessed in the armed actions and struggles of the young revolutionaries such as those belonging to the Ghadar Party and revolutionary secret societies of Bengal, the non-cooperation movement of 1921, the civil disobedience of 1930-34, marked by the heroic uprisings in Peshawar and Sholapur and other places, the mass working-class and peasant actions, the "Quit India" movement, the struggle of the INA and, finally, the unprecedented post-war upsurge with its glorious uprisings of the naval ratings and militant working-class actions. Such heroic struggles and actions of our people spanning over the entire period of the British rule stand as shining landmarks in our people's march to freedom.

2. The achievement of Indian independence was a historic event not only for our own people but for all mankind. The vast millions of our people, whose labour, wealth and freedom had been subjected to long years of foreign domination and plunder, were now free to remake their future in the midst of a new world that was rising at the end of the Second World War.

3. The mass upheaval of our national revolution, on the eve of our attaining independence, was a part of the upsurge of



democratic struggles in Europe and national-liberation battles in South-East Asia, which broke out when the Second World War ended with the historic victory of the anti-fascist front headed by the Soviet Union over the forces of fascism. The general crisis of capitalism, which began with the end of the First World War and the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, was entering a new and advanced stage. Eight countries of Eastern Europe were taking the road to socialism. Korea was liberated. China stood on the eve of its great revolution. In Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, national-liberation struggles were raging. The colonial system had begun to collapse and crumble. Viewing the Indian national upheaval against this background, the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with the intention of returning to the attack again.

Following the post-world war upsurge and the movement for *Swaraj* that came in its wake, the platform of the national movement led by the Congress failed to provide a firm and clear ideological basis of complete national independence, secularism and social progress. This facilitated the manoeuvres of the British imperialist rulers to disrupt and divide the forces of the national movement.

4. Taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim division which they always fomented into a communal frenzy to disrupt the nation's independence movement, the British imperialists partitioned the country into two states of India and Pakistan. They conferred independence on both, with the design to keep them at loggerheads so as to weaken the independence of both and compel them to depend on their former masters for "peace" as well as "aid". Imperialism calculated to make the independence of India a "formal" affair and keep her as a satellite state in the imperialist-capitalist orbit and hamper her independent economic development.

5. The Indian National Congress, which was leading the national movement, formed the first government of independent India. The platform of the National Congress was to achieve an independent Indian state. As for the country's future, the

platform was one of developing an independent national economy—a platform that promised land reforms for the peasantry, certain fundamental rights and well-being for the working people, and a parliamentary democracy.

The British imperialists knew that a consistent working-out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality. They could not but see that if India's independence were consolidated and this second biggest country in the world, took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have a profound impact on Asia and Africa.

6. Thus, when the imperialists were making a great show of "voluntarily conferring" freedom on India, they were at the same time conspiring to weaken her independence, taking advantage of the vacillations and compromises of the national bourgeoisie. The prospect that the national-liberation movement might go out of the control of the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the possibilities of consolidating its class positions on the basis of the state power on the other, contributed to the acceptance by the bourgeoisie of the terms of the settlement, some of which were patently aimed at serving imperialist interests and weakening independence.

The partition of the country and the movement of millions of refugee populations from one state to another led to communal massacres. The invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistani forces was calculated to provide a pretext for the retention of British forces in India. Some feudal princes were instigated to refuse to accede to India and to carve out kingdoms of their own in the old feudal way. Imperialists and reactionaries hoped that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi would sow confusion and weaken and disarray the forces of national liberation.

7. The new Indian government and the people, however, fought back and defeated these onslaughts and manoeuvres of imperialists and reactionaries. Invasion of Kashmir was foiled by the prompt intervention of the Indian Army and the patriotic resistance of the people of Kashmir. But the Kashmir issue, having been taken to the UN, remained a weapon in the hands of the

imperialists to create tension between the two states from time to time and prevent a peaceful settlement.

The mass movements for the abolition of princely states, such as those in Hyderabad, Travancore and Kashmir reached great heights. This was exemplified in the struggles of Punnapra and Vayalar on the eve of independence, and later in the Telengana upsurge against the Nizam of Hyderabad. The heroic struggles of the people of these princely states led to the abolition of these strongholds of imperialist influence and intrigue. The Communist Party of India played a leading role in these struggles. In the other great struggles, led by the All-India States' People's Conference during this crucial period, the Communist Party's part was important and significant. The princely states were abolished and integrated with the Indian Union, though the privy purses and individual estates of the princes remained a drag on the national economy and served as vantage points for right reaction to hide and grow in the country's politics and economy. The armed services were brought under Indian command and the British Civil Services were pensioned off.

Despite the vacillating and compromising attitude of the Government of India, the liberation struggle of the people of former French territories in India which went on for over eight years, under the leadership of the Communist Party, became victorious, ending another foreign imperialist rule of over three centuries in India.

A Constitution based on the parliamentary form of democracy was adopted and India was declared a sovereign Republic on January 26, 1950. Elections were held on the basis of adult franchise to give an elected government to the country.

8. The formation of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union began with the establishment of people's democracies in Eastern Europe and advanced further with the success of the historic Chinese revolution in the biggest country of the world, which tilted the balance of forces in favour of socialism. This brought forth a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism. It heightened the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries and raised the national-liberation struggles to a new level with the result that the world colonial

system began to crumble fast. All this has ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of transition to socialism and of national liberation. Now it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism that determine the main content, main trend and features of the historical development of society.

9. It was in this background that India took the path of independent development. One stage of India's revolution was over with the attainment of national independence from imperialism. Our people were now called upon to carry forward the revolution to a new stage—the stage of the completion of the unfinished anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks, of rejuvenating and building a prosperous national economy, of ensuring better living standards for our people and enlarging and enriching the field of democracy, so as to open the road to socialism for them.

On this issue a conflict developed between the left forces in the national-liberation movement and the dominant leadership of the Congress. This expressed itself in a mass upsurge of the struggles of workers, peasants and the democratic masses, who demanded immediate measures to improve their living standards and to carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to completion. But the dominant leadership of the ruling party pursued the path of independent capitalist development and a policy of compromise. Further it sought to consolidate its dominant position by driving out radical elements from the Congress and causing splits in it as well as in the All-India Trade Union Congress which was the central united organisation of the working class.

## II

### TOWARDS INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

10. During the British rule, Indian economy had remained backward; it was dependent and colonial in character. But, in comparison with other colonial and semi-colonial countries, there had been a greater measure of capitalist development. India had

given birth to an industrial bourgeoisie and by the end of the Second World War there was considerable concentration of capital, increase in production in industry and growth in banking, giving rise to influential monopoly groups in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie.

11. During the Second World War, the national bourgeoisie had strengthened its positions in relation to the British monopoly capital; a number of undertakings belonging to the latter were bought out by the national bourgeoisie from the profits made from war supplies to Britain. The Indian railway system, which had belonged to private British investors and which the British government had already taken over, came into the hands of the Government of India after independence in return for a part of the large sterling reserves that had accumulated to the credit of India. Nationalised railways became the first item to mark the beginning of the state sector in independent India.

12. During the days of the national-liberation movement, democratic elements inside the Congress, including farsighted representatives of the national bourgeoisie as well as leaders of the working-class and the Communist movement, had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of India.

This idea was clearly recorded, for example, in the report of the National Planning Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1938.

The opportunity to implement such a policy came with the formation in August 1947 of the national government of independent India by the National Congress. The aim of the Indian bourgeoisie, after getting and consolidating state power, was dictated by its own class interests of building an independent economy on a capitalist basis.

Of course, India's independent economic growth and establishment of basic industries even by the capitalists went against the interests of imperialism and was, therefore, anti-imperialist in content. It also harmed the interests of the landlords and princely houses and was, therefore, anti-feudal in its direction. In order to mobilise capital resources and to expand the internal market, the bourgeoisie was itself vitally interested in a certain

measure of land reforms and restriction of feudal relations in agriculture.

13. Nevertheless, in the early post-independence years, the country's economic progress and all-round development was markedly retarded by the vacillation and compromising policies of the national bourgeoisie, which on certain vital issues signified a retreat from the accepted programmes of the national-liberation movement. This was expressed in its continued concessions to the landlords and to foreign, especially British, capital.

Further, the national bourgeoisie at the outset tempted by the offers of "aid" made by the British and US monopolists through schemes like the Colombo Plan, etc., had sought to rely mainly on such western offers for building its economy. Through these schemes and offers, the imperialists still hoped to keep India's economy tied up to imperialist finance and market.

All this explains why the First Five-Year Plan was orientated towards development of agriculture, irrigation etc., only and had no perspective of building heavy industry.

The weakness and shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, the growth of the democratic movement, the mass urge for economic advance, disillusionment with the early Anglo-US promises of "aid" and the growing influence and attraction of the socialist world with its tremendous achievements led the national bourgeoisie to establish firmer contacts with the socialist countries and to formulate the Second Plan with its emphasis on heavy industries, development of the public sector and need for land reforms.

14. Measures, like the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 which reserved all the strategic industries for the state sector, the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1949, the nationalisation of the airlines and of the Imperial Bank in 1953, nationalisation of life insurance companies and gold fields in 1956, did not accord with the policy of the imperialists, as these measures sought to mobilise the internal resources for planning growth and gave the government a grip over finance and initiated the establishment of a state sector in industry. These measures were also not to the liking of the top monopoly groups of Indian capitalists, who wanted the state sector of independent India

to be restricted to defence industries, transport and public utilities, leaving the whole field of industry free for the private sector (The Tata-Birla Plan, 1944).

15. The Second and Third Five-Year Plans took measures to establish in the state sector heavy and machine-building industry along with other lines of production, such as, iron and steel, machine-tools, power, mining, oil and gas, chemicals and fertilisers, which were so long only in the private sector. The state sector developed not only in these industries but also in finance and to a certain extent in trade. Thus the state sector becomes an instrument of building independent national economy and of weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and to a certain extent the Indian monopolies.

16. The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, refused to give "aid" for building heavy industry, especially in the state sector. They were not so much averse to lending aid for irrigation, power and such other items which helped to produce more food or industrial raw materials for export.

The Indian government, however, sought the so-called "aid" from imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, and many agreements, contrary to our national interests, were entered into with imperialist circles. Moreover, foreign private capital was invited and encouraged to make new investments in our economy. This enabled imperialists to exercise a retarding and otherwise harmful influence on the development of the national economy.

The sabotage of India's plans for building heavy and basic industries at the hands of the imperialist monopolies did not meet with success. When India approached the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for aid in building heavy industry, it was readily given. Socialist aid was without any strings, was efficient and cheaper and the know-how and technical training were given to our workers without reservation. India succeeded in laying the foundations of a heavy machine-building industry, and in considerably expanding iron and steel, machine-tools, coal mining and oil industries.

Socialist aid is distributed over vital sectors of our national economy and helps to fulfil many basic needs in the same. New

## PARTY PROGRAMME

branches of industry and projects which emerged as a result of socialist aid, go a long way to eliminate the legacy of the colonial past and reduce India's dependence on capitalist world market for trained manpower, materials and machinery. The giant industrial complexes now taking shape or expanding as at Bhilai, Barauni, Ranchi, Hardwar, Hyderabad, Neyveli and other places, stand as milestones on our road to economic self-sufficiency and independence.

17. In these years, apart from the growth of the state sector and the emergence of basic industries, significant progress was registered generally in the field of industrial development. In 1950-51 capital investments stood at Rs. 800 crores in the private sector and Rs. 922.6 crores in the public sector. In 1960-61 aggregate paid-up capital in the private sector was Rs. 1269.7 crores and in the public sector it was Rs. 2961 crores. There can be no doubt that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy within semi-colonial bounds has received a rebuff. India, no longer linked and dependent solely on the world capitalist market, has been able to advance along the road of independent industrial growth. If India had remained dependent on and linked, as before, only to the world capitalist market, she would have never been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy.

Despite her link and unequal relations with the world capitalist economy, India has been helped so much and enabled to go forward even by her partial and limited economic relations with the world socialist economy. One can imagine how rapid would have been the country's progress, if the government policies were not compromising or guided by the narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Development has been a slow halting process, extremely painful for the masses in terms of their sufferings and resulting in a miserably low rate of economic growth which compares unfavourably with that of many other underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa which gained their independence after India won hers. The obstacles that stand in the way of India's achieving full economic independence and national prosperity cannot



be swept aside precisely because of the compromising and reactionary features of the capitalist path.

### III

#### CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PATH OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

18. The outstanding and dangerous characteristic of the situation that must not escape attention is that all this is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of semi-feudal relations in agriculture. Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress party and the government, is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the state sector.

It means that this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises and serious limitations of the capitalist system and its basic laws.

19. The bourgeoisie draws the resources for industrial and economic development of India by laying increasing burdens on the common people, mainly in the form of growing indirect taxation, inflation and fleecing the peasantry through the capitalist market. Exploitation of wage-labour is being intensified in order to expand the investable surplus. Therefore, there is increasing contradiction between the growing industry and the impoverishment of the people. This impedes the development of industry itself and prevents the full utilisation of the productive capacity of industry and the manpower of the country. The rate of economic development lags seriously behind even the plan targets and recently has failed to keep pace with growth of population.

In particular, the failure to unleash the initiative of the peasant masses for an upsurge in agricultural production through radical land reforms, is one of the major factors contributing to the low rate of growth of national economy. The tardy implementation of the five-year plans resulted in serious shortfalls in many sectors of our economy. This also accounts for a low rate of increase in both national and per capita incomes.

The economy as a whole is beset with inflation, rising prices, growing grip of profiteers and speculators over the market, artificial scarcity of commodities caused by hoarders and black-marketeers and corruption on a huge scale.

This state of affairs is the inevitable outcome of Congress government's policy of relying heavily on foreign monopoly capital, of pursuing a policy of taxation and deficit financing which imposes heavy burdens on the common people and bolsters up private monopolists.

20. The national bourgeoisie in India, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists which control our foreign trade and some vital lines of production as in tea, jute, oil, etc. On the contrary, it tries to expand by inviting foreign private monopoly capital in partnership with itself.

21. Foreign private investments have trebled since independence. This is due not only to investment of retained profits and to inflation of book values to demand higher compensation in case of nationalisation and repatriation, but also due to growing collaboration with Indian monopoly capital.

The non-banking foreign private investments have now reached the figure of nearly Rs. 800 crores as compared with Rs. 256 crores in mid-1948. This foreign private capital is mostly entrenched in old and established undertakings like tea, jute, coal, etc. But many new ones are in vital industries such as oil, aluminium etc.

India's external trade is tied up with the world capitalist market and a very substantial share of her exports and imports goes to the foreign monopolies. As a result, every year many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, royalties, allowances, freight charges, interest payments, repatriation of inflated capital and under various other visible and invisible heads. This plunder considerably diminishes capital accumulation for our economy. It is through the collaboration agreements that foreign monopoly capital seeks to penetrate and dominate India's national economy, including the state sector.

22. The conditions on which so-called economic aid from the imperialist powers is secured hit our national interests and serve

the interests of imperialism. The economic aid from the west goes largely to meet balance of payment deficits resulting largely from India's unequal trade with the west. Owing to one-sided foreign trade, wherein about 90 per cent of the exports still go to the imperialist countries, our share of exports is continuously decreasing and we suffer a colossal loss owing to unequal exchange. Well over 50 per cent of the US aid has been used for importing foodgrains at high prices, compared to their internal cost of production, and the "aid", instead of helping us, hits our peasantry and development of our agriculture.

The huge rupee account accruing from the sale of the imported foodgrains from the USA under PL 480 is operated in a manner which is a menace to our independent development, as huge sums are left to be used by the US embassy as it pleases, and while still larger sums and channelled by "agreement" into private sector as foreign investments and for collaboration deals.

23. So long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given more concessions, India cannot develop fully a self-reliant national economy. Nor can the country's political life be made safe from the pressures, interference and blackmail by the imperialists who function closely linked with the reactionary circles within the country.

24. One of the most striking results of this path of capitalist development is the concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the broader sections of the national bourgeoisie to the detriment of the country's national economic independence.

It has been noted that in the capital assets of the corporate private sector, amounting to Rs. 3,000 crores, two monopoly houses (Tata and Birla) alone control Rs. 600 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the entire private sector in India.

The concentration of banking capital has proceeded to such lengths that on a paid-up capital of Rs. 39.97 crores, it gathers and utilises public deposits of around Rs. 1850 crores (excluding deposits with the State Bank of India). And it uses these to finance the industries of its own directors and related houses.

It advances credits for hoarding and speculation and holds society to ransom by enabling hoarders to create a crisis of supplies and prices.

Five big banks dominate the credit structure of the country. The top bosses of these banks and those of the giant industrial and business monopolies are the same set of millionaires. A study of 4,174 directorships showed that 44 persons held 2,000 of them and 520 persons held the remaining 2,174.

Despite the growth of the state sector, concentration of economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists has grown. They have not only a firm grip over industries but have also established a dominant position in banking and wholesale trade. In fact, these monopolies, representing a combination of industrial, banking and marketing companies have grown under the plan of economic development and are now threatening the very future of that planning through price racketeering, hoarding and blackmarketing in an unprecedented way.

Heavy concessions have been made to monopolists even in respect of several industries originally scheduled for the public sector, such as aluminium and fertilisers. The public sector is still far from attaining a commanding position in our economy. Thus the big monopolists not only hold strong positions in their own private sector, but infiltrate into the state sector and companies and banks and use "public money" for their own personal aggrandisement and profit. Together with foreign monopolists, they work for various types of collaboration with the public sector in order to secure a firmer foothold there. The government's method of running the state sector, its attitude towards the workers and towards criticism from the public, lead to waste and inefficiency, intensify strife and conflict and give rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by the enemies of the state sector. Further, the public sector being under bureaucratic management and devoid of democratic control is all the more vulnerable to the pressure of the monopoly groups.

Hence differentiation is growing within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie which is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. This is most sharply expressed in the emergence of these monopoly groups. Their growing grip over

the economic and political life of the country is coming in conflict with the vital interests of the masses, harming the interests of broad sections of the national bourgeoisie and endangering India's march towards economic independence itself. In the economic sphere, they seek to annul the dominant role of the public sector, so essential for the development of national economy; they facilitate the penetration of foreign monopoly capital through anti-national collaboration agreements. They aggravate the economic crisis by fostering price-rise, corruption, hoarding and blackmarketing through their hold over the banking system and close ties with mercantile capital.

In the political sphere they seek to consolidate the right reactionary forces in the country to bolster up the right-wing in the ruling party, they unleash an offensive against all progressive and national policies and organise an anti-communist offensive to defeat and disrupt the democratic forces.

They seek to subvert the foreign policy of nonalignment and peace and give it a pro-imperialist orientation.

Such are the contradictions and crises which the capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling national bourgeoisie engenders, proving every day its bankruptcy to the masses.

#### IV

#### CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

25. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially as most of the increasing wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen are hit by the policies of the government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

26. Not only total production, but also the productivity of the worker has increased. Yet his share in the increasing wealth has fallen, while that of his employer has risen. The rise in price

depresses the real wages of the worker. When he fights and succeeds in getting a wage rise, it proves to be unstable due to rising prices of essential goods.

During these last few years, the working class has succeeded in forcing the employers and government to introduce some order and standard in the anarchy of wages prevailing in the capitalist system by means of wage boards, commissions, tribunals, tripartite conventions and collective bargaining. Sickness insurance, provident fund schemes, holidays with pay have been secured in organised industries. A well-defined national minimum wage has been accepted in principle. The organised strength of the trade unions and the striking power of the working class have increased.

Yet, for securing the implementation of all these gains, the worker has had to pay a high price in sacrifices and struggles. The right of recognition to trade unions and collective bargaining can still be denied by the employers (both in public and private sectors). While the worker is forced to accept his obligations to production, the employer can deny his with impunity. While employment has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment is growing faster, thus depressing the living standards of families of the working people. The perpetual slums and the slogans about their clearance are a standing commentary on the housing conditions of the workers while there is no dearth in the number of the palaces of the bourgeoisie. Trade-union rights which are the essence of democracy have no sanctity and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. The result is that industrial peace is disturbed and workers have to resort to strikes and other forms of action to protect their interests.

27. Millions of our peasants live in appalling poverty and backwardness. Despite the acts abolishing landlordism, three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. Legal limitation on rents, provision of credits and loans, development of irrigation and other facilities have brought some relief to a certain stratum of the peasantry. But the high

taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or a living and in many backward areas they are treated no better than serfs.

The middle classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living and declining living standards are their lot too. In recent years, the number of middle-class unemployed has grown considerably. The middle-class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, newspapers, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of life as the industrial workers.

28. The large mass of the urban and rural intelligentsia, especially the youth, is suffering from growing high cost and the inadequacy of higher educational and cultural facilities in science, technology and arts. And not all those who are lucky in getting such necessary education get jobs due to low rate of industrial and economic growth. The problem of educated unemployed is serious and is leading to frustration and other moods in this very important class.

29. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers. Allocation of raw materials, transport facilities, import-export and capital issue licences are made by the government and bureaucrats in such a way that the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of the big business. Many small and medium industries are adversely hit and those engaged in smallscale village industries live in a permanent crisis.

## V

### AGRARIAN QUESTION

30. Agriculture constitutes the major sector of our national economy, accounting for 46.8 per cent of the national income. As much as 69.5 per cent of the total population derives its

livelihood from agriculture, which covers 324 million acres of cultivated land while 60 million acres of cultivable land are lying fallow.

31. Independent India inherited from British rule a backward and decaying agrarian system which, despite the growth of commodity production and money economy that took place during the British regime, remained under the domination of feudal landlordism and a variety of other semi-feudal vested interests. The main features of this agrarian system were—(i) a rack-rented, pauperised and resourceless peasantry which was the victim of triple exploitation of heavy rents and taxes, usurious rates of interest and a price mechanism which fleeced it both as a producer and consumer, (ii) creation of intermediaries in land by dispossessing peasant producers, (iii) primitive methods of cultivation with an extremely low level of yield per acre, (iv) very poorly developed means of irrigation and the almost complete dependence of crops on the monsoon and other seasonal vagaries, (v) total absence of modern credit facilities and the subjection of the mass of peasantry to the usurious exactions of moneylenders, (vi) total absence of any direct state aid to the peasantry for developing agricultural production, and (vii) concentration of land in a few hands. It is patent that such a system, which imposed heavy shackles on the forces of agricultural production, brought about a continuous fall in the purchasing power of the peasantry and thereby seriously curtailed and restricted the home market, could not serve as a base for the economic development of the country after independence.

32. The national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself the task of putting the country on the path of independent capitalist development. This development could not take place without the initial reorganisation of agriculture, which had to be lifted out of its age-long backwardness and freed from the shackles of feudal vested interests if the needs of a growing industrial economy in respect of food and raw materials had to be met.

33. The main aim of Congress agrarian legislation has been to replace semi-feudal relations and forms of production in agriculture by capitalist relations and capitalist forms of production.



In pursuance of this general aim the Congress governments have substantially curbed feudal vested interests through various legislative measures; they have enacted laws for tenancy reforms, for imposing ceilings on landownership, for the consolidation of land holdings, for minimum wages to agricultural labourers, etc. The enactment of these anti-feudal measures has gone hand in hand with conscious efforts to develop and foster a class of rich peasants and capitalist landlords who could become the backbone of the new capitalist-agrarian set-up and who, with state aid, could expand production, adopt modern technique, develop money crops as raw material for industries, build and sustain cooperative credit institutions, etc. But it is important to note that the ruling national bourgeoisie, being itself an exploiting class, did not pursue these aims on the basis of an all-out offensive against the semi-feudal vested interests, but through a process of compromise with and concessions to the latter. Hence, Congress agrarian reforms did not bring about a radical transformation of the agrarian set-up in the interests of the mass of the peasantry. On the other hand, while effecting certain changes in the old order, they left a considerable scope for the semi-feudal exploiting interests to maintain and rehabilitate themselves under various legal and other devices. In most cases, the positive aspects of the legislation were counteracted by negative developments arising out of certain loopholes left in the legislative measures themselves. No wonder that in the totality the gains of agrarian legislation under Congress rule have been partial and limited, being confined mainly to the upper strata of the rural population, while a large section of the toiling peasantry still lives in conditions of gross poverty and subject to multifarious forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

34. The policy of compromise with semi-feudal interests has naturally given birth to certain glaring contradictions in the agrarian set up under Congress rule. Take, for example, the abolition of statutory landlordism in the so-called zamindari areas. There is no doubt that the various legislative measures seeking to abolish zamindaries, jagirdaries, inam and such other systems of semi-feudal landlordism have affected the lives of millions of peasants and agricultural labourers over large parts of the coun-

try. Because of these measures, proprietary rights of the semi-feudal intermediaries over tens of millions of acres of cultivated land under peasant occupation and over large areas of forest, pasture and wastelands have been extinguished. The position of peasants who have thus acquired ownership or permanent occupancy rights has undoubtedly been strengthened inasmuch as they have been relieved of feudal harassments, illegal feudal levies and arbitrary evictions by landlords under legal and economic pressures.

But since agrarian legislation in this respect was based essentially on compromise with semi-feudal vested interests, millions of peasants were allowed to be evicted either forcibly on the basis of wrong land records or under various legal devices provided for in the Zamindari Abolition Acts themselves. This happened particularly in the name of resumption by landlords for self-cultivation of *sir*, *khudkasht* or *bakasht* lands, which come to about 64 million acres. Thus a big section of the peasantry got uprooted from the soil during the very process of zamindari abolition and the great bulk of them either joined the ranks of agricultural workers or again became tenants-at-will of their former feudal or semi-feudal exploiters. Apart from this, the entire burden of compensation amounting to Rs. 641 crores fell on the shoulders of the peasantry of these areas. This amount is still being realised from the peasantry by the state either directly or in the form of enhanced rents or indirectly in the form of taxes.

35. Despite the legal abolition of statutory landlordism, some of the worst forms of semi-feudal exploitation, such as subletting or leasing at exorbitant rents and share-cropping are still widely prevalent in the erstwhile statutory zamindari areas. Though self-cultivation by all categories of landholders has expanded, yet subletting and share-cropping still continue to occupy a significant place in the rural economy of these areas.

The *batai* system which forces the tiller to part with as much as 50 per cent or even more of his produce to the landlord prevails in open and disguised forms. West Bengal has been and is still, even after the abolition of statutory landlordism, a classical example of this type of semi-feudal exploitation. There a big

section of the peasantry is still the victim of a most iniquitous and oppressive system of share-cropping.

36. In the ryotwari areas, as is well known, a class of landlords had already developed under the British regime. These landlords, though they came under the legal terminology of raiyats, nonetheless enjoyed complete ownership rights and exploited a vast number of tenants-at-will through rack-renting. Tenancy reforms carried out in these areas provide for certain security of tenure and reduction of rent to the tenants: simultaneously, they provide for the right of resumption to the landlords. This right, however, became a weapon in the hands of landlords for evicting their tenants on a mass scale. A very small percentage of the tenants actually benefited by these laws. On the other hand, the landlords carried out the eviction of the maximum number of tenants, sold parts of their holdings, began self-cultivation on certain other parts or after eviction leased out their holdings again to the same tenants under various disguises.

37. The ceiling laws have similarly defeated their own purpose. There were so many loopholes in these laws for the landlords to escape that the entire ceiling legislation has turned out to be almost a farce. Big landholders sold out parts of their holdings before the imposition of ceilings, the remaining land they successfully divided up among their own family members and relations, while some land was saved by falsely declaring it as orchard land. The net result was that in no state did the landless peasantry get any land on account of ceiling legislation. The utter ineffectiveness of this legislation is seen from the fact that, despite it, a high degree of land concentration in the hands of the upper strata of rural society still persists. It is noteworthy that in the country as a whole 2.43 per cent of total rural households, each owning more than 30 acres, hold between them 28.5 per cent of the total land, whereas at the other end 82.5 per cent own between them only 27.43 per cent of the total land.

38. Despite the oft-repeated declarations of the Congress governments to curb usury and establish modern credit institutions, the vast mass of peasantry still continues to be in the grip of usurious semi-feudal vested interests. The fact is that from 1951-52 to 1961-62, the proportion of credit supplied by coopera-

tive credit societies has increased from 3.1 per cent to 8 per cent only. The rest of the 92 per cent of the credit is still supplied by professional moneylenders at usurious rates of interest. During this very period, the indebtedness of cultivators has increased from Rs. 954 crores to Rs. 1,332 crores. It is obvious that nothing short of compulsory and substantial scaling down of all rural debts, cancellation of the indebtedness of agricultural labourers, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions and supply of adequate long-term credit at cheap rates to the peasants could break the stranglehold of usurious vested interests over agriculture and enable the productive forces to expand.

39. The cooperative movement has a vital role to play in the development of the rural economy of our country. The organisation and democratisation of cooperatives of various types on a big scale can provide the mass of the peasantry with a weapon not only to fight against the grip of moneylenders, traders and hoarders, but also to make an important contribution to the strengthening of national economy by increasing food and raw material production and improving the lot of the rural population. To ensure this, all provisions of the Cooperative Acts which hinder such a development will have to be amended.

40. The failure of the Congress agrarian legislation to protect the actual tiller of the soil from exploitation of the upper classes of landholders is seen most strikingly in the conditions of life and labour of the agricultural workers who constitute not less than one-fourth of the rural population with regional variation going up to 40 per cent. This disinherited section of the population has been the worst victim of semi-feudal exploitation and the present agrarian set-up holds out for it no promise of relief or rehabilitation. Even the so-called minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers has remained only on paper. About one-half of them do not own any piece of land. More than three-fourths of them are casual workers who are employed for less than six months a year. The general level of their wage rates is very low and they receive a part of the wage in kind. The incidence of indebtedness amongst them is very high and a large number of them work under conditions of bond slavery. Most of them, coming as they do from the lowest stratum of society,

are still subject to multifarious forms of medieval social oppression. In recent years, agricultural workers in large numbers have taken recourse to struggle for the distribution of waste and surplus land to the landless, for free housing sites, higher wages, employment, education and for social equality. Any system of agrarian reforms which does not take fully into account the interests of this vital massive section of the rural population cannot possibly regenerate rural life. The utter failure of the Congress agrarian reforms in this respect stands out in bold relief.

41. The Congress governments have poured out vast amounts of money, approximately Rs. 2,000 crores, in the rural areas for irrigation projects, community development projects and national extension schemes for bringing about an increase in agricultural production. With the same aim, they have developed and expanded credit cooperatives and promoted such technological measures as the use of fertilisers, improved implements, better seeds, etc. Though all these measures have helped to develop production to some extent, the main benefits flowing from them have been reaped by the upper strata of the rural population, particularly the rich peasants and the bigger landholders who dominate the village panchayats, credit societies and the block development organisations.

42. To sum up, the social consequences of the agrarian measures of the government have been as follows:

a. Feudal land relations have been curbed: Statutory semi-feudal landlordism has been abolished in the erstwhile zamindari areas. The major part of the area under cultivation is within the category of self-operated ownership holdings while the area under lease, which constituted the major area before land reform, is now confined to a small area. The curbing of the semi-feudal land relations together with independent capitalist development of the national economy has given an impetus to the growing commercialisation of agriculture, production for the market and increasing replacement of tenants-at-will by wage-labour.

b. In spite of these changes, strong survivals of semi-feudal land-relations continue to prevail. Semi-feudal subletting in the form of share-cropping and various other concealed forms of leasing such as joint partnership cultivation, etc., continue to

exist in a sizeable proportion of the land. Usury constitutes a strong survival of the semi-feudal mode of exploitation and is still predominant.

c. Capitalist relations of production have made significant inroads into the agrarian set-up. Cultivation by employing wage-labour on the part of landowners who do not themselves take part in the labour process has, of course, grown. Many semi-feudal landlords, as well as a section of rich peasants, have thus become capitalist farmers.

d. Interpenetration of the strong survivals of feudalism and growing capitalist relations of production is the dominant character of socio-economic life in India's countryside. Concentration of land in a few hands (10 per cent of the agricultural families possessing 58 per cent of land under cultivation) is a peculiar product of this interpenetration. Land so concentrated is partly cultivated by wage-labour with improved techniques and partly sublet in disguised form. The majority of the tillers of the soil are without any landownership (agricultural workers and share-croppers, etc.).

e. The economy of the bulk of the self-cultivating peasantry has not improved and continues to be a deficit economy on account of the continuation of semi-feudal burdens and the exploitation of the producers through the market.

f. The number of agricultural labourers has grown as a result of mass evictions in the course of the agrarian reforms introduced by the Congress and the general impoverishment of the peasantry.

g. The survivals of semi-feudal modes of exploitation combined with the growth of commercialisation of agriculture has produced a new set of reactionary vested interests. Landlords, usurers and wholesale dealers, often combined in the same person, constitute the modern parasites holding up the progress of agriculture and supporting right reaction.

Though the abovementioned effects of Congress agrarian legislation are common to the country as a whole, the degree of their intensity varies not only from state to state, but also from region to region within a state.

43. The stranglehold of commercial and financial interests

over the rural market during the last several years has been tightened enormously. The price mechanism and market manipulations deprive the peasants of whatever little benefits they secure on account of land reforms and technological development. The peasant is fleeced by commercial capital, both as a producer and as a consumer. Utter instability of agricultural prices makes agricultural operations a gamble in which the producer invariably loses to big business. Violent fluctuations in the prices of commercial crops often bring ruin to millions of cultivators. The producers of cash crops which are exported are often ruined on account of sharp and sudden fall of prices, due to price manipulations by monopoly interests in the world capitalist market. Hence the question of remunerative and stable prices of agricultural produce has assumed great importance for all sections of the peasantry. It is in this context that the question of state trading in foodgrains has assumed urgency. The failure of the Congress governments to introduce state trading in agricultural commodities has not only strengthened big speculators and hoarders but has thrown the mass of the peasantry to the tender mercies of commercial and financial sharks.

44. The agrarian policies of the national bourgeoisie are now in a state of crisis. All its vacillations, weaknesses and compromises in favour of the rural and urban propertied classes are now coming home to roost. After registering an initial release of some productive forces and expansion of agricultural output, the agrarian economy has started stagnating and agricultural production is not growing. In fact, the rate of growth in agriculture has lagged far behind the rate of growth in other sectors of economy and national planning is facing a critical situation on this account. Chronic food deficits and a precarious reliance on foreign food imports have become the order of the day. In the countryside, the impoverishment of the mass of the toiling peasantry is growing. Landlessness is on the increase. To the traditional exploitation of the peasants by the remnants of semi-feudal vested interests has been added a more intensified fleecing of the peasantry through the market by big trading interests, speculators and hoarders.

45. The solution of the agrarian problem, which directly

affects the interests of the vast majority of our population, is of the utmost importance for national regeneration of India. Without radical agrarian reforms and a conscious movement to increase productivity in agriculture, it is impossible to solve the food problem and accelerate the economic growth of the country. Hence a clean break has to be made with the past by re-organising our vast agricultural sector. In order to achieve this aim, the following measures must be carried out:

*First*, elimination of all feudal and semi-feudal survivals by breaking the concentration of land through the imposition of real ceilings and the distribution of surplus land to the landless and land-hungry peasants;

*Second*, abundant state aid to the peasants for (i) expanding producers' and consumers' cooperatives, and for (ii) using modern technique for the speedy development of production;

*Third*, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions to ensure the supply of cheap long-term credit to the tillers;

*Fourth*, nationalisation of wholesale trade in agricultural produce and the introduction of policy of price-support to ensure stable and remunerative prices for the peasant-producers and the supply of all essential commodities to them at fair price; state-trading in foodgrains by taking over the wholesale trade;

*Fifth*, adequate living wage to the agricultural workers.

The Communist Party, the Party of the working class, will bend all its energies for bringing about these radical transformations in the agrarian life of the country. Basing itself on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry and uniting all sections of the peasantry in their struggles, the Communist Party will leave no stone unturned in thus putting the toiling millions of our countryside on the high road to a new life of prosperity and freedom.

## VI

### BOURGEOISIE AND THE STATE

46. The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, which upholds and develops



capitalism and capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India.

In the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence.

The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admits them in the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state levels, which allows them to hamper the adoption and implementation of laws and measures of land reform and further enables them to secure concessions at the cost of the peasantry.

In spite of the bourgeois class character of the state, the ushering in of the bourgeois democratic state was a historic advance over the imperialist-bureaucratic rule over our country.

47. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and certain fundamental rights for the people and directive principles for the state.

It must, however, be noted that although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, the people can exercise them only to a limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state in favour of the exploiting classes. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people by putting them under Section 144, even for months and years, under the plea of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The Preventive Detention Act and DIR are used against democratic forces. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against the workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights and demands in a resolute manner. These anti-democratic tendencies were further demonstrated when the elected communist-led ministry in Kerala was removed by using the arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President.

Even with these limitations, the existence of these rights in the Constitution can be made the platform and instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests.

48. Although a form of class rule, India's present parliamentary democracy has enabled the people to a certain extent to fight the distortion of that class rule in the direction of autocracy in the service of reactionary monopoly and landlord interests. India's Parliament has provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and for demanding social transformations in favour of the people such as land reforms, working-class rights, curb on monopolies, etc.

49. Within the national bourgeoisie itself, as the top monopolist groups get more and more differentiated from the rest of the bourgeoisie, a struggle grows among the various sections to get hold of the parliamentary machine in order to wield power over the budget and other economic measures, laws and policies and to shape them in their own particular group interests.

The influence of foreign monopoly interests is also felt in these developments, in which they generally support those monopoly groups and princely feudal circles who demand measures that facilitate the entry of foreign capital in the country, who demand curtailment of the state sector and the abandonment of nonalignment.

50. The monopolist groups and feudal circles represent the main anti-democratic forces of reaction in the country. Their constant effort is to exercise pressure to shift Parliament and government policies to the right. Hence they oppose extension of democracy, support restrictions on parliamentary democracy and promote bureaucratic authoritarianism.

Hence the democratic and socialist forces back the strengthening of the state sector and its democratic control, and parliamentary democracy.

51. Since there is no right to recall, the masses have no means to intervene immediately when their elected representatives are found going against their interests, except through the five-yearly elections. The elections under the capitalist regime, however free they may be, are intrinsically loaded against the toiling masses as the press and other means of propaganda are control-

led by monopoly interests, and as the ruling party is influenced by the millionaires who donate to the election funds.

Under such conditions, extra-parliamentary mass struggles become the effective vehicle of influencing and changing the course of parliamentary policies in favour of the masses and against the monopolists, which in effect means the defence of democracy and Parliament itself.

52. One of the most important problems which Indian democracy had to face on the attainment of national independence was the re-fashioning of the state structure in a manner which would ensure democracy and opportunities of economic and political development in equal measure to all the constituent units of the Indian nation—units distinguished by their well-defined territories, developed languages, history and cultural features. It was faced with the problem of eliminating casteism and religious communalism, of eradicating the curse of untouchability and caste discrimination, of ensuring rapid development of and equality to the tribal and backward people.

The imperialist rulers had divided India into feudal states and into arbitrarily carved provinces in order to prevent India growing into a united democratic nation, to prevent its various language groups from flourishing and prospering in a united India and to divide and weaken the national-liberation struggle.

Imperialism used casteism and communalism, especially Hindu-Muslim antagonism, to disrupt the freedom struggle, to split the country into two states of India and Pakistan, to weaken the independence of both.

53. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of Republican India on the basis of linguistic principle, granting full autonomy to the states so formed. The national bourgeoisie abolished the princely states and merged them in the Indian Union. But, under the influence of the shortsighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis and re-draw their boundaries on the basis of contiguity and taking the village as the unit. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the

democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

54. The Communist Party has always stood for the formation of linguistic states, for regional autonomy for the tribal people in their majority areas, ensuring equal opportunity for development and democracy to all the constituent units of the Indian Union. The Communist Party stands for the complete eradication of untouchability and caste discrimination against the so-called scheduled castes by eliminating remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression, by securing land to these people and by taking effective measures for the rapid liquidation of their cultural backwardness.

55. Although our state structure is a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the central government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy limited autonomy and power. This restricts their rapid economic and cultural growth.

56. In such a situation, contradictions develop between the central government and the states. The uneven development of capitalism in the British period has led to some states being industrially advanced and some being backward. This unevenness has not been overcome by the five-year plans, despite the spread of investments, due to the influence of the big bourgeoisie, which tries to draw all new capital to the centres of its old investments. Instead of seeking a democratic solution to these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to chauvinism and provincialism and other disruptive influences which impede the progress of each state and the country as a whole.

57. There are certain areas of the country which are centrally administered. Some of these are governed exclusively by officers appointed by the central government, while some have elected legislative bodies having limited powers. The central government exercises overall control over these areas and their heads of administration are vested with wide powers to overrule the local councils of ministers. In some areas the people have been given the right to elect representatives to Parliament but not the right to elect a local legislature.

In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct language, culture and tradition of independent tribal states. These Adivasi people are undergoing rapid transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness which finds no expression for growth in their present conditions of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union with whom they cannot get easily assimilated. They demand regional autonomy under their own guidance and control to advance their interests. In some cases they demand statehood for their region where their numbers and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility.

But the national bourgeoisie, for whom these tribals become good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who, because of their tribal conditions which are fast breaking down, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or by some concessions to their top layers. As a result, some of these areas become a hunting ground for imperialist intrigues.

Although the Constitution is based on principles of secularism and guarantees equal rights and opportunities for the minorities, these rights are however often distorted, whittled down and even disregarded when it comes to their implementation. The minorities, especially the Muslim minority, suffer from discriminatory practices in administrative, cultural, economic and other spheres of public life. During communal riots, their life and property are not given the due protection as has been witnessed time and again.

Funds allocated for the uplift and well-being of the backward communities are not being properly used. Even the law for the abolition of untouchability remains yet to be enforced to ensure the complete eradication of this evil.

58. The administrative system being based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interest of the exploiting classes. As these classes in their competition utilise their power

of money to influence the administrative organs for their private gain, corruption permeates the highest circles of authority, including officials from top to bottom, with the result that corruption has become a serious danger to public life.

Local organs of self-government, which are supposed to draw the masses into direct administration of local affairs and development and thereby provide a democratic correction to bureaucratic centralisation and which can be utilised to a certain extent in favour of the people by forging broad democratic unity, are themselves made subject to the dictates of high officials with their control over revenues, advances and loans for the work of the panchayats and their constructive activities. The powers to remove and supersede elected bodies of local self-government are used at will in order to suppress the growth of democratic forces. The so-called panchayati raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the bourgeoisie seeking to consolidate its power in the countryside.

59. The judiciary, which is an important organ of state power, is weighted against workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice, though holding the rich and poor equal and alike in principle, essentially serve the interests of the exploiting classes and uphold their class rule. Even the bourgeois-democratic principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive is not adhered to and the judiciary becomes subject to the influence and control of the latter.

60. The limitations of parliamentary democracy that exist arise from the class role of the bourgeoisie. With the growth of monopoly and right reaction, a new threat arises aimed at undermining even the existing democratic liberties and parliamentary democracy as a whole.

It is the right reactionary forces which undermine the parliamentary system, both from within and without, by making it an instrument to advance their narrow class interests and to repress the toiling masses. The Communist Party defends the parliamentary and democratic institutions and strives to preserve and develop them further, to make democracy full and real for all.

## VII

## FOREIGN POLICY

61. The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism. It conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, meets the needs of India's economic development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of people of India. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved.

In the earlier years, India's foreign policy suffered from the imprint of British pressures, an inheritance from previous dependence. But soon it underwent significant change.

62. Disillusionment with Anglo-American imperialist policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the growing contradictions between the consolidation of independence and independent development of national economies of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of the Indian state structure, the rising tempo of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and retreat of imperialism and the mounting strength of the socialist world, and the strong peace-loving and anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people brought about a new turn in India's foreign policy. The policy of nonalignment was positively formulated. There were the famous Panchsheel Pact with the People's Republic of China in 1954, and the Bandung Conference in 1955. Friendship with the socialist countries began to be developed and economic cooperation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit followed. The policy of anti-colonialism was demonstrated in the forthright condemnation of the imperialist invasion of Egypt and unequivocal support given in the UN to the resolution on anti-colonialism and the liberation of all colonial countries. The government voiced support for peace and peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament, for the banning of atomic weapons and for Afro-Asian solidarity.

63. The policy of nonalignment and anti-colonialism was

strengthened further when India took military action in December 1961 to liberate and recover her territory of Goa, Daman and Diu from the four-hundred-year-old occupation of the Portuguese imperialists, who refused to yield to negotiations. The Anglo-American imperialists disapproved of this action of India, while the socialist camp and newly-liberated countries supported the government and people of India in their just action. The policy that was pursued strengthened the forces of peace and anti-colonialism and earned for India a high place in the peace-loving countries of the world.

64. The imperialist disapproval of India's policy is also seen in their encouragement to Pakistan in its aggressive attitude towards Kashmir and its claim to that state of the Indian Union. The imperialists support the policy of creating a hotbed of tension in Kashmir by befriending Pakistan in the Security Council. As a result, Pakistan refuses to agree to India's repeated proposal for a pact of friendship, non-aggression and peace.

65. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 gave a rude shock to the Indian people. The anger of the people was sought to be used by extreme right reaction to attack India's policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel, the leadership of Nehru himself was assailed and his resignation demanded since he was the main architect of this policy. Immense pressure was put on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy of nonalignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists.

66. Thanks to the firm stand taken in defence of the policy of nonalignment by Nehru backed by the Indian people, the correct positions taken by the Communist Party of India in regard to national defence, the settlement of Cuban crisis which averted a world war, the friendly attitude of the USSR and other socialist countries towards India and the ceasefire by the Chinese after a short-lived advance, India's foreign policy survived the severest crisis it ever faced.

67. But the Chinese aggression had so strengthened the political onslaught of right reaction that for some time they were able to weaken the policy of nonalignment and anti-colonialism. The VOA deal episode, government's hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically against the extension of the operation of



the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, or rather the evasion of the issue, the joint air-exercises, etc., are instances.

68. That the policy of nonalignment has been preserved in the main is borne out not only by formal declarations but also by the fact that in the midst of the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right reaction, the Government of India supported the sovereignty of Cuba during the Caribbean crisis, continued to back the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the UN, endorsed the nuclear test-ban treaty, yielded to the popular demand to cancel the Voice of America deal, and rejected the imperialist offer of an Air-Umbrella against China.

69. The main opponents of India's foreign policy are monopoly capitalist circles having strong links with Anglo-American capital and the remnants of the feudal princely order who go with them. The parties which oppose India's policy of nonalignment generally draw their main support from these classes.

These circles get support from the rightwing inside the Congress. Thus they are in a position to attack it, both from within and outside the Congress, and exert pressure on government for a shift towards a close alliance with the Anglo-American bloc.

There are often serious vacillations on the part of the Congress government, which are not in conformity with India's general foreign policy. For example, the Government of India has not so far given formal diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic. There are marked failures in taking a consistent and firm stand against neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists (e.g., on Congo, South Vietnam, Malaysia). This tarnishes India's anti-imperialist anti-colonialist image in the eyes of the African and Asian nations. Therefore, the democratic forces must exercise vigilance and mobilise the masses in broad peace and solidarity movements to counteract these pressures and to prevent these weaknesses and vacillations in India's foreign policy.

The policy of nonalignment, peace and anti-colonialism has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction. The policy of nonalignment is a positive

and progressive policy for all non-socialist newly-liberated countries and its main strength is derived from the existence and support of the socialist camp in the new epoch, when socialism is becoming the decisive trend in world history and when imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to subvert independence attained by its former colonies.

Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.

## VIII

### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE PATH FORWARD

70. Which path should India take in order to complete the national democratic revolution, wipe out all legacies of the former imperialist rule, develop industry and agriculture rapidly, abolish unemployment, raise the incomes and standards of living of the masses, help their cultural advancement, democratise social life and take the country forward to a bright happy future?

Life itself teaches our people that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger, along the path of capitalist development which India is following at present.

71. The people's urges for rapid progress and for a better life are seen in the tremendous popularity of the ideas of socialism. Socialism goes on influencing and radicalising the minds of our people chiefly by its economic and other achievements. No wonder, even bourgeois politicians today are constrained to use socialist slogans. The ruling Congress party has even proclaimed the establishment of a "socialist state" as its goal.

72. The example of the socialist countries in successfully solving problems similar to the ones we are facing, the possibility of drawing on the varied and increasing assistance from socialist countries for India's rapid industrialisation and development, the general discrediting of capitalism and our people's own painful experience of it, the growing force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses, the advance of the democratic movement

and the increasing role of the working class in the political life of the nation—all this shows that as a result of both external and internal factors our people are wanting to break with the capitalist path of development and are seeking an alternative path. Already vast sections of our people have rallied to resolute struggles for eliminating the power of foreign monopolists, for curbing their Indian counterparts and for radical agrarian reforms, for radical changes in our social and political life.

73. The Communist Party believes that real socialist reconstruction of society, which is free from capitalist crisis, can be undertaken only by applying the scientific and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to Indian conditions.

The basic requisites of socialism are the social ownership, control and management of the main means of production, exchange and distribution, and the establishment of a state of workers, peasants and the middle classes headed by the working class. The Communist Party of India declares that this is the goal of India's future economic and political development. It leads the working people to the establishment of a proletarian statehood, a real, genuine democracy for carrying out socialist transformation.

74. In order to embark on the socialist road and begin the construction of a socialist society, India has, however, to go through the stage of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. The main tasks to be carried out by the national-democratic revolution are set forth in detail in a subsequent section.

75. But the present government, which represents the national bourgeoisie and is pursuing the path of building independent national economy along the path of capitalist development, is incapable of implementing this programme.

The conflicts and contradictions of the path of capitalist development—which we have outlined in the previous sections, condemn our country to a low rate of economic growth, to stagnating agriculture, to growing inequalities of income, to continuing low standards of living of the broad masses. They also lead to the growing power of monopoly groups which, in alliance with feudal elements and in collaboration with foreign

monopoly capital, are presenting an increasing threat to India's independent economic development itself.

That is exactly the reason why an ever-growing number of our patriotic people is asking the question: Must India travel the capitalist path? Is there no other path? The programme we have put forward is such an alternative path of development.

76. This alternative path will mean first and foremost the reversal of the present process of development of capitalism with the disastrous consequences outlined above, though it would not mean the immediate liquidation of all capitalist relations.

*First* and foremost, the grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy will be completely eliminated.

*Second*, a state sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis, will be expanded and strengthened as a powerful lever for building a self-reliant national industry and economy.

*Third*, Indian monopoly combines who have concentrated in their hands economic power in industry, commerce, banking, etc. will be broken up, and any tendency to development of monopoly will be effectively checked.

*Fourth*, the power of landlord and feudal remnants will be completely eliminated; radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry will be carried out and the grip of usurious, trading and bank capital on our agriculture will be removed.

This will open up for our people a path of development which, through far-reaching reforms, unshackles the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensures rapid economic growth, rising living standards of the masses and their active participation in production. The intervening stage can be described as the stage of non-capitalist path of development. In this stage the main direction of the economy will be on such lines and the growth of capitalism will be progressively restricted and the prerequisites created for putting our country on the road to socialism.

77. Which are the classes interested in carrying through this programme?

*First* and foremost, the working class, which stands for the

complete and consistent carrying out of this programme and which has already begun to rise in countrywide mass actions, demanding the implementation of some of the items of the same.

*Second*, the broad masses of the cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers. The completion of the radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry, as well as other democratic reforms given in the programme will unshackle the productive forces of the cultivating peasantry and enable fuller employment of the labour power of the landless peasants and agricultural workers, ensuring steady rise of agricultural production and of the living standards of the rural masses.

*Third*, the rising class of urban and rural intelligentsia which is suffering from unemployment, impoverishment and inadequate facilities for educational and cultural development under the present dispensation.

*Finally*, the national bourgeoisie, excluding its monopoly section, which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, without which it knows truly independent national economy cannot be built, nor backwardness and impoverishment eradicated. But this class is also an exploiting class in the present society and as such has a dual nature. While it strives to eliminate the imperialist grip and the feudal remnants from our economy in its own interests, it vacillates and is inclined to compromise with these elements and pursues anti-people policies.

In this connection, it is important to note, as pointed out earlier, that capitalist development has resulted in a certain differentiation in the national bourgeoisie, powerful monopolist groups have arisen, which in alliance with reactionary parties outside the ruling Congress party, as well as with rightwing elements within it are seeking to subvert national policies and bring about changes which will harm the interests of the bulk of the national bourgeoisie.

78. Thus, in order to create the instrument for implementing the programme we will have to build a National Democratic Front, bringing together all the patriotic forces of the country, viz., the working class, the entire peasantry, including the rich

peasants and agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. The worker-peasant alliance will be the basis and pivot of the front.

Such a front is not in existence today because a section of the democratic masses still support the ruling Congress party, while another section of these very democratic masses is fighting the anti-people policies of the ruling party. The National Democratic Front will arise and take shape in overcoming the main rift among the democratic masses and uniting them. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction, and strive to bring about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the government, necessary for the implementation of the above programme.

79. The working class, forging the unity of its class organisations, will have to take the initiative in launching this national mass movement. Its struggle for the defence and betterment of its living standards, for democratic measures like the nationalisation of banks, oil monopolies and foreign trade, and for the expansion and democratisation of the state sector will form a vital part of this national movement.

This national movement will attain its countrywide sweep and striking force when it embraces the broad masses of peasantry and the agricultural labourers in the vast rural areas. The struggles of the broad masses of the cultivating peasantry, for consistent and thorough completion of agrarian reforms eliminating feudal survivals, for putting peasant economy on a sound footing, for ensuring protection from the exploitation by trading and usury capital, for the expansion of credit facilities and the increasing use of the modern technique; as well as the struggles of the landless peasants and agricultural labourers for fallow and surplus land, for minimum living wage, for setting up state farms and other rehabilitation schemes for scheduled caste and Adivasi landless—all these struggles of the broad rural masses have a national significance. Their struggles for these demands are not only for raising their living conditions but also for the raising of the country's agricultural production, for eliminating

the recurring food crises and for creating a reliable base for our expanding industrialisation.

On the working class in the cities and urban areas rests the responsibility to assist the peasants and the agricultural workers to build their mass organisations and to develop their struggles as a part of the national campaign. This will bring into being the worker-peasant alliance, which, together with the mobilisation of the middle classes and the intelligentsia will be the main driving force behind the National Democratic Front.

The National Democratic Front will concentrate its attacks against the group of right reactionary forces not only in the economic and political spheres but also in the cultural sphere. The struggle on the ideological front assumes great importance in view of the fact that the outmoded feudal and imperialist ideologies continue to exert their reactionary influence among vast sections of our people. Casteism, communalism, religious obscurantism and all sorts of reactionary ideas, including those coming from western imperialist sources are being utilised and propagated to disrupt class unity, unity of the democratic forces and national integration and to undermine our people's faith in a secular, democratic and socialist future. An essential condition of the growth of the National Democratic Front is that our progressive middle-class intelligentsia, our patriotic writers, artists, teachers, journalists, etc., struggle for a cultural regeneration in an organised manner. They have not only to prevent the pollution of young minds with reactionary ideological poison, but also to inspire the fighting masses with optimism and an unshakable faith in a bright future.

The national movement will, of course, embrace the broad-based campaign for strengthening India's independent foreign policy of nonalignment, peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, for establishing relationship of friendship and cooperation with all countries, and especially socialist countries, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, for defending India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, for solving outstanding disputes with neighbours like Pakistan and China through peaceful negotiations and without interference of imperialism.

Developing out of the joint actions of the mass organisations

of workers, peasants, employees and agricultural workers, as well as of the Communist Party and other left and socialist parties, the National Democratic Front will draw into its ranks not only the masses following the Congress but also its progressive sections.

80. As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it defeats the forces of reaction inside and outside the ruling party and comes to the position of taking governmental power into its own hands.

As the National Democratic Front is born out of struggles, mainly led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the revolutionary middle classes, along with whom the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie will also play a positive role and become its component part, the front on assuming power will eliminate the grip of foreign monopoly and break Indian monopoly combines, carry out fully all the necessary land reforms and establish national democracy.

The state will no longer be the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie developing capitalist economy accompanied by its inherent contradictions and crises to the detriment of national interests and the interests of the common people. The monopoly of power of the bourgeoisie will be ended.

The national democratic state in the hands of the National Democratic Front will be a transitional stage, in which power will be jointly exercised by all those classes which are interested in eradicating imperialist interests, routing the semi-feudal elements and breaking the power of the monopolies. In this class alliance, the exclusive leadership of the working class is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists.

As the government of the National Democratic Front and the class alliance it represents, will be based on the worker-peasant alliance as its pivot, the working class will increasingly come to occupy the leading position in the alliance, as it is this class which is the conscious initiator and builder of the National Democratic Front.

As a result of our experience of the last ten years of democra-



tic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly-independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present government and of its role in building independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of nonalignment and peace, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy. Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks, even crises in the economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance with feudal elements and foreign monopoly, are seeking to subvert national policies and set back of the clock of progress.

This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working-class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups, to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful National Democratic Front, to defeat reaction and to take the country away from the present bankrupt path of capitalist development to the alternative path of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and to break the power of the monopoly groups?

81. Objective conditions are most favourable for building up a national mass movement as described above and to forge a National Democratic Front in the course of it. It is possible to achieve this by utilising to the fullest the democratic rights and liberties that exist today and by pursuing steadfastly the policy of struggle against and uniting with the patriotic national bourgeoisie. In order to achieve this end, a ceaseless ideological struggle against anti-communism is also an essential task to be carried out.

The slogan of setting up the National Democratic Front and

later the government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilising force. That is why we make it the central slogan of this period.

82. Such a state including patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, breaking Indian monopoly combines, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy to ensure the active participation of the working class in the economic and political life of the country. In this process the balance continuously shifts in favour of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, paving the way for the leadership of the working class in the state, thereby creating the conditions for transition to socialism.

## IX

### POLITICAL PARTIES

83. The Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, is the ruling party today. The role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Pandit Nehru's leadership has given it a big mass base, which extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class, peasantry, artisans, intellectuals and others.

The influence of the Congress, though much less than what it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is still vast and extensive. Thus the Congress has been and is still a very important factor in the political life of the country.

The division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the democratic opposition is the most important division in our democratic forces today.

84. The bourgeoisie not being a homogeneous class, its contradictions reflect themselves within the Congress and in government policies also. Furthermore, the contradictions between

the anti-people policies of the Congress governments and the interests of the masses, expressed in mass discontent and struggles—accentuate the political divisions inside the Congress.

As a result, differences on policies and governmental measures are growing inside the Congress. For instance, there are differences on such vital issues as foreign policy, aid from socialist countries, conditions for the import of foreign monopoly capital, nationalisation of banks, price control, state-trading in food-grains and the implementation of land reforms.

85. Centring around these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation. The formation of the National Democratic Front does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or entering into a formal alliance with the Congress. Nevertheless, no National Democratic Front would be real unless the vast mass following of the Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it. It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, directly and through common mass movements, to bring about a leftward shift in the policies of the government, to fight for the realisation of the demands of the National Democratic Front.

86. Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, there are progressive and socialist elements and forces rallied under different parties, some of them having an all-India character. Sections of the leadership of some of these parties often opportunistically ally with right reaction and nurse anti-communism. It will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party to win these elements, groups and parties for the National Democratic Front.

87. As against these parties, there are parties of right reaction.

The Swatantra Party is the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes, though these classes have not yet withdrawn their support from the Congress. They are trying to capture the leadership of the Congress through the extreme right within the Congress, and simultaneously they have set up the Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress and other democratic parties. Their aim is to reverse the policies of the Congress in reactionary

directions. The Swatantra Party tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policy and acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies. It is growing in the wake of the growth of the monopolies and the compromises of the Congress government with imperialism and feudalism.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS are not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organisations wedded to Hindu revivalism. They foment communal fanaticism against the minority community and organise communal rioting. The RSS is moreover, organised along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements.

The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal party. The Jamait-e-Islami, a reactionary revivalist Muslim organisation is also becoming more active in various parts of the country.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a party in the south, reflecting separatist tendencies allying itself with the Swatantra Party and the Muslim League on key political questions, but indulging in left demagogy, is a party that aims to divert and disrupt the democratic movement in the south.

The Akali Party is a communal party which has split into two groups with differences on important issues.

88. The reactionary organisations exercise a pull over a section of the masses by utilising their elementary discontent against the anti-people policies of the government, and playing upon backward, feudal and semi-feudal sentiments and prejudices. Very often the chauvinism and communalism of the rightist elements within the ruling party and the government bring grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary, communal, chauvinist leadership of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence.

89. The National Democratic Front will grow in strength and volume in the measure that it unleashes the struggle for the programme of national regeneration and the well-being of the masses and mobilises and consolidates the forces of democracy,

unity and national advance, as against the dark forces of communalism, separatism and reaction.

## X

### PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

90. The victorious National Democratic Front will form a national democratic government which will implement the following programme with a view to transforming the existing social-political order and lay the foundations for building of socialism.

#### 91. *International Relations:*

The national democratic government will defend and strengthen India's independent foreign policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism and firmly counteract all efforts to weaken or paralyse it.

a. It will strengthen the camp of peace by participating in common initiatives of peace-loving countries and all other peace forces for the reduction of international tension. It would fight for universal and complete disarmament, for banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases.

b. It will build solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will give moral and material support to all countries which are struggling for national freedom. It will build close political, economic and cultural relations with newly-independent underdeveloped countries. It will accomplish India's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.

c. It will work for peaceful settlement of all differences and disputes with neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon and will establish friendly relations with them on the basis of Panchsheel.

d. It will develop relations of close cooperation with the socialist countries.

## 92. *State Structure:*

The national democratic government will pursue policies and adopt measures which will strengthen national independence, territorial integrity of the country and the sovereignty of the people. It will safeguard and strengthen the secular character of the state and take all steps to cement India's national unity and the internal cohesion of our national political life.

### *Strengthening Democracy:*

a. The national democratic government will put an end to the present bureaucratic set-up and will reorganise the administration and the services in such a way as to make them subordinate and responsible to popularly-elected state organs at all levels.

b. It will concretely enforce the directive principles of the Constitution through appropriate legislative and administrative measures, particularly the right to work, living wage, free education, social security, etc.

c. It will ensure inviolability of person and domicile, unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly and organisation, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

d. It will guarantee equal rights to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality; equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex.

e. It will abolish social disabilities from which women suffer. Women will be given opportunities to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to educational institutions, professions and services.

Special protection for mother and child, both in rural and urban areas, special services such as creches and child-care institutions, facilities to minimise domestic drudgery shall be provided to enable women to participate in nation-building activities. Vocational training shall also be given to women.

f. It will abolish social and economic oppression of one caste by another, as also all social and personal bans and prohibitions

imposed by the so-called upper castes on lower castes, especially the scheduled castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion. Such oppression shall be made punishable by law. It will pursue a policy of giving financial and other assistance for the educational and cultural advancement of the people belonging to scheduled and socially oppressed castes, to eradicate these inequalities.

g. It will ensure that effective steps are taken to settle all problems of displaced persons.

h. It will strengthen the secular basis of the state, ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state is not given the protection of any rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Functions of a secular state will not be associated with religious ceremonies.

i. It will grant universal and equal suffrage to all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in the elections to Parliament, legislative assemblies and local bodies, through secret ballot. The principle of proportional representation will be adopted in all elections and the right to recall of elected representatives by the majority of electors will be established.

j. It will abolish the second chambers and such reactionary, outdated institutions and practices as the post of state governors, rule by ordinances, detention without trial and privy purses and other privileges of the princes.

k. It will establish the elected legislatures with full powers and responsible governments in centrally administered areas such as Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, on par with the other states.

l. It will extend and strengthen elected local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

m. In order to ensure the independence of the judiciary, it will take steps to bring about complete separation of the judiciary from the executive. It will ensure simpler, cheaper and speedier justice, which will be within the reach of the common

man. The poorer sections of the population will be provided free legal aid by the state.

*National Integration:*

a. The national democratic government will complete the process of the formation of linguistic states and work out solution to the problem of inter-state boundaries by the application of the twin principles of contiguity and accepting village as the unit in the demarcation.

b. At the state level, it will ensure wider powers and greater financial resources to the various states comprising the Indian Union in the interest of their rapid economic and cultural development.

c. It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages. Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments, public institutions and in the law courts. It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

English will be gradually replaced by Hindi as the medium of communication between different state governments and between the centre and the state governments.

In Parliament and state legislatures, a member will have the right to use his mother-tongue. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

Urdu language and script will be protected in states and areas where it has been in traditional use. Sindhi language shall be included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution. Provision will be made for large linguistic minorities in different states to receive education in their mother-tongue. All competitive examinations for all-India services will be conducted in all languages listed in Schedule VIII of the Constitution.

*Government Servants and the Army:*

a. The national democratic government will ensure to the employees of the government at all levels adequate salaries and DA, social insurance benefits, provident fund and pension or



gratuity, housing and other facilities. It will eliminate corruption, nepotism and such other evils that have engulfed government administrative apparatus. It will implement the just demands of government employees regarding appointments, promotions and conditions of service. These employees shall be assured of all democratic and trade-union rights, as well as the right to stand for election to all elected bodies.

b. It will ensure decent living standards for members of the armed forces, including the police, in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc. It will take care of the families of members of the armed forces who are killed or disabled and will provide them with means for decent living.

c. It will ensure them all democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, including the right to stand for election, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love for the people of our country.

### 93. *Industry and Commerce:*

a. The national democratic government will take effective steps to stop further entry of foreign private capital into the country. It will further adopt all necessary measures to bring about the total elimination of the existing foreign private capital from Indian national economy.

b. It will institute an enquiry into the anti-national and anti-people practices of the concerns of the Indian monopolists and will introduce measures to break the monopoly combines and thus eliminate their power in the life of the country. It will nationalise banks and other big credit institutions of the country. It will impose a ceiling on profits. In the case of existing large-scale industries producing cotton and jute manufactures, sugar, cement, etc., it will impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit.

c. It will rapidly expand the scope of the state sector and make it the dominant sector in our national economy, by vigorously developing the key and heavy industries in the state sector

and also by extending the sphere of nationalisation to banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines, and plantations.

It will take over industries and establishments where the industrial control measures prove inadequate to prevent mismanagement, corruption and profiteering by the capitalists and to protect the interests of the people and national economy.

It will reform and democratise the management of the state-sector undertakings by removing inefficient and corrupt bureaucrats and all persons connected with monopolists and take steps to ensure the participation of the elected representatives of the workers in their management.

d. It will give facilities to all non-monopolistic private-sector enterprises and small-scale industries by providing them with raw materials at reasonable prices, credit and marketing facilities, and allowing them reasonable profits. Special attention shall be given to help the developing industries in the backward regions.

e. It will help the organisation of handicraftsmen into their respective cooperatives and will provide them with all possible help like cheap raw materials, cheap credit, remunerative prices and marketing facilities.

f. It will abolish the present unjust taxation system where the main burden falls on the common man and will introduce a taxation system based on the principle of capacity to bear the burden. It will introduce a ceiling on profits and incomes and a graded tax system in industry, trade and agriculture.

g. It will introduce state-trading in essential commodities like foodgrains, cloth, etc., and supply them to the people at reasonable prices.

h. It will promote the formation and development of the cooperative sector in small-scale industry and distribution.

#### *Workers' Cooperation:*

a. The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of the rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will guarantee a national minimum wage based on the needs

of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

b. It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill health, and old age. It will also provide housing facilities at cheap rent.

c. It will guarantee the employees full trade-union and democratic rights such as compulsory recognition of trade unions on the basis of the secret ballot of workers, collective bargaining and the right to strike and workers' participation in management.

d. All steps will be taken to ensure that workers' initiative is fully utilised in innovations and to increase labour productivity while the interests of the workers are guaranteed in regard to workload etc.

#### 94. *Agriculture:*

The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems:

a. Concentration of land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism, by imposing effective ceilings on landholdings and by distributing surplus land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. The interests of the small landholders will be fully protected.

b. All types of fallow lands, other than those required for common village purposes, in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Long-term development loans will be advanced for the reclamation of fallow lands.

c. All land reform measures will be implemented with the help of popular committees composed of accredited representatives of peasants and agricultural labourers. Financial and technical aid will be distributed similarly.

d. The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

All oppressive debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and usurers will be cancelled.

e. The present iniquitous system of land revenue shall be abolished and a new system of graded land tax based on income shall be introduced, exempting all uneconomic holdings from taxation.

f. All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries.

Multipurpose cooperatives shall be organised which will provide cheap credit, seed, manure, pesticides, etc., to the peasants, and remunerative prices assured for their products. Care shall be taken to prevent these cooperatives becoming the instruments for the enrichment of the rich peasants and landlords.

Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing cheap electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storages for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, fruit, eggs, fish, potatoes, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

g. Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

Wage Boards will be set up with representatives of agricultural labourers in order to implement relevant laws and settle disputes.

They will be encouraged and helped to set up, with necessary state aid, cooperative farming societies vested with government land.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off-seasons.

h. State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh Farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts

of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the aid of machinery and other modern methods.

Effective measures of flood control will be undertaken.

#### 95. *Religious Minorities:*

The national democratic government will take all measures necessary to safeguard fully the religious and cultural rights of all religious minorities.

It will take effective steps to end all discriminatory practices against them in the economic, administrative and other spheres of life.

It will ban all propoganda which incites communal or religious hatred.

#### 96. *The Tribal Problem:*

It is common knowledge that vast tracts of tribal areas are spread throughout the length and breadth of our country; that the people living in those areas are most backward politically, economically, socially and culturally; and that they are now becoming conscious of their wretched state of affairs and want them to be improved. Unless an all-sided improvement takes place in their position, the advancement of our country suffers greatly and hence the national democratic government will take measures for radically improving the status of the tribal people.

a. The tribal areas inhabited by the tribal people will be given regional autonomy as parts of the present states comprising the Indian Union or the status of states as component units of the Indian Union like Nagaland, depending on the stage of development, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas.

b. Liberal financial and technical assistance will be given to the people of these areas to help them to discard the system of shifting cultivation and take to settled cultivation. Sufficient

land will be provided to them for this purpose.

Industries and communications will be developed in these areas to provide tribal people with other venues of living.

c. Full protection from the exploiters will be given to the tribal people. The occupation of the lands of the tribal people by outside vested interests will be prohibited.

d. The tribal people will be allowed to utilise forest produce freely.

e. Trading cooperatives of the tribal people will be organised to save them from the loot of the rapacious traders. These cooperatives will provide the tribal people with necessities of life like cloth, kerosene, sugar, etc., at cheap prices and ensure them reasonable prices for the produce they want to sell.

f. The tribal people will be assisted to develop their culture and language. They will be provided with free education and medical facilities, with a view to improve their cultural and health conditions.

#### 97. *Education and Health Services:*

a. The national democratic government will introduce free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage to all children of both sexes.

It will ensure the eradication of illiteracy by making arrangements for adult education.

b. It will reorganise our entire system of education; since rapid industrialisation of our country is the objective, the pattern of education will be made to conform to this aim. There will be rapid expansion of facilities for training courses for workers for the various industries and trades; and an extension of facilities for higher technical and scientific education; a coordination between the output of training, educational and technical scientific institutes and the needs of public sector and private sector industries, trade and transport and services by a system of forward-looking manpower planning.

c. It will ensure academic and democratic rights for students and teachers.

d. It will provide adequate salaries to teaching staff at all levels as well as to research workers and scientists.

e. It will put the minimum medical facilities within easy reach of the common people through the establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity services. It will take special care in the eradication of epidemics like cholera, small-pox, malaria, etc.

f. It will provide all facilities required for the organisation of mass participation in sports and other forms of physical culture.

#### 98. *Literature, Art and Culture:*

The national democratic government will assist literature, art and culture of every nationality, including tribal groups, to develop in their own way. At the same time, efforts will be made to develop their democratic content and bring them in unison with the common aspirations of the country and the democratic masses of toiling humanity.

Literature, art and culture, while eschewing the trends of violence and hatred between man and man, of subordination and oppression, must reflect the creative labour of man, the heroic struggles for independence and freedom, for better life and living for all. It must help people to overcome hostile feelings of caste and communal divisions, without interfering in anyone's religious beliefs. It must foster love of peace and hatred of war between nation and nation and abhor the exploitation of man by man.

All creators and workers of art must get special care and assistance from the state as they are among the most important builders of new society and its values.

## XI

### STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL PATH AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

99. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of national democracy and create conditions for the advance to the goal of establishment of socialism by peaceful

means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority in Parliament, backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform Parliament from an instrument serving the bourgeoisie into a genuine instrument of the people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and state structure.

100. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

101. The form of transition depends on the international situation and on specific internal conditions, mainly on the latter. The Communist Party and the working class work for creating and strengthening necessary conditions for the peaceful path to socialism by developing broad-based popular struggles for the strengthening and extension of democracy; by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them; by giving a resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements; by ceaselessly developing class struggles of the workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction.

102. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes will not relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to suppress it by lawless and violent methods. It is therefore necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twists and turns in the political life of the country.

103. Marxism-Leninism is a great revolutionary science, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of the great battle for peace, freedom and a better life; for the establishment of the most just society—communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-



Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist Party can be effectively accomplished.

104. In our time, when communism is the most advanced ideology guiding the existing socialist system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Party, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxism and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a distorted light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic forces and organisations.

105. To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience and achievements of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

106. Communism assures people freedom from the fear of

war, from every form of oppression and exploration, from unemployment and poverty, from economic crises, from tyranny of moneybags over the individual; by guaranteeing lasting peace, full democracy, general well-being and a high standard of living, a rapid growth of productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, all round spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in our country.

## XII

107. The Communist Party of India places this Programme before the people and sets forth the principal urgent tasks of the day in order that our people have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for as well as of the course of a democratic national advance.

108. Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the middle classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in a truly democratic development of the country and in creating a prosperous life for the people to unite in a single national democratic front for the fulfilment of these immediate tasks and for the attainment of these objectives.

109. The Communist Party of India devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—the great task of building a mighty National Democratic Front for the realisation of the Programme.

In all its activities and struggles the Communist Party of India is guided by the scientific method and principles of creative Marxism-Leninism. Its constant endeavour to apply this great science to the concrete realities of India and the practice of the Indian revolution as the only way to charting the advance of the Indian people to end the exploitation of man by man and to their

complete emancipation. In the struggle for the realisation of the tasks of the present epoch the Communist Party of India abides by the collectively worked-out general line of the world communist movement as in 1957 and 1960.

110. Carrying forward the revolutionary, fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and takes its place in the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Party unites in its ranks the most advanced, the most active and the most selfless sons and daughters of the working people, imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism. The Communist Party of India has no interest apart from the interest of the working class and the working people of our country.

The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country will find our Programme a correct guide and a reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course to the victory of the National Democratic Front and the establishment of national democracy.

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Since the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Vijayawada, big events have passed in rapid succession. Immediately after the Congress, the Party was called upon to implement its political line in the general elections of February 1962. Then followed the Chinese aggression which subjected the democratic movement to a severe ordeal by giving right reaction a most favourable opportunity to take the offensive. Before the country could settle down from the stresses and strains of this crisis, communal orgy of a serious dimension had burst out in several states. Finally, the crisis of the capitalist path of development, producing high prices, food scarcity, hoarding, profiteering and ministerial and other corruption of an unparalleled magnitude has overtaken the country.

During this period, the differences inside the Communist Party, which had already manifested themselves at the Sixth Congress, entered into a new phase of acute tension and bitterness due to the activities of the dogmatic section which adhered to the ideological positions and the "splitting" theory of the Communist Party of China. These activities culminated in this section walking out of the Party and setting up a rival party of its own.

In spite of this tension and split, our Party boldly faced the crisis, championing all along the interests of the country and the masses. The resolution of the National Council in November 1962 for national defence was of historic significance in the life of the Party, laid the basis for fighting back the chauvinist reactionary offensive.

Since then, the Great Petition campaign and the Delhi March, the four-stage workers' struggle, the magnificent *bandhs* in several states and the great all-India food satyagraha raised the democratic movement to a new height on an all-India scale never attained after national independence.

With the political resolution of the Sixth Congress as its guide,

the Party has emerged out of the crisis, notwithstanding the split in its ranks, with a stronger bond of unity with the patriotic forces in the country and as a champion of the interests of broad masses of our people.

In the midst of these grave difficulties, however, our Party and the country have before them an unusually favourable situation in the international sphere.

The world socialist system forges ahead in economic growth and military prowess, with the Soviet Union in the vanguard, engaged in the creation of the material-technical basis of communism.

The collapse of colonialism continues, but the battle against colonialism and racialism is still not over and is being waged with ever greater strength in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Neo-colonialism has become a major threat to the independence of countries. Neo-colonialist designs of the imperialist powers are seen most glaringly in their intervention in Congo and South Vietnam, in the US economic domination of many countries and in the creation of Malaysia.

A number of newly independent states are marching forward along the path of national democracy. The alliance between the socialist world and the newly independent nations has been strengthened.

Afro-Asian solidarity has grown. The nonaligned powers act in greater concert and exert an increasingly positive influence on the international situation.

In the imperialist countries, the anti-monopoly actions of the working class have reached new heights. Inter-imperialist contradictions have sharpened and the most aggressive imperialist circles are getting more and more isolated.

The forces of extreme reaction have received a setback, notably in the defeat of Goldwater in the US presidential elections. The Tory Party was defeated in the British general elections.

Despite some setbacks as in the Congo, new successes have been won in the worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence as, for example, the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty.

The main contradiction in the world today, i.e., between socialism and capitalism, is increasingly being resolved in favour of socialism. The stage is set for the advance on a world scale and in each country, of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

At such a historic moment, what is the position in India today?

During the past four years, the economic development of the country, though on the basis of capitalism, has taken a step forward by fulfilling certain schemes of industrialisation, etc. This has strengthened the economic base of our national freedom.

But the policy of capitalist development, pursued by the ruling party, not only heaps misery and burdens upon the people but hampers the very process of full national rebirth. The outcome of the successive five-year plans has been a meagre growth of national income and even the comparatively low national income target set in the Third Plan is not likely to be reached.

At the same time, the huge taxation targets, mainly regressive indirect taxes, have always been overfulfilled ahead of schedule. The food crisis literally engulfs every aspect of the nation's life and the people's welfare. The inflationary policies of the government have fleeced the common man. Prices rise at a galloping pace and make life unbearable for the overwhelming majority of the people. Unemployment increases.

The people's living conditions have not only failed to improve but even the meagre gains won through unremitting struggle have been considerably wiped off, giving rise to universal unrest among fixed and low income groups. The plague of poverty attacks our toiling people as never before since independence.

People's sufferings due to high prices, food scarcity, high taxation, unemployment and low income have become boundless. Discontent of the masses, irrespective of their political affiliation has grown as never before. Hoarding, profiteering and corruption have reached such unprecedented dimensions that the people have begun to lose faith in the capacity of the government to overcome them.

Monopoly groups have availed of every opportunity to put pressure on the Shastri government to change the character and direction of economic planning and remould it in their own inte-

rests, disregarding the interest of the nation as a whole. Yielding to their pressure, Prime Minister Shastri had raised the slogan of pruning new projects of heavy industry in favour of giving priority to agriculture and production of consumer goods.

While it is correct to put emphasis on the latter in view of the present crisis, it is dangerous to slow-down the growth of heavy industries without which neither agriculture nor the production of consumer goods can be stepped up in the long run.

From a long term point of view, the contradiction between agriculture and light industries on the one hand and heavy industries on the other is more apparent than real because without our own forge foundaries and machine-building industries, machinery required for light industries, production of chemical fertilisers, etc., cannot be adequately developed.

For the sake of galvanising agricultural production, progressive land reforms in favour of the toiling peasantry, nationalisation of the wholesale trade in foodgrains in order to give the peasant a fair price and bank nationalisation for increasing the facilities for agricultural credit, are of supreme importance.

The Government of India had at one time flirted with the idea of accepting the Big Business advocacy of a smaller and so-called "realistic" Fourth Plan, but meeting with universal popular opposition it has now decided to propose an overall fiscal outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores. This according to the planners will generate an overall growth-rate of 6.5 per cent per annum.

Even this inadequate growth-rate will not be realised unless its fulfilment is guaranteed by radical reorganisation of the national economy through land reform, nationalisation of banks, state monopoly over wholesale trade in foodgrains and the nationalisation of export-import trade. These measures are also imperative in order to hold the price line and step up agricultural production.

The development projects for the new Plan will be faced with the problem of resources. An annual expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores for defence is an additional strain. The extension of the state sector is essential in order to solve the problem of resources for the Fourth Plan. After an increase of indirect taxes from Rs. 980 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 1,580 crores in 1963-64, further

increase of tax burdens on the common people will spell disaster for their household economy.

From the point of view of finding resources, the real alternative to further indirect taxation is to make the state sector the dominant sector, run it efficiently and earn substantial revenue from it without raising the prices of the goods produced therein and to tax appropriately the wealthier sections of society.

In the Fourth Plan there is a proposal to augment the state sector further but it will still not be dominant enough to find resources satisfactorily. Nationalisation of banks is denied. State monopoly of the wholesale foodgrains trade is not accepted, though the formation of the State Food Corporation is a step forward.

Fraternal aid from socialist countries is another helpful source. Acceptance of Soviet aid for the Bokaro project and defence industries is an indication that this source is being increasingly utilised but as yet, it is not being tapped to the full extent available.

During the last few years, the quantum of such aid has grown but the Shastri government is not yet utilising the full opportunities available. For instance, a recent offer of the GDR government to give aid for heavy industry in India has not been accepted, though the terms offered were favourable, in order not to displease the West German imperialists.

Simultaneously, in the recent period, foreign private monopoly capital has increased its penetration and the Government of India is creating favourable conditions for its further growth, not hesitating to violate its own Industrial Policy Resolution in this regard.

For example, the import of US private capital rose from Rs. 5.57 crores in 1961 to Rs. 11.48 crores in 1962 and Rs. 17.03 crores in 1963. Increased reliance on PL 480 and other forms of western imperialist "aid" is a menacing feature of the situation.

Concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a microscopic minority has accentuated, the collaboration between foreign and Indian monopolies has increased, very often at the expense of small industrialists.

Corruption spreads like an evil cancer gnawing at the very



roots of our nascent democracy. "Black money" abounds, tax evasion proceeds apace, speculation and hoarding increase. Thus, the economic base of right reaction has been strengthened.

In the field of foreign policy, nonalignment, peaceful coexistence and anti-colonialism continue to be the basic approach of the government, having withstood the terrible test of Chinese aggression, which encouraged right reaction to go on the rampage against it, though these policies were then weakened.

Friendship with the Soviet Union, closer links with Afro-Asian states and nonaligned powers characterise an important aspect of the government's foreign policy. The adherence to the Cairo Declaration and the refusal to deviate from the policy of using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes are positive features.

It is specially to be noted that in the present period, democratic unity has been reinforced in defence of the nation's foreign policy, with leading Congressmen and government personalities also playing an important role, through mass actions and campaigns as, for example, against the "air-umbrella" and "Voice of America"; in which the democratic masses following the Congress also took part.

Nevertheless, serious weaknesses and vacillations have developed, especially in the direction of soft pedalling the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, in refusing to energetically protest against the provocative manoeuvres of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean and the open US intervention in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Congo.

India is far from playing the role of pioneer and initiator in the Afro-Asian and nonaligned world and sometimes drags its feet. On Malaysia, the Government of India has taken a stand which only helps the neo-colonial designs of British imperialism. In the Commonwealth Conference, the weak and vacillating stand taken by the representative of the Indian government disappointed the Afro-Asian countries.

National defence has become one of the major problems facing the entire people and the government. This has led to the renewed danger of Anglo-US imperialist pressures and interventions on the pretext of rendering so-called military "aid" to India.

The Government of India, having embarked on a big defence programme costing Rs. 8 to 9 hundred crores a year, is liable to make serious concessions and compromises on this, as is evidenced, for example, by the facilities given to Anglo-US military officers to inspect our border areas where arms supplied by them are in use and the assurance that these arms would not be used against any aggressor other than China.

The Government of India's defence policy, however, remains basically nonaligned. It has rejected the idea of defence pacts with the imperialists and refused to permit foreign bases on Indian soil. It has sought to develop the country's independent defence potential by seeking assistance from socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, as well as from the western powers.

Outstanding in this connection is the MIG factory agreement, which vividly contrasts with the imperialist reluctance to supply vitally necessary heavy equipment and technical know-how. This opens the possibility of overcoming to some extent the dependence on imperialist powers.

The democratic forces, however, must maintain constant vigilance to ensure that our national sovereignty is not jeopardised in any way in the name of securing so-called western "aid" for national defence.

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 right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, the government has made dangerous anti-people concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights, etc.

But in the 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.

But the contradictions inherent in the situation, the growing conflict between imperialism and the Indian people including

the national bourgeoisie, the policies pursued by the socialist countries to help India in her economic development and people's capacity to resist reactionary changes, are potentially stronger deterrent factors.

In this new situation, the vigilance of the organised democratic movement and active intervention of the Communist Party and other progressive democratic forces have assumed new importance. The task of building up the unity of democratic forces for the defence of India's progressive policies and for a shift to the left can no longer be ignored, except at the peril of India's future.

The contradiction between the democratic masses and the ruling class, including its government, has sharpened in the recent past and the prospect is of its further sharpening, as the crisis of people's suffering born out of capitalist development unfolds itself more and more. The differences inside the Congress party are also beginning to grow.

Under these conditions, the most favourable opportunity exists for bringing about a shift to the left in governmental policies by uniting all progressive democratic forces. This will give the rebuff to the machinations of right reaction including the communal forces.

The results of the third general elections show a shift in favour of the parties of right reaction. While the CPI not only maintained its position but also slightly gained, the ruling party lost mainly to parties of right reaction, as a result of which they emerged more united and consolidated. In some by-elections that followed, the Congress in spite of maintaining its dominant position, has lost more to the right than the left. All the rightist forces both inside and outside the Congress are being more and more consolidated.

Their drive for extending the private monopoly sector, for abandoning nonalignment, for taking India into the imperialist war bloc, for a nuclear shield and imperialist protection, for eschewing land reform and reversal of all progressive measures is being sought to be strengthened by taking advantage of the people's growing discontent against government's anti-people policies and the continued deadlock on the northern frontier.

Systematic refusal by China to accept the Colombo proposals as the basis for starting talks for the settlement of the border question is bringing grist to the mill of the right reactionaries and their foreign collaborators.

During this period, the forces of communal reaction have also strengthened their position; they seriously endanger India's security and democracy. Right reaction has exploited casteism which has a powerful grip on the people today.

But at the same time experience has shown that mass campaigns and struggles led by the democratic forces against the anti-people policy of the government reduce considerably the capacity of right reaction to mislead the masses.

At the same time, the democratic forces in the Congress have become more vocal and active, advancing alternative democratic slogans. This was reflected in the Bhubaneswar Congress discussions and later in the Congress Workers' Convention held at Delhi. They are groping towards internal unity as well as joint activity with other sectors of the democratic movement.

The participation by a large number of Congress leaders in the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in Delhi and the participation of the official youth organisation of the Congress in the National Youth Forum reflect the growing strength of the democratic forces inside the Congress.

Congress masses also have moved in the struggles launched by left parties on issues like food, high prices, nationalisation of banks, etc.

These are welcome developments, but such forces are still weak and only in the preliminary stage of crystallisation.

Under the impact of the crisis and due to the weakness of the democratic forces inside the Congress, the ruling party has reached a new stage of factional conflict in different states as well as at the centre. These factions have at times used the people's discontent in some states. The political prestige and the mass influence of the Congress, though still very extensive, has fallen appreciably.

These factional conflicts, combined with increasing exposure of ministerial corruption, continue to reduce the mass popularity

of the Congress and undermine its unity. This will lead to a situation of instability, frequent political crises in some states, as has already happened in Kerala. Unless the democratic forces unite and intervene, the situation will be successfully exploited by right reaction.

In the recent period, the forces of communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism have posed new dangers to the unity of our nation and to our secular democracy. Disunity and discord provide a fertile soil for the growth of right reaction and constitute a serious obstacle to the building of the National Democratic Front.

The failure of the government to rectify regional imbalances, to implement the three-language formula and to curb the tendencies of casteism and communalism which are utilised by the ruling party itself, has further accentuated the problem.

The refusal to consistently implement the principle of linguistic states has helped the spread of linguistic chauvinism and bitterness. The utter inability to solve the problems of the tribal peoples has encouraged fissiparous tendencies and separatist trends.

The richest heritage of our national movement—the unity of our motherland—faces the serious threat of being dissipated and undermined.

Democratic unity at the mass level and from below has grown in the recent period. National slogans like nationalisation of banks and state-trading in foodgrains advanced by the Communist Party and popularised through mass struggles of the working people, have won wide support. The democratic masses, including working women have moved into action as in the food satyagraha and the *bandhs*, with determination and unity.

The working class has moved not only in the interest of its own demands but has played an increasing role of initiator and unifier of the struggles of the masses, under the leadership of the Party and the trade unions of the AITUC acting in unity with other trade union centres. But working-class unity is yet to be achieved, though some advance has been registered through the *bandh* actions.

Large sections of middle-class employees like government em-

ployees, bank employees, teachers, professors, doctors and pilots have come forward in strike struggles and other forms of mass action, as never before.

Simultaneously, the mass movement of the urban middle class against price rise through the building up of consumer co-operatives and other forms of resistance against high prices have begun to develop in the big cities. The urban middle class is in ferment and restive.

The task of the Party is to forge living links with the masses including those sections who have not yet moved into action and develop these movements, giving them an organised character. Conscious, fraternal efforts must be made to bring about the widest possible unity of all democratic forces, including Congressmen and Congress committees, to make them participate in the common movement, in any form of organised activity that can serve the interests of the people against the price-rise, food scarcity, blackmarket and corruption.

The peasants have also gone into action in the form of satyagraha, but it is clear that the peasant movement is lagging behind and the All-India Kisan Sabha has become almost inactive and defunct. This weakness on the peasant and agricultural labour front is a serious handicap to the democratic movement as a whole and it sharply reduces its sweep and striking power.

The Congress agrarian reforms like tenancy legislations and the ceiling acts have not solved the land problem in the interests of the peasantry. Because of the loopholes in the tenancy acts millions of tenants have been evicted and thrown out. Even today millions of tenants-at-will and sharecroppers have not got security of tenancy. The ceiling acts have proved to be a failure. Ten per cent of the agricultural families even now possess 58 per cent of the land under cultivation.

The peasant is robbed both as a producer and as a consumer through market manipulations. The Reserve Bank of India Report has proved that the agricultural debt burden has grown in the recent years. Cheap credit is not available to the vast majority of the peasantry. Huge tax burdens are levied. Unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas, by and large, is on the increase.

The minimum wages acts have not been properly implemented. Even where the wages have been fixed they are much lower than the existing rates. In many parts of the country the agricultural labourers are still suffering from debt bondage, home-stead bondage, social oppression and other forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

The government has miserably failed to distribute even the waste lands to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. An overwhelming majority of agricultural labourers do not possess house sites even. The solution of these problems brooks no further delay.

The urgent necessity of increasing agricultural production and of national regeneration in the countryside demand their immediate solution. An all-India mass campaign and struggle should be organised for the solution of the above burning problems. The Kisan Sabha must be revived and agricultural workers organised in order to galvanise the peasant masses into action.

In the coming period, this must constitute the most important task of the Party throughout the country. Only by discharging these tasks can peasant unity be built up and workers' and peasants' alliance forged as the main lever of the democratic movement and the National Democratic Front.

Despite semi-feudal relations and oppression, consciousness among the women of India is rising. Participation of women in the kisan and workers' struggles, in the food satyagraha all over the country is worth mentioning. It has been clearly demonstrated in the increasing discontent against rising prices, which found expression in demonstrations, *morchas*, etc. by all sections of women, including housewives and middle-class women.

Under these circumstances it has become an urgent task to build a strong movement of all sections of women—housewives and working women in factories and farms—at all levels, in the form of mass organisations and to activise and strengthen the existing organisations.

The sentiment for unity of all the forces of the left has acquired new impetus and is exerting its beneficial influence on the organised forces and parties of the left. But anti-communism

pursued by the leadership of the SSP and some other parties of the left, continues to be detrimental to unity of action.

Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, the SSP which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character.

Before the merger, the rightwing leaders of the PSP and SP often sided with the parties of right reaction and were notorious for anti-communism. Even after the merger, one section of leadership continues to toe the line of right reaction.

But the rank and file members of the party and a section of leadership are genuine lefts, despite their anti-communist prejudices. It will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party to win this party, as the other left parties, for the National Democratic Front.

At the same time, fraternal criticism has to be made of the anti-communist prejudices of a section of the leadership of the SSP and of the tendency for all manner of opportunist alliances, even with parties of right reaction including communal forces.

At such a time, the split engineered in the CPI by the dogmatic section will exert a negative influence on the work of building democratic unity for mass action. After having split the Party, they now threaten the unity of the AITUC. The Party must combat these disruptive trends and preserve the unity of the trade unions and other mass organisations.

In spite of all the disruptive and non-communist methods and language of the rival party leaders, the CPI will adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. The CPI will spare no effort in trying to draw the rival party into joint mass campaigns, while simultaneously exposing its wrong ideology, policies and organisational methods.

The CPI is confident that in this manner, learning from their own experience, an increasingly large number of those who have temporarily gone with the rival party will once again take their due place in the ranks of the CPI.

In this complex situation, the CPI sets itself the immediate task of going all-out to build and consolidate the unity of all democratic and socialist forces for the defeat of right reaction, for reversing the anti-people policies of the government and for



bringing about a shift to the left. It appeals to all the left parties, to all progressive forces and personalities, including democratic Congressmen, to join together to discharge this sacred national task at this moment of peril and promise.

The CPI will carry forward to still higher levels its own independent mass mobilisation and struggles, both on a local and all-India scale. It will carry forward the achievements of the all-India campaigns, the satyagraha and the *bandhs*, to the stage of *Bharat Bandh* combined with countrywide, peaceful mass peasant actions. It will work for united mass action wherever possible, and convergent action wherever necessary.

It will spare no effort to build and strengthen the mass organisations of the workers, peasants, youth, toiling intelligentsia, women and students on the widest possible united basis. In order to discharge its duty to the nation and the people, it will continuously strive to consolidate itself ideologically, politically and organisationally and to build a strong mass Communist Party.

As a way out for the people and in order to effect a breakthrough, the CPI advances the following immediate platform of action. It is willing to discuss any and all items of this platform with any democratic party, group or personality in order to facilitate mutual understanding and for joint mass campaigning and action:

1. Institute state monopoly of the wholesale trade in foodgrains, with reasonable, assured prices for the peasants and a fair price for the consumer; introduce statutory rationing in all cities and towns and deficit states, like Kerala; open consumers' cooperative stores, fair price shops in urban and rural areas and guarantee regular supply of foodgrains and other essential goods to them.

2. Develop an all-India food production drive by distributing fallow lands to agricultural labourers and poor peasants; by granting occupancy rights to tenants-at-will and sharecroppers other than the holders of land belonging to the rural poor and the poor toilers of the towns; by fixing fair rents; by amending ceiling acts in favour of the peasantry and implementing them immediately; by opening state farms wherever possible as

in Suratgarh, by increased facilities for the toiling peasants to improve cultivation through irrigation, fertilisers and adequate credit; by expansion and democratisation of the cooperative movement; by providing debt relief to the peasants and agricultural labourers; by securing a minimum wage and providing house sites for the agricultural labourers; by assuring fair prices for agricultural goods as well as supply of industrial goods at controlled rates.

3. Secure higher wages and increased bonus for industrial workers and middle-class employees and link their DA with the corrected cost of living index; ensure trade-union and democratic rights for the working class in both the private and state sectors and for all government employees; secure opening of cheap price shops for supply of essential commodities in all factories and establishments employing 300 or more persons; develop and promote TU unity and united actions of the working class.

4. Nationalise banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines and plantations; impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit in the case of existing large-scale industries like cotton and jute manufactures, sugar, cement, etc.; take over industrial units and establishments where industrial control measures prove inadequate to prevent mismanagement, corruption and profiteering; democratise the working and management of the public sector.

5. No further taxes on the people; increase taxes on the higher income groups and profits above the bank rate; cancel the privy purses and all princely privileges: reduce the existing unbearable taxes on essential commodities and reduce their prices to a reasonable level; direct tax burdens on peasants to be reduced and uneconomic holdings exempted from land revenues.

6. Remove and punish corrupt ministers and officials; take over companies guilty of swindling public money; take effective steps to unearth black money and to prevent tax evasion; ban forward dealings in futures and forward markets.

7. Lift the emergency, scrap the DIR, release all political prisoners and detenues and restore fundamental rights.

8. Promotion of communal harmony, secularism and national integration; ban all communal propaganda; ban the RSS; take effective steps for the security of the life and property of the minorities; take adequate measures for the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan; campaign against casteism.

9. Take adequate measures for the uplift of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and tribals.

10. Defend and develop the national policy of peace and disarmament, nonalignment and anti-colonialism and move forward to the government's implementation of the Cairo Declaration.

11. Work for the settlement of the conflict with China on the basis of the Colombo proposals.

12. Work for friendship with Pakistan through bilateral talks for the solution of all outstanding problems.

13. Stop all cuts in allocations for health, education and other social services; introduce the regional language as the medium of instruction up to and including the university stage; ensure adequate salaries for teachers and for doctors in government hospitals.

14. Take effective and immediate measures for the democratisation of the state machinery, basing on the principle of decentralisation and with more powers and finance to the elected panchayats and other local bodies.

15. Establish full-fledged responsible governments in the centrally administered areas of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi on a par with other states.

16. Break the Congress monopoly of power to form a government of all progressive parties, groups and individuals in which ever state the situation permits, in the first place in Kerala, without any alliance with communal parties.

With this immediate platform of action, the Communist Party of India will go to the people, organise them and lead them into battle, together with all other democratic and left parties, to take a gigantic step forward towards the completion of the national democratic revolution, for genuine national regeneration and for building up the National Democratic Front.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India calls

upon all the people, including Congressmen who desire to carry forward the best traditions of the national movement, towards democracy, progress and prosperity, to come forward in multifarious activities for national regeneration.

Together we must combat and rout the forces of corruption, decay and parasitism born out of the remnants of feudal social relations, the new growth of the monopolies and imperialist machinations. The sufferings of the people and dangers threatening the progress of the country must make any party and group subordinate their narrow party interests and rivalries to the supreme interest of the nation as a whole.

The socialist forces of the world are marching ahead and the hitherto dark regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been roused and are taking forward strides. India shall not lag behind.

## **IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

Since the Sixth Congress of our Party, which took place almost immediately after the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, the international communist movement has been passing through bitter and prolonged ideological controversies. These controversies which came out into the open in 1960 assumed particularly serious dimensions with the publication of an alternative general line for the world communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the form of its June 14, 1963 letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

The National Council of our Party critically examined and appraised this general line as a clear repudiation of the unanimously worked out common line of the world communist movement embodied in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. The attempt by the CPC leadership to push this alternative line and impose it on the fraternal parties created an unprecedented situation and brought the international movement almost to the brink of a split. That situation, unfortunately, still continues.

Like many other fraternal parties, our own Party too was seriously affected by this ideological offensive of the CPC leadership and its open call for splits. Splitting activities which have accompanied the propagation of this alternative line have been sought to be justified in the name of purity of Marxism-Leninism.

When the collective line of the world communist movement was thus openly challenged and assailed, it became naturally incumbent upon Marxist-Leninist parties to defend the common line—the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. This became necessary not only for discharging their responsibilities towards world communist movement, but also for carrying out their tasks as national contingents of that movement in their respective countries.

The ideological struggle for upholding the Declaration and the Statement in the face of open attack on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of China became inseparable in the capitalist world from the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This has been confirmed by the experience of our own Party and the ideological struggles it has had to wage within its ranks.

The alternative general line of the CPC leadership found its most crude and destructive expression in relation to our country. Disregarding the fact that India is a nonaligned country adhering to the peace zone, to which China was allied by principles of Panchsheel, the Chinese armies made massed military attacks across the MacMahon Line in an attempt to solve the India-China border problem by armed force.

This had already been preceded by open interference by the Chinese Party in the affairs of our country in the form of pronouncements about the character of the Indian government which went contrary to the declared decisions of our Party at its Vijayawada Congress. Chinese aggression against our country was followed by open slanderous attacks against our Party and call to split it, in the form of the article "Mirror for Revisionists".

The narrow-nationalistic and chauvinist attitude taken up by the Chinese leadership on the border question and its attempt to solve it by armed force caused a major setback to our democratic movement as it created opportunities for the forces of domestic reaction to strengthen themselves and gain vantage positions in the country's political life. This made the struggle against the erroneous ideological and political positions of the CPC leadership all the more urgent in the case of our Party.

As far back as 1959, our Party had drawn the attention of the CPC leadership to their incorrect attitude towards the border question. We subsequently raised the question at the 81 Parties' Conference as well.

It was under such circumstances that our Party came out openly to refute the Chinese line, save the democratic movement of our country from the disastrous repercussions of that line and defend the integrity and unity of our Party.

The National Council of our Party took note of the June 14 CPC letter and reaffirmed our Party's firm adherence to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The Council repudiated the positions of the CPC leadership. In its report "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement" the National Council of our Party again comprehensively discussed the ideological issues and placed its views for discussion by the entire Party as part of the preparation for the Seventh Party Congress. This report has been discussed by many Party conferences at different levels and the discussions have given general approval to the positions taken by the National Council on all questions of principle.

The Seventh Congress notes with satisfaction that these conferences have once again reaffirmed, through free and frank discussions, the Party's complete identification with the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties in upholding the programmatic documents of the world communist movement—the Declaration and the Statement.

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to recall that the Fourth Congress of our Party had acclaimed the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a new stage in the international communist movement. Later, the National Council of the Party similarly highly appraised the decisions of the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement were acclaimed warmly in the ranks of our Party.

At the same time it must be emphasised that no effective steps were taken to conduct any ideological discussion among the Party ranks with the result that, despite formal acceptance of the conclusions of the CPSU Congresses and of the two Moscow meetings of the world communist movement, the Party ranks remained by and large in the dark as to their full meaning and significance. The ideological struggle within the Party was not undertaken, not even when the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 were being challenged by a section of the leadership within the Party. Further until mid-1963 even crucial documents on vital issues of the

world movement including a full and proper report of the proceedings of the 81 Parties' Conference as well as of the stand of the Indian delegation on the Sino-Indian border question were not made available to the ranks of the Party. This failure to draw the Party members into discussions on ideological issues contributed in no small measure in making the Party vulnerable to alien trends and splitting activities.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party deems it necessary to emphasise the supreme importance of drawing the entire Party ranks into ideological discussions, organised on the basis of making all important material available to the entire Party ranks, of conducting principled ideological struggles within the Party and equipping and strengthening the entire Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On the basis of the pre-Congress discussions which have taken place in the ranks of our Party the Seventh Congress deems it necessary to sum up and conclude the results of these discussions by restating and re-affirming the positions of our Party in regard to the major issues of controversy, namely, the character and significance of the new epoch, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, national-liberation movement, national democracy, forms of transition to socialism, cult of personality, the unity of the socialist camp and world communist movement.

In regard to all these vital questions, our Party disagrees with the positions taken by the CPC leadership and considers its alternative line as a repudiation of the line of the world communist movement. In the course of the discussion within our Party, the positions of the CPC leadership have been appraised as dogmatic and disruptive and spelling out great dangers for the world communist movement as a whole and particularly for the communist parties in the capitalist countries, and the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence. Both in theory and practice, the line of the CPC leadership suffers from narrow nationalistic and even chauvinistic distortions.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI attaches the greatest importance to the correct understanding of our present new epoch. The definition of the epoch is essential for the working out of



the strategy and tactics of the movement as a whole and equipping every Marxist-Leninist party for fulfilling in the most effective manner the revolutionary role assigned to it, in all countries and in all situations.

It is of fundamental importance to recognise that the main content of our epoch is transition from capitalism to socialism. Similarly, it is also to be understood and accepted that the most distinctive feature of the present epoch is that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. It is not correct, therefore, to describe the present epoch merely as an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The main content of the present epoch and its distinctive feature have given rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. Our own experience is that the refusal to fully accept the definition of the epoch given in the Moscow Statement results in dogmatism in theory and sectarianism in practice. It comes in the way of utilising new opportunities for advancing the cause of the working class and the democratic movement.

The Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the definition of the epoch as given in the Moscow Statement and enjoins upon all Party ranks to keep this definition constantly in view in the context of theoretical work and practical activities of the Party in the mass movements of our country.

The Seventh Congress of the Party rejects all theoretical propositions that are based on the denial of the fact that the main contradiction in modern society is that between capitalism and socialism. Even before the world socialist system came into existence, this was the main contradiction and it is now immensely sharpened and has become all the more pronounced as a result of the advent of socialism as a world system and of the advance of the contemporary international working-class movement.

The focal points of world contradiction are naturally concentrated where the most powerful and organised forces of socialism stand face to face against the forces of imperialism. This means that the contradiction between the world socialist

system and the world capitalist system constitutes the focus of the contradictions of modern times.

It is incorrect to treat the contradiction between imperialism and the national-liberation movements, notwithstanding all their revolutionary potentialities, as the main contradiction of our time. Hence it is also not correct to say that the focal points of the world contradictions lie in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national-liberation struggles against imperialism are in progress, even though these may be areas where imperialism is most vulnerable.

These national-liberation struggles are delivering shattering blows to imperialism but then the fact remains that the decisive role in the world revolutionary process today is played most definitely by the working class and its chief creation—the world socialist system. Our own experience in the struggle against overcoming the legacies of imperialism and in achieving economic independence confirms this understanding.

The Moscow Declaration highlights the importance of the emergence of the “peace zone” comprising the socialist countries and newly-liberated nonaligned nations. Our Party fully acknowledges the positive role of this peace zone in the world-wide struggle for peace and against colonialism. The Party Congress considers that it is the duty of all communists, to work for expanding and strengthening the peace zone.

To negate or even underestimate the role of the peace zone is to restrict and weaken the anti-imperialist struggle, the common front against imperialism. The stand of the CPC leadership in this regard, particularly in relation to India, which is a vast country in the peace zone, means a virtual negation of this concept. Worse still, it weakens and undermines the peace zone instead of expanding and consolidating it.

Our Seventh Congress rejects the concept of the so-called “intermediate zone” put forward by the CPC leadership as contrary to the understanding of the Declaration and the Statement. It is one thing to recognise that inter-imperialist contradictions do exist and are growing, and to utilise those, but it is quite a different matter to put forward, out of this, the concept of the “intermediate zone”.

This erroneous concept which separates the USA from other imperialist powers and puts the latter in the same category with the non-imperialist capitalist countries and even newly-liberated, nonaligned nations, overlooks the military blocs created by the imperialist powers such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO and underestimates the dangers posed by the imperialist bloc.

This unrealistic and artificial concept also underplays the neo-colonialism of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan and so on. It goes without saying that the spearhead of these imperialist alignments and their military blocs and their bases is directed, first and foremost, against the countries of the socialist camp as also against other countries, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese theory of the "intermediate zone" in reality weakens the struggle against imperialism. Not only that, in practice it has been a cover for the most opportunist and unprincipled alliances in the field of foreign policy. The most crude expression of this has been the policy of China towards Pakistan, China's open tributes to the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan, her defence of Pakistan's membership of the SEATO imperialist war bloc, and her indirect support to Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir in the name of self-determination.

One of the most important questions over which the controversy in the international communist movement has arisen is that of world war and peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI entirely endorses the call of the international communist movement to regard the fight for peace as the prime task of all communists. Our Party fully recognises the new possibilities which have grown and are further growing day by day for preventing a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. The correlation between the forces of peace and those of war and aggression is constantly changing in favour of peace and against war. Hence it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to put equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and of its breaking out.

All this, however, does not mean that imperialism has changed its aggressive nature, or that the danger of war does not exist,

or is not serious. It only means that the forces have arisen in the world arena today which can, by their united efforts, curb imperialism and prevent it from unleashing another world war.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI stands on all fours with the rest of the communist movement in maintaining that the only alternative to destructive war is peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and looks upon the struggle to compel imperialist powers to accept this as of vital importance for freeing mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear war and for ensuring durable peace. Peace is clearly an ally of socialism and of progressive causes.

The experience of our people in their struggle against imperialism and for national regeneration has fully confirmed this proposition.

In the struggle for peace, the greatest role is naturally assigned to the countries of victorious socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence has been very aptly regarded as the "cornerstone" and "foundation" of the foreign policy of socialist countries. It is but logical that this policy of peaceful coexistence should be regarded as the general line of the foreign policy of all socialist countries. Nonacceptance of this by any socialist country cannot but lead to serious mistakes of adventurism in foreign policy and weaken the struggle against imperialism and for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Seventh Congress of our Party understands the slogan of complete and general disarmament as a fighting slogan of the masses and rejects the defeatist view that it is an "illusion" to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. It fully endorses the confident line of the world communist movement that by active and resolute struggle, imperialism can and must be made to meet the demand for disarmament.

The struggle for disarmament helps weaken and isolate the imperialists and the reactionaries and strengthens the position of all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In this connection, our Party is in full support of

the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty and looks upon it as one of the most significant achievements of the peace movement.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the defiance of this Moscow Test Ban Treaty contribute to the heightening of international tension and encourages the nuclear arms race and spread of nuclear weapons. The Chinese explosion of an atom bomb in defiance of the Moscow Treaty has led, in the case of our own country, in strengthening the hands of the pro-imperialist reactionaries to clamour for making the atom bomb in India or alternatively to seek the nuclear umbrella of the Anglo-American powers.

The Seventh Congress of our Party totally rejects the view that the struggle for peaceful coexistence weakens the struggle for national liberation and the class struggles in the capitalist countries. The truth is that peaceful coexistence is itself a form of class struggle in the world arena between capitalism and socialism. It most definitely implies ideological, economic and political struggle. Peaceful coexistence only means that disputes between socialism and capitalism in the international arena must not be sought to be resolved through recourse to arms and war. Socialism does not need war to triumph.

Our experience confirms that peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries and the liberation movement of the peoples. It should not be lost to the view that a large number of Afro-Asian countries have won their political independence precisely under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

In their turn, the class struggle and the national-liberation movement promote the cause of peaceful coexistence. It is an utter distortion of the common line of the world communist movement to suggest that peaceful coexistence means abandonment of class struggle or conciliation with imperialism. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence demands the intensification of the struggles of the working class and all the peoples fighting for national liberation.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI fully recognises the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The national-liberation movement is

a component of the one and same revolutionary process, other components being the struggle of the working people in the socialist countries for building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working people in the capitalist countries and the general democratic movement. All these merge into a powerful single current that ensures destruction of imperialism and world capitalism. The interconnection between all these forces is of fundamental importance for the success of the world revolutionary process.

Contemporary events are amply proving the correctness of the Moscow Statement that world socialism has contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. It has been seen in our own country as in other newly-liberated countries that world socialist system constitutes a reliable shield for independent national development. But for the disinterested economic assistance India receives from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the independent development of our national economy and its reconstruction under the plans would not have been possible in the face of imperialist pressures.

The rapid victories for national liberation and the consolidation of the newly-won freedom are ensured by international working class and the socialist system. It follows, therefore, that in the interest of the national liberation itself as for the larger cause of worldwide struggle against imperialism, the bonds of the national-liberation struggles with the international working class and the socialist camp have got to be constantly strengthened. Any step that weakens these bonds is contrary to the position of the world communist movement and in fact objectively serves the ends of imperialism.

To approach the question of national liberation not as a component of the world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working-class movement is wholly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

It should perhaps be reiterated here that national liberation is not completed with the attainment of political independence. Hence the revolutionary and progressive forces in the newly-liberated countries have got to be organised in a common united national democratic front for carrying out the unfinished tasks

of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, for winning economic independence and for national rebirth.

The CPC leadership attacks socialist aid to underdeveloped countries, especially to India, on the plea that it helps imperialism. But the actual experience in our country speaks otherwise. Socialist aid helps in building an independent economy thereby enabling our country to resist imperialist pressures.

What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is that such newly-freed countries can advance along the non-capitalist path even without the existence of any sizeable industrial proletariat.

Significant socio-economic transformations which are in progress in Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali etc., deserve special attention. These newly-liberated countries are advancing not along the traditional capitalist path but more and more on non-capitalist lines, each however with its own peculiar features and its own correlations of class forces. In quite a few of such countries, the non-working-class democratic elements are playing a far more radical and revolutionary role than what was anticipated even a few years ago. Forces objectively working for the victory of Marxism-Leninism are emerging even outside the stream of the traditional communist movement.

The working-class and the international communist movement are securing new and powerful allies and the prospects of non-capitalist development and then of transition to the road to socialism are becoming brighter. Their success naturally depends on the development of a broader outlook and flexible policies on the part of the communist parties and démocratic forces in building the broad united democratic front and fully exploiting the new opportunities.

Ours is the most advanced capitalist country among the newly-independent nations. Having regard to the new possibilities as mentioned above, basing ourselves on the Moscow Statement, our Programme holds the view that the perspective of national democracy is valid for our country and that, given the proper fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in the present stage of our revolution, national democracy may provide a peaceful transitional form for advance to the road to socialism.

This perspective arises primarily from the shift in the balance

of world forces expressed in the socialist system becoming the decisive factor in the present stage of world development. Further the achievements of the socialist camp as well as the disinterested and exemplary help which it renders to the newly-independent countries including India are revolutionising the minds of millions of people.

Serious limitations and crises of the capitalist path of development and all-round discrediting of this path, the existence of a powerful working-class movement with militant traditions and political experience and peasant movement with old traditions, and its great possibilities, radicalisation of the middle-class elements profoundly influenced by the ideas of socialism, the growing contradiction and differentiation within the national bourgeoisie sharpened by the growth of monopoly—all these greatly augment the possibilities for putting our country on the non-capitalist path.

For us in India, the struggle for the non-capitalist path and national democracy is indeed the struggle for forging a broad national democratic front based on the firm worker-peasant alliance and on mass struggles against imperialist strongholds, semi-feudal relics in our economy and for breaking the power of the monopolies. It is through such struggles in both economic and political spheres that a major shift in the balance of class forces has to be brought about for the establishment of national democracy and change over to the non-capitalist path of development.

On the question of the form of transition to socialism, the Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the understanding and approach of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The standpoint of our Party in this respect is in full conformity with the line of the world communist movement.

The Declaration and the Statement point to both peaceful and non-peaceful possibilities but do not merely stop at that. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the correlation of world forces in favour of socialism, the possibilities for peaceful transition are growing. It is therefore incorrect to equate the twin possibilities.

However, in what form the transition will take place in this



or that country depends upon a whole complex of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. Communists should be ready for all possible twists and turns in the situation.

As far as our Party is concerned, it has long acknowledged the possibilities of peaceful transition and, indeed, has been working for strengthening these possibilities.

The key to utilisation of the opportunities for peaceful transition, for transforming parliament into an instrument of people's will lies in the defence of the democratic rights and liberties under our present parliamentary system through mass struggles and in constant struggle for broadening and expanding democracy in all spheres of our socio-economic life.

Peaceful transition does not mean abandonment of the class struggle or the militant mass revolutionary movement. On the contrary, peaceful transition is ensured by sharp class struggles based on the maximum possible unity and mobilisation of the popular forces under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

The pre-Congress discussion within our Party has endorsed the understanding and approach of the National Council on this question, elaborated in the ideological document "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement".

Our Party is in complete disagreement with the one-sided dogmatic approach of the leadership of the CPC which ridicules the concept of peaceful transition as "historical idealism" and advocates the non-peaceful way as the only way for transition to socialism. The position of the CPC leadership on this question is an open repudiation of the Declaration and the Statement.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI reaffirms its full support to the struggle against the cult of personality and its harmful consequences initiated by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

It was an act of courage on the part of the CPSU leadership to have boldly launched the struggle which not only unleashed a new mass initiative in the Soviet Union but which injected a new spirit into the entire international communist movement. The Seventh Congress records its deep appreciation of the great strides that have been taken in the Soviet Union and the socialist

countries in the restoration of socialist legality and Leninist norms.

The phenomenon of the personality cult was not limited to the Soviet Union alone. It developed in other socialist countries and had similar repercussions in communist parties outside the socialist countries. The CPC leadership continues to glorify it even today.

Considering these developments, the Seventh Congress is of the opinion that a comprehensive examination of the various historical and personal factors that lead to the emergence of the cult is necessary not only for understanding the phenomenon fully but for a thorough and faster eradication of all its consequences.

The emergence of the personality cult can in no way negate the basic and historic superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The dazzling advance of socialist industry, science and culture have already proved this in practice beyond doubt. The cult of personality however distorts and vitiates socialist democracy. The struggle against the cult is a struggle for a constant broadening and deepening of democracy in every sphere of socialist life, social, political and cultural. The question of speeding up the process, including helpful institutional changes, calls for consideration.

The unity of the countries of the socialist system is the most decisive force for guaranteeing success in the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The strength of the socialist system arises from the unity of the socialist countries. It is precisely this unity which invests our present new epoch with tremendous revolutionary possibilities and creates new opportunities for the world revolutionary movement.

In the recent period, the unity of the socialist community has been very seriously impaired. Bitter ideological polemics among the ruling parties in these countries have arisen and have been projected into the sphere of state relations. This has emboldened the imperialists who now set great store by the disunity among the countries of the socialist system and bank on the possibility of splits in the world socialist system, for the furtherance of their aggressive designs.

The dangerous outcome of the disunity of the socialist camp stands out in the boldest relief in the increasingly aggressive moves of the US and other imperialist powers in Vietnam and other countries of South-East Asia, Cyprus and Congo, as well as in the intensified drive of the US and West German imperialists for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force.

The responsibility for the present state of disunity in the socialist camp rests on the leadership of the CPC. The CPC leadership has repudiated the common line of the Declaration and the Statement including, in particular, the guiding principles laid down in the Statement for developing cooperation between the socialist countries and for strengthening the great socialist community of nations.

The restoration of the unity of the countries of socialism, the common united actions by them in the struggle for peace and against imperialism and its aggressive moves, have assumed primary importance. The restoration of unity among the fraternal communist and workers' parties and the peoples in the socialist countries is possible on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The objective possibilities do exist for overcoming these difficulties. For these it is, of course, necessary to work out concrete steps and policies, concentrating more on what unites them in common struggle rather than what divides them.

The Seventh Congress of our Party naturally welcomes the initiative which the CPSU and others have time and again taken for the cause of restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Unfortunately, these initiatives have been met with a negative response from the leadership of the CPC.

Certain questions pertaining to the international division of labour and planning among the socialist countries have lately come up. The mutual fraternal assistance and all-round cooperation on the basis of complete equality between the socialist countries in the interest of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole are essential for the victory of the cause of the international working class.

This objective is also accepted by all, but, in practice, difficul-

ties have currently arisen in the actual implementation of this objective. Difficulties are, however, not insurmountable. Given the proper attention to socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism and firm adherence to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, solutions to these problems can be found.

It is possible that the leadership of the ruling communist party of this or that socialist country may deviate from Marxism-Leninism and advocate and pursue certain wrong policies for a time. But a socialist country does not cease to be a socialist country merely because of such deviations or wrong policies.

Whether a country is socialist or not is to be determined by the fundamental fact as to which class is in power and who owns the means of production, distribution and exchange. Hence it is wrong to treat People's Republic of China or Albania as anything but socialist states. Whatever the differences and however serious they may be, the question of excommunicating a socialist country whose leadership has deviated from the common line does not at all arise.

It is also necessary to emphasise that Yugoslavia is a socialist country since it is a socialist state by the same criteria and that it should be considered a member of the socialist community.

It is, however, necessary on the part of the parties of other socialist countries and the world communist movement as a whole to uphold the correct line of the movement and offer necessary criticisms. But such criticisms must be conducted in a fraternal spirit and must aim at helping those who have committed mistakes to rectify them. In this context, there is every need for forbearance, patience and flexibility in the interest of the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement.

The strength of the world communist movement lies in the unity and cohesion of its ranks, and indeed unity of all communists in each country. The pre-Congress discussions within our Party have been marked by the desire for unity of the international movement on the part of the mass of our Party members.

It is, however, to be realised that it is not enough merely to

express sentiments for unity; the problem now is one of correctly understanding what makes for unity and of determining concrete steps for achieving this objective. The unity of the world communist movement, as a whole, is secured, first and foremost, by the unity of the ideological platform, of identity of views on theoretical and practical questions of struggle against the common enemy.

Further, the cause of unity demands that all communist parties submit to international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. Observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and the carrying out by each party of the international commitment accepted by it in relation to the movement as a whole, as laid down in the Moscow Statement, constitute the criteria of international discipline.

In approaching the question of unity of the world communist movement, it has to be realised that it functions today under vastly altered circumstances.

The conditions in which national communist parties have to function and their vastly enhanced responsibilities demand full freedom for each national party to work out its own policies in relation to its specific problems within the framework of an agreed international line and nonintervention by any party in the internal affairs of other parties. The unity of the international communist movement can now be based only on the full recognition of this reality, not only in theory but in practice.

Clearly, this calls for a great sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of each communist party. If, in the exercise of its sovereignty, a communist party flies in the face of the commonly accepted international line, it is bound to result in the path of disruption and, necessarily, with the passage of time, the path of narrow nationalism and chauvinism. Such a path is totally alien to the most elementary principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, such a problem does face us today for which the Chinese leadership, most of all, is responsible.

Normally, open polemics between communist parties are to be avoided and solutions of differences are to be sought in accordance with the principles and conclusions laid down in

the Moscow Statement. But when a communist party or a group of parties openly repudiate the common line, violate international discipline and seek to impose their views on others, such open polemics may become inevitable for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world communist movement.

But polemics must be conducted in a sober, principled and fraternal way with a view to helping the rectification of mistakes, overcoming the differences and restoring the unity of the movement. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to develop common action on anti-imperialist and anti-colonial issues and on the issues of the struggle for peace, disarmament and so on.

The question of achieving unity is not confined to bringing back the Chinese leadership and its supporters into the common fold.

There are differences even among CPs that solidly support the general line of the 81 Parties' Statement. The primary method of overcoming them is, of course, bilateral and multilateral talks between the parties concerned. In this connection, meetings of representatives of CPs that have to deal with common problems have been suggested. Such bilateral and multilateral meetings will not only help solve these particular differences, but also contribute to the unity of the international communist movement.

As far as the unity of the communist party and communists of a given country is concerned, this cannot be ensured and maintained unless all the party members submit to the fundamental principles of communist organisation and, particularly, the principle of democratic centralism based on full internal party democracy.

Ideological and political differences within a communist party, however serious they may be, must not be allowed to lead to a split. Solutions to differences must be sought within the party itself and in conformity with Leninist organisational principles of the party.

Life itself has demonstrated that the main obstacle hindering the further advance of the world communist movement is dogmatism and left-sectarianism, while the danger from revisionism

also remains. The overcoming of dogmatism is only possible through the use of the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to boldly analyse the new reality that constantly emerges and to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

In view of the present unfortunate attitude of the leadership of the CPC, our Party has no illusion that the differences within the international communist movement are going to be easily overcome. However, the Seventh Congress is confident that fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, will ultimately prevail and the leadership of the CPC and others who have broken away from the common line will rectify their mistakes and return to the common positions of the movement.

The Seventh Party Congress naturally shares the view that the open polemics for which the leadership of the CPC is responsible must be ended in the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and appreciates the efforts made by the CPSU in that direction.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI endorses the proposals for holding the world conference of all communist and workers' parties and it expresses its most earnest hope that such a conference, with the goodwill and cooperation of all fraternal parties, will succeed in restoring the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

Charting out the course of Indian revolution, our Party has worked out the aim of realising national democracy as a transition to socialism. The realisation of this aim depends, above all, on the building of the Communist Party of India as a mass revolutionary party, strong in its monolithic unity and conscious discipline, based on creative Marxism, capable of mobilising and uniting all the patriotic and democratic forces, with worker-peasant alliance as the core, in their struggle to complete the national democratic revolution.

This task of Indian revolution has acquired added importance in view of the tragic split in the Party brought about by the anti-Party group of dogmatists under the smoke-screen of pseudo-revolutionary demagogy.

The organisational task of Party building commensurate with the political task of building the National Democratic Front cannot be correctly formulated without objectively analysing the reasons for the split and drawing proper lessons from it.

Our Party is passing through a critical period in its history just as the international communist movement is also passing through. All political, practical and other differences inside our Party which had been piling up during the last several years have reached a bursting point in the background of a serious ideological controversy in the international communist movement and the Chinese attack on our country. Our Party is split, throwing Party members, sympathisers and masses behind it into confusion. The Party has received the biggest shock in its life.

Our Party is a pioneer in building working-class, kisan, student, youth, women and other movements in our country. It has led innumerable mass struggles to improve the living standards of our people. In the struggle for the country's freedom the Party played a significant part. We led the glorious struggles of the people of the princely states like Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin,



and the states in Orissa. The Party also made its contribution to the struggle of the people in other princely states. In the struggle of the Goan people for their liberation, the Party played a glorious part.

Thousands of Party members attained martyrdom in these innumerable struggles of our people. Many more suffered behind prison bars. Masses behind the Party braved repression of the British as well as Congress regimes.

In the country, our Party occupies the second position, coming next to the National Congress. This position the Party acquired following the general elections in 1952 and it continues in that position ever since.

In the general elections of 1957, a Communist-led ministry came into power in the state of Kerala and it continued to rule that state for 28 months. Our ministry was highly praised as the best and non-corrupt ministry ever to rule Kerala by all the democratic-minded people in the country. The Congress in alliance with all the reactionary and communal forces resorted to most undemocratic and heinous methods to bring down the ministry by launching a so-called liberation struggle and then dismissing the ministry through a presidential order.

During the last two years when our country faced a very critical situation due to the Chinese attack, our Party supported by the working class, peasantry and other sections of the people played our part in the defence efforts of the country. The Party also played an effective part in foiling the conspiracy of the right reaction aided by imperialists to reverse the nonalignment policy of our country and to make it an appendage of the imperialist powers.

Along with this our Party defended the economic interests of our masses, through the launching of big all-India mass movements such as the Great Petition and March, the four-stage all-India struggle of the AITUC for bonus and linking of DA with cost of living index and the all-India satyagraha against rise of foodgrain prices. The last one was conducted after the split in our Party.

The split in our Party was engineered when we were in the midst of the four-stage all-India struggle which was gathering

momentum towards an all-India general strike of workers and middle-class employees. This split was brought about at a time when our Party's prestige was rising high due to the above-mentioned activities of our Party during the last two years. This has caused great harm to the mass movement and our Party.

### CAUSES OF PARTY SPLIT

The split in the Party has been brought about by 32 members of the National Council who in April 1964 walked out of the National Council meeting, openly called upon the Party ranks to revolt against the National Council and announced their plan of action to organise a parallel party.

Since then, they have feverishly implemented their plan of split and formalised it.

This split was inspired and facilitated by the factionalist intervention of the Chinese communist leaders who, failing to make our Party toe their dogmatist and chauvinist line, slandered our Party as "revisionist", "Dange clique" and "agents of the bourgeoisie" and gave an open call to split it.

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.

At the last Party Congress (Vijayawada—April 1961), they created a crisis. Thirty-eight of them withdrew their names *en bloc* from the panel of the new National Council members which had been presented to the Congress by the outgoing National Council. This was a disruptive and factional move on their part. Finding themselves in an absolute minority, which had become evident to them when they had to withdraw their left-sectarian draft of the political resolution, they tried to blackmail the Party Congress in order to increase their number in the new National Council, not without some success.

Again when the new Central Executive was elected after Vijayawada Congress, Jyoti Basu, P. Sundarayya and Harkishen Singh Surjeet withdrew their names from it in order to bring in more of their supporters in it.

They repeated the same performance when the National Council adopted its resolution on the Chinese aggression on November 1, 1962, but with a different objective. This time, the above-mentioned three persons resigned from the central secretariat. They were joined by E. M. S. Namboodiripad who also offered his resignation from the general secretaryship, central secretariat and editorship of the weekly *New Age*. The National Council accepted the first three resignations but persuaded E. M. S. Namboodiripad not to press his resignation. It had to accept his resignation in the next meeting of the Council when he pressed for it.

Thus the walk-out from the National Council which had been unanimously elected by the Party Congress in April 1962, followed by their split at all levels of the Party and setting up a separate party of their own was the culmination of a process of factionalism and split which had been started by them with the tragic development of India-China border dispute.

This process reached a decisive stage with the Chinese aggression in October 1962 when the National Council adopted the line of national defence against the Chinese aggression. The present leaders of the splitters' party, except a few, not only opposed the National Council line, but also decided to form a parallel party from top to bottom within the CPI for sabotaging that line and putting their adventurist line into practice.

The Central Control Commission in its report submitted to the National Council after visiting several states and making on-the-spot investigations has given vivid description of the splitting activities of the rival party leaders. Here below we give an extract from that report:

“The border events of October-November 1962 confronted the Party with an unprecedented situation. Political tension and anti-communist fervour in the country had reached the highest peak: the ruling party and all the reactionary parties were trying to queer the pitch against our Party. Mob frenzy was roused and directed against the Party in many places. Party offices were attacked in different centres, including the Party's Central Office which was set on fire. Different political and ideological trends within the Party had also got aggravated. It was in such

a situation that the National Council met from October 31 to November 2, 1962, to discuss the situation and decide on the line of action. After heated discussion and sharp cleavages of opinion, the resolution of November 1, 1962 was adopted by a substantial majority.

“The vast majority of Party units and comrades in different parts of the country took immediate steps to implement the resolution. They campaigned actively and effectively on the slogans given in the resolution which evoked good response from the mass of the people. But there was another side to this picture.

“Immediately following the adoption of the November 1 resolution by the National Council, some members of the CEC of ‘like-mindedness on political and ideological issues’ met separately in Delhi and decided on a political and organisational line of action entirely different from that of the National Council. They characterised the National Council as ‘thoroughly right revisionist and so bitterly anti-China that it would not take any initiative which does not have the approval of the Government of India’. They considered it to be ‘a life and death struggle to expose these tactics and overthrow this leadership’. They decided that ‘there was no more scope for continuing inner-Party discussions.’

“They estimated that ‘Indian dependence on imperialism, both economic and military, would grow: that there would be a rapid shift to the right: Nehru government would abandon its non-alignment, there would be no democracy, semi-fascist and fascist conditions would be created and the Congress government would stand revealed as a stooge of imperialism.’ In such a situation, it was visualised that there would be no possibility of the Party functioning legally, so they ‘laid stress on semi-legal and illegal functioning for the future; the form of organisation and manner of functioning in the states to be determined by the conditions obtaining in each state.’ From this it can be seen that this outlook was at complete variance with that of the resolution adopted by the National Council.

“To work out this political and organisational line and to see to its implementation, an all-India directing centre was set up.

Comrades Gopalan and Ramdas were in charge of this centre and Comrades Surjeet, Ramamurti and Sundarayya moved to the states organising the necessary apparatus to carry out this decision.

“This all-India parallel centre within the CPI has been functioning from the first week of November 1962 from Delhi and subsidiary centres in some of the states. The circulars, reviews and reports issued from these centres clearly reveal the parallel nature of the activities pursued by them.” (pp. 34-36)

Again, “in this period, under emergency conditions, the activities of the parallel centre were mostly secret and underground. The main effort was to propagate the political and organisational line decided at their Delhi meeting and to consolidate their bases in the different states. Circulars were issued attacking the NC leadership and asking the Party comrades to repudiate its authority.” (p. 37)

After important leaders of the rival party were released from the jail, the splitting activities were further intensified under the inspiration of the open calls issued by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia for splitting the Communist Parties of the world with special reference to the Communist Party of India.

The rival party leaders began functioning their committees openly when they found that the government was not interested in obstructing their splitting activities. Why should government obstruct them when their splitting activities actually helped them by putting a brake on the developing mass movement of the working class and middle class for bonus and linking up of DA with cost of living index and struggles of the peasants against high taxes and of the agricultural labourers for land led by the CPI?

After organising a full-fledged rival party, they demanded from the National Council a *de facto* status as an organised faction for their party within the CPI.

The National Council in its meeting held in October 1963 rejected this anti-Party demand and decided to make preparations for the Party Congress.

Following this the rival party leaders began to indulge in

blatant and open defiance of Party resolutions. They non-cooperated with the commission appointed by the CEC for preparing drafts for the Party Congress. They brought out their own Draft Party Programme and exploded a 'time-bomb' by the publication of so-called Dange letters just on the eve of the April 1964 meeting of the National Council. They faced the National Council with an ultimatum for the removal of the chairman, coupled with their original demand for recognition of their *de facto* status as an organised faction in the Party with separate committees from top to bottom, rival journals and separate discipline.

The National Council naturally rejected this preposterous ultimatum.

Then the rival leaders walked out of the National Council meeting of April 1964 and claimed that they are the CPI under the plea that the National Council has lost the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the cadres and Party members. They began making preparations for a rival party congress.

All the while, the National Council adopted an attitude of patience, leniency and persuasion towards these comrades despite their disruptive activities with the hope that they would ultimately see sense. But its hands were forced when these comrades walked out and declared that they are the CPI and started preparations for a rival party congress. Even then they were not expelled from the Party. They were suspended from the Party and removed from positions of responsibility.

Even the last minute efforts at unity on a principled basis made by the National Council respecting the wishes of Party members and masses behind the Party failed because the rival party leaders stuck to their guns.

They refused to participate in the commission for the preparation of documents for the Party Congress in which they were adequately represented. They rejected the offer of the National Council for their adequate representation in the central secretariat provided they were prepared to dissolve their rival party committees, stop the rival journals and abide by the discipline of the Party. The National Council did not raise the question of their disruptive and anti-Party behaviour which has caused lot of

harm to the prestige of the Party and to the mass movement. It was prepared to set aside this matter in the interest of Party unity.

But the rival party leaders rejected these reasonable proposals for unity of the Party. They said they would not dissolve the rival party committees and stop the rival journals. They demanded that the Party should work on the basis of the principle of agreement between two factions, that the National Council and the CEC, in both of which they were in a minority, should be put in cold storage and that the old central secretariat should be revived. The revival of the old secretariat in practice means that the majority of the National Council will not have a majority in the secretariat and consequently this has also to function on the basis of agreement. This was tantamount to functioning of two parties under one signboard, regularising the split and leaving the Party bogged and deadlocked for any effective action. The National Council could not accept this position amounting to the liquidation of the Party.

Finally at their Tenali conference held in August 1964, the rival party leaders made a formal declaration of launching a rival party, of course, claiming that they are the CPI and decided to hold their congress at Calcutta in October 1964.

With this the *de facto* split in the Party, which had taken place long ago became *de jure*.

The split in our Party is a serious one. It is not a splinter group that has gone out of our Party but an influential section led by some of the important leaders of the CPI, though a minority. This has greatly harmed our Party and the developing mass movements led by the Party. The four-stage all-India struggle of the workers and middle-class employees for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index had to be suspended in the middle after the second stage. In the same way, other struggles of the rural masses that were developing in different states received a temporary setback.

Had there been no split and had our Party made united intervention in the present serious situation in the country, it would have produced much better results than what has been achieved by the National Council through the all-India satyagraha. We

could have given a rebuff to reactionary forces through the unity of progressive forces.

The split in our Party has harmed the Kerala state unit of our Party, which is faced with a mid-term election for the state assembly, the most. The situation is so favourable for the democratic movement, the camp of reactionary forces is so disunited and the Congress which has misruled the state is so much discredited and divided, that the united CP could have easily defeated Congress in alliance with other progressive forces and headed a progressive democratic government in the state. Even now if all the left parties come together it is possible to defeat the Congress and establish a progressive democratic government in the state. Our Party is striving its best to bring about such a unity and fulfil the earnest wishes of Kerala people for the establishment of the non-Congress progressive government.

It has to be stated clearly that the responsibility for the split lies squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the rival party who split the Party under the inspiration of the ideological justification for a split provided by the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It could have been avoided if they had abided by the discipline of our Party, if they really believed in their tall claim of having an overwhelming majority of cadres and Party members behind them and if they were prepared to face the verdict of the Party Congress. Because they did not have the courage to face the Party Congress, they split away from the Party under the pretext of so-called Dange letters.

While Chinese aggression and their factional intervention remain the single biggest factor which precipitated the split, it is wrong to make this factor *exclusively* responsible for it. To do so would mean lack of self-critical attitude towards our own failure in discharging the ideological, political and organisational responsibilities which faced the Party when it emerged on the political scene of India as the second biggest political force after the first general elections. We have already seen how the leaders of the rival party are responsible for the split. Now we shall see how our own failures provided a fertile soil for the splitters.

The new understanding of the post-second world war situation and its consequent new slogans and the tactics regarding the



cardinal issues facing humanity—prevention of a world war, peaceful coexistence, forms of struggle for transition to socialism, attitude to the newly-liberated countries, etc.—given by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and subsequently adopted and strengthened by the Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, was not properly discussed and explained to the entire Party. Not only was this differently understood by different sections inside the Party leadership but it was also variously explained to the Party members. In general, we failed to fully educate the whole Party on this new understanding.

The understanding of the Party on the Indian situation was very much dogmatic and sectarian and for a long period of time, our Party members have been educated on such understanding. No serious political-ideological effort was made to correct this understanding.

Our 1951 programme was exposed as dogmatist and sectarian by our own experience, but our Party functioned without a programme for these ten years. This highlights the deep inroads which opportunism had made inside the Party.

Our Party with its glorious record of 40 years in the service of the people (1925-1964) has not yet got a written history of its own. Ironically it is the enemies of our Party who have written the history of our Party to ridicule its glorious past with all the mass struggles led by it, heroes and sacrifices, picturing it as an anti-national party having no interest of our country at heart. Pious resolutions were adopted several times at Party Congresses to produce an authoritative history of the Party but only to be forgotten soon after.

These failures not only led to serious differences inside the Party but the differences continued to pile up and get accumulated.

As late as the Hyderabad session of the National Council in August 1962, the situation continued to be the same as has been noted in the resolution on organisation passed in that meeting.

It is well known that our Party has for some time been divided on certain important questions. Even when particular resolutions are adopted by the various units of the Party, these resolutions are interpreted in different ways by different sections of the

Party. Differences cover some basic issues which have been under discussion in the international communist movement. There are, however, several other issues which touch the economic, political and cultural life of our own people. Furthermore, differences once arisen, in the absence of organised efforts to get them resolved, not only fail to get resolved but get accumulated. The position was made worse due to the fact that the Party ranks were not properly informed of the differences; neither of the international communist movement nor on the problems of the Indian situation. No proper inner-Party discussion was organised. The section of the Party which later on split it, however, continued to propagate their views in a one-sided factional manner.

Yet another serious defective feature that developed was to adopt vague resolutions. These resolutions continued to be differently interpreted. To be able to have a correct understanding and educate the Party on correct understanding, it is necessary to negate the incorrect understanding. Failure to do this and confining ourselves to the above method aggravated the situation.

These methods of liberalism towards alien trends and practices, a policy of compromise with and concessions to such trends and practices, had come to stay in the Party and this took some very harmful forms too.

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 dogmatist and sectarian understandings and when 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 to somehow solve them with a view to keep the unity of the Party. Such solutions, however, were many times opportunist adjustments, tolerance of factional groupings and even tolerance to state leaderships going in their own way even in defiance of the Party Congress line.

Comrades used to be put in responsible positions even though it was known that they have been using their positions not for honest implementation of the decisions but to undermine and

even sabotage it; the election of the secretariat in April 1962 is an instance of the same.

Such organisational methods strengthened the position of these elements and assisted in their being able to deflect so many comrades.

One method which the splitters were able to utilise to confuse the Party ranks was left demagogy. In the situation in which long-standing dogmatist understanding was permitted to persist in the ranks of the Party, the splitters' left demagogy that they were more militant fighters and that the Party leadership is tailing behind the bourgeoisie had some effect. Some utterances and actions of our leaders and units gave room for such propaganda.

All these factors have proved a fertile soil for the splitters.

Now let us examine their tall claim that they have the overwhelming majority of cadres and Party members behind them. On the basis of the reports at the Party Congress it can be stated that the strength of the rival party among Party members on the basis of 1962 membership is about one-third taking the country as a whole. They could claim only small majorities in the West Bengal and Karnatak state councils. In the rest of the state councils, except in Tripura whose position is undecided for the present, the National Council commands overwhelming support.

Same is the case in regard to the position among MPs and MLAs of the Party.

Here it is necessary to make a mention of another phenomenon. There is a neutral trend among the cadre and Party members who have not joined either party. Taking the country as a whole, it is small. But it has considerable strength in West Bengal and Tripura. This neutral trend mainly consists of comrades who have recently broken away from sectarianism.

The table on next page shows the relative strength of both the parties among Party members on the basis of 1962 membership and among the legislators. This will give a broad idea about the respective positions. Where 1962 membership is not available—as in the case of Tripura, Manipur—1960 figures are taken as the basis. In the case of West Bengal also 1960 membership is taken as basis because some thousands refused to renew in 1962 due to opposition of the rival party leaders there.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CPI  
AND THE RIVALS

State	1962 Membership			Strength in Assemblies				
	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided	New Recruits	Total	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided
Andhra	22094	11774	1008	7206	55	31	23	1
Assam	2100	461	—	1000	—	—	—	—
Bihar	13235	1245	—	1720	12	12	—	—
Delhi	1123	*100	—	*100	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	431	187	—	139	—	—	—	—
H. Pradesh	200	70	—	121	1	—	1	—
J & K	—	—	—	38	—	—	—	—
Karnatak	964	300	—	—	3	1	2	—
Kerala	11473	*9000	4000	3700	30	19	10	1
Maharashtra	7398	500	700	—	5	4	1	—
Goa	56	—	—	62	—	—	—	—
M.P.	2300	—	—	200	2	2	—	—
Manipur	825	—	—	200	—	—	—	—
Orissa	4022	150	300	—	4	4	—	—
Punjab	7124	2200	200	400	8	6	2	—
Rajasthan	1870	400	—	—	5	3	1	1
Tamilnad	15015	4300	2000	4000	2	2	—	—
Pondicherry	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—
Tripura	—	—	2840	—	12	—	—	12
U.P.	9917	1700	—	5000	14	12	2	—
W. Bengal	7560	8000	†2000	1200	48	12	30	†6
P.H.Q.	55	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>107762</b>	<b>40392</b>	<b>13048</b>	<b>25086</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>21</b>
Strength in Parliament (Lok Sabha)					32	16	11	5
(Rajya Sabha)					11	5	4	2

\* Estimated figures.

† Centrists.

‡ Sitting in Rival's bloc.

The above-mentioned facts disprove the claims and contentions of the splitters.

At the same time, it has to be recognised that almost 30 per cent membership of the Party going with the splitters is a very serious matter. Persistent efforts must be made to win over as

many as possible of the comrades who have gone with the rival party. Notwithstanding the slanderous propoganda being resorted to by the splitters, we must adopt a patient, reasonable and persuasive attitude without in any way giving up the principled fight against the wrong positions.

Such an attitude on our part, combined with mass campaigns and struggles initiated and led by the Party and mass organisations, is bound to expose the left demagogy of the rival party leaders and help many comrades under their influence to see the truth. The process has already begun in several states, with hundreds of comrades who had joined the rival party returning to the fold of the CPI.

Regarding those comrades who have refused to join the splitters, but have not yet made up their minds about joining the Party, we should try to draw the bulk into the Party, firstly, by taking a very fraternal and persuasive attitude towards 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.

#### STATE OF PARTY ORGANISATION AND FORMS NEEDED FOR NEW PERIOD AND NEW TASKS

Even though our movement has suffered a temporary setback because of the split in our Party, if we regroup our forces and mobilise the masses on the basis of a correct political and ideological understanding, our Party can register successes. We can expose the hollowness of the revolutionary phrasemongering of the splitters before the people and win sober sections from among them.

This is proved by the resounding success of the all-India satyagraha launched by the Party. People understood that our Party is not finished because of the split but on the contrary it is moving with a purpose. A major hindrance coming in the way is the disorganised state of our Party—the indiscipline, alien class

habits and methods and wrong style of work that have struck deep roots into our organisation, especially from 1952.

Even after the split, all the above serious weaknesses remain in the Party obstructing its advance. Unless a bitter and consistent struggle is carried on for the removal of these weaknesses, it is impossible for the Party to successfully move forward. Let us go into more details and seek a solution for the organisational problems facing our Party.

1. *Indiscipline and Violation of Party Forms:* The first rude shock to discipline in our Party dates back to the period of 1948-51 when an extremely harmful adventurist political and organisational line was pursued by the then leadership of our Party. Till then our Party was running on the basis of blind faith and loyalty to the leadership which was shattered to pieces because of the great harm that was caused by that adventurist line. Party organisation and mass organisations got disrupted. Scant respect for Party forms and discipline from top in the name of democratic centralism, looseness in discipline and ideas of liberalism developed in the Party.

In the background of this disorganised state of our Party, it had to face another new problem of functioning in the atmosphere of parliamentary democracy. Because of the sacrifices that our Party had made in the cause of the toiling masses, it won the status of the second party in the country and a good number of our leaders were elected to Parliament, assemblies in the states, municipalities, panchayats and cooperatives, etc. These offices gave not only a status to the Party, but also to the individual comrades elected to these offices. They offered opportunities for selfishness and easy-going life.

The institutions of parliamentary democracy are a new experience to the Party. If they are properly utilised, they can help to strengthen the mass movement and to increase the influence of our Party. If they are allowed to corrupt our Party, they cause immense harm.

It is true that our Party's position in these institutions was used to strengthen the mass movement and positions of our Party to some extent. But we have to admit that we have not

used this opportunity to the fullest extent because of lack of correct understanding of the Indian political situation and looseness in discipline that has set in in the Party after 1948-51 period.

On the other hand, the tendency of bourgeois habits and methods developed in the Party. Love for easy-going life, selfishness, hankering after places in bourgeois parliamentary institutions, scant respect for collective decisions, individual functioning, indulging in revolutionary phrase-mongering and doing nothing and such other things developed.

This resulted in the weakening of our links with the masses. In some cases, corruption also crept in. This does not mean that the entire Party has become affected by this. If that was the case, it would have become just another bourgeois party and nothing would have been left of it. It only means that strong tendencies of bourgeois habits and methods have developed inside the Party, which have been acting as a brake on our movement. They have contributed to further loosening of discipline in the Party.

At every Party Congress, these things were brought up and discussed and tasks were set for the eradication of these tendencies. Even then this state of affairs continued as before because of a wrong sectarian political understanding and existence of political differences in the Party.

With serious ideological and political differences that have developed in our Party since 1959, as a part of the world communist movement, indiscipline and violation of Party forms has reached its climax and resulted in the split.

Unless and until these tendencies of indiscipline, bourgeois habits and methods are fought out systematically and eradicated, our Party cannot advance the movement, despite adoption of a correct political line.

After the attainment of independence, the Party has entered a new period in the history of our country. In this new period, new tasks and new fronts of activity of a complex and manifold nature have opened up for the Party. Work in the legislatures, panchayats, municipalities, development work and constructive work in the rural areas; work in the cooperative movement;

work of a specialised nature among the intelligentsia and professional classes—such manifold new spheres of activity have opened out. In old mass fronts like the student front, the nature of work has radically changed.

Unless the Party effectively intervenes in these manifold spheres of mass activity, building up of the National Democratic Front is impossible.

This necessarily means the Party has to evolve and put into action new *organisational forms*, both in order to formulate mass lines for these fronts as well as to ensure continuous Party guidance on these fronts. Problems of co-ordination of Parliamentary activity with the mass movement outside have also arisen.

The Party has so far largely failed to pose and meet this problem of evolving new organisational forms to cope with the new tasks arising out of the post-independence period. This failure is still another reason for the Party's organisational stagnation and inability to break through dogmatism and sectarianism in practice.

Fresh spheres of activity have been opened up in the very important new industrial complexes that have grown up and are arising every year. Many of these new industrial centres are growing, up in areas where Party units are weak. In the tribal areas there is a new awareness and ferment. The Party has to devote special attention to these areas and strategically important sectors, which remain weak. The Party has also to devote special attention to developing and helping work in those states (especially the Hindi-speaking region) where the Party organisation at present is weak.

2. *Links with Masses and State of Mass Organisations:* Our Party's links with the masses except in the case of the working class, are not close. Even in the case of the working class, we are very weak in the key industries like railways, mines, plantations etc.

During all these years beginning with 1952 though in some states big struggles were conducted in the countryside, some states remained outside the picture altogether. Besides, even



where movements were launched there was lack of sustained activity guided by a clear perspective.

We have been writing in our reports that unless the Party conducts all-India campaigns on burning issues, we cannot intervene and shape the political situation in the country. Though we very eagerly wanted them, we did not feel confident that we would be able to move the masses and Party members on all-India issues. We did not evolve forms of struggle suited to the particular occasion. We are conversant with the form of strike for workers and some types of militant forms of struggle in the rural areas. Though of late we shed some of our hostile attitude towards forms of struggle that were used in the national movement like hunger-strike and satyagraha and began using them, we did not know how to judiciously combine all forms of struggle and evolve forms suited to a particular situation.

Only recently since the last one-and-a-half years we have started a new experiment in combination of all forms of struggle and launching all-India campaigns and struggles. We can confidently say now that we have succeeded in it.

It is necessary to outline the outstanding characteristics which have made our recent campaign and struggle so successful:

- (i) Choosing of a correct issue vitally affecting the life of the people throughout the country.
- (ii) Evolution of a correct slogan to solve the issue involving a radical shift in government policy and involving concentration of fire against a specific section of vested interests.
- (iii) Mobilisation of the entire resources of the Party, activating even the lowest primary units for the national campaign launched.
- (iv) Evolution of forms of struggle which could enable direct participation by broad masses of people—a judicious combination of forms understood by them since the days of national movement with forms evolved in course of class battles.
- (v) A correct approach to unity in which while the Party sincerely called for cooperation of all democratic forces on the common issue and struggle, it launched the

struggle relying on its own strength and welcoming participation by others as the struggles unfolded.

It is these factors which have given the recent struggles their sweep and strength, galvanised the entire Party ranks and masses, forged new links with other left parties, which have made even sections of Congressmen vocal and active and made an effective impact on national policies for the first time in the life of the Party.

The first shot in the series was the Great Petition and the March to Delhi on September 13, 1963, which turned out to be a resounding success. We collected 1,15,00,000 signatures and over one lakh people marched to Parliament. And this, despite the fact that we could not move the entire Party in this movement. The central government was forced to abandon the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and modify the Gold Control Order.

The second shot was the four-stage struggle planned by the AITUC for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index, which had to be suspended after the second stage because of the split in the Party. The first stage was a three-day hunger-strike of TU leaders and cadres in which 50,000 participated. It roused the entire country. The second stage was a demonstration of workers for 15 minutes before factory gates which was also a big success. The third stage was satyagraha by representatives of different trade unions before Parliament, which had to be given up on the eve of the scheduled date because of the split in the Party. The final stage was to be an all-India general strike of workers if the government did not heed the just demands of workers and middle-class employees.

The three earlier stages were to be a preparation for the final stage and they helped to prepare workers mentally for an all-India action and enlist the sympathy of the general public for the demands of workers and middle-class employees. Had we not been compelled to suspend the four-stage struggle in the middle, it would have helped the Party to effectively intervene in the situation of rising prices of essential commodities needed for the people in their day-to-day life and force the hands of the government to move sufficiently early to keep the prices of foodgrains under control.

The third shot was the all-India satyagraha against rising prices of foodgrains launched by our Party in August 1964 in which over 80,000 offered satyagraha, of whom about 27,000 were arrested and in which lakhs of people demonstrated in support. This was a great event because it was launched after the split in our Party. Enemies of our Party thought we were finished because of the split. Their hopes were belied.

In this swift action lasting for five days, our Party was not only able to rouse the people throughout the country but also educate them about the mechanism behind price rise, and our general slogans for checking the rise in prices viz. nationalisation of banks, ban on forward trading and nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains. Satyagraha was pinpointed before banks, stock exchanges, hoarders' godowns and government offices.

The splitters tried to pooh-pooh this short and swift satyagraha as a useless one and another proof of revisionism. They said the real cause of rise in prices is government and the Communist Party, instead of directing its fire against the government, was shielding the government by conducting satyagraha before banks, stock exchanges and foodgrain *mandis*.

This was precisely what reactionary parties like Jana Sangh and Swatantra and monopoly vested interests wanted.

The splitters had to shut their mouths after the satyagraha became a great success. They were forced to trail behind those whom they accused as the tail of the government for fear of getting isolated from the masses. Their leaders in Kerala organised a one-day satyagraha on August 31.

This all-India satyagraha has proved that such countrywide swift actions are a great help in intervening in time on all-India issues by striking while the iron is hot and rousing people to bigger, decisive and militant mass actions.

Along with this our Party has played a big role in the great *bandh* series of Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal in unity with other parties. These mass actions have enhanced the prestige of our Party.

During this period, our Party conducted some struggles and ran some campaigns in different states. We can confidently say

that for the first time in the last ten years our Party has been most active on an all-India plane and forged links with the masses.

All the campaigns the Party launched during the last year and a half, along with the political line laid down by the National Council, have helped us to mobilise the most backward sections of our people and build a bridge with progressive Congressmen and masses behind them. They have helped the Party to project its image effectively on the Indian political scene once again after it was shattered following the Chinese attack of October 1962 and the split. They also helped to shake off some of the rust that had accumulated on our Party during the last ten years when no big all-India mass action had been launched.

We can now confidently say that we have found our feet firmly on the ground politically and practically. We have found a way for moving masses on all-India plane and making effective political intervention. If we steadfastly proceed on these lines, our Party can successfully advance towards its aim of national democracy by building a united mass movement and unity of all progressive forces.

The all-India mass campaigns and struggles conducted by the Party on specific issues facing the people helped to mobilise masses all right. But by this alone we cannot build the sectional movements of the people or mass organisations. Along with these general campaigns, we have to mobilise different sections of people on their sectional issues and day-to-day problems. For doing this, we must have a mass line suited to the present conditions on every mass front.

It is no exaggeration to say that except on the TU front, there is no clearcut mass line on any other mass front. This is one of the main reasons why the TU front is alive and functioning, whereas other fronts are almost sleeping.

Even with a correct mass line, mass organisations cannot get built automatically. There must be systematic and consistent efforts to build and function them democratically. Again, among the mass organisations, it is only the AITUC and trade unions that have got some shape and functioning. The AIKS, in the

hands of the splitters, is practically non-functioning.

Other mass organisations such as of women, youth and students have yet to grow into powerful organisations. It is necessary to take urgent steps to extend their influence and make them really functioning organisations in all states and on an all-India basis.

It must be mentioned that one of the main reasons as to why these mass organisations are not taking shape is because the Party as a whole has not yet realised sufficiently the need for such mass organisations as an integral part of the national democratic movement. As such, Party units at all levels do not make any conscious effort to help building such mass movements in their respective places.

Not only are the women's organisations weak, but the Party has also failed to recruit women into the Party and mass organisations in sufficient numbers due to negligence as well as wrong methods of work. The Party has to pay special attention to rectify this.

It is high time that the Party paid special attention to the problems of our young generation also and give proper orientation to its youth front so as to mobilise the large masses of youth on the basis of their specific demands and to educate them in the ideals of socialism.

Even trade unions which have some organisational shape and are functioning, suffer from many organisational defects in the matter of enrolment of members, running offices and functioning unions democratically. Because of this, despite the fact that the AITUC has got much more influence than any other all-India centre, it has been pushed back to the second place on the question of verified TU membership by the Labour Department of the Government of India.

There is another aspect of democratic functioning of mass organisations. There is a tendency in several mass organisations to function them without due regard to the wide non-party opinion which needs to be reflected at all levels of its functioning.

Unless this state of affairs regarding mass organisations is corrected and functioning mass organisations are built up, it is

impossible to build a real mass movement capable of defeating the anti-people policies of the government and helping masses to improve their living conditions, thus fulfilling the political tasks that are placed on the shoulders of our Party at the present time.

3. *Gap between Mass Influence of the Party and Party Organisation:* With regard to this problem, it is better to quote the following extracts from the resolution adopted by the CEC on September 15, 1964:

"It has been a longstanding weakness of our Party that its organisation does not correspond to its mass influence. The mass influence of the Party is far more than what is reflected in its membership. This gap between the mass influence and organisation of the Party has to be bridged if it has to discharge its political responsibilities.

"There are tens of thousands of militants who have been participating in the mass struggles and movements conducted by the Party and yet do not find a place inside our Party. Among them there are some who have been with the Party since a long time and will perhaps remain lifelong militants if they are not enlisted into the Party. There are also thousands of militants who have been thrown up in the mass movements of the last two years like the Great Petition campaign and the historic March of September 13, 1963, the four-stage struggle against high prices, for increase in DA, etc. conducted by the AITUC which had to be halted after the second stage due to the split in our Party and the Great Satyagraha against high prices of foodgrains and many other struggles conducted in the states.

"It has been a habit to complain about the political backwardness of Party members and militants, while at the same time not doing anything to give them political education. This failure on the part of the Party leadership is put up as a justification for not enrolling the militants into the Party.

"It is only the negligence of our Party leadership that is responsible for keeping them outside the Party. These militants have got immense experience of mass movement, love for our Party and readiness to undertake work given to them. What

is lacking is political education. Hence they must all be taken in at once as candidate members and arrangements have to be made for their political training."

This fact is more glaring when we compare the proportion of Party members to the electoral strength of our Party with that of Communist Parties in other countries like France, Italy, Indonesia, where the parties have become mass parties.

	<i>Party members</i>	<i>Votes polled</i>	<i>Ratio of party members to votes</i>
Italian C.P. (1960)	1,800,000	6,080,000	1:3.4
Indonesian C.P. (1959)	1,500,000	8,000,000	1:5.33
French C.P. (1954)	506,250	5,001,618	1:10
C.P.I. (1959)	178,718	12,166,150	1:60

Another interesting fact has to be noted in this connection. There used to be a sectarian resistance to enrolling militants from among the toiling sections under the plea that the quality of membership would go down because they lack political education and consciousness. But a break was made at the time of Amritsar Congress and Party membership went up to 218,532. But since then membership has been falling and by the time of the Vijayawada Congress it had come down to 178,717 and by 1962 it came down still further.

The above-mentioned figures are for years when the Party Congresses were held. In other years, when Party Congresses were not held, membership is still less because Party committees do not evince much interest in renewing membership or enrolment of new members.

The reason given for the fall in membership is that the political level of Party members is low and hence they do not evince much interest in attending branch meetings and they become inactive. The conclusion is drawn that it is not only useless but even harmful to enrol masses of militants into the Party because it is much better they remain outside the Party rather than come in and go away after getting demoralised.

This is a very wrong argument. Whenever the issue, either

mass or political, is hot, not only Party members but even militants attend the general body meetings enthusiastically. This shows that the reason for the mass of Party members not attending the branch or Party general body meetings regularly is that we do not conduct these meetings in such a way as to attract these militants. A good number of Party functionaries do not have the art of expressing theoretical and political problems in a simple way, in terms of live experience of Party members. Along with this, it is also necessary to raise the political level of the Party members and militants through mass political schools, literacy drive and through pamphlets written in a simple style.

Party education is of supreme importance in building up a mass party. Though its importance is accepted by all, in practice very little has been done in this respect in the past. Now a break will have to be made. Not only vast numbers of new recruits and militants will have to be given elementary training in the Party Programme and policies, but a large number of cadres at different levels will have to be trained if large-scale recruitment is to be made and the new entrants are to be properly absorbed in the Party. Party education should be a regular part of work of every Party unit. But special responsibility and initiative in this respect will have to be taken by the Party Centre and state councils.

Party education is a vast and complex task. Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism have to be studied by Party members at all levels and separate schools for different levels of cadres are necessary. Functionaries and cadres working in different fronts need training in the particular tasks and responsibilities along with fundamentals. Large number of illiterate and semi-literate Party members and militants need schooling in literacy and general education, and teachers for all these schools are also to be trained.

If we have to build a mass party, we have to work along the following lines:

(a) There cannot be a mass party *without continuous mass activity*. It may be general mass issues or day-to-day problems. Party members get bored with endless discussion on political



questions without mass activity and cease to attend meetings.

(b) The lowest unit of the Party, the Party branch and group, must be made to function regularly.

(c) The political level of Party members and militants has to be raised through local mass schools and political pamphlets as well as by regular reporting on decisions of higher Party committees and reviews of campaigns, and business-like discussion on political issues.

(d) If the above things have to get implemented, the branch secretaries and taluk and district functionaries have to be fully trained in political and mass issues and organisational matters.

4. *The Three-tier System:* The three-tier system in Party organisation was introduced at Amritsar Congress in 1958, in place of the old two-tier system, after a lot of discussion. The most important change is the introduction of the institution of councils which are bigger bodies than the former committees, consisting of all important cadres at different levels. Experience has shown that the institution of councils has helped the Party in several ways.

*Firstly*, they helped to pool together various experiences and look at problems from different angles, and arrive at balanced decisions because the councils consisted of almost all important comrades at different levels.

*Secondly*, they gave sufficient opportunity to the Party to promote capable cadres and help them develop wider vision of the problem.

*Thirdly*, they helped the Party to take authoritative decisions and enforcing Party discipline, especially on important comrades.

There is a strong opinion inside our Party that this three-tier system is leading to unnecessary wastage of time through duplication of discussions and they say that one of the two, either the secretariat or the executive committee, has to go. They accept that the institution of councils has immensely helped the Party and it should remain.

There was another strong opinion, which is now represented in the rival party, which also wants to have a two-tier system, but wants the institution of the councils to go. They argue that

the conception of wider bodies like councils to be supreme bodies is a revisionist organisational concept, which helps liberalism to grow and strikes at the very root of centralised leadership. They argue that a revolutionary party must have compact leading bodies like committees and secretariats for centralised leadership.

We cannot decide the issue by arguing in an oversimplified manner on this problem. It is a complicated problem. It is true that some amount of duplication takes place in the three-tier system and more time is spent in meetings and arriving at decisions. But this is a necessity if our Party has to function effectively, as has been explained earlier. We arrived at this position after our Party had become a big party, wielding considerable mass influence in the country and the old compact committees failed to meet the needs of the situation.

But this three-tier system cannot be applied to every place in a mechanical way. Even now, everywhere the three-tier system is not followed. Where the Party has not got big mass membership, especially at lower levels, there only the two-tier system is followed.

With regard to this matter, the following broad directives have to be followed:

(i) At all levels, councils consisting of leading cadres are a necessity;

(ii) In states like Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, etc. where the Party has no big mass membership, council and secretariat are enough. We can dispense with the executive.

In major states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab etc. we can have a three-tier system.

(iii) In districts, towns, taluks, mandals, etc. council and secretariat are enough. Only in exceptional cases where the membership is very big, the three-tier system can be followed.

(iv) In the all-India Party Centre, the three-tier system is needed.

(v) In the functioning of the three-tier system clear definition of the functions between secretariat, executive and council has

to be made. Otherwise, there may be confusion and duplication of work.

With regard to the functions of councils and executives the following extract from the Draft Organisational Report to Vijayawada Congress will suffice:

“The Council’s function is to be confined to—

- (i) the discussion of new political developments and issues of such overriding importance as can be dealt with only in the more representative Council and not left to the Executive;
- (ii) hearing the report of and taking decisions on the work carried out by the Executive Committee and each of its members, particularly to find out whether and how far the jobs assigned to the Executive as a whole and to its individual members have been carried out;
- (iii) if, in the view of the Council, the report finds the work either of the Executive as a whole or of its individual members unsatisfactory, remove such members from their position or remove the Executive itself and elect new members or new Executive.

“In other words, the Council is to work as a body which lays down broad policies on general questions and reviews the work of the Executive. It does not go into the minute details of the political and organisational problems facing the Party.

“The Executive is to function like the old district, state or the central committees, subject to the policy-making and reviewing functions assigned to the National Council in the above paragraph. In other words, they take decisions on day-to-day political and organisational questions which shall be final unless reviewed and reversed by the Council.”

The secretariat shall carry on routine jobs and implement the decisions of the council and the executive. It will not generally take political decisions which is the job of the executive. But in urgent cases, it can take political decisions and later get them endorsed by the executive or the council.

But the executives must be compact, not too large, so that they can meet often and discharge the tasks of practical political leadership.

The members of the secretariat generally divide different mass and Party organisational functions among themselves and take individual responsibility.

*All-India Party Centre:*

Strengthening and building the all-India Party Centre is the key to our organisational tasks. The all-India Party Centre has its own specific features and tasks which are quite apart from those of the state centres.

It has to be the Party Centre based on democratic centralism. It must be capable of guiding the state organisations, the mass fronts and the parliamentary front and act as the all-India political leader. It has to incorporate within itself the experience of mass fronts and state Party organisations as well as continuously draw nourishment and renew its knowledge from them. It has to create a team of leadership working and leading collectively the ideological, political and organisational work of the Centre.

Without such a Centre, it is not possible to improve political and ideological work of the Party. Lack of such a Party Centre is mainly responsible for our failure in carrying out tasks of Party education and cadre-building. Our failure to strengthen ideological and political unity of the Party as the basis of strong organisation and discipline arises mainly from the lack of such a Party Centre.

Two deviations have prevented the Party from building such an all-India Centre. They are: (i) liquidationist idea of minimum centre in the name of building the state organisation and (ii) top-heavy scheme of Centre-building isolated from mass fronts and state organisations. Unless these two deviations are successfully fought, we cannot move in the direction of building a proper Party Centre.

The tasks of building a proper Party Centre are confronted with certain vices which are the enemy of centre-building. These vices are: (i) individual functioning of leaders; (ii) statism-parochialism, absence of all-India outlook; (iii) subjectivism and personal prejudice. These vices have to be fought and vanquished in order to build a proper Party Centre.

Besides these other factors, as discussed earlier (see pp. 105-

107) in this report, have also been responsible for the Centre not being built up.

The apparatus of the Party Centre has to be radically improved and expanded in order to cope with the tasks of the central leadership. But this radical improvement and expansion cannot be brought about unless there is a proper division of work among the central leaders who should function on the basis of collective decisions, individual responsibility and collective check-up. To ensure this, the work of the Party Centre should be organised in the form of various departments run and led by proper cadres.

In that case, the Central Secretariat's functions will be:

*Firstly*, to coordinate work of different departments;

*Secondly*, to attend to the urgent political and other general mass issues, like food problem, that may not wait for the CEC meeting;

*Thirdly*, other jobs that do not fall under the purview of any department.

Following are the departments that have to be set up for efficient functioning of the Party Centre:

(1) Party Organisation; (2) Party Education; (3) Trade Unions; (4) Kisan and Agricultural Labour; (5) Students and Youth; (6) Women; (7) Peace and solidarity work; (8) Parliament; (9) Central Party Papers; (10) Publishing House; (11) Finance; (12) International; (13) Study on economic and other problems facing the movement; and (14) Culture.

The National Council should also consider setting up of departments for Muslim minority and tribals.

These departments have to be manned by competent committees consisting of members of the Secretariat, CEC, National Council and in some cases even by other capable comrades who are prepared to work in the PHQ. Departments have to be led by members of the Secretariat, CEC or National Council but they will be regular members of the respective committees.

These departmental committees have to submit regular reports to the CEC or the National Council when they meet.

The Central Secretariat members must be full-time functionaries at the PHQ.

5. *Style of Work*: The present style of work also has become an obstruction to the effective functioning of the Party.

(i) *No businesslike conduct of meetings*: Though in the Party Constitution a provision has been made for drafting rules and bye-laws by the National Council and state councils, our Party has till now functioned without any rules and bye-laws. Here and there some committees might have made rules for their own functioning. But on the whole, the Party committees and other bodies function only with some vague conventions. Hence a lot of time is wasted every time over procedural wranglings like method of voting and quorum, fixation of agenda, method of conducting discussions, etc.

Party meetings are not conducted in a businesslike way. Much time is lost in rambling discussions because written drafts are presented to the meetings rarely. Often drafts are written after the general discussion in a hurry. When sometimes this is not possible, oral decisions are taken—to be written later. Some of these will always remain oral because they are not written and over these quarrels take place as to what actually the decision was.

In the same way, method of sending written reports by lower committees to higher committees has ceased long ago. Hence leading committees have to depend for information about activities of the lower committees on what is published in the Party journals. Many comrades have no habit of sending news write-ups to the journals also. They give oral reports at the time of meetings of Party committees which consume a lot of time and very little time is left for actual discussion of the problems.

Another bad habit is that review of implementation of resolutions is done by committees very seldom. Only when differences arise some review takes place. Because of this so many campaigns run by the Party remain without being reviewed. We try to solve all the piled up differences for years at Party conferences, where we do not find sufficient time to clear all these Augean stables. Because of this state of affairs, regular checking up of our decisions, work and understanding does not take place, which reduces the efficiency of Party committees and comrades.

If the Party has to function efficiently, rules of functioning

have to be framed according to which all Party bodies must function; written drafts of resolutions and documents have to be submitted, if possible well in advance, to the meetings on which businesslike discussions take place; prompt and regular reviews and check up of the work done has to take place if lessons have to be drawn and mistakes of committees or individuals are to be corrected.

(ii) *Root out the evil of individual functioning: Establish the norm of collective functioning and criticism and self-criticism:* The evil of individual functioning has developed to alarming proportions during the last ten years, after the smashing up of the Party norms during the period of extreme adventurism in 1948-51. Taking individual decisions and implementing them on one's own, making serious political and other commitments without reference to committees, defending one's own wrong decisions and weaknesses, an attitude of liberalism and not criticising others' mistakes so that they may adopt the same attitude to oneself, gathering some younger comrades around oneself are some of the manifestations of individual functioning.

During recent years this evil has so developed that in place of principled criticism and self-criticism inside the Party bodies, loose talk, gossip and even backbiting, are indulged in at all levels and specially at the Centre.

Leakage of information including reports of discussions even in the highest Party bodies is a serious evil which we have been facing for some time. Partly it is due to gossip and loose talk. But it does not end there. In some instances it can be definitely attributed to information being deliberately given out. We have tried to investigate into its causes and source. The Central Control Commission was entrusted with this task and it went into the whole question. It has however to be admitted that despite efforts it has not been possible to overcome this serious evil. It is necessary to make persistent efforts by tightening the Party organisation and by increased vigilance to root out this evil.

By collective functioning not only the work of the committees can be carried on efficiently but there are greater opportunities for individuals to develop their capacities and correct their mistakes. Hence this evil of individual functioning has to be rooted

out and collective functioning has to be strengthened. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism has to be wielded properly if our Party has to function effectively. Decisions have to be taken collectively and in implementing them individual responsibility has to be assigned.

(iii) *Another wrong thing in the present style of functioning is that proper division of functions and specialisation are not practised in Party committees as a system.*

Because of this, not only the efficiency of the work of the committees is suffering but the political growth of individual comrades is also hampered. Hence, it is very necessary that the system of proper division of functions among members of the committees is done and they are helped to specialise in the functions each of them has undertaken. If a particular committee does not have sufficient cadre to discharge all the functions, some have to be left. That is all. Normally each functionary should be given one function. In exceptional cases two functions can be assigned.

This problem is very well explained in the Draft Organisational Report presented to the Vijayawada Congress thus:

“Activisation of the entire Party on the above lines would make it necessary to put an end to the present style of work, according to which there are some Party leaders who are supposed to be ‘all-rounders’. Whether it was correct or not at one stage of the Party’s history for leaders to try to become jack-of-all-trades, it is impossible under the present set up for one to become master of several aspects of Party leadership simultaneously. If somebody tries to be simultaneously a mass agitator, the functionary of a trade union or a kisan sabha or other mass organisation, a regular contributor to the Party press, a writer of pamphlets, a teacher in Party schools, a functionary of the Organisation Department of the Party, etc., etc. he is likely to fail in everything. We have to realise now that the bigger the Party, the more complex the problems, the more is specialisation needed.

“All the more true is this at the level of leading committees of the Party. Members of the central and state secretariats should not only periodically divide among themselves different aspects



of the work according to convenience, but conscious efforts should be made to enable each of them to specialise in one aspect of the work and when that is done, allow him to do it to his fullest capacity. Similarly, around each member of the secretariat should be built a team of comrades who will both help him in his work as well as themselves master the art of working that department. Only in this way can a functioning apparatus in which problems of Party education, the promotion and distribution of Party literature, Party finance, each of the various mass organisations, etc. can be tackled, be built at the central and state levels of the Party. Lower down, too, it is necessary to have a proper selection of comrades at every level who will be allowed to specialise themselves in such activities as are necessary for the full functioning of the Party and mass organisations.

“This does not, of course, mean that, once a particular comrade is allotted to one particular field of activity, he is to do that alone up to the end of his life. Periodical reviews of the requirements of cadres as well as the strong and weak points of particular comrades may lead to the transfer of one particular comrade, who has done well in a particular department and whose services are expected to improve the work of another department. Conversely, a comrade who has done particularly badly in the field assigned to him, may be given chance in another field and help to improve himself if there are reasons to believe that he was a misfit in the field originally assigned to him. But such transfers should not be lightly made and should be made only on the basis of proper review of the work turned out by him.”

(iv) *Selection, Training and Promotion of Cadres*: In the matter of proper selection, training and promotion of cadre, our Party goes by spontaneity. No proper estimation of the capacities of each cadre is made and suitable job allotted. The cadre is not trained particularly for that job. After giving a job, nobody keeps track of the cadre and his needs and difficulties. He is allowed to go his own way. If he develops, it is all right. Otherwise, he is allowed to rot. Hence promotion is not also done properly. The cadre who work in the Party offices are the worst hit in this respect.

The selection, training and nursing of the cadre is an art by itself which every Party leader should cultivate. Otherwise, he cannot build the Party. For the building of a revolutionary Party, proper estimation, selection, training and promotion of cadre has to be done as a matter of routine. Unless this is done, the cadre stagnates and becomes useless. All capable cadres must be promoted in time.

A very important consideration in selection and promotion of cadre concerns cadre coming from the working class, peasantry and the tribal people. In our country, there is a great handicap for cadre coming from these classes to rise into leadership because of social and educational disabilities. It must be the constant endeavour of the Party to place cadre coming from these classes into positions of new and higher responsibilities inside the Party and simultaneously help them to overcome their disabilities. This is especially important if our Party is to become a mass Party and its working-class-peasant base is to be further strengthened at all levels.

If the Party undertakes this responsibility, one of the important problems of Party organisation, that is, the shortage of cadre can be solved. We can find sufficient cadre for the replacement of old comrades going out of commission and for expansion of Party work also. The practice of searching for cadre after a vacancy is created must stop. For every job, alternative cadre must be kept in view and trained in advance.

(v) *Taking work from part-timers:* There is a good chunk of educated and able Party members and sympathisers—lawyers, doctors, traders, employees in offices, educated youth in villages—who could be utilised for various jobs like running fronts like peace and friendship organisations, helping in conducting Party schools, representing the Party in panchayats, municipalities, cooperatives and legislatures. In the same way, part-time cadres from factories and establishments could be utilised in running trade unions also.

We are using very little of these possibilities for developing the movement. On the other hand, for doing all routine jobs also, we use whole-timers. Under these conditions, it has become

a habit for one whole-timer to take too many jobs on his head and not doing any job properly.

The practice of utilising a whole-timer for all routine work has to go if our Party has to work properly and expand. No mass Communist Party can ever function without drafting part-time capable cadre into the day-to-day functioning of the Party. But if work has to be taken from these part-time cadres, the Party committees and whole-timers have to work in a planned and businesslike way. Then alone capabilities of part-timers could be utilised properly.

6. *Cult of Personality*: The CPSU did a great service to the international Communist movement by raising the question of Stalin's cult and boldly fighting it out in its Twentieth Congress. Thereafter, the Conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 dealt with this problem and gave a clear lead to the world communist movement to take measures to eradicate it of this most pernicious evil which had acted as a brake on its development.

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism does not believe in either gods or individuals with superhuman powers. But all the same, a god in the person of Comrade Stalin was created in the world communist movement whose word was bible. The story did not end here. Lesser gods were created according to the conditions obtaining in different countries, subservient to this all-pervading world god. This cult of the individual is a ladder into which different types of bigger gods and lesser gods were fitted at different rungs from top to bottom.

It is true all individuals are not endowed with the same capacity and some individuals rise above others because of their extraordinary capacities and qualities and are recognised as leaders by others. History abounds in such examples. The communist movement is no exception. Marx, Engels and Lenin are such extraordinary geniuses of the international communist movement. Comrades Stalin, Khrushchov, Mao, Togliatti, Thorez and such other great leaders rose in the international communist movement. In the same way, leaders arise in other Communist Parties also. But if conditions were created wherein they put

themselves above the collective, that is, the leading committees, they do more harm than good to the movement.

The great geniuses of the world communist movement—Marx, Engels and Lenin never put themselves above the collective as Comrade Stalin did.

It is also true that we respect and love leaders but it must not develop into adulation where one would lose one's own individuality and uncritically accept whatever the leader says.

This lesson of world communist movement on the cult of personality was not taken seriously by the CPI. We satisfied ourselves by accepting this very formally and passing resolutions in our Party Congress and National Council and state council meetings approving the decisions of the world communist movement on this matter. We did very little to examine the history of our own Party to find out how Stalin cult affected our own movement, as well as what form the cult of personality had taken at different levels of our Party.

On the other hand, an opinion gathered ground that the cult of the individual is not an internal problem for the CPI because of the horrible mistakes committed by different sections of its leadership at different periods of Party history.

But this is a mistaken notion as is proved by the experience of the serious inner-Party struggle and the split in our Party. It is true the leadership as a whole or sections of it did not command that much confidence from the ranks throughout the country. But individual leaders are demi-gods for sections of Party members in their respective areas. This has played a very harmful role in the inner-Party struggle and the cult of personality was developed consciously in some cases by attributing all sorts of things to the leaders in order to win over more politically backward sections of Party members. Now it has become a common thing to attribute the building of the Party in states and districts to individuals rather than to committees at the head of which these individuals are.

At the lower level, in the absence of proper functioning of the branches and local committees, individual functioning manifests itself in the worst form.

The causes behind this state of affairs are, apart from the

wrong political line pursued by the Party, the pernicious system of individual functioning that has been dealt with earlier, political backwardness of Party members and cadre. Under these conditions, it became possible for leaders to build up their personality over the head of the committees, gather cadre and Party members who follow them uncritically behind individual leaders. Even now we have to make a detailed study of our past history and assess how and to what extent the personality cult had affected the Party. Unless this institution of cult of personality is fought tooth and nail and the supremacy of the collective established, it is very difficult for the movement to advance.

(a) The evil of individual functioning should be rooted out, the method of collective decisions and individual responsibility in implementing them should be firmly established. Also one leader should not be put in charge of too many responsibilities. One must be given at the most two functions.

(b) Though we talk so much about criticism and self-criticism and promotion of capable cadre, it is only in our Party that changes in leadership are rarely done. When once a comrade is elected to a post, he is not changed unless he proves himself thoroughly useless or betrays the Party. Result is that the particular comrade, as well as others, develop a psychology that he is indispensable and he tries to perpetuate his position, sometimes using anti-Party methods. By chance if he is removed, he gets subjective, develops all sorts of complexes and becomes incapable of adjusting to the new situation. The result is that a few leading comrades are very well known to the PMs and people throughout the country and when some of them go off their head, there is utter confusion among them.

Hence a system of running Party leadership and changing comrades in leading positions must become a normal affair.

(c) Another evil in our Party is that in the all-India centre, as well as state centres, the leaders who have committed big blunders continue to be eternal leaders. Only in exceptional cases they are removed from key positions but kept in the leading committees. In the past, if one made self-criticism and purified himself, like a sinner bathing in the Ganges to wash off his

sins, it was sufficient to get a new licence to commit more blunders. Now-a-days even that type of formal self-criticism is not needed because we have thrown this weapon of criticism and self-criticism into the dust-bin after political controversies sharpened in the Party.

It neither helps the Party nor the comrade concerned to keep a leading comrade who commits serious blunders in the same key position. If he is removed from that position and given some practical work among the masses, it would help him to understand and correct his mistakes.

Another thing has also to be noted down in this connection and that is that the mistakes committed by comrades are not allowed to be known to Party members or masses. We allow the mistakes to be piled up behind the curtain and only when the particular comrade goes so rotten that it becomes indispensable to throw him out of the Party, we reveal all his sins suddenly. The Party members and masses are taken aback and in some cases it leads to the Party's position being misunderstood.

Hence, in all cases where serious blunders are committed, it is necessary to relieve the responsible leading functionaries of their responsibilities and give them some other jobs where there is an opportunity to learn and correct oneself from the experience of practical work. It is also necessary to let their blunders known to the Party members and in some cases masses also. This must be made a normal practice inside our Party.

(d) It is admitted generally that in our Party, as in several other CPs, the fundamental principle of democratic centralism was interpreted in a way that democracy got restricted and bureaucracy and authoritarianism developed. But when an extremely adventurist political line was thrust on the Party during the period 1948-51, as a reaction to the harmful consequences of that adventurist line, looseness of discipline and liberalism developed in the name of inner-Party democracy. It is true that some form of inner-Party democracy, and political discussions through Forums was introduced. But the system of organised inner-Party democracy was not developed as a channel for expression of opinions of comrades on issues facing the Party. As a result, looseness in discipline, gossip, disobeying

Party resolutions and such other things still remain to a great extent in our Party.

For developing inner-Party democracy, our Party has not only to hold conferences at regular intervals as enjoined upon us by the Constitution but we have to organise inner-Party discussion on big mass, political and organisational issues that arise and conduct discussion. This will provide proper channel for free and frank expression of opinion of Party members. This must be made a normal practice in our Party.

(e) Above all, the political level and consciousness of Party members and cadre has to be raised through giving them ideological and political education, which is the surest guarantee against cult of personality. In that case, the cadre and Party members will not follow leaders through blind faith but will help them correct themselves when they go wrong.

In the same way, the mass behind the Party also has to be made politically conscious through mass meetings and otherwise so that they may also develop political faith instead of blind faith in the leaders.

*7. Financial Position of Our Party:* The financial position of our Party is, to say the least, deplorable. No proper system was ever set up during the last 12 years for collection of Party membership dues, levies of MPs and MLAs, Party fund collections and tapping other sources of income like bookshops and publications.

The financial position of mass organisations is also in a deplorable state. Excepting the TUs, other mass organisations do not make collections at all. Even the TUs where collections are made, are in financial difficulties. Often proper budgeting or accounting is not made.

This state of affairs has reached a climax with the serious difficulties that have arisen in the Party during the last few years and the split.

The result is Party units and mass organisations are in perpetual financial crisis. They take loans. When that has also reached a saturation point and no loans are available, the whole-timers suffer. They take some private job to make a living. In

this way a good number of whole-timers are compelled to leave their posts and consequently the activities of the Party and mass organisations get crippled. Only those who have property or rich well-wishers to support or Members of Parliament and legislatures, as long as they are endowed with these responsibilities by people, would survive as whole-timers.

This leads to a lot of heart-burning when comrades who served the Party selflessly are forced to become part-timers because of financial difficulties.

Another bad practice in the Party has been to get loans also for fighting the elections. Collections from people are not generally made when the election issue is hot and people are in a mood to pay. After the elections are over, the load of the loans hangs heavily on the shoulders of the candidate or those who got them with the result that effective comrades have to strain all their energy in clearing those loans and the routine work of the Party suffers to a great extent.

This state of financial chaos and anarchy has to stop and the system of Party finances has to be put on a firm foundation if our Party has to survive, not to speak of expansion. The following programme has to be implemented firmly by the separate organisational department that has to be set up at different levels as one of its special tasks:

(i) Every Party unit should have a treasurer whose job it is to keep control over collections and spending of the funds, keep the accounts and submit them periodically to the unit concerned. Every paisa collected by anybody should first be handed over to the treasurer of the concerned unit.

(ii) Every unit must prepare a proper budget of income and expenditure which has to be adhered to by Party units.

(iii) It must be the special task of the department of Party organisation to see that Party membership dues are collected every year. This is an important source of income. Even after the split, about 100,000 Party members are with the Party. If the recent call of the CEC for enrolment of fresh members is fulfilled, we will have another lakh candidate members. On the whole the Party will get two lakh rupees yearly if membership dues are collected strictly.



Every year the state councils have to give a call for collection of Party fund from masses, sympathisers and members of our Party and conduct a campaign which is led by the members of the National Council. This must be made a regular practice every year.

Every Party committee must make arrangements to keep in regular contact with the rich sympathisers in professions and business as a source of income. They must be regularly given political information so that they may feel that they are a part of the Party. It has been a general practice to approach such sympathisers only when we want money, which is resented by them very much.

The levies on MPs and MLAs are to be fixed, taking each individual's needs into consideration and the levy fixed must be collected strictly.

(iv) Mass organisations also must make it a point to collect funds for their functioning. TUs must set an example to other organisations in this matter. If they enrol members into their organisation, it will be a source of income.

Also, whenever they take day-to-day issues of the people, funds must be collected on that basis, especially when people get benefit out of that movement.

(v) At the time of the election, our units must make it a point to collect funds. In the case of general elections, the National Council must give a call for an election fund and conduct an all-India campaign which will fetch good results. The reports of these collections must find a place in our Party journals regularly so that Party committees get enthused.

8. *Party Journals*: The position of Party journals is also not encouraging. Of course, the serious differences in the Party and the subsequent split are the important reasons for this state of affairs but not the only reasons.

The main reason is that the Party committees have not realised fully the role of Party organs as propagandists and organisers of the Party. It is a pity that there are many Party units which do not get Party organs at all. Then how is it possible to keep

in contact with the day-to-day political and practical life of our Party by Party units and comrades?

The position of the journals of the National Council, *New Age Weekly* and *New Age Monthly*, is no better. The circulation of the weekly has remained almost stationary with some fall since the high point reached during Kerala elections. The monthly has only recently been revived and its circulation figures are still very much below what they can be.

From the peak figures attained in the years of 1958 and 1959, the circulation of *New Age* weekly fell substantially since 1960. What is encouraging, however, is the fact that despite the split in the Party, the circulation has not fallen. The circulation figures for 1963 have not only been maintained this year, but, in fact, have increased slightly. But the fact remains that since 1961 the circulation is very low.

Comrades might argue that the reason for this is due to the bad editing of the journals. While we agree that the political content and get up of the journals could be improved much further, we do not agree that this is the *main reason*. The Central Secretariat will do all it can to improve the journals politically and technically.

Unless and until the Party committees take upon themselves the task of popularising Party journals among people and run a campaign for increasing their circulation, no appreciable change can take place in the situation.

In order to increase the circulation of the journals, our Party must take the following steps:

(i) The secretariats of the National Council and state councils should take steps to bring about all-round improvement of Party journals. One way is for the Party leaders regularly writing articles on current political and mass issues. District and taluk leaders can help by contributing write-ups about campaigns run by the Party to the state journals.

The central and state leadership must, immediately after the Party Congress, plan out effective steps to *improve the quality* of our Party journals, both as regards their content as well as to make their get-up, lay-out, news-featuring etc. more attractive

and effective. For this, the style of work of the editorial boards must be radically improved (regular meetings of the board to plan out the dummy and to constantly improve the paper on the basis of check-up and self-criticism through collective discussion and individual responsibility; proper division of work and specialisation among members of the editorial board; etc.).

The all-India centre and each state committee must fix up a member of the secretariat to function as the fulltime editor of the Party journal. He must be made responsible to the respective secretariat for the quality of the paper.

The Secretariat of the National Council should call a conference of all editors of Party journals, correspondents of *New Age Weekly* as well as other leading comrades dealing with Party journals and publications to discuss how to bring about improvement in the quality of Party journals and publications both with regard to political content and technical standards.

(ii) Every locality in town or village where there is even one Party member or sympathiser should get at least one copy of the state journal. All Party members and sympathisers who can afford should be encouraged to subscribe individually to the journals.

In the same way the circulation of central journals also has to be increased. In every town/village centre agencies for the sale of the journals have to be set up and regular checking up must be made by Party committees.

(iii) An all-India campaign has to be run by the National Council as soon as possible to improve the circulation of the Party journals.

The necessity of bringing out a Hindi weekly journal from the Centre was felt by the Party many a time but it could not materialise. However, the demand and necessity for such a journal have grown with time due to the needs of the movement in Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and several important big cities of India where a vast number of Hindi knowing population lives. The journals of right reactionary and communal parties are creating a lot of confusion among the masses against the CPI and democratic movement.

In order to counteract the reactionary politics of dark forces

and take progressive and communist policies to the masses, a Hindi weekly is needed.

So immediately a machinery has to be evolved to bring out a Hindi weekly from the Centre.

9. *People's Service Corps*: Before 1948, our Party had the tradition of a trained people's corps to help people in distress—like epidemics, fire, accident, flood havoc, and in *melas* and such other occasions. It used to help the Party in conducting meetings, demonstrations and conferences and constructive work in villages and towns.

This tradition of a trained volunteer corps has not been revived since the Party became legal in 1952. Only temporary arrangements are being made to meet the situation as it arises. Hence our Party is neither able to help the people in cases of calamities in time and effectively, nor conduct meetings, processions and conferences in an organised manner. It is very necessary for the Party to have a trained people's service corps capable of discharging all the above-mentioned jobs.

(a) A separate department for organisation of the people's service corps has to be set up under the supervision of the department of organisation at all levels of the Party. To begin with, it may set apart one comrade for this job who is capable of discharging this responsibility.

(b) A training course and a plan of training leaders of the people's service corps has to be drawn up and training given to these leaders.

(c) Every local Party unit must form a people's service corps with energetic young Party members and militants of the locality or village.

10. *Attitude to the Rival Party*: The split in the CPI is a settled fact. The split-away section has held its party congress at Calcutta in the first week of November 1964. Now the question arises as to what attitude we take towards the split-away section.

We would have recognised them as a separate party if they

had not claimed that they themselves are the CPI and tried to get recognition in Parliament, legislatures and with the Election Commission for the election symbol reserved for the CPI. If they take some other name for their party and agree for a separate symbol, we are prepared to call them by that name. Otherwise, we will call them by the name of Rival Communist Party. We will not be bothered by the epithets that they use like Dange-clique, tailists, etc. against our Party. People will make them ultimately see sense.

In spite of all the disruptive, uncommunistic, nauseating methods and language some of the rival party leaders use, which is being aped by a good number of their cadres, we should adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. A good number of Party members, cadre and even some leaders were swept away by the left demagogy, falsehood spread about certain leaders of our Party, spy-mania created by these slanders and by parochial and local chauvinist feelings. These are the ways of the left adventurists and dogmatists, as is proved by the practice of the world leaders of this trend, the leadership of the CPC.

The rival party leaders have elevated slander against our Party leaders and character assassination almost to the level of tactics. In some states they have declared the CPI as a reactionary party and have given a call for its total annihilation. They have declared that their main task is to fight out the CPI. Unless we clearly understand the politics and philosophy behind their tactics we will fall into the trap. They want to create and maintain a permanent tension between their ranks and our membership. If there is no such tension and if their members are allowed to think coolly and in a dispassionate manner, the rival party leaders fear that they cannot retain even those who have temporarily gone with them. We must be patient in explaining to their ranks and try for united actions on all people's issues and other political campaigns. Such a fraternal attitude will help their ranks and the people following that party to understand whose policies are correct and are helping the movement.

Only world events and experience of the movement will show what is right and what is wrong. Arguments and correct

approach will help the Party members, cadres and even some leaders to understand the lessons of the movement and change their mind.

This does not mean that we will not fight their wrong and harmful ideological and political understanding or their disruption of mass movements. We will fight their disruptive activities in every sphere, consistently and concretely, of course in a patient and fraternal way. This attitude alone will help us to make them see how their ideological, political and organisational positions are wrong and harmful.

The slander of the rival party leaders that the National Council is following a policy of tailism to the Congress, class collaboration and anti-struggle, has been disproved to some extent by the Great Petition and March to Delhi of last year, the four-stage struggle of workers and middle-class employees for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index and finally the all-India satyagraha launched by the Party after the split against rising food prices. These movements and struggles which became a resounding success because of correct slogans, form of struggle and tactics adopted which were in consonance with the prevailing mood of the masses, have also exposed to some extent the hollowness of the left demagogy of the leaders of the rival party.

More of such all-India and statewide movements and struggles will go a long way in making the masses, rival party members and cadre, even some leaders, to realise the correctness of the political line, forms of struggle and methods pursued by our Party. We can successfully fight this bitter struggle with the leaders of the rival party in the political field only by building a strong mass movement and unity of the democratic forces.

The leaders of the rival party have started earnestly to split the AITUC because it is the only live organisation. It is very difficult for them to split the movements like peace, friendship organisations, Afro-Asian solidarity etc. With regard to the other mass organisations, there is nothing to split at present because they are virtually defunct. But when actually they will be revived, the problem of safeguarding their unity will arise.

In the case of mass organisations, our general line is that it is harmful for people if they are split and we must strive our best to keep the unity of these mass organisations. We can do this best by not only adopting correct slogans, forms of struggle and methods but also correct attitude towards unity of these mass organisations.

We give below extracts from the Central Secretariat document on the splitting activities of the rival party in the TUs, which should serve as a guide to the comrades on other fronts in fighting the splitting activities and preserving the unity of mass organisations:

“Reports go to show that the sectarian splitters are out either to capture the AITUC for themselves or split it after gathering sufficient votes in it. They speak of not dividing the mass organisations. But it is only a smoke-screen behind which to prepare for the capture or split.

“Hence Party members in the trade unions and STUCs must not remain complacent and must be firm in giving a rebuff to the splitting activities in the TUs and AITUC.

“It is reported that in all major centres and unions, the splitters are active. They are trying to remove Party leaders from the official posts in the TUs and replace them by their own men. They enrol false membership or make false records to make a majority in the delegation to conferences or executives. In one case they called a fictitious meeting of a few of their men and termed it as a meeting of the executive of the union and changed the secretary who was our Party member. In another case, their man defalcated with subscription money and when their so-called TU branches were refused any further supply of subscription books, they printed their own books in the name of the union and collected money and membership. In managing committees, when they find that our Party members who are a majority are not present in full number, they pass decisions arbitrarily and try to capture office.

“Another of their favourite tactics is to float small unions on the basis of small factories and get them affiliated to the AITUC and the STUC. The trend today is to organise big industry-wise unions. But these small unions are organised and registered in

order to get the minimum delegates allowed under the AITUC constitution to the sessions and swamp the AITUC Congress with their delegates drawn from these small and bogus unions. In one state conference, we found that all the leading DC secretaries of the splitters' wing had appeared in the conference from such small unions and tried to derail the TU conference into Party political controversies. Their game however, failed due to the genuine rank and file worker delegates. In some places some unions are suddenly engaged in arranging visits and meetings of people like A. K. Gopalan under the plea of enlisting help of MPs. But when they visit the place, the occasion is used to carry on splitting activities. Party has to see that MPs and MLAs make themselves available for TU work and for helping in strike struggles etc. whenever needed.

"Thus there are a number of dishonest practices which they resort to, all of which we need not describe here. . . .

"All this should make our comrades aware of the fact that all sorts of nefarious methods are being used by the anti-Party men in the AITUC to disrupt or capture the organisation. One should not be deceived by their hypocritical talk of keeping the unity of the TUs. . . .

"Hence Party members should undertake the following tasks:

(i) We must lead trade union struggles boldly but in our own way without falling a victim to adventurist provocations.

(ii) When and where to strike or not to strike and how to settle disputes is now well-known to our Party members who have seen the AITUC line in action in these years. That line has proved successful and yielded good results and gains to the working class. In this we should not be sidetracked by the sectarian criticism or abuse.

(iii) In the conduct of struggles, we should not refuse to cooperate with any section of TU leadership. We should not disrupt TU unity because of political differences, even with the splitters. At the same time, we must pursue our line and convince the workers about its correctness.

(iv) We must not, however, be blackmailed in following a wrong line of action or organisational set up under the threat



of split in TU unity. We should take all the issues to the membership and the masses and not keep issues within the narrow circle of executives only.

(v) In view of the split in the Party, we must establish Party fractions in all *TU organisations*. While decisions on TU work must first be discussed and decided in the TU fraction, our decisions must not be imposed on the TU executive where non-party masses are members.

(vi) The Party fractions at the state levels should immediately review the TU situation vis-a-vis the activities of the splitters and direct lower units to take concrete measures against disruption.

(vii) Every factory or establishment must have Party fractions or groups to guide TU work of the Party among the workers.

(viii) Vigorous drive to enrol new members from among workers should be undertaken through the TU fractions.

(ix) Attention should be paid to the politicalisation of the managing committee or executive members of unions; political activity of the leading TU cadres must be attended to with particular care.

(x) Special attention should be given to work among those industries or trade unions which are not affiliated to the AITUC.

“The threat of split is not only on national level but on international level also. The Chinese leadership, with the help of their supporters, is trying to split the WFTU. They try to obstruct the working of the executives of the WFTU in all possible ways. They are trying to set up a separate Afro-Asian centre of TUs under their domination. They have issued statements attacking the General Secretary of the WFTU and have openly threatened to split.

“In pursuance of their general line in the international field, the splitters here also will try to split the trade unions and the AITUC when they will find opportune time.

“If we follow our line with firmness and correct understanding and keep with the masses and at the head of their struggles, we can save not only the unity of the AITUC but extend it further. In the recent *bandh* struggles, TU unity has advanced to some extent which also had some sobering effect on some of the split-

ters. Further united actions will unite the working class and TU leadership still better.”

It is with this faith that we must work in the TUs and other mass organisations.

It is indeed a great tragedy that not only is the Party split but even the unity of mass organisations is today in danger.

It has been our conviction that only a strong and united Party can be the rallying point of all progressive forces for the democratic revolution. We have therefore always held that any division or split inside the Party has to be avoided and could be avoided. We have, therefore, always emphasised what is common, what unites all communists. Unfortunately the leaders of the rival party wish to emphasise what divides us and have chosen the path of abuse, slander and split instead of principled debates on the basis of democratic centralism inside the Party to settle issues. They have forced this great division inside the Indian working-class movement and barred all prospects of unity in the near future.

In this difficult situation the Party has no other option but to consolidate its ranks and go forward with firmness and confidence. While the rival leaders speak revolutionary phraseology, it is the Party which has been at the head of all militant working class and people's movements in the past eight months. While they emit fire against the present government, it is the Party which has succeeded in mobilising the broadest section of the people against its anti-people policies and against vested interests and reaction. While they may talk of people's democracy and even more radical goals, it is the Party which is forging real sanctions, building unity of progressive forces in action. The Party has a correct mass line tested in practice, correct slogans guiding the movement to force basic changes and a clear political perspective.

There are a large number of Party members at all levels, most of them working in mass fronts, who have not yet re-enrolled as Party members; nor have they joined the rival party. The Party will have a differentiated approach to these comrades and is confident that they will soon join and strengthen the ranks of the Party.

The Party is confident that the mass of Party members who have been carried away by left demagogy will see the gap between their words and deeds and through their own experience in the coming period reject the path of disunity and rejoin and strengthen the ranks of the Party. Our correct approach to them in mass organisations and movements will greatly help this process. We have to work with this confident perspective.

11. *How and Where to Begin?* In the foregoing pages of this document, the present state of our Party organisation and the tasks that are to be fulfilled in order to rebuild our Party as a disciplined and strong organisation capable of leading the Indian people are described in detail. But the problem that arises is: How and where to begin?

The Party has during the last ten years several times passed resolutions pinpointing the serious defects affecting the Party organisation but no serious and sustained efforts were made to remove these defects. That has engendered a sense of frustration and cynicism inside the Party. If the Party is to translate the proposals made in the present organisational report into practice, it is necessary to evolve concrete guarantees for their implementation. From that point of view the following steps should be taken:

(a) The all-India Party centre and the Party centres in various states must be thoroughly reorganised so that they become real leading bodies imbued with a collective spirit and capable of fulfilling the manysided tasks visualised in this report. A beginning must be made at the Party Congress itself.

(b) A separate department for Organisation to be set up from top to bottom, as has been explained earlier, for improving the organisational structure of the Party.

(c) The selection and promotion of new cadre and removal of those who are ineffective at all levels in a planned manner must not be left to scattered initiative at places but should be decided in accordance with guiding lines to be formulated in this respect. The new National Council elected at the Party Congress shall address itself to this task and formulate such guiding lines at its first meeting.

(d) A central inner-Party journal to deal with problems of ideology and problems arising in the mass movement, current political questions and organisational problems, has to be started by the Organisational Department. State councils also can run such journals, wherever possible. These inner-Party journals will help the Party for the expression of opinion of the cadre on mass political and organisational issues facing the Party and will help to pool experience.

(e) A Hindi weekly to be published from the Party Centre.

(f) The state councils of the Party shall meet within two months after the Party Congress in special session devoted entirely to problems of Party organisation in the state and take concrete organisational decisions to implement the proposals made in this report. Every state committee shall send a report of such meeting to the National Council.

(g) A separate department for Party Education has to be set up both in the all-India centre and state centres, in order to discharge one of the most important and urgent tasks of political education of cadres and also train them for discharging the responsibility of different fronts. It will also help the state committees in giving political education to the Party members and militants.

It will discharge the following responsibilities:

- (1) Run a permanent Central Party School for training advanced cadre and teachers for the schools in the states.
- (2) Run a permanent Central School for training cadre from Hindi-speaking states.
- (3) Help state committees to organise schools for the experienced cadre who did not have the benefit of modern education. The state committees have also to make arrangement for training branch secretaries.
- (4) Publish such popular pamphlets and books on Marxist theory, Party Programme and other topics for the education of the Party members and militants.

(h) The state councils shall also convene meetings of comrades working on the kisan, agricultural-worker front with a view to chalk out a mass line for the rural areas and take steps to revive the kisan sabhas and build agricultural labour organisations.

Report of decisions taken shall be sent to National Council. The Central Secretariat basing itself on these reports from states shall convene a meeting of important kisan front workers from all over the country with a view to evolve a general line on this front and to revive the kisan organisation.

(i) An all-India meeting of the cadres on the women's front, women cadres working in class-organisations, Party leaders in charge of women's front as well as leading comrades from trade unions and kisan sabha.

(j) Similar meetings of student comrades from all over India shall be held in May 1965 to finally resolve the questions facing the student movement for many years.

(k) The secretariat of the National Council is to call a conference of Party editors and leading Party journalists and editors of Party publications.

(l) National Council is to appoint a commission for writing the history of the Communist Party of India.

### *All-India Party and Mass Campaigns:*

The following all-India Party and mass campaigns have to be conducted in order to galvanise the Party and masses into action.

1. An all-India campaign for toning up the Party organisation—for enrolment of new Party members, for strengthening the functioning of the Party branches (electing branch committees, secretaries, setting up of offices, minute books, etc.), for discussion of this report in the committees and drawing up necessary lessons from it, 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.

2. An all-India Party fund campaign for collection of Rs. 10 lakhs has to be conducted beginning with January 1965 and ending with April. The state councils to decide the month suitable for their respective states for the launching of the Party fund campaign.

3. An all-India campaign for increasing the circulation of Party journals has to be conducted in March 1965.

#### 4. All-India Mass Campaigns:

(a) It is certain that the food crisis and the phenomenon of rising prices are going to remain as the most crucial problems in the coming period. Hence the campaign for food and against rising prices has to be a continuous thing until we succeed in forcing the government to take up wholesale trade in foodgrains in full measure and organise distribution of food and other necessities of life.

(b) Bonus and DA campaign for workers and middle-class employees as evolved by the AITUC has to be conducted vigorously.

(c) An all-India campaign to increase food production has to be run in the rural areas in the months of April, May and June 1965. The aim of this campaign is to concretise the Party's agrarian programme and move the rural masses. This campaign has to be properly prepared by meeting one or several branches together as the case may be and preparing a concrete plan of action on the burning issue of that locality such as wasteland, repairs of water sources, raising of bunds for the flood waters, construction of feeder roads etc. The units have not only to apply pressure on the government but have to participate by putting physical labour wherever it is possible and needed.

This campaign is two-fold: one is to help the peasantry to fight for facilities to increase production of foodgrains and the other is to help the agricultural labourers and poor peasants to get possession of fallow and waste-lands lying with the government for cultivation and increase of wages of agricultural labourers. Such a comprehensive campaign in the rural areas will not only help the rural masses but also help our Party to shake off the lethargy that has gripped it in rural areas for the last ten years.

Comrades, we have passed through a most serious crisis—in a way more severe than even the one we faced in October 1962. It is to the credit of the loyalty of our members, their steadfastness and devotion that we have emerged out of it and regained our initiative. Our Party has been able to commence the

process of overcoming the longstanding defects which have been impediments in our further growth.

The national political campaigns on burning problems of our people, linked to questions of crucial policies like the March of September 13, 1963 and the all-India satyagraha have put the Party on the map in a big way. It has given us the confidence in the possibilities of the situation and our capacities.

In this Seventh Congress, we have adopted a Programme which will not only be our guide but can be and has to be made a big instrument for educating the entire Party.

We have in this Organisational Report taken note of some of our most serious failings and, what is more, we have outlined some concrete steps which should enable the Party to make significant improvement in our organisation.

Of course, it would be naive and idle to expect that everything now would be all right. On the contrary, most serious efforts will have to be undertaken to build mass campaigns and fight struggles to eradicate the serious defects in our organisation, determinedly educate the Party, speedily expand its organisation and learn to move the masses to intervene in the national scene. All this requires determined efforts and lot of correct and all-round rectification.

We have however to realise that if we properly carry forward what we have achieved in the pre-Congress discussions and at this Congress, and set about to undertake the tasks we have outlined, we can make rapid strides forward. The crisis of the capitalist path of development, the fact that people are more and more searching for an alternative, the possibility of winning the largest sections to the goal of national democracy and the favourable world developments—all indicate that our Party can have and has a possibility of a most rapid advance.

Let us, comrades, then devote ourselves to these tasks with hope and confidence.

# CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## *PREAMBLE*

(The Seventh Congress of the CPI authorises and directs the National Council to make necessary amendments to the Preamble in the light of the Programme adopted at this Congress.)

(The Congress wants to make it clear that this will not mean that the Constitution as amended by the Congress will not come into force immediately).

## *ARTICLE I*

### *Name*

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

## *ARTICLE II*

### *Emblem*

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white: "Communist Party of India."

## *ARTICLE III*

### *Flag*

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

## *ARTICLE IV*

### *Membership*

1. Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees



to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party membership dues and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

2. New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party branch on the recommendation of two Party members. Party committees at town, taluk, district, state and central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party branch or the Party committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility. All applications for Party membership must be placed before the appropriate committees within a month of their presentation and recommendation.

3. The general body meeting of the Party branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a candidate member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission.

4. If a leading member from another political party of local, district or state level comes over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the local Party committee or district or state committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee of the Party before he or she is admitted to membership of the Party.

5. Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee.

6. Candidate members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

7. The Party branch or the Party committee admitting candidate members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, Constitution and the current policies of the Party and observe their development, through providing for their functioning as members of a Party branch or unit.

8. By the end of the period of candidature, the Party branch or Party committee concerned shall discuss whether the candidate member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party branch or the committee concerned may admit candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a candidate member is found unfit, the Party branch or committee may cancel his or her candidate membership. A report of recruitment of candidates and of recommendations for admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the branch or the Party committee concerned to the next higher Party committee.

9. The higher committee may, on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the branch or the Party committee which has submitted the report. The district and state committees will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

10. A Party member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the district or state, approval by the district or the state committee concerned shall be necessary.

## ARTICLE V

### *Party Pledge*

All candidates as well as full Party members shall sign the Party Pledge. This pledge shall be:

“I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party.

“I shall strive to live up to the ideals of communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses and the country, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests.”

## ARTICLE VI

### *Party Membership Cards*

1. On admission to membership, every Party member shall be issued a Party membership card.
2. Party cards shall be uniform throughout the country and shall be issued by the state committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE VII

### *Renewal of Membership Cards*

1. There shall be an annual renewal of Party membership cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the Party member belongs under the direction and supervision of the state council. No Party card shall be renewed in the case of any Party member who for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party membership dues.
2. A report on such renewal of Party cards by a branch or a Party committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.
3. The state council and the district council shall have the right to scrutinise the list of Party members.

## ARTICLE VIII

### *Resignation from Party Membership*

1. A Party member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party branch concerned, which by a decision of its general body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.
2. The Party branch or the Party committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party member to revoke his or her wish to resign.
3. In the case where a Party member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of

Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

4. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsions shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

## ARTICLE IX

### *Membership Dues*

All Party members, full as well as candidate, shall pay a Party membership dues of one rupee per year. This annual Party dues shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party card. (The Party member's dues may, if the state executive committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments.)

## ARTICLE X

### *Distribution of Party Dues*

Party dues collected from Party members by Party branches or units shall be distributed as follows:

Ten per cent for the National Council;

Forty per cent for the state council; and

The remaining 50 per cent shall be divided among the district council, the Party branch and the local committee where it exists, in such proportion as decided by the state executive committee concerned.

## ARTICLE XI

### *Party Levy*

The state executive committees and the Central Executive Committee shall fix levies on the Party members in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the National Council.

## ARTICLE XII

### *Duties of Party Members*

1. The duties of the Party members are as follows:

(a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party

organisation to which they belong, to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party, and to pay regularly the levy as fixed by the Party;

(b) To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party;

(c) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding;

(d) To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications;

(e) To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of communism;

(f) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests;

(g) To cultivate comradely relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party;

(h) To practise criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work;

(i) To be frank, honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party;

(j) To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the Party, the working class and the country;

(k) To defend the Party and uphold its cause against the onslaught of the enemies of the Party, the working class and the country;

(l) To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions, history and cultural heritage of the Indian people.

2. It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

### ARTICLE XIII

#### *Rights of Party Members*

1. Rights of the Party members are as follows:

(a) To elect Party organs and Party committees and be elected to them;

(b) To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;

(c) To make proposals regarding their own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life;

(d) To make criticism about Party committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;

(e) To demand to be heard in person when a Party committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party member or evaluates their personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed;

(f) When any Party member disagrees with any decision of a Party committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee, including and up to the National Council and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions;

(g) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the National Council and the Party Congress.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

### ARTICLE XIV

#### *Principles of Democratic Centralism*

The structure of the Party is based on and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party

democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

(a) All leading organisations of the Party committees from top to bottom shall be elected; the principle of maintaining the continuity as well as ensuring promotion of new cadres into leadership shall be continuously applied throughout the Party;

(b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority, the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs or committees, the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the National Council;

(c) All Party committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisations immediately below and all lower committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees;

(d) All Party committees, particularly the leading Party committees, shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank and file Party members;

(e) All Party committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility;

(f) All questions of international affairs, questions of all-India character, or questions concerning more than one state or questions requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a state, or district character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisation. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major state importance, it shall do so after consultation with the state Party organisation concerned. The state organisation shall do likewise in relation to districts;

(g) On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-

India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the central leadership.

2. Basing itself upon the experience of the entire Party membership and of the popular movement, in the sphere of the internal life of the Party, the following guiding principles of democratic centralism are applied:

(a) Free and frank discussion within the Party unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work;

(b) Sustained efforts to activate the Party members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party;

(c) When serious differences arise in a Party committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be taken by a majority vote;

(d) Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below;

(e) Consistent struggle against bureaucratic tendencies at all levels;

(f) Impermissibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form;

(g) Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of service to the Party.

## ARTICLE XV

### *All-India Party Congress*

1. The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the all-India Party Congress.

(a) The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the National Council ordinarily once every three years. In case of



any delay due to any unavoidable reason, the National Council shall submit a report to the Congress explaining the same.

(b) An extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the state Party organisations representing not less than one-third of the total Party membership.

(c) The date and venue of the Party Congress or of the extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

(d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the state conferences as well as by conferences of Party units directly under the all-India Party centre.

(e) The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.

(f) The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.

(g) The members of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary. Other members of the National Council shall be entitled to attend the Party Congress as delegates without vote unless elected.

(h) The number of membership from any state for which the membership dues quota to the National Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from that state to the Party Congress.

2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:

(a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the National Council;

(b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;

(c) To determine the tactical line and the policy of the Party on the current situation; -

(d) To elect the National Council by secret ballot;

(e) To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals;

(f) To hear and decide on the report of the Audit Commission;

(g) To elect the Central Control Commission.

3. The Congress shall elect a presidium for the conduct of its business.

## ARTICLE XVI

### *National Council*

1. The National Council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 101 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress.

(a) The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates.

(b) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to create a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all states, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity and include at least one representative from every state.

(c) At least one-fifth of the panel of candidates shall be persons who were not members of the outgoing National Council.

(d) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names.

(e) Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.

(f) The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates, shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.

2. The National Council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-option does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the Council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the Council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

## ARTICLE XVII

### *Functions of the National Council*

1. The National Council shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congresses.
2. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.
3. The National Council shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The National Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.
4. The National Council shall elect from amongst its members a Central Executive Committee of not more than 25 to carry on the work of the National Council between its two sessions. It shall also elect from among the members of the Central Executive Committee, the Chairman, the General Secretary and secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of seven to nine to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee.
5. The National Council shall elect a Treasurer. It shall also elect an Audit Commission to audit the accounts and report on the same to the National Council annually.
6. The National Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat and reconstitute the same.
7. The National Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Central Control Commission.
8. The National Council shall meet at least once in every six months or whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.
9. The National Council shall discuss and decide on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the Central Executive Committee. The National Council may decide to take up any other proposal or question.
10. The National Council shall submit its political and organisational report and the report of the Audit Commission before the Party Congress, whenever it is convened.

## ARTICLE XVIII

### *Central Executive Committee*

1. The Central Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Party during the period between two sessions of the National Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the National Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problem of mass movements and shall guide the state committees. It shall submit a report on its work and discussions to the next meeting of the National Council.

2. Carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

(a) To convene regular sessions of the National Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same and circulate them to its members at least one week before the date of the National Council meeting;

(b) Guidance and assistance to the state committees;

(c) Party press and Party publications;

(d) Direction of work of the communist group in Parliament;

(e) Direction of the Party's work in all-India mass organisations (or mass fronts);

(f) Party education;

(g) Party finance;

(h) Relations with fraternal parties.

3. The Central Executive Committee shall meet at least once every two months, discuss and decide on the report submitted by the Secretariat on its work and discussions in between its two meetings.

4. The functions of the Chairman, the General Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Central Executive Committee and shall function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. No member of the Secretariat shall belong to

any state or district Party organ. To handle the work of the Central Executive, the Central Executive Committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

## ARTICLE XIX

### *State Party Organs*

1. The highest organ in the state shall be the state conference.

2. The regular state conference shall be convened by the state council once every three years.

3. An extraordinary state conference shall be called by the state council at its own discretion, or when this is demanded by Party units which represent not less than one-third of the Party membership.

4. A regular state conference shall be composed of delegates elected by district conferences and by the conference of Party units, if any, directly under the state executive.

5. The basis of representation at state conferences shall be determined by the state council.

6. The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the extraordinary state conference shall be decided by the state council.

7. Members of the state executive committee and of the state control commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the state conference, whether regular or extraordinary. Members of the state council shall attend the state conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any district for which the Party membership dues quota to the state council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the district to the state conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular state conference are:

(a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the state council;

(b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in

the state in accordance with policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council and to suggest changes in the all-India policies and the general line of the Party;

- (c) To elect delegates to the all-India Party Congress;
- (d) To elect the state council;
- (e) To elect the state control commission;
- (f) To hear and decide on the report of the state audit commission;
- (g) The state conference shall elect a presidium for the conduct of its business.

## ARTICLE XX

### *The State Council*

1. The state council which shall be elected by the Party conference shall consist of not more than 101 members. The exact number shall be determined by the conference.
2. The outgoing state council shall propose a panel of candidates.
3. The list of candidates shall be prepared with a view to constitute a leadership to meet the needs of the growing mass movement and Party activity in the state but bearing in mind the general considerations under section (b) in Article XVI.
4. The election of the state council at the conference shall be governed by the same rules and principles as laid down in Sections (d) to (f) in Article XVI.
5. The state council shall be the highest authority of the state Party organisation between two Party conferences.
6. The state council shall represent the state Party organisation as a whole and shall be responsible for directing its work between two conferences. The council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on questions of state nature but in conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council.
7. The state council shall elect a state executive committee of not more than 25 from among its members to carry on the work of the state council between its two sessions. It shall also elect from among the members of the state executive committee,

a secretariat of seven or nine including the secretary to carry on the current work of the executive committee.

8. The state council shall have right to fill up vacancies in or remove any member from the state executive committee or reconstitute the same.

9. The state council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the state control commission.

10. The state council shall meet at least once in four months or earlier if one-third of its members make a requisition.

11. The state council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational reports and other matters placed before it by the state executive committee. The council may take up any other matter.

12. The state council shall elect a treasurer. It shall also elect an audit commission to audit the accounts and to report on the same to the state council annually and to the conference.

13. The state council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-option does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

## ARTICLE XXI

### *State Executive Committee*

1. The state executive committee shall direct the work of the state Party organs during the period between two sessions of the state council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and the directives of the state council and higher bodies. It shall decide on any political and organisational questions as well as on the problems of mass movement and shall report on the same to the state council.

2. To carry out these responsibilities on behalf of the state council, the state executive committee shall perform the following tasks:

(a) To convene regular meetings of the state council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;

- (b) Guidance and assistance to the district councils;
- (c) State Party press and Party publications;
- (d) Direction of the work of the members of the state legislature, regional councils, municipalities and other local bodies;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in the mass organisations;
- (f) Party education;
- (g) Party finance.

3. The state executive committee shall normally meet once every two months.

4. The functions of the secretary and the secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under the various heads on behalf of the state executive committee, all members of the secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the state executive committee and shall function collectively with specific responsibility assigned to each of them. To handle the work of the state executive, the state executive committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the secretariat.

5. Some state organisations may be exempted by the National Council from having state executive committees. In such cases, the state councils shall elect only state secretariats from among its members, including the secretary and these secretariats shall perform all the functions of the state executive committees.

## ARTICLE XXII

### *District Party Organs*

1. The highest organ in a district shall be the district Party conference.

2. A district Party conference shall be convened by the district council once every three years.

3. An extraordinary district conference shall be called by the district council at its own discretion, or when demanded by Party units which represent not less than one-third of the total membership, subject to the approval of the state executive committee.

4. A regular district Party conference shall be composed of



delegates elected by branch conferences or by conferences of the local intermediary units where such units exist.

5. The basis of representation at the district conference shall be determined by the district council.

6. The basis of representation and method of electing delegates to the extraordinary district conference shall be decided by the district council.

7. Members of the district secretariat or of the district executive, as the case may be, shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the district conference, both regular as well as extraordinary. Members of the district council shall attend the conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any branch or local organisation for which the Party membership dues quota to the district council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the branch or the local unit for the district conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular district conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the report of the district council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the district in conformity with the decisions of the higher Party organs;
- (c) To elect a district council;
- (d) To elect delegates to the state conference;
- (e) To hear and decide on the report of the district audit commission;
- (f) The district conference shall elect a presidium for the conduct of its business.

10. The district council shall be elected by the district conference. The exact number of members shall be decided by the district conference.

11. The election to the district council shall be governed by the same rules as laid down in Sections (d) to (f) of Article XVI.

*ARTICLE XXIII**District Councils*

1. The district council shall be the highest authority in the district between two district conferences.

2. The district council shall represent the district organisation as a whole and direct the entire work of the Party between two district conferences.

3. The district council shall have the full right to take decisions concerning the work of the district Party organisation but in conformity with the line of the Party and decisions of the higher Party organs.

4. The district council shall elect a district secretariat or district executive including a secretary from amongst its members to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the district council. The number of the members of the district secretariat or district executive is to be decided by the district council.

5. The district council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the district secretariat or district executive and to reconstitute the same.

6. The district council shall meet as frequently as the council may decide.

7. The district council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the district secretariat or district executive. The council may take up any other matter.

8. The district council shall elect a treasurer. It shall elect an audit commission to audit the accounts and to report on the same to the district council annually and to the conference.

9. The district council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-option does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

**ARTICLE XXIV***The District Secretariat or Executive*

1. The district secretariat or district executive shall direct the work of the district Party organisation during the period between the two sessions of the district council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the district council and higher Party organs.

2. It shall decide on political and organisational questions affecting its work within the district and shall guide the lower committees. The responsibilities of the district secretariat or district executive shall be discharged in conformity with the decisions of the district council and higher Party organs.

3. The responsibilities of the district secretariat or district executive shall include:

- (a) To convene regular meetings of the district council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
- (b) To check up the work of the lower units;
- (c) Guidance and practical assistance to the mass organisations;
- (d) Circulation of Party journals and Party literature;
- (e) Direction of Party members' work in the municipalities and local bodies;
- (f) District finance;
- (g) Organisation of District Party school and Party education.

4. In the case of a district with large membership, the state council may allow the district council to elect a district executive committee from among its members. In such a case, the district executive committee shall carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the district council. The number of members of the district executive committee is to be decided by the district council. In such a case, the district council shall also elect from among the members of the executive committee a secretariat including a secretary to carry on the current work of the executive committee.

## ARTICLE XXV

### *Intermediate Party Organs*

1. Between the branch and district council there may be formed an intermediary local Party organ such as taluka, sub-division, tehsil or town council when the state council so decides.

2. The highest organ of such a local unit or local organ shall be the local conference consisting of the delegates elected by the conferences of the branches in the area. The members of the local council shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the conference.

3. The conference of the local units, in the taluka, sub-division, tehsil or town shall elect a local council and delegates to the district conference. It shall elect a taluka, sub-division, or tehsil or town council if the state executive committee so decides.

4. The local council will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the area concerned and for the coordination of the work of the Party branches directly under it.

5. The local council shall elect its own secretary, and subject to the decision of the state executive committee, a secretariat.

6. The local council will report on its work to the district secretariat or district executive, once every month.

7. The local council will meet at least once a month.

8. The local council shall work under the direction of the district secretariat or district executive committee and shall help the district secretariat or district executive committee in maintaining close contact with Party branches.

## ARTICLE XXVI

### *Primary Unit*

1. The primary unit of the Party shall be the Party branch.

2. The highest organ of the primary unit shall be the general body meeting of the Party branch.

3. The Party branch shall be responsible for maintaining direct day-to-day contact with the masses and for organising Party activity in its sphere.

4. The Party branch shall discuss all questions regarding its work and mass activity and take necessary practical decisions.

5. The membership of a branch may be divided into groups of convenient size. Each group shall have its own convenor.

6. The function of the group shall be to distribute and check up the work of individuals. Where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the branch, preliminary discussions may be organised in the groups.

7. The Party branch is organised on the basis of the village, panchayat, municipal ward, street, mohalla, industry, individual factory, occupation and institution. The maximum membership of the branch shall be fixed by the state executive committee.

8. Functions of the branch are:

(a) To carry out the directions of the higher committee;

(b) To win masses in its locality or sphere of activity for political and organisational decisions;

(c) To build up and participate in mass organisations in its locality or sphere of activity;

(d) Sale of Party journals and publications;

(e) Collection of Party membership dues and levy and Party finance;

(f) To draw in sympathisers and militants into the Party and educate them and to help illiterate Party members to become literate;

(g) To help higher committees in day-to-day organisational and agitational work.

9. The branch at a general body meeting shall elect a secretary and an assistant secretary to conduct its current work and, where membership of the branch exceeds 25 persons, it shall elect a branch committee including its secretary and assistant secretary.

10. The general body of the branch shall meet at least once a month at which the branch committee or the branch secretary shall submit a report of the work done and its proposals.

11. The general body of the branch shall elect delegates to the Party conference of the Party organ immediately above.

12. The secretary of the branch committee shall submit to

the next higher committee and to the district council every two months a report on the new candidate and full members enrolled by it.

13. Where necessary a Party member, besides being a member of a branch in his own place of work or residence, may also be attached as an associate member to the unit of his place of residence or work, as the case may be, without the right to vote.

## ARTICLE XXVII

### *Central Control Commission*

1. There shall be a Central Control Commission elected by the Party Congress. The number of members of the Central Control Commission shall be determined by the Party Congress.

2. The National Council shall propose a panel of names for the Central Control Commission to the Party Congress. In proposing the names for nomination, standing of the candidate in the Party, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account.

3. The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the National Council.

4. The Central Control Commission shall elect its own chairman who shall have the right to attend all the meetings of the Central Executive Committee, with the right to vote except in cases of disciplinary actions. All members of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the National Council.

5. The Central Control Commission shall take up:

(a) Cases referred to it by the National Council, the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat;

(b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the state executive committee or the state council;

(c) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the state control commission and rejected.

6. The Central Control Commission shall bring to the notice of the Central Executive Committee, National Council or state

and district councils any cases of breach of the Constitution which may come to its notice.

7. The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The Central Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, and shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision.

8. In all cases there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

### ARTICLE XXVIII

#### *State Control Commissions*

1. There shall be a state control commission elected by the state conference. The number of members for the state control commission shall be decided by the state conference.

2. The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central Control Commission.

3. The state control commission shall elect its own chairman who shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the state executive committee except that he shall not have the right to vote in cases of disciplinary action. All members of the state control commission shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the state council.

4. The state control commission shall take up:

(a) Cases referred to it by the state council, state executive committee or its secretariat;

(b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the district council, district secretariat or district executive and in which appeal has been made by the comrade concerned;

(c) Cases against which an appeal has been made to district council or district secretariat or district executive and rejected.

5. The decisions of the state control commission shall be ordinarily final. The state executive committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of the decision of the state control commission and shall refer it immediately to the Central Control Commission or to the state council.

## ARTICLE XXIX

*Party Discipline*

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggle and actions, nor discharge its responsibility towards them.

2. Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the Programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3. Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions.

4. The disciplinary actions are:

- (a) Warning;
- (b) Censure;
- (c) Public censure;
- (d) Removal from the post held in the Party;
- (e) Suspension from full Party membership for any period but not exceeding one year;
- (f) Removal from the Party rolls;
- (g) Expulsion.

5. Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods, including methods of persuasion have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure to protect the interests of the Party or its prestige, the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6. Disciplinary action may be taken against any member either by the unit of which he or she is a member, or by any higher committee. In case he or she belongs to more than one



committee, disciplinary action as under clauses (e), (f) and (g) of Section 4 may be taken only by the highest committee to which he or she belongs either on its own initiative or on recommendations of the lower committee. All other disciplinary actions may be taken by any committee of which he or she is a member.

7. Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgment.

8. No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee, which will give its decision within three months or in its first meeting held after the receipt of the proposal for confirmation, if such a meeting is not held within three months. In case of suspension or expulsion, the penalised Party member shall, however, be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

9. The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations, charges and other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party unit in which his or her case is discussed.

10. Party Members found to be strike-breakers, habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of financial irregularities, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be dealt with by the Party units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action.

11. There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

12. The National Council or a state council shall have the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decision and policy, serious factionalism or a breach of Party discipline is involved, after giving the committee concerned reasonable chance of explaining its position.

## ARTICLE XXX

*Party Members in Elected Public Bodies*

1. Party members elected to Parliament, the state legislatures or administrative councils shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party, its policies and directives.

2. The Communist legislators shall unswervingly defend the interests of the people. Their work in the legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party.

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations.

3. The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses, keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice.

4. The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity, lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people and place the Party above self.

5. The Communist legislators and Communist members on elected public bodies drawing salary or allowances shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.

6. The Party members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party committee or Party branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.

7. All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Nomination of Party candidates to the state legislatures or the councils of centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the state executive committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by state councils, or in their absence by the state executive committees.

### ARTICLE XXXI

#### *Inner-Party Discussions*

1. To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2. Inner-Party discussion shall be organised:

(a) On important questions of all-India or state importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the central or the state organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken;

(b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the National Council or in the state council;

(c) When an inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of state organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership or at the state level by district organisations representing the same proportion of the total membership of the state.

3. Inner-Party discussion shall be concluded under the guidance of the national or the state council which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

### ARTICLE XXXII

#### *Discussion Preparatory to Party Congresses and Conferences*

At least two months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee to be sorted and placed before the Party Congress.

### ARTICLE XXXIII

#### *Party Members Working in Mass Organisations*

Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall work in an organised manner under the guidance of the appropriate Party committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned.

### ARTICLE XXXIV

#### *Bye-Laws*

The National Council may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it. Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the state councils subject to confirmation by the National Council.

### ARTICLE XXXV

#### *Amendment*

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress or in cases of emergency by the National Council by a two-thirds majority. In either case, the notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress or National Council meets 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.

# RESOLUTIONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

## KERALA ELECTIONS

Following the defeat of the Congress ministry and imposition of President's rule in Kerala in September 1964, the people of Kerala are again faced with mid-term elections early in 1965, for though there were reports that the elections were likely to be postponed the Government of India have now declared that the elections will take place as scheduled earlier.

The unprecedented food crisis that has enveloped the state during the last few months has already demonstrated what the people are going to suffer in the absence of a popular administration closely alive to their needs. In the context of the preparations for the Fourth Five-Year Plan, this absence is all the more keenly felt because there will be nobody commanding the confidence of the people to fight for a just share of the plan allotment to the state as well as for a hand in the shaping of it in accordance with the needs of the people. A government representing the interests of the workers, the peasants, the middle classes, the intelligentsia and the patriotic people united in and dedicated to the task of establishing a stable government and overcoming the economic backwardness of the state is the supreme need of the hour.

The Congress party cannot give the people such a government. Blinded by anti-communism and the greed for monopoly of power they encouraged all the communal and casteist forces in the state, formed all sorts of unprincipled alliances with such forces in order merely to win electoral successes and maintain their rule. The coalition ministry that came to power in 1960 was the result of such alliances. Immediately after coming to power they began to take steps reversing the progressive popular measures of the communist-led ministry in a reactionary manner, and against the interests of the people. Corruption, maladministration, inefficiency all became rampant. Ultimately the ministry

itself fell as a result of the fierce quarrel among the communal groupings which were competing to control it.

In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Communist Party to join hands with all the progressive, patriotic forces in the state in a firm united front so as to give a shattering blow to the Congress at the polls and form an alternative ministry capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the people of the state. The Seventh Congress of the CPI notes with satisfaction that efforts are being made by some of the leftist parties in the state to form such a united front based upon a minimum programme and these efforts have been widely welcomed by all progressive people in the country.

We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that of late certain negative developments have taken place. The communal elements who have broken away from the Congress and who claim to represent two socially and economically dominant communities have come together to form a new party under the name of Kerala Congress. Now they have forged an alliance with the Muslim League also. The Swatantra Party has also entered the field and it has already declared its readiness to support this alliance. The "Kerala Congress" (Rebel Congress) and the Muslim League, apart from the fact that they seek to divide the people in the name of religion and caste, their role had always been very reactionary whether it be in the matter of land reforms, Education Act or state-trading in foodgrains.

Therefore, the task of the left forces at present is not so simple as it used to be in the former days. These left forces have to unite and fight to prevent the Congress coming back to power. At the same time, they have to conduct the fight equally vehemently against such a reactionary communal combination as the one represented by the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance. That is why the Kerala State Council of our Party has repeatedly made it clear that it will join only a united front of all democratic and progressive forces, groups and individuals and that it will have no truck with reactionary communal groups such as the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. The Seventh Congress of the Party endorses that stand.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to reiterate that the

Communist Party has always stood and fought for the just democratic rights of the Muslim and other minority communities and the Party will continue to fight for those rights.

It is unfortunate that the SSP and the rival party are taking an equivocal stand on this question. The SSP has not yet declared its willingness to join the Left United Front. They are willing only to have adjustments in the matter of seats and this they are prepared to have not only with the left parties in the state but with all opposition parties including the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. It is deplorable the rival party is trying to follow such a line.

Further when at a time Hindu communalism is raising its ugly head in many ways and undermining the secular nature of the state, strengthening of the Muslim League will not help to safeguard the interests of the religious minorities. On the other hand it will accelerate revival of Hindu communalism. Therefore, safeguarding of the interests of the Muslim community can be done only by strengthening the secular forces in the country. We appeal to the Muslim community to give serious thought to this matter.

Keeping in view the serious danger of communal reactionary forces outside the Congress gaining in these elections, apart from those within the Congress, the Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to point out that the only correct path for all progressive democratic forces in the state is to take a principled stand on this question and fight both the Congress as well as the reactionary communal combination represented by the League-Kerala Congress. Any compromises with such elements will only help to strengthen reaction in the country and will deliver a disastrous blow to the whole democratic movement. The left democratic forces in Kerala are stronger than in many other parts of India and they can be fully confident of winning electoral success provided they stand united on a minimum programme of development for the state and relief to the people together with a principled stand on key issues of national significance.

The Seventh Congress makes a fraternal appeal to the SSP and the rival party to retrace their steps from the slippery and dangerous path they are contemplating and join hands with the

Communist Party, the RSP and all other democratic and progressive forces to forge a firm united front for the purpose of delivering a shattering blow not only to the Congress but to all types of reactionary combinations by whatever name called and give the people of the state an administration that will faithfully serve the needs of development of its backward economy, as well as give relief to its people.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI calls upon the people and all Party units in the country to give all support to the Communist Party in Kerala state in its principled efforts to form a united front of all left and democratic forces in the state. It calls upon all the Party members and sympathisers to help the Party in Kerala in all ways. The coming fight in Kerala is not a fight of the people of Kerala alone. It is a fight of all the communists and democrats in our country.

### PRICE RISE AND FOOD CRISIS

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India notes with grave concern the immensity of the food crisis through which the whole country has passed in the outgoing year. The crisis still continues. It is accompanied by the galloping rise in the prices of all commodities, has hit the common people very hard and has also stood in the way of the fulfilment of the Plan targets and involved the plan itself in a crisis. The anti-people character of the government's food and price policy was never so exposed as now.

The bankruptcy of the theories advanced by various spokesmen of the ruling party, and particularly by big business, from time to time, that prices of all commodities are rising and food is scarce only because production is lagging behind consumers' demand, has now been evident to everybody. Even the government has at last been forced to admit that an artificial crisis has been created by hoarders and profiteers, though big business circles continue to harp the same tune as before. It is now clear beyond doubt that the capitalist monopoly combines, with the tremendous concentration of economic power, speculators and the big landholders together have conspired to produce this



crisis by hoarding one commodity after another in order to extort the people by frustrating all controls. Black money, which finances the blackmarket, is nothing but the super profits of the monopoly combines, speculators and big landholders.

The policy pursued by the ruling party has been strengthening these parasitic elements by enriching them under the guise of encouraging private initiative for more production. But the reality is that even production is hampered because capital resources continuously flow into the blackmarket and expand the volume of black money through the monopoly combines and other parasitic elements in society.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI emphatically declares that in order to bring the price level down and stabilise the same, banks and wholesale trade in agricultural produce must be nationalised, by fixing reasonable fair prices for consumers and producers; speculation and forward markets must be abolished. In order to alleviate the food crisis statutory rationing must be introduced in all towns and deficit states like Kerala and Gujarat and fair-price shops opened in all rural areas. In order to step up agricultural production, concentration of land in a few hands must be broken by imposing real ceilings and distributing surplus land thus available as well as government fallow land to poor peasants and agricultural labourers, in cooperation with representative peasant committees. Extension of small and medium irrigation works, distribution of fertilisers to the peasants and flood-prevention measures must be extended and carried out on a scale vaster than ever before.

This Congress notes that government's decision to set up the State Trading Corporation for Foodgrains is an indirect admission of the bankruptcy of their policy of controls without the guarantee of supply, but regrets that neither nationalisation of banks nor the nationalisation of wholesale foodgrain trade have yet been accepted by the government. The worst phase of the crisis in Kerala and Gujarat has completely proved that measures so far adopted by the government to combat hoarders and profiteers and to supply foodgrains to the people are not at all capable of coping with the situation.

The Seventh Congress notes with satisfaction that people's

resistance against hoarders, profiteers and the government's food policy is growing in all parts of the country, that the cooperative consumers' stores movement is spreading in the towns and that every popular democratic party and even many people inside the Congress are becoming more and more vocal for a change in government's policy. The barren and bankrupt policy of the government has been condemned in innumerable mass rallies, processions and satyagraha organised by the Communist Party. But the crisis has reached a stage when the movement must be raised to a higher level, with its two facets, namely, militant mass struggles against the hoarders and the government as well as organisation of cooperative consumers' stores in all localities; militant mass movement for changing government's policy must now be developed into countrywide satyagrahas culminating in *Bharat Bandh*. This Congress calls upon all Party units and Party members to throw their entire weight into this great movement against high prices and for people's food. All parties and patriotic people including Congressmen and Congress committees wherever possible must be approached in a fraternal spirit to build up a united mass movement. This Congress calls upon all the people irrespective of political affiliation to join this sacred struggle in one form or another.

### MISUSE OF D.I.R. AND EMERGENCY POWERS BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its indignation and protest against the continued misuse of the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules by the government for suppressing civil liberties, for arresting and detaining without trial persons belonging to opposition political parties as well as leaders and workers of the democratic mass movements in different states.

A number of communists continue to be in detention since November 1962 when they had been arrested in the name of national emergency created by Chinese aggression on India's borders. Subsequently the DIR and the emergency powers have been used recklessly to put down even peaceful and constitu-

tional agitations by the people on burning economic issues like food scarcity and rising prices and workers' struggles for bonus, DA, trade-union recognition, etc.

Thus 28 leaders and workers of the Maha Gujarat Sangram Samiti are still being held in detention for having organised the "Gujarat *Bandh*" of August 5, 1964. A large number of arrests under the DIR were carried out on the occasion of the "Bharat *Bandh*" call of the SSP on September 25 and the peaceful general strike in West Bengal on the same day. Earlier, during the all-India food satyagraha organised by the Communist Party of India in August, the DIR was used in several states to arrest and prosecute peaceful satyagrahis, some of whom are kept in detention even today.

9 workers of the Heavy Electricals Plant in Bhopal are still being detained in jail after the workers' struggle for trade-union recognition was suppressed. The DIR was even used to arrest and prosecute prominent journalists of opposition papers in Kerala. In Orissa when the police ran amuck in the name of "putting down student violence", people of all political parties were indiscriminately arrested and all civil liberties suppressed by recourse to the emergency powers and the DIR.

Large-scale arrests were made in Calcutta on October 30 and 31 of "left" communists of West Bengal. Such arrests are continuing, even though the government has still offered no explanation for these sudden arrests and has adduced no evidence to justify the continued detention of these persons without trial.

Recently a number of communist leaders of Maharashtra who led the food struggles have been detained under the DIR—besides one in Thana district for leading a strike struggle.

In Goa, the government has time and again used the DIR to suppress legitimate trade-union activities and detain trade-union leaders as well as worker-militants. On November 15, the government again arrested, under the DIR, the leaders of the AITUC unions along with over 150 workers who continue to be in detention.

The latest example of the Congress government's misuse of these powers for purely political purposes is the large-scale country-wide arrests of workers and leaders of the Republican

Party of India in an effort to suppress the peaceful satyagraha movement launched by that party for the rights of the Scheduled Castes and of the landless in general.

The Congress government's actions continue to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the sweeping powers assumed by it two years ago in the name of national defence against external aggression are now more and more being shamelessly used as a weapon against its political opponents, to suppress civil liberties and the democratic mass movements of the common people for their urgent legitimate demands and against the anti-people's policies of the ruling classes. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI emphatically protests against all these lawless arrests and detentions and demands immediate release of all the persons involved therein.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that in the changed conditions of today the "proclamation of national emergency" should be forthwith withdrawn and the Defence of India Act and Rules revoked without delay.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI appeals to all democratic parties, groups and individuals, to all mass organisations, to all those who cherish democracy and civil liberties to join together and launch a mighty united campaign for the above.

## INDIA AND THE ATOM BOMB

The Moscow Test Ban Treaty registered a significant advance for the forces of world peace and opened up new possibilities for advancing towards the complete stoppage of all tests of nuclear weapons and for their banning and destruction. The explosion of an atom bomb by the government of the Peoples' Republic of China in the face of world opinion has damaged these prospects. It has encouraged the US imperialists to press ahead with their plans for a NATO multilateral nuclear force, which would put atomic weapons in the hands of the West German neo-Nazis. In our country it has encouraged the right-reactionary forces who have launched an offensive calling, on the one hand for India also to go in for making her own atom

bombs and, on the other, to appeal to the western imperialist powers to take over India's defence through a so-called "nuclear umbrella". The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India appeals to the people of India to rally in their millions to defend India against this new reactionary campaign. The making of atomic weapons would not only place further crippling burdens on our national economy but would also weaken India's role in the preservation and consolidation of world peace. The so-called "nuclear umbrella" would mean the virtual handing over of the defence of our country to the imperialists. It is significant that the Swatantra spokesman in Parliament said that since India would find it difficult to make an atomic bomb quickly it should ask for a nuclear "shield".

The Seventh Congress of the CPI notes with satisfaction the declarations of the Government of India that it would not change its policy in this regard and would not go in for either the making of atomic bombs or any nuclear shield. It welcomes the policy statement on this issue made by Prime Minister Shastri at the recent World Conference for Peace & International Cooperation held at New Delhi. This stand has added to India's stature and won the acclaim of peacelovers throughout the world. On its basis the now well-known New Delhi Appeal was adopted, which is helping to rally millions in all countries in common action against the nuclear menace and for complete and general disarmament.

The Seventh Congress regrets to note however that in his speeches in the Lok Sabha and his statements in London, Prime Minister Shastri has shown a certain weakness and made certain proposals which would bring in the imperialist "nuclear shield" through the back door. It draws the attention of the people of India to these vacillations and calls upon them to exercise their vigilance and to see to it that the Government of India stands firm on the wise national policy of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes and not to deviate from it.

Despite the Prime Minister's reported explanations on his return from London that his proposal for a "guarantee" from the nuclear powers is not a demand for an imperialist nuclear "shield", the reaction of the British and US governments to the

Shastri proposal clearly shows that the proposal is fraught with the greatest danger.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that the Prime Minister clearly and categorically repudiate the so-called nuclear shield proposal without further delay.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI urges the Government of India to display still greater initiative in the matter of rousing world public opinion and acting in concert with other peace-loving states to prevent the further proliferation of atomic weapons, to bring about nuclear-free zones in Asia, Africa and Europe and to move rapidly towards the destruction of all nuclear stockpiles and the complete banning of nuclear weapons. Such an active policy for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and for complete and general disarmament alone can be an effective defence of our country against nuclear threats from whichever quarter they may emanate.

### NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Although several years have passed since the liberation of the former French and Portuguese enclaves in India, these enclaves have been kept as separate union territories directly under the central administration of the Government of India.

It is obvious that the aspirations of the peoples who freed themselves from imperialist rule after heroic struggles was to reunite with their linguistic states and wipe out the backwardness of these territories and enjoy full democratic rights and growth with these states.

This Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India is of the opinion that these former foreign pockets be integrated with the neighbouring states on the basis of language in the interest of fuller national integration and democratisation. On the basis of this principle, this Congress asks for the integration of Pondicherry and Karikal with Tamilnad, Mahe with Kerala, Yanam with Andhra, Goa with Maharashtra and Diu and Daman with Gujarat.

## REPRESSION IN TRIPURA

The Seventh Congress of the CPI views with deep concern the widespread repression of Communist Party workers and hundreds of ordinary peasants, specially in tribal areas in Tripura state.

Large-scale evictions are taking place from land which the peasants were cultivating for a long time and in the majority of cases the persons thus evicted belonged to the tribal community. Evictions are taking place even from areas which were held to be protected for tribals in the time of the Maharajah. In schemes where "shifting" cultivators are being given lands by government itself, even here there are large-scale evictions and encroachments.

In many cases the evicted persons are subsequently implicated in police cases involving them in long periods of detention. In all cases which have been decided up-to-date by the courts all the allegations have been proved to be false. It is significant that the persons so involved are invariably those who have opposed the ruling party in elections including those who were elected to panchayats and legislatures defeating them.

Since 1962 over 70 persons have been kept in jail under DIR, emergency powers, including both the MPs who represent Tripura in Parliament and all the communist members of the Territorial Council (Assembly) in a state where in the parliamentary elections the Communist Party polled 51% of the total votes polled. Apart from arrests under DIR innumerable cases were started on various pretexts from cattle-lifting to murder and over 2000 Party members, sympathisers and those who in any way protested against injustices practised, were also implicated.

Although many of those detained were recently released, hundreds of cases are still pending in the courts and even today fresh harassments are constantly taking place.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that these vindictive harassments be stopped, all cases be withdrawn, those detained be forthwith released and the lands of those evicted be restored.

This Congress assures the people of Tripura its solidarity and support in their brave struggle for protecting and furthering the interests of their people.

It calls upon the Indian people to protest against this repression, to demand that full civil liberties be immediately restored and to support the rightful struggle of the people of Tripura—for land to the peasants, for protection of the interests of the tribals, for industrialisation of the state and for the betterment of the life of the entire people.

### REPUBLICAN PARTY OF INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR LAND

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India offers its warm support to the struggle launched by the Republican Party of India for the demands of the landless people and other backward classes, such as distribution of waste lands to the landless, provision of housing sites and cheap housing, education and other just rights. Such struggles have been repeatedly launched in the past, on occasions in cooperation with other left and democratic parties. Assurances have been given by state governments, and as often broken or only partially honoured.

This Congress of the CPI records its strong protest against the repressive measures taken by the government against the movement including the use of DIR against some of its leaders, the arrest and conviction of hundreds of satyagrahis and the ill treatment given to them in the jails. It demands that government should immediately open negotiations with the leaders of the movement to bring about a satisfactory settlement of their demands.

### SITUATION AT MARMAGOA PORT

This Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the deteriorating situation in the port of Marmagoa harbour where the use of DIR against the leadership of the Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union and the arrest of hundreds of workers has led to a provocative situation.



The shooting against working-class demonstrators in Vasco-da-Gama must be condemned by all democratic forces and an attempt made to meet the demands of the workers so that the situation will not be allowed to go out of hand. It is obvious that agents provocateurs are being used, by concerned interests, to create a situation of violence and bloodshed. Already one worker lost his life because of the police opening fire on the 20th of December 1964.

This Congress of the CPI calls upon the Labour Minister, Government of India, to review personally the grave situation in Marmagoa port and bring about a lasting solution to problems in relation to labour in this troubled port which is affecting the peaceful transport of iron ore and likely to affect the whole iron ore industry of Goa.

#### STRUGGLE OF DOCTORS AND MEDICAL INTERNS

The Communist Party of India is surprised to find that while, on the one hand the ruling Congress party propagates that it aims at improving the health services of the people, at the same time, it fails to give fair wages to doctors and necessary facilities and remuneration to medical interns, housemen and other cadres.

The behaviour of the Congress ministries in various states has forced the doctors, interns and other cadres to resort to strikes, as they are hit by rising prices like other sections of the salaried workers. These strikes were forced on the medical services by the arrogant and unsympathetic behaviour of the Congress government, local authorities and others concerned and have spread to many states.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI takes serious note of the behaviour of the Union Health Minister towards the Delhi strike and that of Minister Shantilal Shah of Maharashtra towards the doctors in Bombay and other centres in Maharashtra. Mr. Shah is particularly known for his anti-working-class attitude and the demand for his dismissal from the ministry put forward by people is fully justified.

The Party Congress gives its full support to the demands and actions of the doctors, interns, etc. The trade unions, the workers and all toiling people throughout the country should launch

sympathetic action in support of the demands of the doctors. Though the strike in the medical services causes great inconvenience to the patients, the people should bear it with fortitude, as only a contented medical service can serve the people's health efficiently. The Party Congress supports the just demands of the doctors, interns and all hospital and dispensary cadres and demands that the Congress ministries and authorities concerned meet them quickly and satisfactorily in all the states in India.

#### FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India resolves to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the Party in December 1965.

The Party Congress directs the new National Council to set up committees to prepare for the functions to be organised in connection with the fortieth anniversary.

The Congress is confident that the observance of the fortieth anniversary and the preparations for it will be carried out in a way befitting this great occasion in the life of our Party and the working masses of our country.

#### RECOGNITION OF G.D.R.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI deploras the continued diplomatic non-recognition by the Government of India of the German Democratic Republic and considers this to be a serious infringement of the accepted national policy of nonalignment.

In recent years trade relations between India and the GDR have increased considerably. A number of commercial agreements have been entered into by which India has accepted valuable technical and scientific assistance from the GDR in the field of industrial development; cultural contacts between the two countries have multiplied. A growing number of Indian students have been awarded scholarships and other facilities for specialised educational courses in the GDR.

Despite all these welcome developments, which amount to a clear *de facto* recognition of the existence of the GDR, the Gov-

rnment of India still refuses to establish full diplomatic relations with the GDR on a state level. At the same time, India officially recognises the West German government, thereby making an arbitrary discrimination between the two German states to the detriment of our professions of neutrality and nonalignment in such matters.

It is a well-known fact that under the so-called "Hallstein Doctrine", the West German government, pursuing its own cold war and revanchist aims, has threatened to cut off all relations with and economic aid to countries which extend diplomatic recognition to the GDR. This Congress cannot but protest vigorously against the obvious fact that the Indian government has succumbed to this imperialist pressure from Bonn and is cold-shouldering the GDR for fear of earning the displeasure of the West German rulers and perhaps of forfeiting their "aid". Recently, on these same considerations, the Government of India has rejected a major offer from the GDR for building entire machinery plants in this country on terms extremely favourable to India. All this makes a mockery of the Government of India's repeated assurances of accepting aid only "without strings".

This Congress protests against the Government of India's arbitrary attitude towards the GDR which has consistently proved itself to be a genuine and disinterested friend of India and a consistent champion of India's national interests in the councils of the world. This Congress demands that the Government of India give up its present weak and vacillating policy under the pressure of West German neo-colonialist rulers and extend full diplomatic recognition to the GDR without delay.

This will not only be consistent with India's declared aims of nonalignment and friendship with all friendly nations, but will also contribute towards strengthening the forces which are working for the peaceful reunification of Germany and, thereby, for consolidation of peace in Europe and the world.

#### ALLEGED "DANGE LETTERS"

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India endorses the following resolution of the National Council on alleged "Dange Letters."

"In March 1964, a widespread campaign was launched by the leaders of the splitters and disruptors of our Party, on the basis of the discovery of the alleged 'Dange letters' in the National Archives, and their publication in the *Current*, suggesting that Comrade S. A. Dange was a British spy or agent.

"The National Council of our Party strongly repudiated this charge in its meeting dated 10th April 1964. It stated that in its opinion, 'not even a *prima facie* case has been made out that the letters are genuine.'

"Nevertheless, in order to make a more extensive examination of all relevant and available materials and documents, including the circumstances as to how these letters were found and then distributed to the outside world and by whom, the National Council decided to set up a committee which was asked to submit its report within one month.

"The committee consisted of Comrades S. V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, C. Rajeswara Rao, Bhupesh Gupta, Achuta Menon, Sohan Singh Josh and Hiren Mukherjee.

"The committee undertook a detailed examination of all aspects of the question, viz. the appearance, content and style of the alleged letters and the discrepancies revealed therein, the suspicions and dubious circumstances under which these letters were brought to light, the notorious British police methods of forging documents in order to discredit revolutionary workers and finally the record of Com. Dange's political activities at that particular time and during the subsequent years. It also examined all available evidence.

"The committee submitted its findings to the National Council on December 13, 1964. It could not complete its investigation earlier because of various handicaps under which it had to function, including the difficulty of having access to the papers concerned in the National Archives.

"The committee's report is not unanimous. There is a majority report signed by 5 members, viz. Comrades S. V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, C. Rajeswara Rao, C. Achutha Menon and Hiren Mukherjee and a minority report signed by two members, Comrades Bhupesh Gupta and Sohan Singh Josh.

"The signatories to the majority report have come to the con-

clusion that 'The examination of the alleged letters of Dange shows that there are sufficient grounds to doubt the genuineness of the objectionable letters of Dange and Nalini. We have also to take into consideration the fact that Comrade Dange categorically denies having written these letters. Taking these things together, we can say that only on the basis of the appearance, content, style, etc. of the letters, their genuineness cannot be established; on the other hand, it has to be questioned.'

"They state furthermore, that: 'On the basis of these factors and even more on the basis of known facts of Dange's long, sometimes provocative and always prominent public career, and on the basis of the evidence before us, we come to the conclusion that the letters are not likely to be genuine. We therefore accept Dange's denial that he has not written them.'

"The majority report holds firmly and categorically that no member of the commission believes that Dange has ever been an agent of the government. It adds: 'Some may feel that there was a moment of weakness but this is not borne out from the whole of Dange's political life of almost half a century.'

"The signatories to the minority report also say: 'We do maintain that there is no proof whatsoever in the files that Comrade S. A. Dange at any time acted as a British agent or was a British spy. The repudiation by the National Council of this charge, therefore, stands fully justified.'

"The minority report, however, says that: 'After thus carefully considering all the relevant materials and subject to the limitations from which the present enquiry has suffered, we have come to the conclusion that it does not stand proved that any of the four 'Dange letters' is forged.' But it adds: 'If on the strength of the evidence, we do not adjudge the letters forged, neither are we prepared to declare that they are genuine mainly in view of Comrade Dange's denial. We would not like to condemn Comrade Dange without being one hundred per cent certain about the genuineness of these letters and without satisfying ourselves that there does not exist an iota of doubt about their genuineness.'

"It may be noted that both the reports are of the view that persons who got these alleged letters published in the *Current* and who subsequently carried on a slander campaign on their

basis, were motivated by a desire to discredit Com. Dange personally and to lower the prestige of the Party.

"The National Council, after having carefully examined the content of these Reports, has come to the conclusion that the alleged 'Dange letters' are not genuine.

"The National Council repudiates indignantly the foul propaganda carried on by the splitters and other enemies of the Party that Com. Dange has been agent of the British or Indian government."

### SOUTH AFRICA

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warm, fraternal greetings to the brave, militant fighters for freedom in South Africa. These gallant champions of liberty are battering down the last bastions of colonialism and racialism in conditions of savage repression and imperialist brutality. The whole heart and conscience of mankind applauds and supports their deeds of unparalleled heroism. It bows its head in homage to those who have laid down their lives in this sacred cause.

It notes with pride that India was the first country to break all diplomatic and trade relations with the racial fascist government of South Africa. The recent successful tour of our country of J. B. Marks and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, outstanding leaders of the African National Congress, which was organized by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and the large purses that were presented to them were manifestations of India's support for their cause. It welcomes the decision of the African National Congress to set up an office in Delhi in collaboration with the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the granting to it of all necessary facilities by the Government of India.

The hateful apartheid regime in South Africa would have collapsed under the hammer blows of the popular movement were it not for the economic and military aid extended to it by the imperialist governments of the United States of America and United Kingdom. It is essential that the Government of India joins all socialist and progressive Afro-Asian states in condemning this shameful support to South Africa and compelling them to give it up.

### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India extends its support to the fighting people of Southern Rhodesia where the white supremacists are going all out to establish their dictatorial racist rule under the cover of so-called "independence". They have been encouraged in this attitude by the UK imperialists. It was a national shame, therefore, that at the recent Commonwealth Conference T. T. Krishnamachari should have more or less supported this attitude and declared that India's approach more or less coincided with it. The Government of India should have long ago publicly repudiated him and brought its policy in line with the fraternal solidarity felt by the people of India for their African brothers in Southern Rhodesia. It must, at once, bring all possible pressure to bear on the UK government to immediately agree to the demand of the leaders of Southern Rhodesia to hold elections on the basis of one person one vote as the way forward to genuine independence.

### PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings to the brave fighters for freedom in the Portuguese colonies. These patriots are greatly encouraged by India's support and by the liberation of Goa. As a further manifestation of such solidarity the Government of India should grant all necessary facilities to the patriotic organisations of these colonies; their provisional governments to open their offices in India's capital. There can be no doubt that the people of India will in the coming days demonstrate in even mightier ways their feeling of brotherhood with these intrepid fighters.

### CONGO, SOUTH VIETNAM AND LAOS

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses grave concern over the recent developments in Congo, South Vietnam and Laos where increasing imperialist intervention is endangering world peace.

In Congo, the Belgian paratroopers and foreign mercenaries, aided by the US and British imperialists, are carrying on military

operations against the Congolese patriots in order to buttress the tottering regime of the notorious imperialist stooge, Tshombe. The smokescreen of "saving White hostages" who are said to be threatened by the revolutionary army and the stories of alleged atrocities now being doled out in order to cover up this aggression, can deceive no one.

Ever since the foul assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the imperialist powers have sought to intervene in the Congo in order to retain the hold of foreign monopolists on the rich mineral wealth of this country. But the popular liberation forces have continued to grow in strength and already the patriotic army has liberated a large part of the country's territory. Hence this open intervention.

This armed intervention has been rightly condemned as an act of aggression by the governments and peoples of resurgent Africa and 22 African nations have sought to move the Security Council on it. This act of aggression is all the more condemnable since it comes at a time when the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) had set up a special committee under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta to help solve the Congo problem in a peaceful manner. The US-British-Belgian action is thus a flagrant attack not only on the Congo but on the entire African peoples.

The Congress appeals to the Indian people to express their solidarity with the people of Congo and to raise their voice of protest and indignation against this heinous crime against the freedom of Congo and world peace. The demand "Hands off Congo!" must ring out from every nook and corner of the country. The Congress demands that all foreign troops and mercenaries be withdrawn immediately from Congo and the people of Congo left to settle their affairs themselves.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Government of India has also demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops. But it is regrettable that it has not unequivocally condemned this latest imperialist intervention in Congo. It is all the more regrettable since at the Cairo Conference when the question of admission of Tshombe, the murderer of Patrice Lumumba, to the Conference was discussed, the representatives of India present in



the conference abstained from voting. No pleas can justify this attitude of neutrality or silence as it, in effect, means encouragement to the neo-colonialists. The Indian people cannot permit such deviations from India's declared policy of anti-colonialism and Afro-Asian solidarity.

Nearer home in South-East Asia also, faced with the resurgent tide of the freedom struggle of South Vietnamese patriots, the US imperialists are further intensifying their military intervention in this region. They have learnt nothing from the fiascos of their earlier plans or from the worldwide condemnation of their aggressive action in the Gulf of Tonkin. Now the Pentagon is busy drawing up plans of resort to military action in North Vietnam and Laos. This will not only be an attack on the two countries concerned but also a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement and a serious threat to world peace.

The hands of the US incendiaries can and must be stayed.

India has a special responsibility in the matter, being the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission for South Vietnam, and must see that the Geneva Agreement is observed.

The Congress is of the considered opinion that this responsibility has not been discharged. On the contrary, the Indian representative on the Supervisory Commission has turned a blind eye to the bringing in of US arms and personnel and the open aggression by the US imperialists against the Vietnamese people.

The Indian people must see that this shameful attitude of the Government of India is ended.

The Congress appeals to the Indian people to raise their voice of protest and condemnation of the increasing US aggression in South-East Asia and calls upon the Government of India to act up to the firm anti-colonialist stand of the Cairo Declaration and demand that US imperialist intervention in South Vietnam and Laos be stopped and all US military personnel be withdrawn.

## MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the efforts of the imperialist powers to create a NATO multilateral nuclear force which would place nuclear

weapons in the hands of the West German revanchists. This Congress is of the opinion that the creation of the multilateral nuclear force as designed by the American imperialists would lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons, acceleration of the arms race and heightening of international tension and war danger.

The bellicose strategy of the West German revanchists and militarists who hope to "reunite" Germany by "marching to the East" would receive great fillip by placing nuclear weapons in the hands of ex-Nazi generals who man the top posts in the NATO.

The creation of the MLF therefore means accentuation of the arms race and the threat of world war. That is why it is opposed by all peace-loving peoples and governments all over the world:

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its strongest condemnation of the MLF plan and joins world popular and peace forces in demanding that it be given up.

#### RELEASE OF VICTIMS OF FASCIST TYRANNY IN LATIN AMERICA, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its emphatic protest and condemnation against the brutal repression being resorted to by the reactionary regimes of many Latin-American countries as well as by the fascist dictatorship in Spain and Portugal to stop the rising wave of working-class and mass struggles which are advancing in those countries against the forces of reaction and tyranny. Thousands of heroic victims are languishing inside the prisons of these lands, condemned to torture and years of long imprisonment.

This Congress protests against and condemns the incarceration of Sandoval by the fascist reaction in Spain; of Jesus Faria, Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, of Pompeyo Marquez in Venezuela; of Ivan Ribeiro, Mario Alves and A. Pereira in Brazil; of Pedio Saad in Ecuador; of Antonio Maidana in Paraguay; together with hundreds of other communists as well as democrats and progressives of all parties and walks of life who symbolise the unshakable will of their peoples for national freedom and social progress.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its full solidarity with and joins the world campaign for securing the freedom of these heroes and the restoration of democratic rights in their countries.

### SOLIDARITY WITH CUBAN PEOPLE

The Seventh Congress of the CPI emphatically condemns the provocations and subversive activities constantly being organised by the American imperialists and their Latin-American stooges against the great Cuban Republic, the beacon of freedom and socialism in that continent. By their policies of economic blockades, of direct armed aggression, the imperialists and their satellites are threatening not only the hard-won freedom of the heroic Cuban people, but also the great movement which is being carried on today by the peoples of Latin America for national freedom, democracy and socialism.

The provocations of the American imperialists and their Latin-American satellites against the Cuban Republic are a constant danger to world peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI pledges its full solidarity with the heroic people of Cuba, with its United Party of Socialist Revolution and its leader and national hero Fidel Castro. The Congress resolves that the Party will continue its campaign for the defeat of the forces of imperialist aggression against Cuba and for support and solidarity with the great Cuban people.

## CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

### COMRADE AJOY KUMAR GHOSH

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays its respectful homage to the memory of our late beloved leader and General Secretary, Com. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh.

An outstanding unifier and builder of the Party, a brilliant thinker and writer, Com. Ajoy Ghosh died in harness after decades of arduous and selfless service in the cause of our Party and the people. He left us at a time when we needed him most. His untimely death has created a void in our Party leadership which it would be difficult to fill for a long time.

Com. Ajoy belonged to that generation of young intellectuals who in the late twenties, inspired by the call of freedom, formed or joined secret national revolutionary organisations in order to bring about an armed overthrow of British rule. At an early age he became an active worker of the famous Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and had the honour of being a comrade-in-arms of the great national martyr Bhagat Singh of revered memory. He narrowly escaped being sent to the gallows by the British government in the Lahore Conspiracy Case in which Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were sentenced to death.

A thinker and a visionary, a revolutionary who loved the common toiling people, he soon found his place inside the Communist Party. From 1933 to 1935 he did intense pioneering work in building the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha and organising communist groups in UP, in face of severe police repression.

His passionate devotion to the cause and his political capacities pushed him up rapidly to positions of greater and greater responsibility inside the Party. He was unanimously elected to the Central Committee of the Party in 1935. Immediately after that he was given the difficult task of uniting and leading the Party in Bombay, which had been badly divided earlier, a task which he carried out with great success.

It was, however, after his appointment to the editorial board of the central Party organ, *National Front*, in 1936 that his political and literary talents came into full play, and he soon came to be recognised as one of the topmost leaders of the Party. Within a year he was promoted to the Polit-Bureau.

Between 1936 and 1939 Com. Ajoy undertook many difficult Party assignments in various provinces, which he fulfilled efficiently. One of his biggest achievements of this period was the unification and reorganisation of the Party in the Panjab.

Arrested and subsequently detained in the Deoli Concentration Camp from 1939 to 1943 he developed TB of the lungs of a severe type in prison which compelled him to withdraw from active political work for a number of years. He, however, continued to be a member of the Central Committee and made valuable contributions to Party life through his writings.

The year 1951 found him at the helm of the Party, after he had successfully led the inner-Party struggle against the left-sectarian adventurist line which was initiated at the Second Party Congress. He was elected as the General Secretary of the Party in that year, a position which he continued to occupy with universal support inside the Party till his death.

In the decade that followed, Com. Ajoy played a leading role in bringing about the reunification of the Party, which had been politically and organisationally shattered between 1948 and 1951. It was under his leadership that the Party was able to fight simultaneously with sectarian and reformist opportunist deviations and evolve a political line based on a correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific objective situation in our country. His deep understanding of Marxist theory combined with his experience of the freedom movement in India enabled him to work out policies on all major national issues, which if properly implemented, could make the Party a big national force, capable of influencing and uniting all democratic, progressive and patriotic elements in the country in the great struggle for national rebirth.

Com. Ajoy Ghosh represented the Indian Party with distinction at many important international communist gatherings. He played a noteworthy role in the 81 Parties' Conference and made

valuable contributions to its deliberations, particularly in regard to the role of the nonaligned countries.

Com. Ajoy is no longer with us, but his great qualities of head and heart, his broad humanity, intense devotion to the cause and his sound political acumen can never be forgotten. His memory would be fondly cherished inside the Party by generations to come.

It is to this great and worthy son of India, a true revolutionary and a most devoted partisan in the cause of the world proletariat that we pay our respectful and affectionate homage.

### **PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose death on May 27 of this year created a void in the life of the nation, robbing the Indian people of a beloved leader, whose name had become identified all over the world with India's struggle for freedom.

With his faith in the unity of the Afro-Asian peoples, in peace and anti-colonialism, friendship with socialist countries and international cooperation, based on equality of nations, Jawaharlal Nehru made outstanding contributions to world developments over a long period during which he was the Prime Minister of India.

He was one of the main architects of the policy of nonalignment, which has played a great positive role, not only in strengthening our country's freedom, but also in the preservation of world peace and reduction of international tension.

Pandit Nehru tried to solve the country's internal problems on the basis of independent economic development within the framework of democracy and secularism. His progressive and democratic outlook has left a deep impression on every aspect of our national life.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, while paying its tributes to this outstanding leader, expresses its confidence that the memorable positive contributions made by him to the building of a new modern India, will be carried forward and strengthened by the Indian people in the coming days.

**DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays tribute to the memory of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. One of the earliest disciples of Gandhiji, he played a leading role in the Congress during the struggle for freedom. As the first President of our Republic, he brought great dignity to that highest office in our country. His simplicity of manner and unassuming ways was one of his distinctive characteristics. He was a man of deep learning which he dedicated to the causes he held dear.

**LEADERS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound sorrow at the death, in recent times, of the undermentioned outstanding leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

COMRADE SALAM ADIL, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq, who was executed in cold blood by the counter-revolutionary Baathist forces.

COMRADE JULIAN GRIMAU, member of the leadership of the illegal Communist Party of Spain and veteran leader of the working class, who was executed by the Franco government.

COMRADE OTTO KUUSINEN, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, veteran Bolshevik of the Leninist old guard, profound scholar and Marxist theoretician who passed away at the age of 82 years.

COMRADE MAURICE THOREZ, Chairman of the French Communist Party, outstanding son of the working people of France, life-long fighter in the cause of anti-fascism, national independence, peace, democracy and socialism, one of the most prominent leaders of the international communist movement and Secretary General of the French Communist Party for 34 years, who passed away at the age of 64.

COMRADE ALEKSANDER ZAWADSKI, President of the Polish People's Republic, member of the Polit Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party, outstanding Party functionary and

trade-union leader, ardent life-long revolutionary, who passed away on August 7, 1964.

COMRADE PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, founder and Secretary General of the great Italian Communist Party, outstanding leader of the Communist International and the world communist movement, brilliant theoretician of creative Marxism and towering personality of Italian social life, who passed away at the age of 71 years.

COMRADE BENJAMIN DAVIS, member of the Secretariat of the National Committee of the Communist Party of USA, outstanding fighter of the American working class and Negro freedom movements, heroic defender of the American communists against the fascist McCarran Act, who passed away at the age of 60 years.

COMRADE ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, veteran organiser and leader of the socialist and communist movements, who passed away on September 5, 1964.

COMRADE OTTO GROTEWOHL, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, courageous fighter against fascism and war, powerful champion of the peaceful reunification of Germany, who passed away at the age of 70 years.

COMRADE LESLIE MORRIS, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada and outstanding leader of the Canadian working-class movement.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India dips its red banner in solemn homage to the undying memory of these comrades and wishes to convey the heartfelt condolences of all Indian communists, to the bereaved families and to the fraternal Parties which have lost their leaders and whose loss is shared by the entire international communist movement. The Congress is of opinion that the most fitting tribute to the deceased comrades would be by intensifying all efforts for the strengthening of international working-class solidarity in the cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.



### OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF OUR TOILING PEOPLE

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India bows in homage to the memory of the outstanding leaders of our toiling people who have lost their lives in the service of the great cause of communism. It recalls with grief and pride:

RAHUL SANKRITYAYANA, prominent communist leader, outstanding scholar and linguist who was simultaneously one of the great pioneer organisers of the peasants of India, who blazed new paths in the research into Buddhism and the early history of Central Asia and at the same time was a model populariser of the fundamentals of Marxism and the movement of world history.

BANKIM MUKHERJEE, member of the National Council of the CPI and Vice-President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, prominent leader of the national movement and early organiser of the trade union movement and one of the greatest figures of the peasant movement in our country.

P. JEEVANANDAM, member of the National Council of the CPI, who for over three decades devoted his entire life to the service of the downtrodden masses of Tamilnad and became one of their recognised leaders and whose skill and power as poet, writer and orator was respected by all patriots.

B. SRINIVASA RAO, member of the National Council of the CPI, one of the founders of the Party in Tamilnad and of the powerful kisan movement in Tanjore and other districts of Tamilnad.

V. D. CHITALE, member of the National Council of the CPI, veteran leader of the masses in Maharashtra, Sanskrit scholar and one of the intrepid leaders of the great satyagraha for the liberation of Goa who marched in the face of the Portuguese guns.

DR. K. M. ASHRAF, doyen of the historians of mediaeval India, outstanding writer and orator in English and Hindustani, one of the prominent leaders of the national movement, especially of the progressive, nationalist Muslims and deeply loved communist leader.

R. K. BHOGALE, veteran communist leader, one of the

pioneers of the textile workers' unions in Bombay and prominent leader of the working class of Maharashtra.

ATMARAM SHINDE, communist leader, who died while on hunger strike at Yeotmal as part of the toilers' campaign against soaring prices organised by the CPI.

ARJAN SINGH GARGAJ, a veteran revolutionary, one of the founding members of the Communist Party in Panjab, died in harness as editor-in-charge of Daily *Nawan Zamana* and treasurer of the Party in Panjab, on March 10, 1963.

Many other comrades of ours have died in harness, bringing to a glorious close their noble lives spent in struggle and sacrifice for the emancipation of the people of India and for the glory of the Red Flag. We dip the Red Flag in their honour.

#### **DR. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays sorrowful tribute to the memory of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, hero of Jallianwalla Bagh and a veteran of our struggle for freedom. Dr. Kitchlew was one of the pioneers and founders of the peace movement in India, first President of the All-India Peace Council and first Indian Lenin Prize winner, winning international recognition and bringing fresh laurels to the motherland he served all his life.

#### **DR. A. V. BALIGA**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sense of grief at the great loss our nation has suffered by the death of Dr. A. V. Baliga. An outstanding surgeon, a sterling patriot and stout upholder of the cause of democracy, especially the democratic press, he made an invaluable contribution as a founder President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society to the cause of Indo-Soviet friendship, so vital to the interests of both countries as well as to world peace.

#### **DR. N. M. JAISOORYA**

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sorrow at the demise of Dr. N. M. Jaisoorya, an eminent physician and patriot. His service to the cause of civil

liberties when he exposed Congress terror against the militant peasant fighters of Telengaga and his efforts to build a democratic front against Congress misrule will ever remain a shining chapter in the saga of our people's struggle for democracy and a better life.

**PROF. J. B. S. HALDANE**

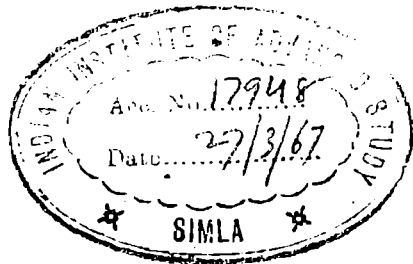
The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses profound grief at the death of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, one of the leading scientists of the world. He was pre-eminent among those who helped to popularise the achievements and attitude of science and demonstrated how science finds fulfilment in Marxism, in the struggle for socialism. His great help to the cause of the development of science in India will ever be cherished by our grateful people.

**POET MAITHILI SARAN GUPTA**

In the death of Maithili Saran Gupta, revered all over the Hindi world as "Rashtriya Kavi", the country has lost one of its tallest literary figures and modern Hindi its builder and foster-father.

No tribute to this great poet can be complete without a reference to *Bharat Bharati* and the role this patriotic epic played in creating a sense of pride in India's great heritage and in rousing the Hindi-speaking people for participation in the national movement for the country's independence.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI pays its sorrowful homage to the departed poet and patriot and sends its condolences to his bereaved family.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

*Bombay 13-23 December 1964*

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