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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	The Communist International
ECCI	The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
LM	The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	Central Committee
PB	Political Bureau
Polit Bureau	Political Bureau
INC	Indian National Congress
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	All India Students' Federation

Unite to Repel the Menace that is Shiva Sena

The attack of Shiva Sena gangsters on the Girni Kamgar Union of Bombay and on the meeting convened to protest against it underline the new danger to the working class movement. With the connivance of the police and the Congress Ministry, the Shiva Sena gangsters burst into the union office at dead of night and set fire to the office furniture and papers. The police who were on the scene encouraged them by their passivity. Next day when a public meeting was held to condemn this hooliganism, the Shiva Sena hoodlums stoned the meeting and assaulted the workers. Several people were injured; several had to be removed to the hospital. The leader of the Shiva Sena, Thackeray, is so sure of immunity from arrest under the Congress rule that far from denying the complicity of his organization in the crime, he boasted about it and said he had no regrets and he would not allow Bombay to be turned into a Naxalbari.

This is a familiar pattern. The goonda gangs attack the workers, the police remain silent and inactive and the moment the workers resist, the machinery of the State moves in to repress them. In this case also, immediately after the attack, the Police Commissioner of Bombay, who has been accused by our MPs of partisanship for the Shiva Sena, banned all public meetings thereby preventing the workers from unmasking the misdeeds of these anti-social elements. It is thus that fascism is legally nourished and reared to crush the working class.

Pretending to defend the interests of the Maharashtrians and fight against alleged discrimination against them in employment opportunities, appealing especially to the growing number of unemployed in the labour market of Bombay, the Shiva Sena rouses the worst chauvinistic feelings, concentrates its fire on the workers from other States, especially Kerala and Tamilnad who, driven from land, try to seek jobs in the great city of Bombay. While its leaders have a good word for the capitalists, they rouse nothing but hatred for the workers from the South whom they present as bread-snatchers and job-snatchers. The poorer sections, those who live in slums, are attacked, their huts are burnt and sometimes the hotel owners and salaried employees from the South are also robbed and belaboured. Every meeting of the Sena is followed by the looting of a few South Indian shops or hotels. The Shiva Sena is not against big non-Maharashtrian capitalists, it only fights the small non-Maharashtrian hotel-keepers, traders, hawkers and, above all, workers.

The aim is clear—to divide the toilers so that the big capitalists can remain in peace. The attack against the workers from the South comes in because they form a considerable part of the working class, a part which is also politically conscious and advanced. They oppose the Congress and large sections support our Party. The avowed aim of the organization is to chase away the workers from the South and 'make Maharashtra a foreign territory to them. It is this organization which is planfully disrupting national unity, bringing about open disintegration of the nation, that is patronized by Chief Minister Naik and the Maharashtra Congress bosses.

It is under their protection that this open goondaism in Bombay is moving ahead unmindful of the police and the law and order. Chavan who babbles about law and democracy whenever he wants to crush the democratic movement, has not moved an inch to curb this serious menace to Indian unity and democracy. He himself was closely connected with the leader of the movement and has done nothing except verbal protests to repudiate his connections.

The nauseating hypocrisy of the Congress rulers stands completely revealed by the Shiva Sena episode. In West Bengal, they raised a hue and cry about the breakdown of law and order just because the common man started asserting his rights, because the workers resorted to gheraos and the police were asked not to intervene in the legitimate struggles of the workers and peasants. They raised hell and brought about the illegal dismissal of the popular Ministry, in the name of law and order. In Bombay it is the working class that is attacked, workers from the South that are mercilessly belaboured in the presence of the police, with the connivance of highest police officials and the Ministry, but law and order is supposed to reign supreme.

What is the interest of the Congress leaders in promoting and encouraging the Shiva Sena? The latter is a handy weapon of disrupting the common unity of Bombay's working class—the multilingual working class which hails from all parts of India. Above all, the Shiva Sena champions anti-Communism which is the plank of the top Congress leaders. Recently Thackeray wrote, "Only Communists oppose Shiva Sena, i.e., the hopes and aspirations of the Marathi people. To speak frankly, every South Indian is a Communist... it is not a question of mere competition in employment and other economic fields. It is a question of Communist conspiracy to enslave the residents of various regions. The secret machinations to replace Indian democratic socialism by Communism are avidly supported by the newspapers and journals edited by South Indians and other fellow-travellers."

It will be thus seen that the anti-South feeling is being roused only to attack the working class, to attack the Communist movement and it will be wrong to regard the Shiva Sena as a purely parochial and chauvinistic movement. Its import is much deeper. It reminds one of the familiar international experience of the use of fascism when toilers were set against each other and a minority was made the scapegoat to crush the revolutionary movement.

It is well known how Hitler roused anti-semitic feelings to divide the working class and sidetrack the workers from the main class struggle. No wonder that public leaders in Bombay have openly charged the movement as being inspired by CIA money and stated that a number of police officials are also in its pay. It should be further remembered that a few years ago there was a spate of American scholars in Indian Universities making study of social tensions in India. Eruptions like the Shiva Sena are the fruits of this American scholarly effort.

The attack on the Girni Kamgar Union unmasks the real anti-working class role of the Shiva Sena. The Union has a long tradition of militant trade union struggles. It continues to sway the loyalty of a large number of textile workers despite the machinations and conspiracies of the Congress agents. During its forty years of existence, it has been attacked by the British and Congress rulers alike. By raiding its office, the Shiva Sena has revealed itself as the instrument of big capital, of the capitalists against the workers. Its hypocritical pretension to defend the interests of the Marathi people stands exposed; it only defends the interests of Bombay's big capital.

It is this organization that the Congress used in its unscrupulous election fight against Sri V. K. Krishna Menon. The Congress made full use of its chauvinistic appeal. Chavan did not utter a word against it. The Congress bosses allowed the Sena volunteers to spread terror during the elections in some slum localities inhabited by the poorer sections of workers. And now following the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party has entered into an unholy alliance with it for the coming Corporation elections. The Praja Socialist leaders who incessantly talk about the country's unity, integration and moral values, are not ashamed to join hands with those who regard the workers from the South as their enemies and who do not shirk from fratricidal attacks on them. But then for the Praja Socialist leaders in Bombay nothing is higher than anti-Communism—to which they are prepared to subordinate every principle and every moral value.

The Congress, the Swatantra, the Praja Socialists—all are behind the Shiva Sena in its anti-working class activities. It is one more instrument forged by the ruling classes to stem the tide of the democratic movement.

The situation brooks no delay. The menace grows everyday. It is a menace which the working class of Bombay has to meet unitedly. Any wavering, any vacillations here will mean the betrayal of the working class, of democracy and Socialism, of national and class unity. Notwithstanding the open patronage of the Congress, and the police, notwithstanding the boost given to Shiva Sena by the Big Business Press, the militant working class of Bombay can easily defeat and rout the working class-baiters if it stands united, if all its organizations come together and present a common front to the enemy. The Praja Socialist Party has already betrayed the working class. But all the unions affiliated to the AITUC, the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat and independent unions can form a formidable front and easily rout the gangster Sena. Let all sections of workers, from the South, North, from Maharashtra stand solidly together; let them unfurl the banner of proletarian unity in face of the planned disruption of their class.

At the same time it is the duty of the working class in other parts to help this great fight in the common class interest. In the first place, they must see that Shiva Sena barbarities in Bombay are not exploited to disturb the class solidarity elsewhere. They must expose the whole anti-working class conspiracy, denounce the Congress and the reactionaries and express their firm solidarity and support to the working class of Bombay in its fight against the fascist enemy. Linguistic riots, Shiva Sena activities, anti-Muslim riots—these will be the constant weapon of a bankrupt ruling class. The working class can march to victory only by defeating them every time they are used. Its great weapon is the unbreakable unity and solidarity of the millions who are exploited by the capitalists—the sense of proletarian brotherhood. All the fascist conspiracies must crumble into dust before this mighty weapon.

On People's Struggle in Defence of Democracy*

Resolution of the Secretariat, West Bengal State
Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist)

I

The second phase of the heroic struggle of the people of West Bengal for defence of democracy has concluded successfully. The people responded magnificently to the call of the U.F. for organized civil disobedience and defiance of the puppet Ghosh ministry. The significance of the people's response should be understood in the context of the reign of terror let loose by the police. Being isolated from the people, the illegal ministry resorted to unheard of repression—firings, beatings, lathi-charges, brutal tortures in police custody and shameless violation of the sanctity of educational institutions.

After being illegally placed in the ministerial gaddy, the puppet clique of traitors have murdered 14 people, wounded about one thousand and arrested about 23,000 people (6,000 in the first phase and 17,000 in the second phase). All avenues of expressing democratic protests have been closed by whimsical imposition of Section 144, curfew, etc. A virtual police raj has been established. The people never faced such attacks, particularly such brutal tortures in police custody in the last 20 years. The blood-thirsty criminals thought that by creating terror they would be able to keep the people subdued and thus compel them to meekly surrender to their black conspiracy. But the people frustrated their designs by heroic resistance. The significant thing to be noted is that apart from the twelve

thousand volunteers who courted arrest during the second phase of the movement, hundreds of thousands of people daily accompanied the volunteers and actively participated in the movement braving brutal police attacks.

The programme of civil disobedience did not turn out to be a tame affair with garlands as in the past, but became an effective weapon of determined mass struggle. The people's resistance and three general strikes-hartals in the first phase and civil disobedience in the second phase have heightened the consciousness and enhanced the fighting capacity of the people. The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(Marxist) warmly congratulates the people, particularly the students, for their consciousness and resistance to the reactionary attack. We are proud that our Party has played its due role in the struggle.

II

Apart from the people of Calcutta who have always remained in the forefront, the people of all districts have taken active part in the struggle. It should, however, be noted that in the second phase of the movement, the North Bengal districts, which were supposed in the past to be weak in democratic struggles, have been drawn in the vortex of the movement and conducted a powerful struggle. Compared to them, the movement in some of the districts and areas of Central Bengal has not been as strong as it should have been. The democratic forces in general and our Party in particular should take note of this fact. The people of these districts and areas are equally, if not more, militant, but they were not properly organized. We should understand that any weakness in organizing people's resistance will help the treacherous ruling clique to create panic among the people and thus weaken their own struggle for class demands against the onslaught of the vested interests and goonda attacks.

Secondly, the peasants being very busy in harvesting, could not take active part in the movement in sufficient number except in the struggle for defence of their crop in some

districts, particularly in 24-Parganas and Malda. But the sweep of the struggle cannot be made irresistible unless the peasants who constitute the majority of the people are made conscious and drawn actively in the struggle for democracy.

All these lags and weaknesses are to be overcome before the third phase of the struggle begins.

III

The struggle of the people, though not yet successful in defeating the main attack of the conspirators, have however isolated them further and have frustrated some of their evil designs meant to confuse the people. While butchering parliamentary democracy, they tried desperately to still put on a Constitutional garb to legalize their illegal and unconstitutional actions. They tried to solve the constitutional crisis and get support from a perverted Assembly for their nefarious actions by circumventing the Speaker's correct ruling through a mischievous interpretation of the Constitution. They have so far failed. The heroic struggles of the people have nakedly exposed the real character of the conspirators as enemies of the people. It has proved that no dirty trick will be able to confuse the people.

The people demand not only dismissal of the puppet ministry, removal of the Governor, full restoration of democratic rights, but also the dissolution of the Assembly and a mid-term election. With the betrayal of some self-seeking despicable members, the present Assembly has become a negation of Assembly elected by the people. It does no longer reflect the opinion of the people. Not a vote in the present Assembly, but a mid-term election can only express the will of the people. We are sure that it will immensely strengthen the democratic forces. The people's movements have made all these demands so powerful that even a reactionary communal party like Jana Sangh could not but support mid-term election.

Secondly, the struggle of the people of West Bengal has helped the people of other States to beware of the danger to democracy and to build a strong all-India democratic

movement. *Thirdly*, the conspirators made our Party the main target of their attack and tried their utmost to isolate us from others in order to weaken the struggle for democracy. The dirty trick of placing some bombs here and there and of dragging the name of our Party as well as of China is aimed at preparing the ground for intensified attack on us. But the popular movement has defeated their nasty game to isolate us. The unity of the democratic forces has become stronger. *Fourthly*, with the attack on U.F. Ministry a simultaneous attack was launched on the peasants by jotedars and police. But the struggle for democracy, by its heroic example, helped the peasants to resist the offensive and protect their harvest to a great extent.

All these have strengthened the confidence of the people and have created a basis for a bigger phase of the struggle.

IV

The attack on the U.F. Ministry was not a simple attack. In the context of the deepening economic and political crisis in the country and faced with growing class battles of the people which was helped to grow by the existence of the U.F. Ministry, the ruling vested interests encouraged by American imperialism have launched this attack. It is the first shot to establish a police raj in the country step by step. It means more burdens on and more exploitation of the workers, peasants, and toiling people and more repression on their legitimate democratic struggle. Parliamentary democracy is under attack. In spite of its basic limitation as being essentially a form of bourgeois class rule and as such unable to bring about fundamental changes in society, it has become a danger to the reactionary ruling classes, because it was helping the people to advance their class struggles.

In such a situation, the struggle for democracy has assumed a serious revolutionary significance for our country and as such should be looked upon as a bitter long drawn mass struggle. Any conception of a short, swift and easy struggle will be an illusion. Such a struggle cannot be conducted relying on

spontaneity. Serious political and organizational preparations that can face police brutalities are necessary.

Ways will have to be found so that all sections of the people can join the struggle. But the struggle should not be kept limited to a general form only. As a part of this struggle, the class struggles of workers, peasants and toiling people are to be intensified. The sweep of the struggle will be enhanced by integrating the struggles of different classes for their sectional demands with the general struggle for defence of democracy.

The reactionary conspirators have attacked democracy in the class interest of ruling classes. The people are to reply by a powerful struggle for democracy and intensification of class struggles.

V

The puppet clique of agents has not only instituted a reign of terror, but has also taken steps to help the big capitalists, jotedars and hoarders to launch attacks on the people and has assured them of police help at their beck and call.

The capitalists are shifting the burden of economic recession on the shoulders of the workers. Taking advantage of the new situation many employers are even refusing to implement the old agreements that gave some concessions to the workers. Workers in many factories are being retrenched. In the name of opening locked-out factories thousands of workers are being discharged. Automation which inevitably leads to serious curtailment of employment opportunities is being supported by the illegal ministry and police help given to install the machines. Trade union rights are being attacked. Hence the workers are called upon to wage a determined struggle against automation, retrenchment, violation of agreement, attack on T.U. rights and for opening of closed factories without any dismissal, for adequate DA and other demands. The RSS* has already given a call for building up a powerful movement and preparing for a general strike.

*'Rashtreya Sangram Samity'

The toiling peasants are also under attack. At present serious attempts are being made to deprive poor peasants of the crop that they produced. After harvest there is the inevitable danger of widespread eviction offensive not only against bargadars, but also against cultivators of Government vested lands. The Land Reform Advisory Committees have been disbanded making the bureaucracy all-in-all. The draft ordinance conferring proprietary rights on homestead land to poor peasants and agricultural labourers has up till now been kept in the cold storage by the Central Congress Government. The proposed land reform amending legislation providing for, among other things, a ceiling on family-holding with no exemptions, a rent-free holding up to three acres, a ban on evictions subject to the right of small owners for self-cultivation, is in danger of being sabotaged. The legitimate movement of agricultural labourers is being attacked. A serious food crisis is developing which will hit the rural poor most. Hence the peasantry is called upon to organize and intensify their struggle for crop, land, right in homestead land, against eviction, against debt burdens, for comprehensive amendment of land reform laws and for food, fair wages, etc.

The students who are acting as the torchbearers of freedom and democracy have particularly been the target of severe police attack. The safety and sanctity of educational institutions have been imperilled. The students are already in the forefront of the struggle and they are called upon to maintain this glorious position. The teachers, too, are moving into action.

The traitor ministry has already taken measures which will create a serious food crisis in the coming days in a year of good harvest in the interest of jotedars and hoarders. The U.F. Ministry decided, as a part of its new food policy, to increase the weekly ration to 2,000 grammes from January 1, 1968, which the puppet ministry also promised. But instead of implementing that, they have increased the price of rationed articles. Prevention of a serious food crisis depends to a great extent on the procurement of surplus stocks of large

owners just after harvest and on prevention of hoarding. But the agents of jotedars have already practically sabotaged the procurement policy. Only a meagre quantity has been procured up till now and there is little possibility of procuring anything near the reduced target. Instead of employing the whole state machinery against jotedars for procurement, they have employed them to beat down the people. Hence a serious food crisis is being artificially created, and that too in a good crop year. The people are called upon to resist this pro-hoarder policy of sabotaging procurement and save West Bengal from a catastrophe. Subsequently they shall have to conduct a bitter struggle against hoarding and for food.

The people are attacked from all sides. Such attacks have not only highlighted the importance of the struggle for democracy, but have also created the possibility of a much broader and stronger struggle drawing in all sections of the people in the common movement and integrating the sectional struggles with it. The sectional demands and sectional class battles have become closely linked with the general struggle for democracy. By intensifying these class struggles, the general struggle for democracy shall be strengthened. The struggles of workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers have got special importance in the context.

VI

The third phase of the struggle should naturally be a struggle of much longer duration and of greater intensity. The whole movement should be inspired with the understanding that the reactionary conspiracy and attack shall have to be defeated. The puppet traitor ministry has got no right to exist. It has to be defied. Its functioning will have to be rendered ineffective. It has got no right to collect anything from the people—workers, peasants, students, teachers, employees including Government employees, writers, artists and all democratic-minded people—are requested to help this great struggle in all possible ways.

The third phase is likely to begin from some time in the

3rd or 4th week of January (fixed later as January 26—*Ed.*) and the intervening period should be utilized to prepare for the struggle. The programme and form of the struggle are conditioned by the consciousness and organization of the people. In our opinion they should be on the following lines:

(a) The vitality of the programme of civil disobedience and breaking of laws has been proved in the last phase. Such militant form of movement should be intensified and spread to wider areas in the third phase. The harvest being over, it will be possible for a large number of rural volunteers also to participate in the movement. Breaking of Section 144, mass demonstrations and gheraos of Government offices at different levels should be organized.

(b) Coordinated struggles of workers and peasants on the demands enumerated above should be intensified. Over and above these struggles on specific demands, strikes and hartals on State-wide and local plane may have to be organized as and when necessary to protest against brutal repression. Further, utmost efforts should be made to create an atmosphere for enabling the U.F. to give a call for Statewide no-rent, no-tax, no-loan payment campaign. These should not be looked upon as mere economic demands. This is a part of the political struggle against the illegal ministry and for defence of democracy. A high degree of political consciousness is of course necessary for such campaign to be successful.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all sections of the people to prepare themselves for this bigger phase of the struggle and appeals to them to enrol themselves in thousands as volunteers. The people shall of course try their utmost to conduct the struggle peacefully and to avoid being provoked. At the same time, the Party warns the illegal ministry that they and their police shall have to bear the responsibility for any consequences of their brutal attacks on the peaceful movement.

VII

The success of the struggle depends to a great extent on the unity of the democratic forces. The reactionaries will try

their utmost to disrupt this unity by various intrigues. They may resort to vile anti-Communist slanders and even whip up anti-China chauvinist campaign to weaken the movement. The Communist Party is glad to note that such vile tactics have failed to weaken the unity. On the other hand, this unity as embodied in the U.F. has been further strengthened through participation in the common struggle. We are sure that this unity in struggle will be further strengthened and we on our part pledge to do all for it.

The struggles have to be conducted in face of brutal police attacks. As such, serious political and organizational preparations are essential without any loss of time. Conventions, meetings, squads, postering, etc., on a wide scale should be organized. United committees composed of different parties of the U.F., mass organizations, and sections of people participating in the movement should be formed at different levels as well as people's committees at the lowest level. For working class areas, local branches of the RSS should also be formed.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) being the biggest party in the U.F. and foremost organizer of mass struggles, has the greatest responsibility in the coming phase of the struggle. The Party urges upon all its units and workers to prove equal to the task. It is true that our Party is the main target of attack and the reactionary ruling circles want to crush our Party. It is also true that the hand of repression will fall heavily on us. For that reason the whole Party has got to be alert and vigilant. Proper steps are to be taken to make necessary organizational preparations so that continuity of organization and movement can be maintained. But we must be in the thick of the struggle. No repression can crush our Party if we remain with the people. On the other hand, the Party shall emerge stronger through the fire of struggle by purging itself of all weaknesses. We must mobilize our forces to defend the Party and the movement from goonda attacks. Let us all rise to the occasion.

On the Demand for Mid-Term Poll in West Bengal

Editorial of "People's Democracy" of February 25, 1968

The people of West Bengal and the United Front which led their struggle have scored their first big victory. The Ghosh Ministry, composed of traitors and Congress plotters, has been forced to resign, under the threat of dismissal. The President has taken over the administration and the disgusting farce of a minority Ministry has ended.

The traitors, who spilled the blood of the martyrs, who inflicted inhuman tortures on young men and students in police lock-up, who permitted the police to enter the educational institutions and beat up professors and students alike, who jailed thousands of citizens, arrested hundreds under the Preventive Detention Act and made West Bengal into a virtual prison, have been forced out of office.

Long before the Presidential proclamation was issued from New Delhi on Tuesday, the people of West Bengal declared the Ministry to be non-existent. They had refused to obey its laws, and demanded its dissolution. It is the hammer-blows of their movement, the courage and sacrifice of innumerable men and women, especially the students and the martyrdom of heroes who fell fighting, that brought about the collapse in disgrace of the traitor Ministry. The Central Government and the President were compelled to act as the unwilling instrument of popular will in disbanding the Ministry—their own illegitimate child. The same Chavan who sung the praises of the Ghosh Ministry when he installed it, who certified to its legality and its majority support had to sing

a different tune within three months and repudiate his own creation.

Let there be no doubt, the change was brought about not because a few defectors from the Congress went against the Ministry. This became only an excuse to recognize the reality that the Ministry could not function in face of the opposition from the people, that its continued existence could only lead to more and more indignation among the people. If there had been no popular movement, the defectors could have been managed, new opportunist combinations could have been installed and the farce of a majority Ministry could have been carried on. But the solid strength of the United Front in the legislature and the mass popular movement barred such a solution. The balance of forces among the people, in the legislature, had gone against the Congress; no Ministry could hope to survive without the support of the United Front.

This was the situation which the Congress and the Central Government were trying to conceal by creating a fake majority inside the Assembly, by purchasing and hiring MLAs wholesale and retail.

The disbanding of the Ministry under popular mass pressure is a rebuff to the West Bengal Governor who illegally dismissed the United Front Ministry at the dictates of the Centre; it is a rebuff to the Central Government and Chavan who attempted to impose their own arbitrary will on the people of West Bengal and suppress democracy and the rights of the people; it is a defeat for the West Bengal and all-India Congress leadership who secretly plotted and exploited their position in the Government to satisfy their mad lust for power and to prevent the United Front Ministry from giving relief to the people at the expense of their masters—the capitalists and landlords; it is further a rebuff to the capitalists and landlords of West Bengal who thought that they could suppress the popular forces with the aid of the Congress.

Mr. Chavan in his statement to the Lok Sabha has attempted to throw the whole blame for the failure of the

constitutional machinery on the United Front parties— especially our Party. Throwing to winds the accepted norms of parliamentary behaviour, he attacked the conduct of the Speaker. But neither Mr. Chavan nor the Governor could conceal the fact that the Ministry had lost its majority, that it was a minority Ministry— a contention which the United Front and our Party have been making since its installation. Thus the propaganda of the Home Minister that the United Front Ministry was dismissed to give effect to the will of the majority in the Assembly has collapsed and Chavan and Co. have revealed themselves to be purveyors of falsehoods and lies to subvert democracy.

It is not surprising that Chavan should attack the Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly whose courageous and principled stand upset all the secret plans of the hired constitutional experts of the Congress. His fight on behalf of the people and the authority of the legislature helped and accelerated the struggle outside, completely exposing and unmasking the design of the Central Government. Chavan further felt frustrated because the nefarious plan of removing the Speaker by amending the rules of the legislature proved abortive. He knew that even if the plan was put through and a session of the Assembly were called, the House by a majority would vote confidence in the Speaker. That would have exposed Chavan and Co. still further. In face of this situation, Chavan contented himself with attacking the Speaker but dared not approach the Assembly to disown him.

And Chavan's anger against our Party can be easily understood. At each and every turn our Party, with its close contact with the people, with its determination to protect the solidarity of the United Front, frustrated all the machinations of the Congress and has been in the forefront of the people's battle against the Ministry and the capitalist-landlord clique. It has played a determined role both inside and outside the Assembly and above all defeated every attempt of the Congress to undermine the solidarity of the United Front. Like Chavan, revisionist leaders like Dange

also attacked our Party, but the people treated such attacks with the contempt they deserved.

It is futile for Chavan and P. C. Ghosh to charge us with obstructionist tactics. It was Chavan and the Central Government that were undermining democracy by making the Ministers dependent on the sweet will of the Governor; by allowing the latter to usurp the sovereign rights of the legislature. A fight carried on to assert the supremacy of the legislature against the autocracy of the Governor can by no stretch of imagination be described as anti-democratic or obstructionist.

The Ghosh Ministry had to resign. The President has taken over the administration and dissolved the Assembly. The disbandment of the Ministry is a great victory for the United Front and the people. But they cannot be satisfied with a prolonged imposition of President's rule and dissolution of the Assembly. The Ghosh Ministry, it seems, has recommended President's rule at least for one year. It is easy to see that the gang of Atulya Ghosh and P. C. Ghosh and P. C. Sen who glibly talked of facing the electorate when elections were not in the offing, have got cold feet and seek to postpone any appeal to the people. They know that they will be thrown out by the people on the scrapheap and there will be an utter rout of the Congress in the next electoral battle.

The New Delhi rulers are also working on the same lines of avoiding an appeal to the people. They know the fate that awaits the Congress party and its allies in a mid-term election. They are aware, besides, of the perpetual quarrels and bickerings among Congress leaders depriving the Congress of the minimum capacity to face the elections as a serious political party. The strength of the defectors, the open patronage extended to them by the Prime Minister, the hidden dissidents who number many, the revolt against Atulya Ghosh's unscrupulous regime— all these contribute to a rapid disintegration of the Congress and the Central leadership will not easily accept a mid-term poll in the immediate future. It would like to run the show for three years—for the full

constitutional limit before giving the people of West Bengal a chance to choose their Ministry.

President's rule will only mean Congress rule from Delhi instead of from Calcutta. If it is allowed to continue it for a prolonged period, it will mean complete stifling of the people, of the sovereignty of the legislature to suit the interests of the Congress and the capitalist-landlord clique. It will mean a deliberate attempt to keep the United Front from returning to ministerial positions, it will be a continuation of the dismissal of the United Front Ministry. It will mean unrestricted bureaucratic rule over the people. Therefore, the battle for immediate mid-term election must be carried on. The United Front and the people must demand that following the disbanding of the Ghosh Ministry a date must be set for mid-term elections, and the sovereign right of the people to have a Ministry and legislature of their own choice must be enforced. Without this, Presidential take-over will be a crude trick to deceive the people.

Thousands have been arrested and are being prosecuted or kept in jails under the Preventive Detention Act for having demanded the dismissal of P. C. Ghosh. Now that the Congress rulers have had to accept this demand, not a moment should be lost in getting the release of the arrested persons, withdrawal of the prosecutions and lifting of all curbs on civil liberties.

We congratulate the people of West Bengal on their success in compelling the disbandment of the Ghosh Ministry. We congratulate the United Front, all the parties comprising it and the Speaker of the Assembly on their success in defeating all the constitutional tricks of the Central Government and forcing it to secure the resignation of the Ghosh Ministry.

But the real victory will come when the opponents of democracy are forced to face the people in a straight election and when the popular parties return to the legislature to carry the behests of the people. All must bend their efforts to this final victory—the victory of people's sovereignty over Governor's autocracy.

The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Protests against Attacks on Party Leaders in Tripura*

The Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) protests against the arrests of twenty-nine of its Party members and leaders in Tripura including a member of the Party's Central Committee, Dasarath Deb, former member of Parliament Biren Dutta and Secretary of the Tripura State Committee of the Party, Nripen Chakrabarti. These arrests by the Congress Government under the West Bengal Security Act constitute an outrageous attack on the freedom of the Party to function and of the fundamental right to organize and defend the interests of the common man. It is clear that though the Emergency has been formally lifted, the Congress authorities in Tripura are determined to negate every democratic right by the use of the executive powers at their disposal. In Parliament, Home Minister Chavan goes on assuring that he will fight political parties by political means while in the States the Congress Governments use the repressive machinery to silence the voice of protest.

In Tripura, the Congress Government, instead of collecting levy from the big jotedars and landlords is forcibly collecting levy from the small and poor landholders. Our Party, along with the Kisan Sabha and tribal organizations, has been leading the mass resistance to this anti-people policy of the Congress Government. Hence the present attack on our Party.

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For long our Party in Tripura has been defending the just rights of the unfortunate tribals who stand in the danger of being uprooted from the soil. They formed fifty per cent of the population twenty years back; now with influx of unfortunate refugees from East Pakistan, they are hardly twenty per cent of the total population. Instead of solving the problems created by this influx on the basis of unity and justice, the Congress administration has been inciting the newcomers against the tribals. The latter have been evicted on a large scale, they are prevented from engaging in traditional zum cultivation; thus a serious problem has been created leading to tension and incitement in this border area. Our Party fought this unjust policy, stood for justice to the tribals and amity between them and the refugees. This is a great crime in the eyes of the Congress Ministry which has now unleashed its full attack against us.

We call upon all people to force the Government to stop the repression and release of our comrades. We further ask all democratic forces to protest against the strangulation of the tribals and the forcible collection of levy from the small and poor landholders in Tripura. We appeal to all members of Parliament to take up this question and stay the hands of the Congress and save the unfortunate tribals, otherwise the seeds of disintegration will be sown in Tripura.

The Kutch Award*

Editorial of "People's Democracy", March 3, 1968

The Kutch Award is being seized by chauvinistic elements to play a reactionary game. Finding that the Congress Government can be easily assailed on this issue by rousing national feelings, the Jana Sangh is posing as the champion of national integrity and demanding a repudiation of the Tribunal's verdict.

It is unfortunate that the SSP and the PSP are also taking up the same position. The Gujarat unit of the Revisionist party has also given a call for Scrap Award Day and decided to organize protest demonstrations. This chauvinistic outlook which attaches no importance to the need of friendship and amity between the peoples of India and Pakistan, which is prepared to foster enmity between the two peoples to gain a momentary advantage against a discredited Government, does not represent the abiding interests of the nation, but actually plays the game of the imperialists who seek a permanent breach between the two peoples and the two countries.

Any party which considers the Award out of the context of Indo-Pakistani relations, of the necessity of amity between the two peoples, is guilty of irresponsibility, and betrayal of national trust. There have been two wars only a couple of years back— one of which was a full-fledged war with

*This is related to adjustment of areas in the Rann of Kutch in Gujarat state of India bordering Pakistan.

The 'Jana Sangh' mentioned here subsequently became 'Bharatiya Janata Party'.

casualties running into thousands. It has given a heavy blow to India distorting its economic development. Only the imperialists benefited from it. Those who ignore these lessons are playing the game of the imperialist powers.

•It is, however, correct to condemn the Government for referring the issue to an outside authority. Our Party has always held that the best way of settling border and other disputes is direct negotiations between the two parties—negotiations based on the spirit of give and take.

Reference of any dispute to an international tribunal brings into play the interests of the imperialist powers which demand perpetuation and intensification of the disputes and not their final settlement. But arbitration and war can be avoided if the parties concerned are prepared to settle in a spirit of give and take, not if either party insists that its claims must be accepted hundred per cent. Many of those who condemn the Award do not recognize the necessity of give and take; for them the only way is a military settlement, assertion of India's claim hundred percent by force of arms. This is really the position of the Jana Sangh; and the SSP's demand for repudiation also amounts to that.

The Award of the Tribunal on the Kutch dispute gives certain areas under the possession of India to Pakistan. The majority of the Judges consider that Pakistan has established her claims to these areas which form ten per cent of her total claim. The Award rejects the rest of her claims and considers them as exaggerated and not proved.

The Judges also reject India's right to the entire area and her argument that Pakistan had no claim whatsoever on any part of the Rann of Kutch. Out of the disputed area of 3000 square miles they have awarded 300 square miles to Pakistan and thereby declared that India's claims were also exaggerated.

The decision to refer the Kutch dispute to a tribunal was taken in the wake of the India-Pakistan conflict in Kutch in 1965. It was under the direct pressure of the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson that Shastri, India's Prime Minister and his Government which had among its Cabinet ministers,

Chavan, Swaran Singh and Indira Gandhi, agreed to the proposal.

In explaining it the Prime Minister had stated that the business of the tribunal would be only demarcation of the boundaries and not their determination. This, of course, was just double talk— because here was a war which was being fought with tanks, aeroplanes and guns— not just for setting a few boundary posts, but because there was a dispute regarding where the boundary lay.

The Government of India now finds itself in a compromising and unenviable situation. All these years both in relation to China and Pakistan, it had taken the chauvinistic position that not an inch of what it considered to be Indian soil will ever be surrendered. In any border dispute India's claims must be accepted hundred per cent before negotiations could start. With catch phrases like 'vacate aggression first' the Congress Government did its best to key up national sentiment. The process was started by no less a person than Jawaharlal Nehru who on one occasion openly proclaimed the community of outlook obtaining between the Congress, the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and all other parties, while attacking the Communist Party. The Jana Sangh and other extreme chauvinistic elements took advantage of this position and soon Nehru himself became a prisoner of the reactionaries. Everytime he attempted to take a negotiating posture towards settling the border dispute with China, he was attacked from inside his party and from outside. It is well known that he was willing to settle with the Chinese Premier when the latter visited India in 1960 but internal pressure based on the same chauvinistic outlook prevented him with disastrous results for India.

The Congress leaders continued this policy of raising blind chauvinism, trying to outbid the most rabid elements like the Jana Sangh on this issue, while at the same time professing to solve all disputes peacefully and amicably. They have gone on assuring the people that they were not a whit behind these parties in asserting India's claims.

In relation to the Kutch dispute also the Government went on giving assurances, making the people feel that the verdict would be entirely in India's favour, that it would be only concerned with demarcation; that it would not involve any cession of territory and that if it did go against India the Government would not accept it.

Not once during these intervening years did it try to educate the public telling them that in border disputes peaceful settlement can be based only on a policy of give and take, that whatever our own maps or evidence or claims might say, the other parties have also something to say. Not once was the voice of reason allowed to penetrate to the people.

Our Party always stood for peaceful and friendly relations with Pakistan and China and an amicable settlement of disputes. We have stuck to this stand despite all the calumnies directed against us by the Congress crowd and the propaganda sallies of the Jana Sangh, Revisionists and others. Rousing of chauvinistic hatred against Pakistan or China, tension between the two countries only facilitate the game of imperialism which wants the two countries either at the throats of each other or in an unholy alliance against China. The revolutionary movements in the two countries require that the class Governments in both countries are deprived of the weapon of India-Pakistan tension. Today the parties and individuals who seek to whip up blind nationalistic fury on the issue of the Award will be acting not in the interests of the country but serving the aims of anti-national powers who want to make Asians fight against Asians. The alternative to the acceptance of the Award is just another conflict and nothing else—a conflict in which not one people, not one country in the world can ever find itself supporting India. Only opportunists and confirmed opponents of national integrity will join in this unscrupulous game of unleashing tension between India and Pakistan.

We do not hold a brief for the Government or its policies. What we are concerned with is the lessening of tension between the two countries, removing the hotbeds of dissension. In

this context, every agreement between the two countries which does not jeopardize the democratic interests of the people in either country, which may involve adjustments of the rival claims and gives a respite for easing the situation, is welcome as a step forward. It is quite true that so long as a military dictatorship rules Pakistan, suppressing the toilers, denying all democratic rights, ruthlessly repressing the people of East Pakistan and torturing their leaders—peace and friendship between the two countries cannot be stabilized. It is equally true that so long as the capitalist-landlord rule continues in India with its selfish class policies, suppression of border nationalities and of the whole people—there will not be a permanent basis for such friendship. Nonetheless every effort has to be made to reduce areas of conflict and find temporary solutions and agreements. This is absolutely essential in the interest of the nation, the country and the people and the democratic movement in both the countries.

Our Party warns against all attempts to rouse chauvinistic sentiments in connection with the Award. Reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh require some such issue to sidetrack attention from the main democratic and class issues that are rapidly emerging as a result of the recession. To strengthen their influence and hold over the people they utilized the language issue in Uttar Pradesh and anti-Urdu agitation in Bihar, and the Kashmir issue in Meerut. They were responsible for the communal riots and the attacks against the Muslim minority. They now seek to use the Kutch issue and pose as champions of national integrity. It is regrettable that the SSP is joining hands with them in this anti-national game. All democrats and socialists must see the danger and act. We are not concerned with the predicament of a Government which has done its best to pamper the worst prejudices in the name of nationalism. But we are deeply concerned with the friendship between the two peoples which is absolutely essential for their successful march to People's Democracy and Socialism.

On Gauhati Disturbances*

**The State Committee of the Assam CPI(M)
issued the following statement on January 26, 1968**

The Assam State Committee of CPI(M), having reviewed the disturbances of January 26 last at Gauhati and Bijoyagar, notes with deep concern that the Congress and other reactionary forces had succeeded in involving the people into yet one more internecine conflict, leading to arson, looting, destruction of property and damage to a number of mills and factories causing big loss.

While bigger establishments were, it seemed, aimed at, smaller ones were also not spared and even shanties of labourers were burnt down and small shops looted. A large number of people have sustained loss and became panicky. This orgy was preceded by pulling down of State flags even from a police outpost. Signboards were also pulled down and the rampage and orgy continued up to after night-fall, though the military were called in by midday. Obviously, there had been no resistance from the authorities concerned.

The local authorities and the police failed to discharge their duty and remained spectators. The afflicted people asked for help but were told not to 'provoke' their tormentors by putting up resistance! The same police which never forget to fly at people's throat even in the most peaceful struggles of the masses, who freely use lathis, even bullets against food demonstration by students in the name of maintaining law and order, remained completely inactive against these law-breakers. This situation inevitably led to calling in of the

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military and imposition of curfew. The civic right of the people was the first casualty and this suppression still continues. The police, which failed to curb the looters and incendiaries, dealt with many innocent citizens with extreme rudeness and in an insulting manner.

This dangerous and disruptive development was not at all unforeseen. The CPI(M) had repeatedly warned the people that the Congress and other reactionary forces had been conspiring to disrupt and divide the people, by organizing fratricidal clashes and conflicts. The Party had warned that the doubts and apprehensions in the minds of the people about the proposals for reorganization of Assam, the growing unemployment and landlessness and consequent frustration and anger specially of the youth, were being sought to be utilized by the Congress leaders to achieve their anti-people objective.

The last disturbance showed that this apprehension of the Party was well founded. Unable to solve the acute problems and crisis its own policies have begotten, ever-eager to suppress the popular mass struggles against the landlord-capitalist exploitation, the Congress Government deliberately planned to divert the anger of the masses, especially of the youth, to the channel of internecine strife among the people. The Committee regrets the fact that these elements succeeded in entangling the youth especially a small section of students, in their snare of reactionary politics, by deceit and demagogy.

The attempt made by the Assam Government to pass the blame on to 'outside agents' and others dismally failed. Even Home Minister Chavan could not accept it. Nothing except the complicity of the ruling Congress party explains the inactivity of the police and the administration on the 26th.

The Government not only knew well what was going on for some months now in Assam, its leaders themselves campaigned for opposition to the reorganization proposal in a manner which nakedly helped to mobilize extremist chauvinist elements for a showdown. They wanted to put pressure on

the Centre at the cost of drowning their own State in internecine conflict—such is their sense as the ruling party.

The poster campaign for “Independent Assam” against “Indians” had been going on for a pretty long time. Hundreds of leaflets, etc., were being distributed—some in the name of the “Lachit Sena”. The Lachit Sena, which even today is more of a ‘symbol’ than an actual organization, daily grew as an “idea”. Everything pointed out to an outburst. The Congress leaders and others planned from behind, so that its outcome, however harmful for the people, might serve the purposes of their class.

The slogans and decisions of successive January demonstrations organized by a student organization which is directly under the influence of the Congress, were too patent and pointed to what was to follow; the activities of a “Resistance Committee” led mainly by a group of local capitalists, were also too well known not to be ‘discovered’ by Sri Chaliha’s investigators. But the Congress Government pretended ignorance after the 26th and tried to look like an innocent baby.

Besides, the spate of chauvinistic propaganda organized by the Congress and others on the State reorganization issue, there are other weighty factors at the root of this disturbance. The inter-capitalist conflict no doubt played a part, as the newly developing local investors wanted to fight for a fair share against the entrenched ‘outsiders’, who are more powerful being linked with the all-India monopolists. They, therefore, sought to use the Assamese people’s urge for industrialization and anger of the youth against unemployment, in order to have a bargaining counter. Once this counter was obtained, there, of course, remained nothing to bar these ‘patriotic’ capitalist gentry from denouncing their innocent and often unconscious supporters as anti-social elements, etc., after January 26.

The Party holds that the Congress, along with other reactionaries, can by no means evade the main responsibility for what happened at Gauhati on January 26. It failed to solve

the problems of the tribal people in the Hills, on the basis of full autonomy and equality. The capitalist-landlord Congress can nowhere give up the greed for exploitation. Its twenty-year-old monopoly rule in Assam has done immeasurable harm to the cause of harmonious growth of the Assamese people and it has lost the trust of the tribal people as a whole.

Similarly, it could not achieve industrialization in twenty long years, overcoming the hindrance put by their own Congress rulers at New Delhi. The Central Congress Government, as it represents the big capitalists and monopolists, are not at all interested in industrial development of backward and far off regions like Assam, which they want to exploit as markets and fields of investment. The Assam Congress leaders did not fight this harmful monopolist policy by utilizing the powerful legitimate means it has at its disposal. Unlike some other States in a similar position, there had been not even a mild revolt inside the Congress during or after the last election.

The State Government it holds in Assam has been utilized by it to gather big funds from these industrialists, big traders and rich planters for its party's elections, while trading with licence, permits and quota. It did not utilize these means to create employment for local people. It never tried with the power it has to ensure that these big 'outsider' industrialists, commercial interests and planters give due and fair share of employment to people of the State. Further, the Congress Government did its best to leave as much surplus land as possible to the planters—mostly 'outsiders'—and has decided to evict two lakhs of local poor peasants from fallow wasteland, as announced by its Revenue Minister Sri M. N. Chowdhury.

In this context, it is easy to see that the tears the Congress sheds today for unity of Assam and employment of local people are hypocritical and dishonest. It is also clear that it would never lead Assam's battle against the monopolists' domination of Assam's economy.

Today, when all the failures have merged together and produced a serious political and economic crisis for the common people of Assam, whose suffering has grown with every passing year, the Congress, both at the State and at the Centre, is busy concealing its crime; it seeks to transfer the blame on others, and divert the people's struggle for employment, food, and fair price and industrial development to extremely futile and harmful channels; Gauhati on January 26 is only one more instance of this anti-people policy.

The Party regretfully notes that the democratic and working class movement in Assam is yet too weak to wage struggles against these capitalist policies and unite the toiling people. This factor enabled the Congress to utilize the urge of the toiling people and youth of Assam for a better life by distorting their demands and drawing them into futile clashes.

The Party had condemned the outbreak of violence at Gauhati on January 26. It expresses its deep sympathy for its victims, and demands that steps be taken expeditiously for their rehabilitation with compensation for loss suffered; and for punishment of negligent officials and those who are really responsible for the violence.

The Party appeals to all especially to the youth to realize that the miseries they are enduring due to galloping unemployment, high prices, industrial backwardness and the food crisis and landlessness—all are the results of the capitalist path the Congress sought to impose. These maladies can be overcome neither by one section of the common people fighting another one, nor by angry clashes; to overcome the outcomes of the capitalist crisis, the anti-people policies of the Congress must be fought by unifying students, workers, employees and the peasants in broad democratic movements. Assam's students and youth, during the last few years, set up fine examples of such struggle for food. Division among the toiling people will help only the Congress and capitalists to remain in power and impose more misery.

The Party appeals to them to see that the solution of the problems of the tribal peoples of the Hills can only be achieved

by mutual consent on the basis of equality of all nationalities—big or small. As nothing can be imposed on the Assamese people, so also nothing should be done to the Hills without the consent of the people concerned. Unity would, of course, be the most desirable solution, but if the Hills so desire, they may have their own autonomous State under the Union.

Today, while the scars left by the January 26 disturbances remain to be healed, reactionary forces are planning newer onslaughts on the people. Balraj Madhok, the arch communalist leader of the Jana Sangh, gave the signal for giving the 26th disturbance a communal and anti-Communist colour.

The American Central Intelligence Agency, which is active in this border State, is always ready to foment internecine conflict. There are reasons to suspect that Assam received the CIA's attention on the current conflict. There are others, who still are trying to give the Lachit Sena type of movement a fresh start.

The Party warns the people of Assam against all these new machinations, which will weaken the people further, and divide their struggles, clear the path for new attacks on their wage and work, submerge democratic right and bring the obnoxious bureaucratic regime under President's rule nearer. Communal strife and internal division among the people never solved any problem but only created many new ones.

The people of Assam who are exploited by foreign capital, who themselves have hardly any share in the industry of their State, whose economic life is manipulated by the big bourgeoisie of India and who are victims of unemployment, high prices and backwardness, have every reason to be angry with the Congress Government at the Centre. But they cannot fight their battle by denying justice to the Hill tribes nor by raising slogans of 'Assam for Assamese', setting toilers against toilers. The slogan only plays into the hands of the local vested interests and Assam Congress. Taking their stand on basic principles, protecting the toilers' unity, they must make their fight a part of the joint struggle to liquidate bourgeois-landlord rule in India.

Danger Signals

Editorial of "People's Democracy", March 17, 1968

Last week's debate in Parliament on communal riots and the admissions forced from the Home Minister reveal that the oppression of Muslim minority has reached alarming proportions threatening the cause of democracy in India. The attitude of the Congress Governments towards the question has been cynical, callous and cruel. Besides, it has been guilty of hypocritical concern after the massacres are committed, appealing for peace and fair treatment after loot and arson are allowed full freedom for operation and the properties of the minority community are reduced to ashes. It is the toilers that are killed; their men and women and children massacred; it is their hutments and habitations that go up in flames together with the shops and establishments of a few among the minority community who are fortunate to own them under the Congress rule.

The present-day riots are wrongly described as riots between two communities. In reality, they are a one-sided affair in which the minority community is attacked and hunted, often with connivance and assistance of the authorities.

How farcical and hypocritical sound the assurances to the minorities solemnly inscribed in the Constitution against this reality of blood and arson? Article 15 assures that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of religion, race, caste etc.; Article 16 assures that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment and appointment to any office under the state; and

there should be no discrimination on grounds only of religion, race etc.; Article 25 guarantees freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion.

It is on the basis of this formal proclamation of these rights that the Congress rulers claim to administer a secular democracy and take superior airs towards Pakistan whose rulers have proclaimed it to be an Islamic state, imposing openly a status of inequality on the minorities.

But what have the Congress rulers to boast of in the context of the hunt and slaughter of Muslim minorities, in face of the sly discrimination against them in the matter of jobs and services and the unequal economic and educational treatment that they have been subjected to under their benign regime?

What are the guarantees against discrimination worth when police protection is not available against arson and murder? What is the right to profess religion worth when because of it one's life and lives of one's family members are endangered? Like the fundamental rights of the people as a whole, the fundamental rights of the minorities are also revealed to be hypocritical, formal, offering no protection whatsoever to them.

The scandalous part of the situation is that the Congress Governments have turned a deaf ear to the complaints about police partiality and the administration's callousness and even incitement to the rioters. The allegations have been made in almost every riot. It was stated in connection with the Ranchi riots, that those who were supposed to protect the Muslims helped their attackers. This same charge was made in connection with the Meerut riots. It was once more complained that the police were busy curbing and arresting the Muslims rather than controlling their attackers. There are no instances of punishment of the guilty officials. Chavan would not agree even to transfers of officials who could not keep their areas free from killings and arson. There is not one warning from the Centre or the State Governments to tell the officials that any neglect of duties, or indirect incitement will mean drastic

punishment besides loss of jobs. No, under the Congress regime you will have to wait till doomsday before getting such an assurance from the Government.

The fact is that the present class-regime requires a brutalized anti-popular bureaucracy to suppress the masses. The less sympathy it has for the people, the more hostile it is to the people, the better. The more trigger-happy the police, the better for efficiency, for law and order. The greatest crime of the officialdom is considered to be its sympathy or consideration for the masses. That is why none can have an entry into this apparatus of security unless the police report speaks well of him and virtually certifies him to be an enemy of the common man, to be unadulterated by democratic values.

What chance has the minority before this bureaucracy? Sections of it are recruited from the RSS and Jana Sangh. Besides, others are recruited for their lack of democratic consciousness—which means they can become easy victims of communalism during a communal frenzy.

What chance has the minority before a police which is taught to smash college laboratories and respected professors?

To hide the reality the Congress adopts exactly the same means that the British did to fool Indian opinion. While suppressing the Muslim minority it promotes a few individuals from the Muslim community to high positions to demonstrate its secularism and its sense of equality towards the minority. But the election of Dr. Zakir Hussain as President, the appointment of Hidayatullah as Chief Justice of India, and of Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad as Cabinet Minister cannot do away with the disgraceful reality of minority suppression. At best they may give a propaganda advantage to the Congress rulers against Pakistan, and fool the gullible in India. They remain a hypocritical manoeuvre to cheat the outside world and public opinion in the country, to put a blanket over the injustices done to the Muslims.

Sri Chavan is not prepared to admit that the Muslims live in dread of the morrow, though this is a fact. He and his

ministerial colleagues are, besides, not prepared to name the active culprits—the Jana Sangh and the RSS whose hand is seen in many of these riots. How could they? For one thing, they know that sometimes the Jana Sangh moves jointly with the Congress leaders as in Ranchi. And they also know that the Jana Sangh in the end represents the same class interests as they do. So why expose it? Why attack it? It is a matter of shame that in spite of these grim happenings Chavan could offer nothing more tangible than a farcical enquiry to go into the cause of the riots.

The increasing frequency of the riots demonstrates the utter incapacity of the Congress to hold the country together. The Congress policies and rule constitute the biggest enemy of Indian unity. Under them the country must continue to disintegrate. So long as these policies continue, even hundred national integration conferences cannot save the country.

At the same time it must be remembered that democratic resistance to the Congress Government on the question of Muslim minority has been the weakest if not non-existent. The opportunism of the revisionists who were not ashamed to continue with the Muslim baiting Jana Sangh for a few ministerial posts serves to expose the utter callousness towards this problem of some parties considered to be Left. It must be admitted by all that against the massacres there has been no indignant actions or mass protests by the Democratic or working class movement. The ruling classes and the reactionary parties were allowed to pursue their game without the slightest show of serious opposition from the working class movement.

Herein lies the main danger to the working class movement. It does not yet realize the diabolical game which the exploiting classes are pursuing and the urgent necessity to fight against it.

The struggle for the right of the minorities is part of the struggle of the Indian people for People's Democracy and Socialism. The repression of minorities is designed to split the working class, set one section of toilers against another

and befuddle the consciousness of the masses by injecting the poison of communalism. The working class can neglect the danger at its own peril. Driven into a corner the bourgeois-landlord classes are using every weapon in their armoury to stem the tide of popular indignation. Along with direct repression they use every device to divide the toilers on linguistic or provincial lines. The Shiva Sena activities in Bombay while overtly directed against workers from the South, are intended to break the solidarity of the Maharashtrian and Tamil and Malayalee workers in Bombay, smash class unity of the working class and fight the Communist Party. A Congress member from Bombay admitted in Lok Sabha that the Shiva Sena was spearheading the fight against the Communists. In Tamilnad, the feelings roused by the imposition of Hindi are exploited to create hostility towards the Hindi language and Hindi-speaking toilers and exhibition of Hindi films is being opposed by certain sections. In Assam the cry is Assam for Assamese, which led to wild attacks on the non-Assamese on the Republic Day. And in the Hindi-speaking belt the weapon is that of anti-Muslim riots.

From all sides the unity of the toilers is being attacked. If this process continues the working class of India will be reduced to disintegrated groups, an easy prey to the capitalist-landlord clique.

That is why no section of the working class movement, no section of the democratic movement, nor any Left party can fail to accept the challenge and move in for the defence of the minorities, for protecting the unity of the working class movement. It should be the privilege and duty of the working class to protect the minority against every act of injustice, to expose every act of tyranny and stand by it on every occasion when it is attacked. By its firm solidarity with the minority masses, the working class and democratic forces will succeed in forging invincible class and popular unity and defeat the reactionary conspiracy against the Indian people and the country's unity.

Smash Congress Plot Against Kerala*

**Communique of the Polit Bureau
of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

The Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following communique to the Press after its meeting in Calcutta on March 16 and 17:

On the Central Committee Ideological Draft

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considered the reports from different States about the discussions that have so far been carried on "On Ideological Controversies in the International Communist Movement". Except Bihar and Bengal all other States have completed their discussions. The P.B. finalized the reports on these discussions. That will be placed before the Central Committee and the Central Plenum.

On the Draft Political Resolution

The Polit Bureau has reviewed the international and national developments during the last one year and came to the conclusion that events have proved the correctness of the evaluation and the tasks that were deduced in the Central Committee resolution of "New Situation and Our Tasks" in April 1967. It has decided to formulate a political resolution, in that background, analysing the present situation and the tasks facing the Party and the democratic forces in our country, and place it before the C.C. and the Central Plenum.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, March 24, 1968.

On Vietnam

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the great victories scored by the Vietnam National Liberation Front in its Tet offensive and after, against the American oppressors. By their great sacrifices and brilliant victories, they have set an example and have strengthened the determination of the people of the whole world, to struggle for democracy even against heavy odds.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the Government of India, which even in the past, adopted a policy of shielding the American aggression, and even stopped trading with North Vietnam, while supplying trucks and chemicals and engineering goods to the South Vietnamese puppet Government. The Government of India, which never tried to help the victims of American aggression in both North and South Vietnam, nor sent medical supplies to the victims of American devilish napalm, chemical and gas bombing, has now decided to rush medical supplies to the South Vietnam puppet Government.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) calls upon the democratic forces of India and especially all Party units to carry on persistent public campaign against this subservient policy of the Government of India to American aggression in Vietnam and force the Government of India to demand American withdrawal from Vietnam and give all-out support to the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Quit British White Racist Commonwealth

The British Government has recently enacted an immigration act, prohibiting entry into Britain of Asians from Kenya and other East African countries, who are mostly of Indian origin and who hold British passports. This act is a racist act, discriminating against Asians especially Indians, in favour of white British passport-holders. The Government of India makes a mild protest against this racist act, but pockets the insult and continues to be in the white racist British Commonwealth.

Similarly, the white racist Government in Rhodesia which declared itself independent of the British Government two years back, has started hanging African patriots who were captured in the course of freedom struggle. The P.B. of the CPI(M) expresses its indignation against the dastardly murder of African patriots and extends its solidarity with the struggle of the Africans.

The white British Government refuses to use force to overthrow this white racist Government, violating all the past pledges to protect the majority rule of Africans. The Government of India again contents itself with expressions of protest but continues to remain in the British white racist Commonwealth.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) calls upon all democratic forces to campaign and force the Government of India to quit the British Commonwealth immediately and extend all-out help to patriotic African fighters in Rhodesia.

On Communal Riots

The P.B. of the CPI(M) notes with concern the way in which the reactionary forces backed by vested interests, and on many occasions encouraged directly by the Jana Sangh and RSS, by sections of the Congress leaders, are letting loose communal riots to disrupt democratic forces, and thus achieve their nefarious purpose. The Ranchi and other communal riots in Bihar during U.F. Ministry days; the Meerut communal riots in U.P. during Sheikh Abdullah's visit; and now in Allahabad; the Karimganj communal riots; the series of communal riots in Calcutta, during U.F. Ministry days, and the latest outbreak of communal rioting in Calcutta city, all against the Muslim minority, go to show the conspiracy of reactionary forces.

In Kerala near Trivandrum, Press reports go to show that a communal riot between Christian and Muslim communities was engineered by reactionary forces to discredit the Kerala U.F. Ministry.

The P.B. expresses its sympathy to the victims of these

communal riots. It calls upon the democratic forces to stand by the minority communities and defend their just and democratic rights against the onslaught of reactionary forces.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic forces and parties to unitedly fight the reactionary forces, who by resorting to communal riots hope to disrupt and destroy the democratic movement. The conspiracy of these reactionary forces must be defeated so that the democratic life and even national integrity can be preserved.

On Repression Against People's Struggles

The P.B. of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the brutal repression let loose by the Congress Government in different parts of the country against the people fighting for elementary demands.

In Tripura, the tribal people are being suppressed by brutal lathi-charges, and large-scale arrests and detentions, when they resist forcible grain levies from small peasants; when they resist from being evicted from their traditional farm cultivation plots; and when they are demanding their traditional tribal lands be preserved for themselves by applying Schedule V of the Constitution. The P.B. of the CPI(M) demands the release of all the persons arrested and detained, especially Comrades Dasarath Deb, Biren Dutt, ex-MPs, Nripen Chakrabarti and other leaders of the Tripura people.

In Andhra, in Srikakulam district the tribal peasants, whose lands were seized by the landlords from outside, who are subjected to usurious rent and forced labour, are fighting for better wages, for cheap grain, food, and for restoration of lands. The Government has let loose a reign of terror bullying the Girijans, raping women, looting and destroying houses; the landlords and police have already shot four of the Girijans and are hunting for the Communist leaders of the Girijans. The P.B. demands an immediate end to this police terror; and that the demands of Girijans be immediately conceded.

Repression was let loose in Champaran in Bihar and in Surat in Gujarat, on the poor peasants who want to cultivate

the wastelands lying adjacent to the forest; and their leaders are being arrested and in Champaran one person was shot dead. The P.B. of the CPI(M) demands that repression be put an end to, and the just demands of the peasants be conceded.

The P.B. condemns the large-scale detentions of the State Government employees and Communist leaders in Jammu & Kashmir and demands their immediate release. .

On Kerala

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) heard reports from Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan on the economic and political situation that is fast developing in Kerala. The Central Government has been persistently failing to fulfil its commitments to supply 70 thousand tons of rice on the basis of which the entire State was put under statutory ration of six oz. of rice per adult per day, when the single zone system was established, with the result that the people of Kerala have been forced to remain satisfied on a ration of three oz. of rice per day for the last ten months.

On top of it, the Central Government has withdrawn the subsidy on rice, and increased the price for its supplies. If the Kerala Government were to subsidize this increase in price for the rice to be supplied by the Central Government, the State Government would incur an expenditure of Rs. 25 crores per annum.

The CPI(M) has been staunchly advocating a national food policy under which the Central Government should insist on every State procuring all the surplus foodgrains from the top ten per cent of the big landlords and ensure a minimum ration of 14 oz. per adult per day through a system of statutory rationing in all urban and deficit and distress areas. The Central Government guided by the interests of landlords, hoarders and profiteers, has refused to undertake such a national food policy. On the other hand, it has used the Single State Food Zone to starve the people of Kerala and to discredit the U.F. Government and to topple it.

In these conditions, the only course left open to the State Government is to demand that it be allowed to purchase in any part of India or outside, the necessary quantity of rice and other foodgrains and discharge its elementary responsibility of supplying the people of the State a minimum of 12 oz. of foodgrains per day on a no profit no loss basis.

The Central Government refuses to accept this demand also. Under the circumstances, the P.B. appreciates the policy of the Kerala Government not to raise the retail price of rice in the ration shops, despite the heavy increase in the supply price by the Government of India. The P.B. wishes to point out that this position cannot continue for long. Very soon, the alternative posed before the State Government by these diabolical policies of the Central Government will be forced to either increase the price of rationed rice or to face financial bankruptcy within the next four months.

It is highly improper for any democratic party and particularly for a revolutionary working class party like the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to be forced into such a helpless position of acquiescing in the supply of three oz. of rice ration and that too by additional price-rise while remaining in the Ministry. The continuation of our Party in the coalition Government, under these conditions without leading the struggle of the entire people of Kerala against the Centre for adequate food at reasonable prices would be compromising its position in the extreme. Hence the P.B. is of the opinion that our Party together with its allies in the U.F. Government of Kerala will have to confront with the Central Government, irrespective of the consequences.

The P.B. also wants to underline the fact that the refusal of the Central Government to meet the increased cost of D.A. of low paid State Government employees and employees of local bodies and teachers, as well as its refusal to allow adequate financial resources to the State Government have made it impossible for State Governments to meet the most elementary needs of the people. All this has made a mockery of the States' autonomy.

With a view to covering up the Central Government's deliberate policy of physical starvation of the people, and imposing financial bankruptcy on the State, the local Congress, at the bidding of vested interests and the Central Congress leaders have now let loose a virulent campaign of vilification against the State Government. False charges of break-down of law and order, of courts and the judiciary being brought under contempt, and Party's volunteers being trained for military purpose are freely bandied about.

It must be noted that while the Congress Government at the Centre is following a policy of starving the people of Kerala, the Youth Congress of the State, obviously under the inspiration of the Central and State Congress leaders, has launched on a programme of so-called satyagraha against the State Government on the issue of rice supply.

The P.B. warns that this vicious attempt of starvation of the people, of starving the State financially to make it go bankrupt, and the campaign of vilification is part of a diabolical conspiracy to discredit the U.F. Government to topple it. This conspiracy must be smashed by the unity and will of an awakened people.

The P.B. appeals to all democratic forces in India, and particularly to the parties in the U.F., to rise to the occasion and rouse the people to the grave dangers facing them and prepare them for the struggle in defence of their food, the right to their democratic Government and State's autonomy. It directs all Party units, and especially the Party units in Kerala, to forthwith launch a mighty mass campaign and mobilize the people for these great tasks.

On Bengal Events

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the glorious struggle and the victory of the people of Bengal, of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, men and women and especially the heroic part the students and the youth played under the leadership of U.F. of various democratic parties against the illegal dismissal of the U.F. Ministry by

the Central Congress Government nominated ICS Governor, Mr. Dharma Vira and against the illegal defectors' Ghosh Ministry. They have forced the Central Government to dismiss the Ghosh Ministry and order mid-term poll to seek anew the people's verdict. This was the course which our Party had been advocating from July 1967 when the Congress had started to obtain defectors by hook or crook to topple the U.F. Ministry.

Now, the attention of the people and of the democratic parties, especially of those who had been constituents of the U.F. Ministry and U.F. struggle would naturally be directed to preserve and strengthen the unity among the U.F. constituents to give a crushing defeat to the Congress, as had been done in Kerala in 1967. The efforts of the Congress to create a third front, by winning some constituents or other of the U.F. Ministry must be defeated. A situation like that of 1967, when democratic forces had got split into two fronts, and allowed the Congress to run away with nearly 80 seats more than it should have got, must be prevented from developing.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) is confident that this can be achieved. The constituents of the U.F. Ministry are aware from their own experience that with regard to every step that the U.F. Ministry took to alleviate the sufferings of the people in Bengal, the Central Government with all powers concentrated in their hand and with the help of bureaucracy came in the way of their implementation. They realize that a radical change in Centre-State relations is necessary. The U.F. Ministry along with the people must fight and force the Central Government to give more financial resources to the State Government and allow total control over the bureaucracy and drastically curb the power of the Central Government to interfere with the States' autonomy.

For this purpose, the 18-point programme must be concretized in much more greater detail, and the people are to be educated from now on and during the whole election campaign and later about the necessity of constant mass

pressure and struggle to make the Central Government concede these rights.

Similarly, U.F. parties must have realized that the Congress raises the bogey of anti-Communism to undermine the solidarity of democratic forces and even split certain sections from the U.F.; and certain individuals and sections being carried away by such bogey or even showing vacillations, had cost the U.F. Ministry heavily. Similarly, it must also have been realized that any vacillation to defend the just demands and struggles of peasants against landlords, and of workers against their employers, led such elements later to be influenced by anti-Communist bogey raised by the Congress and vested interests.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) is also confident because, before the constituents of U.F. Ministry the people's verdict on relative strength of parties in the U.F. Ministry, as expressed by 1967 elections, is there and nobody could lay exaggerated claims to seats. The P.B. of the CPI(M) approves the general principles advanced by our West Bengal unit for allotting seats in the coming election. The seats won by different parties, and the seats where they stood second to the Congress, should go to that party concerned. Those seats in which defections took place should be considered by all parties together before allotment particularly because in many of the areas concerned the party or parties in the name of which the seats were won have no organizational hold and mass influence. People must be taken into confidence from time to time regarding the standpoints of different parties in the seats which are in dispute.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic parties and forces to forge unity in action not only to defeat the Congress during the elections, and restore the popular U.F. Ministry, with greater stability and with greater unity of purpose, but also to wrest more powers for the States from the Centre which alone will enable them to give substantial relief to the people and save democracy for the people.

Statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on 'Chavan's Baseless Charges'*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press in Calcutta on March 29, 1968:

Home Minister Chavan has levelled a series of false, but grave, charges against our Party and held out all sorts of threats against it. In his statement in the Rajya Sabha on March 27, he clubbed our Party with what he called "subversive elements" in Assam and other areas of Eastern India. He expressed his "disagreement" with the alleged tactics and actions of our Party and has "put us in the dock", demanding an explanation from us "to the country". He also warned that the Government would "ruthlessly deal" with us.

The CPI(M) has never been afraid of threats of ruthless actions against it by the reactionary ruling classes whom the Home Minister represents. But it wants to make absolutely clear to the people the diabolical conspiracy which the Central Congress Government, with the Home Minister in its forefront, has been hatching against our Party. His statement makes it clear that the Congress Government has already decided to launch an attack on our Party since it is the one party which firmly stands in the forefront of people's struggles and building democratic unity against Congress misrule. And the Home Minister is now concocting fairy-tales to build a case against our Party to push through his plan of attack.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 7, 1968.

If the Home Ministry, on which 55½ crores of rupees of the taxpayer's money is spent annually, has any justification for its existence, it should know, and, in fact, knows, that our Party has nothing to do with the alleged activities around Nagaland or elsewhere. It also knows full well that the Party is opposed to such adventurist lines.

As far as the situation in Assam is concerned, the Home Minister should know, and, in fact, knows, that only three persons out of the nearly twenty people arrested had any connection with our Party in the past and they were expelled from the Party, and its Bandarchaliha unit to which they belonged was dissolved in January last for pursuing an adventurist line.

Among those arrested is a school teacher belonging to the Congress and some others who are involved are known criminals. Sri Chavan knows this too.

Sarbeswar Pathak, whose name was mentioned by the State Government as a leader of the subversive movement, was till 1960 a typist in the State Council office of the Party when it was united and had been expelled eight years ago on charges of being a police informer and agent-provocateur. The Home Minister cannot plead ignorance of this either.

Suren Hazarika, Secretary of the Jorhat District Committee of our Party, whom the State Government charged had absconded, was arrested on March 16 from the court compound one hour after he had an interview with the Deputy Commissioner. This, too, Sri Chavan knows.

It is by deliberately suppressing these facts and trotting out patent lies that the attempt is being made to make false charges against our Party.

There is indisputably a serious situation in Assam and its neighbouring areas. Who is responsible for this? It is a situation entirely created by the Congress policies of suppressing the democratic aspirations of the tribal people, of creating dissensions between the tribal and plains people and between the Assamese and non-Assamese peoples inhabiting Assam. The hand of the Congress party and its Government

in the State behind the recent disturbances as in Shillong was clearly visible to all. The Home Minister perhaps thinks that he can exploit the unsettled conditions in Assam — a creation of his own party's Government's policies over the years—to launch an attack on our Party.

The highly tendentious statement from the Home Minister in the Rajya Sabha has come in the wake of a number of references to our Party in the last session and the present Budget Session of Parliament and repeated stage-managed demands by some Congressmen, the Jana Sanghites and Swatantraites for a ban on our Party. The Home Minister himself has been talking too often and too disparagingly about our Party and the Government it leads in Kerala, about our Party's Volunteer Corps and the law and order situation in the State—all to create public opinion behind his foul game of attack on our Party.

If Home Minister Chavan thinks he can, in this way, prepare the ground for launching another attack on our Party, we will only remind him that similar attempts in the past by his predecessor Nanda, with his notorious White Paper, had miserably failed and the people in our country had ridiculed and rejected them.

The Congress rulers by their policies have landed themselves and the country in a deepening and insoluble crisis. They are seeking a way out for themselves by launching an attack on the democratic forces in the country. Isolating the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and attacking it is the first step in the plan. Such attempts in the past have been defeated by our people with their timely intervention. But the Home Minister, in desperation, is trying it again on the eve of the mid-term elections announced for West Bengal, and similar other developments in the offing in Bihar, U.P., Punjab, etc. The attack on our Party will be the forerunner of the attack on the entire democratic forces. We appeal to all democratic forces in the country to see through this game of the Congress rulers and give it a fitting rebuff.

Ideological Resolution of the CPI(M)

**Adopted by the Central Plenum of the
Communist Party of India (Marxist) held at Burdwan,
April 5–12, 1968**

The Seventh Congress of our Party, which has gone on record as the Congress of Revolt against Revisionism inside the Indian Communist movement, directed the newly elected Central Committee to organize inner-Party discussion on the ideological questions, so that our Party might be enabled to come to its independent conclusions on the ideological issues under debate in the Communist movement of the world. This directive of the Party Congress could not be implemented so far because of the wholesale repression let loose by the Congress Government under the Defence of India Rules immediately after the Congress and also due to the preoccupation of the entire Party with mass struggles and the country's fourth general elections after the release of Communist detenus in the middle of the year 1966. The first C.C. meeting, held after the general elections were over, instructed the P.B. to take immediate and necessary steps to organize the inner-Party discussion as enjoined by the Seventh Congress.

The Party Programme, the Resolution on Tasks and the Political-Organisational Report adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Party represent the new class strategy and tactics of our Party, strategy and tactics which have squarely settled accounts with the right-opportunist and revisionist ideological-political positions, as far as they cover the Indian situation. Similarly the Declaration of the Party, putting the revisionists outside the pale of the genuine Communist

movement in India while carrying with it the heritage of the revolutionary working class movement in the country, the adoption of an amended Party Constitution and the election of the new central Party bodies, had settled accounts with the revisionists in the matter of organization. Let it be emphasised, that these are no small victories in our struggle against revisionism, as they constitute the bedrock of our Marxist-Leninist ideological-political unity, and go a long way in assisting the entire Party in its further struggle to clear the confusion prevailing on certain other key ideological issues connected with the international Communist movement, of which, it goes without saying, ours is an integral part.

What does it mean when we assert that the conclusions arrived at and incorporated in our Party Programme, the Resolution on Tasks, the Political-Organisational Report and other resolutions of the Seventh Congress constitute the bedrock of the Party's ideological unity? On a series of pivotal theoretical and ideological issues connected with the Indian revolution we sharply demarcated ourselves from the crassest class-collaborationist and utterly revisionist line propounded by the Dangeites, while firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist ideological-political standpoint. To put it sharply, there is not one single basic question connected with the Indian revolution on which we and the revisionists do not stand diametrically opposed to each other. Their class characterisation of the post-independence Indian state and government, their assessment of the internal and external policies of the new government, their critique of the capitalist path of development and the advocacy of a non-capitalist path and National Democracy, their study of the prevailing class contradictions in the country and their understanding of the present stage and strategy of our revolution, their estimation regarding the role of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie in the struggle against the capitalist path and for a non-capitalist path, their understanding of the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony over the democratic revolution, their

interpretation of the peaceful and non-peaceful paths of development and their possibilities, their assessment of the role of foreign monopoly capital in the Indian economy on the one hand and the role and place of socialist aid in influencing the economic development of our country, their estimation of the state sector and its character and, above all, their assessment of Congress agrarian reforms have nothing in common with our Party's analysis and understanding. In this connection, it is very pertinent to note that the positions taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the fundamental questions connected with the Indian Communist movement completely coincide with those of the Dangeite revisionists; and this is corroborated by a spate of statements, articles and writings in the Soviet press which are widely distributed in India, by a series of steps and actions of the Soviet government regarding Indian affairs, by the massive and demonstrative support displayed at the revisionist Party Congress by a host of fraternal delegates from abroad under the leadership of the CPSU, and by their wholehearted endorsement of the Dangeite party programme and policy resolutions as Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist. Under the circumstances, the ideological-theoretical understanding and unity that have enabled our Party to evolve its own Party Programme, that aided it to settle the questions of strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, and that gave courage and confidence to break with the Indian revisionists, do certainly stand in good stead to project this correct understanding to the remaining ideological issues still under debate and to arrive at correct independent conclusions. It is such faith and confidence that have guided us in conducting the present inner-Party discussion on the ideological issues.

Then, what are the still remaining theoretical-ideological questions round which controversy is centered in the international Communist movement and on which our Party is called upon to take its stand? They, besides the issues already clinched in our Party Programme, concern the questions

of the class assessment and evaluation of the New Epoch, the issue of war and peace in the present period, the concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the forms of transition to socialism, the assessment of the different fundamental contradictions of our epoch and the place and role of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movements at the present stage, the assessment of Stalin and his leading role in the building up of the socialist Soviet Union after Lenin and in guiding the world Communist movement, the attitude towards Titoism and Tito's Yugoslavia, the substitution of the concept of a people's state and a party of the whole people in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the working class in the Soviet Union, the added emphasis on material incentives in the Soviet Union, and the correctness or otherwise of the concept of unity in action against imperialism between different socialist states whose state and Party leaders have come to hold diametrically opposed views on a series of ideological-political issues of the day. Together with these ideological issues, there have arisen serious differences on a series of organizational concepts and practices, such as inter-party relations between different contingents of the international Communist movement, the inter-state relations between different states of the socialist world and also the relations between the Communist Parties in state power and those which are not in state power. Such in brief are the basic ideological issues around which furious controversies and conflicts have arisen in the world Communist movement, and our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, is duty bound, called upon to express its opinions and take a clear-cut stand on them.

At the outset, the Central Committee wishes to unequivocally state that after a careful study of the developments in the international Communist movement and the world socialist camp during the last ten years and more and viewing them from its own direct experience of the Indian Communist movement during the same period, it is firmly convinced

that modern revisionism has been and does still remain the main danger to the world Communist movement, notwithstanding the fact that there have been certain dogmatic manifestations in individual Parties and on individual propositions, precepts and actions. A look at the present world Communist movement and the socialist camp would convince anybody that it is sharply divided, its unity disrupted, and it is plunged into a serious crisis—a crisis that has virtually paralysed the initiative of the world Communist forces in successfully resisting and rebuffing the offensive let loose by the world imperialists—chiefly the U.S. The root cause for this sad state of affairs cannot but be directly traced to modern revisionist theories as advocated and practised by the leadership of the CPSU. The consolidation and further rapid advance of the world Communist movement is inconceivable without waging a principled and determined fight against this menace of revisionism in all its manifestations, and conducting a sustained struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the principled unity of the international Communist movement.

New Epoch

It was more than half-a-century ago that Lenin, analysing the growth and development of free capitalism into monopoly capitalism, observed that “Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat”. Since then mighty changes have taken place, and a totally altered correlation of class forces has come to exist now. Two world wars, socialist revolutions in a number of countries comprising more than a third of the world’s population and the formation of a formidable socialist camp, the rapid disintegration of the old colonial system and attainment of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the former colonial countries, the growth of powerful Communist and Workers’ Parties in several countries, etc., have taken place. All this took place after Lenin’s thesis that “the era of socialist revolution is beginning”. The present epoch certainly needs to be

reassessed and redefined in the light of the tremendous changes that have taken place and will, of course, have to be redefined in strict conformity with Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Ours is certainly a new epoch, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development, an epoch of national liberation and socialist revolutions, an epoch of rapid decay and disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of titanic class battles between the forces of moribund capitalism and of socialism and national liberation revolutions, and an epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.

Modern revisionism while pretending fidelity to this new definition of the epoch conveniently and deliberately underplays certain salient features of the epoch while exaggerating and laying lopsided emphasis on certain other aspects of the same. It paints a picture as though colonialism is more or less dead, that imperialism, more or less, is rendered ineffective and a period of more or less peaceful transition to socialism has set in. The fact that imperialism, despite its immense weakening on a world scale, remains a formidable force to be reckoned with, that monopoly capitalist rule continues to exist in almost all traditionally developed capitalist states of the world such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy and the like, that colossal and unheard-of militarisation of social life is taking place, and the fact that imperialism is waging its desperate, last-ditch battles to escape its destined doom, is deliberately underplayed by them. It is this erroneous outlook that emboldened people like Khrushchov, the father of modern revisionism, to go into demagogic descriptions of imperialism as “a button fastened on a coat” and “a wolf to encounter and render harmless easier”. It is the same outlook, again, that emboldens the modern revisionists to discard some vital aspects of Lenin’s thesis on imperialism and wars as obsolete and distort several other propositions of Lenin— of course, all in the name

of the new epoch and the 'creative application' of Marxism-Leninism to new conditions.

The correct Marxist-Leninist definition of the epoch should be based on the sum total of the concrete class relations existing at the time, a definition that guides the proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle against world capitalism, but should never be one of oversimplified formulas, subjectively drawn, presenting utopian and false perspectives. Such an erroneous definition of the new epoch or its lopsided and distorted interpretation immensely harms the cause of the proletariat rather than assisting it in its struggle for emancipation.

No Marxist would dispute the fact that imperialism, today, has been tremendously weakened on a world scale. Forces of revolution—the countries that have already come under the socialist system, the proletarian revolutionary movements in the advanced capitalist countries, the national liberation movements and forces in the newly-liberated and colonial countries, the widespread popular movements against war and in defence of world peace—are today so powerful that they can unitedly inflict defeat after defeat on imperialism and its allies.

However, the process of mobilising and uniting these revolutionary forces is no simple task. It involves *a revolutionary combination of socialist diplomacy*, calculated to isolate the most reactionary imperialist groups, *with the use of the armed might of the socialist camp* against such reactionary powers as resort to aggression on peace-loving countries, or try to drown the national liberation movements in blood. This requires *the ever-growing unity of the international Communist movement*—a unity in which the ruling parties of the socialist countries render all forms of practical aid, including direct military intervention against imperialist aggression and intervention, to the revolutionary proletarian movement in the capitalist countries as well as the national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries. This struggle for unity against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle against modern revisionism.

Instead of making such a militant use of the new possibilities in the new epoch that opened out in the post-Second World War years, modern revisionism builds a new dream-world in which imperialism has ceased to be the monster which has to be annihilated to achieve freedom and lasting world peace; instead, it is disrupting the unity of the world socialist system, and the unity of the international Communist movement, is undermining the national liberation struggle and the revolutionary working class.

On the Issue of Contradictions

All Communists who are guided by the theory of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism accept that in the present era there exist four fundamental social contradictions. They are the contradiction between the camps of world socialism and capitalism; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries; the contradiction between the imperialist states and the oppressed countries; and the contradictions among the different imperialist states and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The modern revisionists, too, accept this statement as correct. Then, what is the ideological dispute between the revisionists and Marxist-Leninists over the issue of contradictions? A critical study of the entire controversy in the world Communist movement, centering round this issue, convinces us that it mainly covers two points, namely, first, the un-Marxian and opportunist tendency to treat the contradiction between the socialist camp and imperialism as almost the only contradiction which determines the course of world development while neglecting or underestimating the other fundamental contradictions as of either no consequence or less consequence, and secondly, the advocacy of pet, ready-made and stereotyped methods of solving different fundamental contradictions, i.e., the method of peaceful economic competition to solve the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, the method of peaceful transition to resolve the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the like.

Lenin, analysing the development of capitalism into what is known as the monopoly or imperialist stage, came to the conclusion that 'imperialism is the eve of world socialist revolution'. What does it mean in terms of analysing the class contradictions obtaining in the epoch of imperialism? It means, first and foremost, to state in the clearest terms possible that the contradiction between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat is the central and strongest contradiction of the epoch. Does it ignore or neglect the other fundamental contradictions obtaining in the then prevailing situation? Not in the least. He also made abundantly clear the existence and growth of inter-imperialist contradictions and the contradiction between the imperialist states and the colonial and dependent countries. But a dialectical study of all these contradictions enabled Lenin to correctly foresee, first, the extreme accentuation of the inter-imperialist contradiction leading to imperialist war for the redivision of the world between different imperialist states, and secondly, the imperialist war in turn accentuating the contradiction between the workers and capitalists in the capitalist states and also the sharpening of the contradiction between oppressor and oppressed nations, leading to the breaking out of socialist and national liberation revolutions. Life proved the absolute correctness of Lenin's analysis of the world contradictions, and also proved how, despite the fact that the strongest and central contradiction of the epoch was one between the world proletariat and the bourgeoisie, another contradiction, namely inter-imperialist contradiction did develop to the point of an imperialist war. The salient point that emerges out of this is that it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to hold the view that the central or dominant contradiction alone gets accentuated and matures all the time, while all other contradictions remain either static or dormant, and do not get aggravated in the process.

To illustrate the point further, let us take the post-October Revolution era, when a new contradiction, the contradiction between the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist camp emerged and stood as the central and

dominant contradiction of all the fundamental contradictions of the period. The interventionist war of the international imperialists against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary war of the Soviet Union in defence of socialist revolution, during the years 1918-20, were the clearest manifestation of the nature of the new strong and central contradiction. But, did it preclude the possibility of other contradictions, such as inter-imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between the oppressor and oppressed nations and the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie getting sharper and acuter, and in a way somewhat easing for a time the antagonism between the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist camp? Life and history again demonstrated that inter-imperialist contradiction and the contradiction between the imperialists and colonial and dependent countries had become very acute, rendered the united front of the imperialists against the Soviet Union impossible for a period, and even led to the second imperialist war between the Anglo-American and French imperialists on the one side and the German, Italian and Japanese monopolists on the other, during 1939-41.

Then, following the victory in the anti-fascist war and the formation of a powerful camp of socialist states, the contradiction between the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism remains as the central one among the fundamental contradictions of our time. Notwithstanding the fact that it is so, do we not find that another contradiction, namely, the one between the imperialists and oppressed nations has got accentuated and assumed the acutest form, culminating in the outburst of national liberation revolutions in a series of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the intensification of this contradiction is, of course, influencing the course of all other contradictions, their growth and development? This is exactly what is meant by the world Marxist-Leninists when they say that the contradiction between the oppressor states and oppressed countries, at this stage of development of world history, has become the focus of all the contradictions of our times.

The national liberation revolutions of our times have become a component part of the world socialist revolution.

National liberation struggles which have risen to new heights in Asia, Africa and Latin America in recent times are pounding and undermining the foundations of imperialist rule in these areas.

Their successful march gives a tremendous impetus to the struggles of the working class in the metropolitan countries and accelerates the progress of world socialist revolution.

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas.

It is wrong to look upon these national liberation struggles as having only regional importance. They are of tremendous importance to the whole cause of world socialist revolution as well as the cause of world peace.

But the modern revisionists refuse to accept this characterization and thus fail to orientate their work to this new inevitable development, while, *ad nauseam*, repeating that in the present epoch, the contradiction between the world systems of socialism and imperialism is the central contradiction, that the solution of all other contradictions depends upon the solution of this central contradiction, and that the chosen method of resolving it is peaceful economic competition, etc.

This totally erroneous and undialectical understanding, study, and assessment of the contradictions have landed the revisionists in the following serious opportunist mistakes, which should be discarded :

(i) in the actual recognition of only one contradiction, namely the one between the socialist and imperialist camps and virtually discounting and underestimating the rest of the contradictions;

(ii) in the dogmatic advocacy of peaceful transition as a method to resolve the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the oppressor and oppressed nations;

(iii) in the facile conception that in the new epoch, inter-imperialist contradictions can either be mitigated or eliminated by international agreements among the monopolists; and

(iv) in the advocacy of 'peaceful economic competition' as the exclusive method of resolving the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps.

On the Issue of War and Peace and Lenin's Thesis on Imperialism

War is a constant companion of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The history of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, its existence and growth during the last half a century and more, is replete with violence, war and bloodshed on a scale and bitterness unknown in history. In the short span of twenty-five years, the world bourgeoisie plunged humanity into two world wars, and slaughtered forty million men while maiming another eighty million, apart from the colossal destruction of wealth accumulated through the toil and sweat of billions of men for ages. Add to this ghastly list, the scores of wars of aggression on several small and weaker states by different imperialist states, in which millions of men were butchered in order to impose upon them colonial, semi-colonial or neo-colonial slavery. Today, the imperialists are once again feverishly preparing to plunge the world into another global war, a war with the most destructive and savage military technique of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Let it be again noted that it is no other class in modern society than the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism that has hoisted the banner of revolt against capitalism and imperialism, a system that inevitably breeds violence and war. The Great October Revolution in Russia, as Lenin aptly put it, was fought with the slogan of "an immediate peace at all costs", and it was "the first victory to abolish war and to unite workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of various nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes

peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the working people". Further, he observed that "the first Bolshevik revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will save the rest of mankind from such wars and from such world". (Lenin's speech at the Fourth Anniversary of October Revolution)

Such in brief is the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the issue of war and peace. It is precisely this outlook that guided the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, which stood as the principal bulwark in defence of world peace and against world war. It was the socialist Soviet Union that stood in the forefront in the anti-fascist war, rescued the world from the clutches of fascism and fascist war, and paved the way for the emergence of the powerful world socialist camp. The victory of national liberation and socialist revolutions in a number of countries in the wake of the anti-fascist war and the victory of the mighty Chinese revolution in particular, have tremendously altered the international balance of class forces in favour of peace, democracy and socialism, and against war and imperialism. There certainly have arisen new possibilities of averting a new world war and preventing and outlawing a nuclear war. But none can ignore the fact that these possibilities can be translated into realities only if the Communist Parties and the socialist states of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united, and the Communist Parties and the socialist camp conduct the revolutionary struggle for peace on strict Marxist-Leninist lines, and they do not fall victim to either pacifist illusions fostered by the imperialists or to the class collaborationist utopias of social democracy: If the imperialists succeed in deceiving the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat in different countries by their peace manoeuvres and tricks, the danger for world peace and the real threat of a war comes nearer, notwithstanding the loud clamour and great protestations for world peace and against war.

It is in this background that we have to examine the ideological controversy regarding the thesis of Lenin on imperialism and wars.

Lenin, with his masterly and penetrating analysis of the development of capitalism had described "imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism", and observed that "imperialism is, in general, striving towards violence and reaction". Further, he stated that "the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not *only* agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialised regions, because, the fact that the world is already divided up obliges those contemplating *a redivision* to reach out for *every kind of* territory; and an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony". He had summed up, "That imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under *such* an economic system, *as long as* private property in the means of production exists"; and "also the possibility and the inevitability first of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions *against* the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary wars, etc."

Life during these years has demonstrated how every syllable of this thesis on imperialism and wars by the great Lenin, a thesis propounded half a century ago, is absolutely correct to its last detail and what yeoman service it has rendered to the cause of the international proletariat and its emancipatory mission in the world.

The modern revisionists vainly claiming to be creative Marxists seriously challenge the thesis of Lenin on imperialism and wars under the pretext of applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions obtaining in the present new epoch, and assert that the "Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists" is outmoded and no more valid, since imperialism, today, has ceased to be an

all-embracing world system as it once used to be, and also because strong social and political forces which oppose war have emerged to compel the imperialists to renounce war. They advance the new thesis that "war is not fatalistically inevitable", a thesis that clumsily clubs different types of wars— wars between socialist and imperialist states, inter-imperialist wars, wars of national liberation, civil wars, etc.— and seek to discard the Marxist-Leninist thesis on imperialism and wars.

The authors and adherents of this new revised thesis on imperialism and wars argue that the new technological developments in warfare and the possession of the most destructive nuclear weapons by the principal contending forces of the day— imperialism and socialism, is the key factor that decisively influences the thesis of Lenin on imperialism and wars. Marxism-Leninism can never agree that the growth and development of military technique can alter the fundamental social laws of classes, class contradictions, class struggle and class war. As Lenin puts it, "Military tactics are determined by the level of military technique", but it would be a grave departure from Marxism to maintain that military technique can determine the fate of man, social laws and social development.

Since the world capitalist and imperialist social order is still in existence over three-fourths of the globe's surface covering two-thirds of humanity, since almost all the traditional capitalist and imperialist states such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, etc., still remain under the powerful grip of monopoly capital, and since the capitalist encirclement of the socialist states is not yet replaced by the socialist encirclement of capitalist states, the thesis of Lenin on imperialism and wars remains valid, and to treat it as having become obsolete is to fundamentally depart from Marxism-Leninism.

The radically changed correlation of forces on a world plane in favour of socialism and against imperialism in the present epoch certainly has opened the possibilities of

preventing, averting and postponing a particular war, or a war with particularly destructive technique and preserving the peace to that extent. But wars can be eliminated and lasting peace secured only when imperialism is eliminated; as long as imperialism exists, there will be soil for wars of aggression.

Lastly, as Lenin pointed out, "when assessing any given situation, a Marxist must proceed not from the possible, but from the actual". If, instead of proceeding on the basis of the actual and existing realities, i.e., the existence of powerful imperialist forces in terms of their economic, political, and military resources, one were to proceed on several possibilities of averting war and establishing durable and enduring peace, and on that basis weave out theories and work out tactics, one is bound to end in grief.

On Disarmament and Banning of Nuclear Weapons

The feverish armament race, the invention, manufacture and huge stockpiling of nuclear bombs, the setting up of thousands of military bases all over the globe, the forging of aggressive military alliances and blocs and the rapid militarisation of the economies in the present era are the products of monopoly capitalism in its desperate bid to escape its destined and impending doom.

In the face of this ever-growing menace of arms drive of the imperialists, the socialist states are duty bound to develop their armed might to defend their states against any imperialist aggression and to defend the cause of world socialist revolution and peace. It is also the duty of the world socialist and peace forces to fight against the imperialists' arms expansion and war drive and raise the demand for general disarmament. While not forgetting the fact that the imperialists would not agree to such a total and general disarmament, since carrying it out would be tantamount to voluntary liquidation of imperialism, the international Communist movement and the world socialist camp will have to carry on the campaign for disarmament in order to mobilise world

public opinion against the menace, to expose the imperialists and also to compel the imperialists either to restrain their arms drive or even to accept some partial agreements.

But the socialist campaign for general and total disarmament should guard itself against sowing any illusions on this score, illusions that the imperialists have been weakened to such an extent that they would be willing to accept general disarmament and to abandon the arms drive and military build-up. The modern revisionists, contrary to this correct concept, carry on the disarmament campaign in so pacifist a manner as to breed the worst illusions about the imperialists; they paint the picture of total and general disarmament being an immediate and practical possibility; they do not hesitate to make absurd statements such as that even the USA's escalation of war against Vietnam does not come in the way of continuation of talks for disarmament; and they, instead of exposing the imperialists and their armaments drive, tend to disarm the people ideologically and politically by lulling their vigilance against imperialism and its menacing preparations for war.

The ridiculous length to which this pacifist, non-class and revisionist concept of disarmament has reached can be clearly seen in how the Soviet leaders have been dealing with the issue of test-ban treaty and of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the banning of nuclear weapons. It is true that there exists a possibility of banning nuclear weapons and a sustained struggle to achieve the same will have to be conducted. Such a struggle against the imperialists can be conducted effectively, only when the socialist camp possesses adequate atomic equipment and technical know-how and is capable of rebuffing the atomic blackmail of the imperialists, and then only the possibilities of preventing an atomic war and the banning of nuclear weapons can have the chance of becoming a reality. Otherwise the imperialists have no reason to accept the proposal and lose the advantage of blackmailing the weaker states and the socialist camp. It is exactly on these premises that the Soviet Union was

compelled to embark upon the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and the adequate atomic defence and offence capacity at the disposal of the Soviet Union has resulted in the exercising of certain restraint, circumspection and care on the part of the imperialists in withholding the actual use of these weapons unlike what they did in 1945 during the war against Japan.

But the Soviet leaders, under the pretext of the struggle they are waging for disarmament, non-proliferation and banning of atomic weapons, tore up the agreement concluded with socialist China to provide it with atomic technical know-how, and thus sought to prevent People's China from acquiring atomic weapons. Strange arguments are advanced in defence of this perfidious act of one socialist state against another fraternal socialist state, that such a sharing of technical know-how would facilitate the U.S. monopolists in equipping the West German militarists and other imperialists, that it would give a fillip to the atomic race, that it would place unbearable and heavy burdens on the Chinese people, and that it is unnecessary for any other socialist state to possess atomic weapons since the Soviet Union has got more than enough in its possession not only to defend itself but also to defend every country in the world which is threatened with U.S. atomic attack.

Further, the Soviet leaders, in open conflict with and opposition to socialist China, concluded a test-ban treaty and are proceeding to conclude a so-called treaty of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons along with the U.S. and British imperialists. They did everything in their power to mobilise the signatures of the states in the world, and tom-tomed their conclusion of the test-ban treaty in 1963 as a great victory in the struggle for the non-proliferation and banning of nuclear weapons. The Soviet leaders risked a rift and even split in the socialist camp over the issue.

Life and experience have demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that this entire line and outlook emanates from a non-class and right-opportunist understanding of the entire

disarmament issue, springs from impermissible illusions about the imperialists on the question of preserving peace and banning of atomic weapons, and arises from, not fraternal, but a patronising attitude to other socialist states.

What is the sum total of all this? Neither do atomic technical know-how and manufacturing and stockpiling of bombs remain any more the monopoly of the USA, USSR and Britain, nor is proliferation of atomic weapons prevented. No sovereign and self-respecting nation, whose economy is viable, would ever reconcile itself to the idea of its independence being guarded by either a nuclear USA or nuclear USSR.

Objectively speaking, the attitude of the Soviet leaders on the entire issue is based on the unwarranted premise that their collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists is a greater guarantee for the preservation of peace, for the outlawing of the use of atomic weapons, and for averting a thermo-nuclear war, than the unity of the entire socialist camp, its economic, political, military might and its all-round development, and its unrelenting struggle against imperialism on every front. How else can it be characterised except as the crassest right opportunism and revisionism?

Peaceful Coexistence of States with Different Social Systems

The very concept of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and socialist states arose only after the victory of the first socialist revolution in Russia. It is true that Lenin, as early as 1916, visualised the possibility of accomplishing the socialist revolution in one or several countries while in the rest of the countries, for a period, the rule of the bourgeoisie and other propertied classes would exist, and the world socialist revolution would not triumph, simultaneously, all at once, in all the countries. Life and history have confirmed the correctness of this proposition during the last half a century.

It is evident that the coming into existence of the first socialist state and its continued existence along with the

capitalist states of the world are made possible through the arduous struggle against imperialism, a struggle covering all the economic, political, ideological and military aspects. The Soviet state, through its armed might, had to struggle to live in peace with the imperialist countries. There were repeated trials of strength between the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union and as a result of it, the Soviet Union could impose the right to coexistence on the imperialists.

Lenin made it abundantly clear that "International imperialism... could not under any circumstances, on any conditions live side by side with the Soviet Republic both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class". "In this sphere the conflict is inevitable. Therein lies the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem : the necessity of solving international problems, the necessity of calling forth an international revolution, of effecting this transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution."

He also stated that "...the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable".

Further, answering the advocates of a revolutionary war with the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie in imperialist countries, he asserted, "however, we obviously cannot set ourselves this aim at the *given* moment", and "the interests of the international revolution demand that the Soviet power, having overthrown the bourgeoisie in our country, should *help* that revolution, but that it should choose a *form* of help which is commensurate with its own strength", while, of course, characterising the "Soviet Republic as a *detachment* of the world army of socialism".

Lenin made it clear that, "So long as capitalism and socialism remain, they cannot live at peace, in the long run

either one or the other will be victorious, the funeral dirge will be sounded either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism. It will be a respite in the war”.

Thus it is clear that Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence is a fighting and revolutionary concept, a concept which permits no breeding of pacifist and utopian illusions about imperialism, a concept that has nothing in common with the concept of a status quo, i.e., imperialism and socialism living side by side peacefully. It is a concept of 'respite' to be correctly utilised to consolidate the socialist state economically, politically and militarily so that imperialist aggression might be successfully met and the imperialists of the world vanquished.

It is this correct policy that was made one of the important components of the foreign policy of the Soviet state by Lenin, and faithfully followed and implemented by Stalin, subsequent to Lenin's departure.

But the modern revisionists who embolden themselves to discard Lenin's thesis on imperialism and wars and also several others of his propositions, and revise them on the pretext that they were made decades ago when imperialism was all-powerful and the determining force, etc., shout from the housetops their alleged fidelity to the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence while actually so distorting the entire concept as to deprive it of its revolutionary content. They lay exclusive emphasis on certain aspects of the concept of peaceful coexistence, while conveniently ignoring and suppressing the other equally, if not more, important aspects of the entire concept.

They go to the length of exaggerating the concept of peaceful coexistence describing it as the highest form of class struggle, and as one which forms the axis of the entire foreign policy of every proletarian state. They tend to reduce the concept of peaceful coexistence to the opportunist meaning of 'peacefully' putting up with the blatant aggressive actions of world imperialism when they shamelessly extend this concept to the relations between the inherently

aggressive states of the imperialists and the victim states. Instead of boldly exposing how the world imperialists, particularly the U.S., through their frenzied drive for colonial and neo-colonial domination of the world, are making peace and peaceful coexistence on earth impossible, the revisionists tend to shield the imperialist aggressors as though they are reconciled to peace and peaceful coexistence. The absurd limits to which this well-known revolutionary concept of Lenin is reduced can be seen when the modern revisionists who, in words, agree that U.S. imperialism today has become 'the biggest international exploiter', 'the chief bulwark of world reaction', and 'international gendarme and the chief enemy of the peoples of the world', in practice, treat the U.S. imperialist rulers as those with whom real and lasting peaceful coexistence is possible and with whom the socialist states can collaborate in the struggle for peace and amity among nations.

The interpretation of the concept of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and imperialist states is reduced by the revisionists to mean that the chief struggle between the two systems is in the main peaceful economic competition and thus conceal the truth that the struggle between the two systems comprises every field of economic, political, ideological and military nature.

No Marxist-Leninist can accept such an opportunist interpretation and practice of the concept of peaceful coexistence, since it seeks to conceal the constant imperialist aggression and to appease the aggressor, and it disarms the revolutionary proletariat of the world in its uncompromising fight against imperialism—economic, political, ideological and military.

The principle of peaceful coexistence which is obligatory to socialist states and which is strictly adhered to by them alone, is never acceptable to the imperialists as the striving for violence, aggression and subjugation of others is the inherent characteristic of monopoly capitalism. To the extent this principle is enforced in the relations between states

with differing social systems, it is imposed upon the bourgeois states in bitter and frontal struggle against them. The struggle for enforcing the principle on capitalist states is a continuation of war against capitalism in different forms. To import any other non-class meaning into this concept means to monstrously distort it, with the facile notion of making it willingly acceptable to the imperialists and with the opportunist idea of purchasing peace with them, even at the cost of revolution, which, in the final analysis, would not defend peace or peaceful coexistence of states but would only invite disaster to both and the world revolution.

Peaceful coexistence is, of course, an essential part of the Leninist foreign policy obligatory to every socialist state. It helps them to mobilise all the forces of peace throughout the world and thus to isolate the war-mongers. It becomes the rallying slogan around which all the forces of peace and freedom can be mobilised.

It is, however, idle to hope, as the modern revisionists want the people to do, that just because the imperialist powers mouth the slogan of peaceful coexistence, a new era of peace will dawn on the world. The reality is that behind the very slogan of peaceful coexistence which they are forced to subscribe to in words, the imperialists are hatching and executing new plans of aggression against the people; ever so many new forms of neo-colonialism are being imposed; and wherever the people are vigilant, united and strong enough, their revolutionary movements are sought to be drowned in blood.

That is why every real revolutionary, every Marxist-Leninist, has to combine the strictest and most loyal adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence as between states having different social systems with (a) the perfection of such a united and vigilant armed force of the socialist camp that any aggressive act of the imperialists can be met with a devastating counter-blow; and (b) the rendering of such concrete assistance—economic, political and others—to the national revolutionary movements.

On the Forms of Transition to Socialism

Marxism-Leninism proceeds to examine the question of forms of transition to socialism on the basis of the scientific analysis made regarding the origin of state and its evolution, and its present and future in the era of socialist revolution.

What is the state, according to Marxism-Leninism? In short, "the state is a special organisation of force; it is an organisation of violence for the suppression of some class". The bourgeois states may vary in form but their essence is the same, i.e., in the final analysis they are nothing but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the proletarian states may assume different forms, but their essence can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In view of this irrefutably established scientific truth, the modern working class, in its fight for political power and social emancipation, at every stage of its development, is inevitably confronted with the bourgeois state, i.e., the special organisation of violence to suppress the working class. Thus, the problem of how to meet this bourgeois violence with a view to putting an end to all violence in the relations of men is one of the key problems of the socialist revolution.

It is a fact that violence is alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideals. The foremost thinkers, founders and leaders of Marxism-Leninism were always eager to find out ways and means to restrict, minimise and, if possible, to avoid the bourgeois violence in the way of effecting the socialist revolution, since peaceful transition is advantageous to the proletariat. Any number of instances from the history of the working class movement can be cited to substantiate this proposition of ours.

However, Marxism-Leninism, as Lenin has pointed out, while decisively rejecting the theory "that armed uprising is a form of struggle which is obligatory always and under all conditions" as totally alien to its science, and while making it obligatory for proletarian revolutions to seize every opportunity that history offers for effecting peaceful transition, takes serious note of the realities of how the international bourgeoisie is increasingly resorting to brutal violence and

terror and how it is bent upon barring the road to peaceful transition. Lenin, noting this phenomenon as early as October 1916 observed, "However, it cannot be denied that in individual cases, by way of exception in some small country, for instance, after the socialist revolution had been accomplished in a neighbouring big country, peaceful surrender of power by the bourgeoisie is *possible*, if it is convinced that resistance is hopeless and if it prefers to save its skin. It is much more likely, of course, that even in small states socialism will not be achieved without civil war, and for that reason the only programme of international social democracy must be recognition of civil war, though violence is, of course, alien to our ideals. The same *mutatis mutandis*—with necessary alterations—is applicable to nations". (Lenin, *A Caricature of Marxism*).

Our Party, keeping all these precepts of Marxism-Leninism in view and also taking note of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the correlation of class forces in the world during the last half a century since the above pronouncements of Lenin, and particularly the developments following the socialist victory in the anti-fascist war, states in its Programme:

"The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of People's Democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles, the working class and its allies will try their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and to bring about these transformations through peaceful means". Of course, it is also simultaneously pointed out that it needs 'always to be borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily', and that "they seek to defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawlessness and violence."

But the modern revisionists maintain that in view of the changed correlation of forces on an international scale as

well as in each country in favour of the proletariat and its cause of socialism, and in view of the ever-increasing grip of the ideas of socialism on the minds of wide masses of the people, the universal law of violent revolution as propounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, forced on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, and as universally accepted by all the Marxist-Leninists has become outmoded and hence to be discarded. In its place, they argue, the law of peaceful transition and parliamentary path is to be substituted; they even expound the thesis that socialist transformation can be effected by a state of so-called National Democracy where the bourgeoisie and the proletariat hold joint hegemony of the National Democratic Revolution and the National Democratic state; thus they seek to revise Marxism-Leninism on certain basic and fundamental issues of the proletarian revolution, issues such as the Marxist-Leninist concept of state and revolution and the concept of proletarian hegemony in the revolutions of the present era.

The basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism proceed on the assumption that the fundamental question of every revolution is that of state power.

Lenin commenting on the opportunist distortion of the concept of state and revolution observed: “The distortion and hushing up of *the question of the relation of the proletarian revolution to the state* could not but play an immense role at a time when states, which possess a military apparatus expanded as a consequence of imperialist rivalry, have turned into monsters which are exterminating millions of people in order to settle the issue as to whether England or Germany—this or that finance capital—is to rule the world”. (Emphasis added.)

These observations were made some fifty years ago, and during this period not only ‘as a consequence a imperialist rivalry’ but also due to the mortal conflict between the forces of world socialism and capitalism, the capitalist states have come to build and expand a thousand times more monstrous military apparatuses. The bourgeois states which are, in

essence, nothing but a special organisation of force and violence for the suppression of the proletariat and the people, have perfected this engine of suppression to such a monstrous degree in the present period that even the smallest democratic and class struggle of the proletariat has to encounter brutal force—nay, the very existence and functioning of the revolutionary parties and organisations are confronted at every stage with terrific violence and repression at the hands of the huge police and the military machine of the state. This state of affairs has today become a rule rather than an exception. The entire course of history in the post-second world war period confirms this truth and no revolution in any of the continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe was allowed by the bourgeoisie to take to the peaceful path, and lakhs of freedom-fighters and proletarian revolutionaries in several countries are being butchered by the bourgeois police and military.

In the face of these facts, the first question that obviously arises is, whether it is permissible for any Marxist-Leninist to examine the question of forms of transition of socialist revolution and national liberation revolution in isolation from the monopoly capitalist state or states in question.

Our answer should be clear and categorical, that it is utterly un-Marxian to discuss the issue of revolution in isolation from the state. If Marxism-Leninism has come to the conclusion that the capitalist class by resorting to violence on the working class compels the latter to resort to the use of counter-violence it is precisely after a thorough and penetrating analysis of the role of the state in general, and the bourgeois state in particular, and not otherwise.

If Marx and Engels during the 1870's made exceptions of the USA and Britain from this universal law, they did so only after a concrete examination of the two bourgeois states in question, where militarism had not yet developed to high proportions, where standing armies were not built and hence there was a possibility of the workers reaching their goal of socialism by peaceful means.

If Lenin after studying the development of capitalism to the stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism asserted that the above exceptions conceived by Marx and Engels in 1870 to the USA and Britain would no more hold valid, it was precisely based on the concrete study and analysis of the state apparatuses of the USA and Britain which had developed militarism to enormous proportions.

Similarly, if Lenin visualised the possibility of a peaceful transition of the revolution in Russia as an exception during the period between April and July 1917, it was done only after the concrete analysis of the state and revolution at that stage, when the arms were in the hands of the masses, when the state was not in a position to use armed force against the proletariat, and when a 'dual power' came to exist in the process of revolution in the form of armed workers, peasants and soldiers' soviets and the bourgeois provisional government.

The thesis of peaceful transition advocated by the modern revisionists has nothing in common with either Marxism-Leninism or its tested method of examining the question concretely, i.e., in relation to the state and its police-military apparatus. The enunciation and advocacy of this utterly revisionist thesis is nothing but giving encomiums to the bourgeoisie and its peace-loving and democratic character, intended to ideologically disarm and disorientate the revolutionary proletariat, and a downright betrayal of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state and revolution.

To conclude, there is no denying the fact that the proletariat would prefer to achieve the revolution and win power by peaceful means. Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the foremost leaders of the world proletariat, did strive to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means wherever and whenever such an opportunity did open before them without allowing it to be missed.

Guided by their great teachings and their practice, our Party, as correctly incorporated in our Party Programme, "strives to achieve the establishment of People's Democracy

and socialist transformation through peaceful means” while, of course, not forgetting for a moment that the ruling classes seek to bar this road at every turn by resorting to violence and terror and hence the need to be ever vigilant and prepared to meet all such exigencies.

The Concept of National Democracy and Non-Capitalist Path

Equally revisionist and avowedly right opportunist is the thesis of the so-called non-capitalist path and National Democracy that is being advocated and practised by the modern revisionists as a new transitional form for socialist revolution, a thesis that negates the concept of proletarian hegemony and advocates joint hegemony along with the bourgeoisie to effect socialist transition, a thesis that distorts the Leninist concept regarding the new possibilities of skipping the stage of capitalist relations for backward countries, to reach socialism.

It is true that the issue—whether the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for the backward nations which are liberating themselves after the first world war and the victorious October socialist revolution, to march to socialist development—was seriously debated at the Second Congress of the Third International, held in the middle of 1920. Lenin answered this question and the Second Congress had endorsed his thesis on the subject. He argued “that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should assist *the labouring masses of the backward countries* and the backward countries can develop and emerge from their present state when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Republics extends a helping hand *to these masses* and is in a position to give them support”; he observed that, “if the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them [meaning the masses of the backward countries—C.C.] while the Soviet Government comes to *their assistance with all the means at their command*” then it would be possible to avoid the stage of capitalist development

before reaching socialism. He summed up his thesis saying that “the Communist International should advance and theoretically substantiate the proposition that these backward countries can, with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, go over to the Soviet system and, through definite stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage” (*Lenin: Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Question*).

This thesis of the Communist International is totally distorted and vulgarised by the modern revisionists and is sought to be interpreted as the so-called “non-capitalist path” opened up for almost all the newly liberated countries of the world. Instead of “assisting the labouring masses of these countries”, the assistance to the capitalists of these countries to develop capitalism is painted as Soviet aid for non-capitalist path; instead of emphasising the need for proletarian hegemony it seeks to compromise the principle and advocate the opportunist concept of the joint hegemony of the workers and the capitalists—sometimes even the hegemony of the capitalists; and, in short, it seeks to abandon the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our Party, as enunciated clearly in our Party Programme, very correctly rejected the applicability of this thesis to our country, and in view of the experience demonstrated throughout the world since this infamous thesis was evolved a decade ago, it will have to unhesitatingly reject this entire thesis as a gross right-opportunist and class-collaborationist one.

The Trio that Works Out into a Full-Fledged Line of Class Collaboration

The concepts of peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and peaceful transition as propounded by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and as interpreted, elaborated and practised by the modern revisionists are, with every passing day, being rendered into a fully worked out line of class conciliation and collaboration on a global

plane. Since these revisionist concepts are advanced, and practised by the leadership of a Communist Party which is heading the first socialist state which has grown economically, politically and militarily into a mighty and formidable force, its repercussions on the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism are really devastating.

While stating that the main and decisive content of the new epoch is the struggle between the two opposite social systems of the world, the system of socialism and imperialism, and while also accepting that the U.S. imperialists, heading the camp of world reaction, have become the chief aggressor, exploiter and main enemy of the world people at this stage, the leaders of the CPSU, in utter contradiction to these propositions, are seeking amity and peace with the U.S., striving for cooperation and collaboration in the maintenance of so-called world peace, in the functioning of UNO to transform it into a real world people's tribune, in the struggle for banning of nuclear weapons, for their non-proliferation and disarmament, in the programme for space research, in eliminating and weeding out all seedbeds of 'local wars', and in assisting the dependent and backward countries in overcoming their poverty and misery, and so on and so forth. Thus instead of an irreconcilable struggle—economic, political, ideological, military—as the main form and content of struggle between the two systems, a regular hunt for discovering areas of everwider cooperation and collaboration with the U.S. is on by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. The fundamental aspect is sought to be relegated to a subordinate and secondary position while the cooperation and collaboration aspect is being thrust to the forefront. Today, this bankrupt revisionist line of the Soviet leaders has assumed such absurd proportions that it is glaringly seen and understood by every intelligent student of politics in the world, let alone the Marxist-Leninists as more and more a line of conciliation, compromise and collaboration between the two great powers, the USSR and the USA, a line which objectively preserves and perpetuates the

international status quo and as a line which summarily abandons the revolutionary class struggle of the international proletariat. No amount of sophistry and use of high-flown phrases such as "world peace" and the "averting of the danger of nuclear war", and that in pursuit of it they are fighting for the success of the line of peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and for peaceful transition to socialism, etc., can hide the ugly truth that it is appeasement of imperialism all along the line and objectively abetting it at every step.

However, our criticism of the compromising and collaborationist policies pursued by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state does in no way imply the totally erroneous idea that the Soviet Union has become an ally of U.S. imperialism or is working for sharing world hegemony with American imperialism and for the division of spheres of influence in the world, as this is tantamount to nothing short of placing the Soviet Union outside the socialist camp.

The sum total of this right-opportunist line pursued by the Soviet leaders is that the aggressive propensities and expansionist activities of U.S. imperialism are more and more increasing, that the danger to world peace, peaceful coexistence of states at the hands of the imperialists is daily growing and the worldwide revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, independence and socialism, is disrupted and disorganized.

Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the world proletarian struggle for socialism and enduring peace on earth demand that these revisionist concepts are decisively rejected as pernicious concepts, concepts that seek to substitute the class struggle with class conciliation and collaboration.

It should be said that the Communist Party of China has rendered yeoman service to the world working class and Communist movement in fighting against this menace of modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism. Modern revisionism led by Khrushchov and pursued by the present CPSU leaders has done the greatest damage to the

cause of the working class and Communist movement in the world.

But in spite of it, the forces of Marxism-Leninism will triumph. It will not be possible for the modern revisionists to change the course of development of history. With the impact of the new epoch and the fundamental change brought about in the balance of forces, the struggle for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism will increasingly forge ahead and bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to victory.

On the Issue of People's State and People's Party in the Soviet Union

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU, basing on the assumption that socialism had triumphed completely and finally in the Soviet Union, came to the conclusion that the conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had disappeared and its domestic purpose fulfilled. It proceeded to announce that the working class of the Soviet Union had "*transformed the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people*".

At the outset, it is to be categorically stated that the entire outlook governing this decision, the language used for describing the new concept and the non-class and un-Marxian analysis of the Soviet society in the present international background that forms the content of the new concept have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat as conceived by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin is a phenomenon visualised for the entire historical period of transition from capitalism to socialism, since this period after the capture of power by the proletariat to that of complete abolition of the bourgeoisie is a "period of an unprecedented violent class struggle in unprecedented acute form". As Lenin puts it, "classes remain and will remain in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat and when classes disappear the dictatorship will become unnecessary".

Every student of Marxism-Leninism is fully aware of the fact how the founders of this science contemptuously rejected the terminology of a 'people's state', and pointed out that every state is a class state and there is not, nor can there be, a non-class state. And yet the Soviet leaders have chosen the term 'people's state'.

Similarly the Soviet leaders say that they have 'transformed' the proletarian state into a 'state of the whole people'. Marxist-Leninist science speaks of the proletarian state 'withering away' in the course of the fulfilment of its class tasks and the building of socialism and communism but does not talk of 'transformation' by decrees from the rostrums of Party Congresses.

When does the proletarian state begin to wither away? "When *all* have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers and such like 'guardians of capitalist traditions', the escape from this popular accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment, that the *necessity* of observing the simple, fundamental rules of human intercourse will very soon become a habit", "then the door will be wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."

Can the leaders of the CPSU dare say that the above stage of development has been reached in Soviet society? At any rate the reports we read and the developments we understand regarding the state of affairs in the Soviet Union cannot convince us that such a degree of development has already taken place, that it is far from that.

The hollowness of the propounders of this new thesis is exposed when they themselves again say that the present, so-called, state of the people "is being retained because the tasks which society can solve only with the aid of the state

are not yet consummated". It reduces itself to simple jugglery with phrases to plead for the retention of the state to fulfil certain social tasks and in the same breath argue that those 'tasks' are non-class tasks!

The revisionists maintain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is dissolved since "its domestic (internal) purposes were fulfilled", and the state of the whole people is called upon to discharge its external task, the task of defending against capitalist and imperialist aggression. It is not correct even to maintain that the tasks of the dictatorship for internal purposes have completely been fulfilled. May we ask the question, what are these external tasks except the class tasks of the proletariat to fight the international bourgeoisie for the defence and completion of the world proletarian revolution? How can a state of the whole people, which is neither fish nor fowl, cope with strictly proletarian international tasks? It is impermissible that the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat and its tasks are mechanically divided into what is known as national and international, erecting a Chinese wall between the two, reducing it into purely national confines, while depriving it of its revolutionary definition that it "is a *detachment* of the world army of socialism". To do so would be to depart from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To conclude, to indulge in the talk of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people or in other words the abolition of the proletarian state, would be a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and treachery to the working class. Until and unless the "whole society will have become a single office and single factory, with equality of labour and equality of pay", until the difference between mental and manual labour disappears, until the difference of conditions of work or the workers in factories and peasants in farms cease and until the worldwide victory of the proletarian revolution is assured, no question can arise of abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Closely connected with the non-class revisionist concept

of a people's state is the concept of characterising the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the "party of the whole people". It is needless to reiterate that the Communist Party as the revolutionary political organisation of the proletariat is indispensable for the victory of the socialist revolution and, for the entire historical stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat has to carry on the struggle against all the overthrown capitalist class enemies, to remould the whole of society, to eliminate the last remnants of capitalism, to build the classless socialist society and to fulfil the tasks of building full scale communism. These tasks can neither be discharged without the leadership of the Communist Party, nor is it permissible to dissolve the class party into an amorphous so-called non-class "party of the whole people". But the leadership of the CPSU has discarded this Marxist-Leninist concept, just as it discarded the concept of proletarian dictatorship.

On the Issue of Material Incentives in the Soviet Union

There is a serious controversy on the issue of material incentives and its meaning in a socialist state. The question is not, as some people try to distortedly present it, one of 'material incentives versus spiritual incentives', or whether there is place or not for material incentives in the process of socialist and communist construction. The real question is, why is it that special stress and emphasis on material incentives for work have become necessary during the phase of building communism after half a century of socialist construction, and whether it squares with the expected socialist and communist consciousness of the Soviet citizen.

It would be highly instructive to recall to our minds the penetrating observations of Lenin regarding the nature of real communist manner of work. He exhorts, "First show that you are capable of working without remuneration in the interest of society, in the interest of all the working people"; characterises the communist spirit of work as one "constituting

the labour of individuals on an extensive scale for the public good"; and says that "Communism begins when the *rānk and file workers* display an enthusiastic concern" to "production of goods, which do not accrue to the workers personally, or their 'close' kith and kin, but to their 'distant' kith and kin, i.e., to the society as a whole, to tens of hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a union of Soviet republics".

But the present drive by the present leaders of the Soviet state on the materialist incentives aspect, contrary to the one emphasized by Lenin, raises the legitimate question whether this would not lead to the moulding of working class consciousness on the bourgeois basis of personal profit, individual and selfish interests, etc. Theoretically speaking, either proletarian communist ideas and consciousness would grow stronger and stronger and defeat and eliminate bourgeois habits, ideas and consciousness, or in its absence, the latter would invade the former and stifle its growth and development. The resort to capitalist incentives and ideas of personal profit, in the final analysis, paves the way for the restoration of a new type of capitalism, and harms the cause of socialism and communism. This danger is all the more so when the concept of material incentives is unduly emphasised in a socialist society at a stage which they claim to be full-scale construction of communism.

On the Issue of Stalin and the So-called Cult of Personality

It is not our endeavour now to assess Stalin, his rôle and contribution, his omissions and commissions, his failures and successes and his unique contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and communism. Nor is it our contention that there did not occur lapses and mistakes on his part as the head of the first socialist state and the leader of the world Communist movement for nearly thirty years after the death of Lenin. The CPSU was perfectly entitled to self-critically examine its past work and correct whatever short-

comings and mistakes that had crept into its work of building socialism in the Soviet Union and discharging its responsibilities towards the world Communist movement. But what was done, in the so-called secret report of Khrushchov on Stalin at the 20th Congress and the subsequent period following it, is something far different from it. The fact that the report was enthusiastically seized upon by the U.S. imperialists and widely circulated by the different anti-communist and reactionary agencies all over the world, the fact that the leadership of the CPSU while formally refuting the authenticity of such a report on the one hand made a piecemeal corroboration of its contents through speeches and writings in the Soviet press on the other, the fact that no authoritative version has yet seen the light of day even a decade after the 20th Congress and above all, the fact that this 'secret report' on Stalin became more a weapon in the hands of avowed enemies of communism in their effort to tarnish the image of communism and to undermine the faith of the people in the cause of Marxism-Leninism, than an instrument in the hands of communists to learn from the mistakes and to confidently march forward, speak volumes against this notorious piece of work by Khrushchov. The entire question of Stalin was dealt with as a question simply connected with the Soviet Union, as a 'private affair' of the CPSU and as an issue concerning the individual Stalin and his merits and demerits. The biggest fact of history—that he was destined to act as the spokesman of the CPSU and the Communist International for decades following the death of Lenin, to defend Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of right and left-opportunist trends, to head the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and transform it into a mighty world power, to lead the historic anti-fascist war to victory, to rebuild rapidly the war-ravaged economy and industrial might of the Soviet Union, and to lead the formation and functioning of the world socialist camp was sought to be simply ignored, and a one-sided, distorted and subjective assessment was made. To put it sharp, it was nothing short of an

attempt to deliberately tear off pages covering thirty years of history of the world Communist movement, and in a way world history, which cannot be substituted with the rag of a so-called 'secret report' by Khrushchov. No true Leninist can succeed in the effort to carry forward the mantle of Leninism if its steadfast and acknowledged defender for three decades after Lenin is damagingly denigrated and depicted almost as a megalomaniac, a job that Khrushchov undertook in vain and with disastrous results. In the name of fighting the 'cult of personality', an anarchic trend of denouncing the authority of men and their place in revolutionary movements was freely fostered.

The Soviet revisionist leaders had not shown any concern for the world Communist movement and the possible pernicious results of such a scandalous report on Stalin and did not even care to have prior consultation and discussions with at least the leading fraternal Communist Parties of the world on the subject. Thus they provided grist to the mill of world imperialism.

The total negation of Stalin by the leaders of modern revisionism, we have to state, is closely linked with their assaults on a series of Marxist-Leninist theories and propositions on imperialism, on war and peace, on the concepts of proletarian hegemony and dictatorship of the proletariat, on the strategy and tactics of the revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, and on the nature, character and role of the Communist Party.

In spite of all the efforts of modern revisionists, Stalin's name will continue to be inseparable from Marxism-Leninism.

On Yugoslav Revisionism

The anti-Marxist-Leninist views of the Yugoslav revisionists were subjected to thorough criticism by the world Communist movement when they came with their full-fledged revisionist programme in 1958. They had earlier refused to accept the 1957 Moscow Declaration. Eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties in their Moscow Conference in 1960

discussed the situation and while reiterating the position taken in the Declaration they nailed down Yugoslav revisionism in the following words:

“The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist ‘theories’ in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the LCY against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called ‘aid’ from the U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties...”

However, within a few months after signing of this statement, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU had gone back from this understanding and recognized Yugoslavia as a socialist state and later on established party-to-party relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists. It is not for nothing that the Soviet leadership has gone back from this understanding of the international Communist movement.

On the Slogan of Unity in Action

The slogan of unity in action emanates from the present-day objective situation, from the general line of the international Communist movement which is one of forming a broad united front with the socialist camp and the international proletariat

as its nucleus to oppose imperialists and reactionaries headed by U.S. imperialism, a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

The Soviet leadership had been refusing to take united action against American imperialist aggression, in Vietnam and had even talked of disengaging itself from its commitments in Southeast Asia. But the Communists and revolutionaries all over the world demanded united action and active defence of Vietnam.

Further, with the advancement of the liberation struggle of Vietnam which became the rallying point of progressive mankind against U.S. imperialism, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union itself came forward with the slogan of unity in action in its manoeuvre to avoid isolation from the currents of anti-imperialism.

To be more clear and precise, it is a call by the Soviet leaders to the Chinese Communist Party and government leaders, that the two big socialist states, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, should work out a plan of united action against American aggression on Vietnam, notwithstanding the sharp division on several ideological-political issues between them.

The Chinese Communist Party rejected this proposal on the following grounds: (a) that the attitude taken by the Soviet leaders to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam over a number of years in the past as well as the present is dubious; (b) that the Soviet leadership has been conspiring to impose a humiliating peace on Vietnam and thus betray the national liberation revolution of the Vietnamese people; (c) that the material help rendered by the Soviet Union to Vietnam is nominal and is not commensurate with the strength of the Soviet state; (d) that "in contemporary world, opposition to or alliance with U.S. imperialism constitutes the hallmark for deciding whether or not a political force can be included in the united front against the U.S.", that "the new leaders of the CPSU have destroyed the basis for international

proletarian unity, and they transpose enemies and friends and persist in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination" and hence it is not possible "for Marxist-Leninist parties to take united action with them on the question of Vietnam." "On the question of handling our relations with the enemies and friends, whether to oppose or unite with U.S. imperialism"; "and there are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common" and as such the contradiction between the two is an antagonistic contradiction, and hence unity in action with them is ruled out.

A serious debate is on in the world Communist movement as to the correctness or otherwise of the stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party on this issue of united action.

A careful analysis of the developments of Vietnam's liberation war against the U.S. imperialists during the last several years clearly demonstrates the truth that the attitude adopted to it by the Soviet Union and the role it played is certainly disappointing and is not what is rightly expected of a leading and mighty socialist state, i.e., the Soviet Union. For a long time, there has been neither forthright condemnation of U.S. aggression nor was timely and effective intervention forthcoming. Things, at a stage, went so far as Khrushchov publicly announcing the intention of the Soviet Government to resign from the presidentship of the 1954 Geneva Conference and 'disentangling' itself from the whole of Southeast Asia, thereby objectively encouraging the U.S. imperialists to proceed with their aggressive plans against Vietnam with impunity. Even after the acceptance of the five-point programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the agreement with the North Vietnam Government for increased material assistance by the Soviet Union, a sort of 'sitting on the fence' policy is pursued, and the statements issued, assistance rendered and the action proposed by Soviet statesmen are not so unequivocal as to serve a stern warning to the U.S. imperialists and to force the U.S. to desist from its aggression. An examination of the entire

course of developments leading to the present escalation of the war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the U.S. cannot but compel one to conclude that the Soviet Government is guided by the thesis of 'local wars in danger of growing into a world war' and consequently takes 'hesitant, halting and compromising steps, and makes repeated attempts at restoring some kind of peace in Vietnam in compliance with the U.S. aggressors—all of which has gone only to abet and encourage the American expansionists rather than in restoring real peace in Vietnam.

The stark reality, today, is that the small socialist republic of North Vietnam, together with its patriotic fighters in South Vietnam, is fighting alone against U.S. aggression and is making unheard of sacrifices, notwithstanding the fact that she is a member of the world socialist camp which has become a formidable force in the present era. Of course, it is true that it is getting enormous material assistance and moral support from the socialist camp, but not its direct and united intervention to drive out the aggressor.

The North Vietnamese Government and its ruling Workers' Party, taking into account the great ideological-political gulf that divides the two mighty socialist states of the world, the Soviet Union and People's China, do not think it prudent to raise the slogan of unity in action as an *immediate and practicable one* and, instead, is appealing to both the Soviet Union and China and all other socialist states to render independently maximum material and political assistance in the war of liberation against American imperialism. But the freedom-lovers and proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world are extremely concerned and agitated over the brutal, fascist war on the Vietnamese people and desire united action by the socialist states, particularly the Soviet Union and China, so that the aggressors might be speedily driven out and peace restored in Vietnam. Our Party cannot but share this legitimate urge of the people, all over the world, and eagerly look for such a heartening development as soon as possible.

While passionately desiring united action against imperialist

aggression, it cannot but take serious note of the fact that the unity in action proposed in this concrete case is nothing short of military action with its own serious consequences, and such a united military action demands minimum mutual confidence between the states and parties which are participants in that united action. Nobody in his senses who is following the developments in the international Communist movement and Sino-Soviet relations in particular can imagine that such minimum mutual confidence exists between the Soviet and Chinese leaders.

In this connection one cannot but recall to memory a chain of events that have embittered Sino-Soviet relations to the point of a serious split between the two. The high-handed manner in which the leadership of the CPSU revised a series of Marxist-Leninist propositions at the 20th Congress and sought to arbitrarily impose its understanding on fraternal parties, the open denunciation of the Chinese C.P. by Khrushchov at Bucharest in 1960 after it expressed its serious ideological differences with the CPSU, the blatant violations of fraternal socialist relations by the Soviet leaders through the stoppage of aid, annulling agreements mutually entered into and sudden withdrawal of the Soviet technicians from China, the unashamed backing out from the Sino-Soviet agreement to share the technical know-how of atomic weapons, the test-ban treaty that was signed and the proposed treaty of non-proliferation to be signed by the Soviet leaders with the USA and Britain by-passing China and in the teeth of its opposition, the Soviet leaders' refusal to help China to acquire the latest military techniques and to develop its military capability to meet the American atomic and rocket menace, the most vicious international campaign organized by the Soviet Party and Government to isolate it and pressurize it into submission and a host of similar steps and actions deliberately perpetrated by them to damn the Chinese Communists as warmongers and traitors to the cause of socialism, cannot be wiped out with the stroke of a pen by issuing the slogan, "let us unite in action" against U.S. aggression.

The Soviet leaders, if they are really earnest and serious about Sino-Soviet united action against U.S. imperialism, will have to resort to bilateral talks with the Chinese leaders in order to clear up the mess that has been created, will have to abandon the facile notion of maintaining world peace in collaboration with the most aggressive U.S. imperialists, and will have to realise that their struggle for so-called peace, freedom and socialism in the world without socialist China is more unreal and absurd than the stupid U.S. concept of UNO and world politics by-passing People's China, a fourth of the world's population.

A series of initial steps are required to prepare the ground for such unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. Without the preliminary necessary steps and preparations for unity in action, the slogan of united action, as advanced by the Soviet leaders as a slogan of immediate action, loses its meaning and significance and reduces itself to one of scoring points and deceiving the gullible.

Notwithstanding this, acceptance of the proposal for a meeting of representatives of North Vietnam, Soviet Union and China and participation in such a meeting would have helped the process of putting to test the Soviet proposals of joint action, to test the Soviet professions for helping Vietnam and served to enlighten the peoples of all countries.

However, our Party cannot subscribe to the view that the slogan of unity in action between the USSR and PRC is wrong in principle on the ground that the USSR is headed by a revisionist leadership. The very concepts of united front, united action, etc., advocated by Communists presuppose action against a common enemy, at a particular stage of development, together with several other classes and parties with whom the proletariat has its contradictions, including antagonistic contradictions, at times. Communists in pursuing the political line of united front and united action do not address themselves only to the leaders of political parties and organisations but principally to the masses behind them.

It is wrong not to distinguish between the leaders and the masses following them, and to identify the views of the leaders with those of the classes and masses behind them. Hence to rule out in principle the slogan of unity in action with political parties or states on the ground that those parties or states in question are headed by revisionists restricts the scope of unity with all those with whom it is possible to unite, while singling out and isolating the most immediate and hated enemy.

In this particular case, i.e., the Soviet leaders whom we, too, consider as the advocates of modern revisionism, the question of unity in action is interwoven with the Soviet state and its people, as these leaders happen to head that state at present. The outright rejection of the slogan of united action as unprincipled, on the ground that such unity in action implies unity between revisionists and Marxist-Leninists is, objectively, tantamount to making a present of that state and its people to the revisionists, instead of isolating the revisionists. While appreciating the innumerable obstacles that stand in the way at present, for the immediate realisation of the slogan of united action between the Soviet and Chinese governments, and while entertaining no such illusions that such united action can materialize if the struggle to realise it is carried on in the manner the Soviet leaders are at present carrying it on, we do cherish this concept and eagerly work for its materialisation, so that the bleeding Vietnamese people might in their just war of national liberation together with the states of the socialist camp rout the armies of imperialist intervention.

On the Issue of Correct Relations between Fraternal Communist Parties

The relations between fraternal Communist Parties and the Marxist-Leninist principle that should guide these relations are a very important question. In theory all appear to accept that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, that there should be no false idea of so-called high-ranking and subordinate Parties, that there can be no interference in the

internal affairs of other Parties and that they should build their Party-to-Party relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance. But in actual life and experience this salutary principle is often violated, and such violations, when they take place, from big Parties and Parties in state power, become all the more grave, striking hard at the very principle of independence and equality of fraternal Communist Parties.

The second important question, of course, closely connected with the first as stated above, is regarding the relation between the foreign policy of socialist states in regard to one or the other capitalist state and the internal policy of the Communist Party operating in the concerned capitalist state.

It is an accepted Marxist-Leninist dictum that notwithstanding the identity of aim between the different Communist Parties of the world, the tactical positions of all these Parties need not necessarily be identical, even on the same concrete question. Any number of examples from the history of the world Communist movement can be cited to show the absolute correctness of this proposition. All attempts to disregard such exigencies and dub these tactics as the tactics of the 'dualists' and as tactics of defeating the 'monist' action of the world working class were ridiculed by Lenin, while showing the inner consistency in the pursuing of different tactics by different proletarian parties, based on the concrete conditions of the arena of their operation.

This issue of divergence in the tactical positions of different Communist Parties gets all the more complex and emphasised when it becomes a question of tactics 'to be pursued by the Communist Parties in state power and the Parties still struggling for power. Proletarian internationalism makes it obligatory for all the contingents of the world Communist movement to support each other in the struggle for socialism and against imperialism, and it applies equally to the Parties in power as well as the Parties without power. But, as aptly put in the report of the Seventh Congress of the Third International, "this identity of aim by no means

signifies that at every given moment there must be a complete coincidence in all acts and on all questions between the tactics of the proletariat and Communist Parties that are still struggling for power and the concrete measures of the Soviet proletariat and the CPSU which already have power in their hands in the Soviet Union”.

All Communists should bear this in mind during their work while, of course, guarding against the opportunist and class-collaborationist distortion of this dictum, distortion with a view to rallying behind one's own bourgeois government and in opposition to one or the other socialist state and thus adopting a national-chauvinist outlook outright abandoning proletarian internationalism.

Here, again, all this is admitted in theory while in actual practice an irresistible tendency is frequently manifested—the tendency of subordinating the internal class policy of the Party without power to that of the needs of the foreign policy relations of one or the other big socialist state and its ruling Communist Party.

Unless and until these two serious errors are rectified, real, durable and lasting fraternal relations and unity between the world's Communist Parties, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is inconceivable.

A working class party can play the role of revolutionary party only if it is firmly based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, only if it can, as correctly put by the CPC, “use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and know how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country”, and does not “parrot the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad”, and “becomes a hotch-potch of revisionism and dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principles”.

It should be emphasised that if certain individual

contingents of the international Communist movement prove immature or weak in discharging the tasks as described above, they can get over these weaknesses by learning from their own mistakes and through their own experience, in the main, and no outside Party, however big and experienced, can substitute itself for this task, and hence it is extremely harmful to try to dictate, and guide the work of another Party. It is all the more so in the case of big Parties in power, as it would, first, subject the Parties in question to the reactionary slander of being 'led' by either Peking or Moscow, and, secondly, such attempts prove harmful as the political-tactical line thus imposed, more often, is not based on the concrete study and painstaking investigation of concrete class relations obtaining in the country in question. Such interference may be permissible in extraordinary circumstances, when a Party and its political line goes completely on to the wrong track, when friendly fraternal criticism is rejected and when there is no other alternative left except to openly express criticism. However, this should be an exception.

Our Party notes with extreme regret, that this sound proletarian internationalist principle which should guide the relations between Parties is violated by big Parties, of course, either under the pretext of some creative Marxism of theirs or under the totally erroneous notion that they alone can think, not only for themselves, but for all other Parties of the world. The glaring example is the leadership of the CPSU, after its 20th Congress, which began to assert that its thesis is the programme for the entire world Communist movement, and used and is using all its might to force it on every other Party in the world. Another big Communist Party, the CPC, which correctly pointed out and fought against this dangerous tendency on the part of the CPSU leaders and is bearing the main brunt of fighting modern revisionism, is also, sometimes, found to disregard this principle. Our Party, while modest enough to learn from the achievements and mistakes of all other fraternal Parties of the world, should guard itself against any such outside interference and jealously defend its

independence and its independent political line. Any departure from this sound principle and practice would prove disastrous to the unity, growth and progress of our Party.

Carry On the Fight against Revisionism, Guard against Left-Sectarian Deviation

Before closing the present document dealing with modern revisionism as the main danger in the international Communist movement at the present juncture, our Party cannot be oblivious of the fact that there also exist certain dogmatic and Left-sectarian trends in some Parties on certain issues connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. While fighting against modern revisionism as the main danger facing the world Communist movement as well as our Party, it cannot but seriously warn itself against slipping into Left opportunism and sectarian errors.

What does it mean when we say that revisionism and right opportunism constitute the main danger in our Party?

Though our Party has decisively broken with the revisionists, it cannot be said that we have shed everything of revisionism. The legacies of the past decade or more of our Party activity which was dominated by revisionism both in theory and practice still persist in our Party too. It is true that we discarded revisionism in our strategy and tactics in the Programme we adopted at the Seventh Party Congress and the line we chalked out in the "New Situation and Party's Tasks", "The Tasks on the Kisan Front" and "The Tasks on the Trade Union Front". But in practice as we go on implementing these documents, we find ourselves repeatedly coming across revisionist tendencies that come in the way of class orientation, outlook, and class struggles and reformist illusions in elections and alien methods in Party organisational activity. This has to be seriously taken note of and the present effort of ours to settle accounts with modern revisionism on other ideological issues should be availed of for a complete working class orientation in the matter of our day-to-day thinking and activity.

While tracing and liquidating the hated legacies of reformism and revisionism in all its manifestations, a fight still far from complete in our Party and without carrying which it becomes doubly difficult to fight against the rising Left-dogmatic trends, and while not minimising the possible recurrence of reformist mistakes in our united front tactics and in running of the coalition ministries in some states, we cannot ignore or treat lightly certain sectarian, dogmatic and adventurist tendencies manifesting in some Party circles. They express in the form of challenging the Party Programme, in opposing the political-tactical line of the Party, in advancing infantile and adventurist forms of struggle and finally, in the open defiance of Party norms and forms, its discipline and democratic centralism. Some of the advocates of the sectarian line have even embarked upon slandering the Party's ideological-political line as a line of neo-revisionism, as another substitution for the "old revisionists" of the Dangeite school, and have hoisted the banner of revolt against our Party in league with several shady characters and agents-provocateurs. Merciless exposure and ruthless fight against these tendencies and in defence of the Party's Programme, political line and organisation are the elementary duty of every conscious Communist and the entire Party.

In fighting against the evils of right opportunism or Left dogmatism, and in defending Marxism-Leninism one has to be clearly aware of the truth that right reformism and Left dogmatism are not antipodes but are twins, and often go hand in hand with each other. As Lenin sharply puts it, "anarchism was not infrequently a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement; the two monsters complemented each other".

While analysing the basic sources of revisionism, whether of the right category or the Left variety, Marxist-Leninists maintain that "bourgeois influence is the inner source of revisionism, and capitulation under imperialist pressure is its external source". Not content with this generalisation, we should also address ourselves to the concrete examination of

the phenomenon in our own country and our Party. Ours is a country with a predominant petty-bourgeois class composition. Petty-bourgeois ideas, conceptions and illusions, in no small way, invade and influence the working class of our country, since ever-growing new entrants into the ranks of the working class would carry these prejudices along with them, besides the insufficient political consciousness of the organised working class. Lastly the class composition of our Party, and particularly of its leadership at different levels, is still predominantly of petty-bourgeois origin, and its schooling and tempering in Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology are deplorably inadequate. For these reasons our Party remains under the constant threat of being easily swayed into extremes either right-reformist or Left-adventurist errors. This should never be lost sight of, and the entire experience of our past history completely confirms this truth. Not only our experience, but the experience of several other fraternal Parties also prove that Left errors are liable to crop up in the course of liquidating right mistakes, and right errors are liable to crop up while correcting Left mistakes. Our Party will have to be doubly vigilant and guard against these dangers.

Statement of the Central Committee on Cultural Revolution

Several comrades are raising the question as to what our attitude is towards the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and why a section on this subject is not included in the present document. Comrade M. Basavapunniah, in consultation with members of the Polit Bureau, had written an article in *People's Democracy*, explaining our stand towards it. The Central Committee, subsequently, endorsed it, that it would be our official stand, until further comprehensive discussions, and a decision is taken on the whole question. Hence, it would be incorrect to include this topic in our Ideological Resolution, at this stage without such a discussion and decision.

Other Resolutions Adopted by the Central Plenum of the CPI(M) at Burdwan, April 5-12, 1968*

(a) Homage to Martyrs

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the brave martyrs who have fallen victims to police bullets in the recent struggles of the toiling people.

In West Bengal during the people's struggle against the imposition of the puppet Ghosh Ministry 14 people were shot dead.

In Kerala, Comrade C. P. Karunakaran of Kuttoor in Cannanore district was murdered by Congress goondas on Kerala Bandh Day in September last.

In the struggle of the tribal people of Srikakulam (Andhra) for land, six girijans have been shot dead.

In the struggle of the tribal people of Tripura against deprivation of their land, one brave Tripuri was killed by the police.

In the struggle of poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Champaran district in Bihar for land, one peasant was killed by the police.

During the struggle of the agricultural labourers of Tanjore district in Tamilnad, one agricultural labourer was shot down by the police.

In the struggle of the textile workers of Modinagar in U.P., six workers were shot down by the police.

The Plenum pledges that it will keep the memory of these

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brave martyrs green and will carry forward the cause for which they fell.

(b) Homage to Martin Luther King

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is shocked at the dastardly murder of Martin Luther King, leader of the American Negroes. Martin King had dedicated his whole life to awakening his entire people against the centuries of inhuman racial oppression and exploitation and the denial of human rights that have been the lot of the Negro population in the U.S.

The monopolist ruling class of America who have been pursuing this policy of inflicting inhuman suffering on the Negro population in the interest of their super-profits, have also used them as cannon-fodder in their dastardly war against the brave people of Vietnam. During the last few years, the entire Negro population of the U.S. has risen in wave after wave of mass revolt in all the cities of the U.S., against these policies of the ruling class, which has rocked the whole of America.

The murder of Martin Luther King is an attempt by the monopolist ruling class of America to strike terror into the hearts of the Negroes and suppress their revolt.

The Plenum is confident that this cowardly murder of Martin King will only further steel the determination of the brave Negro population and spur on their surging tide of revolt against oppression and exploitation.

The Plenum pays its homage to the memory of this brave son of the Negro people, Martin Luther King.

(c) On Repression against People's Struggles

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the brutal repression let loose by the Congress Government in different parts of the country against the people fighting for elementary demands.

In Tripura, the tribal people are being suppressed by brutal

lathi-charges, tear-gassing and firings, and large-scale arrests and detentions when they resist forcible grain-levies from small peasants; when they resist eviction from their traditional cultivation plots; and when they demand that their traditional tribal lands be preserved for themselves by applying Schedule V of the Constitution. The Plenum demands the release of all the persons arrested and detained, specially Comrades Dasarath Dev, Biren Dutt, former MPs, and Nripen Chakravarti and other leaders of the Tripura people and withdrawal of all warrants.

In Andhra Pradesh, in Srikakulam district, the tribal peasants whose lands were seized by landlords from outside, who are subjected to usurious rent and forced labour, are fighting for better wages, for cheap grains, food and for restoration of their land. The Government has let loose a reign of terror to bully the girijans, raping women, looting and destroying houses, cordoning the area and preventing even foodgrains from reaching the people; the landlords and police have already shot and killed six of the girijans and have arrested nearly 800 persons and are hunting for the Communist leaders of the girijans. The Plenum demands an immediate end to this police terror and that the demands of the girijans be immediately conceded.

In the Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts of the State, the landlords have let loose their goondas to attack and murder kisan workers. Already they have murdered 15 persons. In some of the cases where the people tried to defend themselves, the police came to the protection of the goondas and opened fire on the people. Over 4,000 people have been involved in cases. The Plenum demands an immediate end to this police-landlord terror, the release of all arrested persons and the withdrawal of all cases.

Repression was let loose in Champaran and Purnea in Bihar on the poor peasants who want to cultivate wastelands lying adjacent to forests. Their leaders are being arrested and in Champaran one person was shot dead. Repression has been let loose also on the adivasis in Sagabara, in the Broach

district of Gujarat who are struggling to recover land illegally snatched away from them by landlords.

In Tanjore district in Madras, one agricultural worker was shot dead and large-scale arrests of agricultural workers were made when they were fighting for their wage demand.

The Plenum demands that all this repression be put an end to and the just demands of the peasants be conceded.

In West Bengal, specially in some districts of North Bengal and 24-Parganas district, peasants who are conducting their struggles for land and other class demands and against eviction are subjected to severe repression and brutal attacks from jotdars and Congressmen with the help of the police. Hundreds of peasants and their leaders have been arrested in various places, specially in the Siliguri and Sonarpur areas.

The Plenum demands the release of all political detenus and release of peasants and withdrawal of all cases in Sonarpur, Siliguri, Naxalbari and other places, specially since police reports during the U.F. Ministry were to the effect that the cases in Naxalbari were not of a serious nature.

Thousands of people were arrested and brutal repression launched against the people, specially in places like Calcutta city, Rampurhat, Uttarpara, Krishnanagar, etc., during the popular struggle against the traitor P. C. Ghosh Government. A number of these people belonging to various political parties are still being detained under the Preventive Detention Act and are even denied the status of political prisoners.

Workers all over the country fighting for their demands have had to face heavy repression. Police firing have killed six workers in Modinagar in U.P., five firebrick workers in Mugma in Bihar and the police opened fire on Mysore Knitting workers in Bangalore. Arrests, victimization etc., have become rampant in the private collieries in the Dhanbad district of Bihar and in West Bengal, in Durgapur and Belghoria and on engineering and tea garden workers in West Bengal; on transport workers at Calcutta and Bombay and textile workers in Punjab. The Plenum demands an end to this repression and redressal of workers' grievances.

A large number of State Government employees and Communist leaders were arrested in Jammu and Kashmir. There have been large-scale arrests of striking teachers in Bihar. Trade union leaders in public sector undertakings in Bangalore are being victimized for demanding D.A. at Central Government rates and hundreds of workers have been involved in cases. The Plenum demands the release of all arrested persons, withdrawal of all cases and reinstatement of the victimized.

In Assam, Comrade Suren Hazarika, Secretary of the Jorhat District Committee of the CPI(M), has been arrested and detained on the baseless charge that he is in contact with the Mizos and Nagas and is connected with subversive activities to set up an independent Assam. The Plenum repudiates this charge and demands his immediate release.

(d) On Newspaper Employees' Strike

Newspaper employees all over the country will be going on an indefinite strike from April 23 for the implementation of Wage Board decisions regarding journalist and non-journalist employees in the newspaper industry. The newspaper employers, among whom are some of the monopolists and big-bourgeois interests in the country, have refused to implement the Wage Board awards and have filed writ petitions and appeals in the Supreme Court to get the awards quashed.

The Government of India, which is both legally as well morally committed to the implementation of these awards, has so far completely failed to bring necessary pressure on the newspaper employers and has, in fact, indirectly encouraged the employers to defy the awards.

The employees in the newspaper industry, including working journalists, have thus been compelled to go on strike for enforcement of their just demand. The Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) fully supports the demands of newspaper employees and strongly urges upon the Government to take stern measures against newspaper employers who are refusing to implement the Wage Board

award. This Plenum extends full support to the newspaper employees in their just struggle against the newspaper barons.

(e) On Communal Riots

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) notes with concern the way in which the reactionary forces backed by vested interests, and on many occasions encouraged directly by the Jana Sangh and R.S.S., by sections of the Congress leaders, are letting loose communal riots to disrupt democratic forces, and thus achieve their nefarious purpose.

The Ranchi and other communal riots in Bihar during U.F. Ministry days; the Meerut communal riots in U.P. during Sheikh Abdullah's visit, and now in Allahabad; the Karimganj and Tinsukia riots in Assam; the riots in Malegaon, Sholapur, Aurangabad and Bhir in Maharashtra; in Ratlam and Mandsaur in Madhya Pradesh; in Chikmagalur in Mysore; and the latest outbreak of communal rioting in Calcutta city, all against the Muslim minority, go to show the conspiracy of reactionary forces.

In Kerala, near Trivandrum, a communal riot between the Christian and Muslim communities was engineered by reactionary forces to discredit the Kerala U.F. Ministry.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) expresses its sympathy to the victims of these communal riots. It calls upon the democratic forces to stand by the minority communities and defend their just and democratic rights against the onslaught of reactionary forces.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic forces and parties to unitedly fight the reactionary forces, who by resorting to communal riots hope to disrupt and destroy the democratic movement. The conspiracy of these reactionary forces must be defeated so that the democratic life and even national integrity can be preserved.

(f) 150th Birth Anniversary of Karl Marx

This Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all Party units and members

to celebrate befittingly the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx, founder of Communism, great revolutionary leader of the international working class, who raised the banner of proletarian internationalism, one of the greatest men of all times. The all conquering power of his doctrine evolved in collaboration with another great man, Engels, and enriched by the teachings of Lenin, is seen today in the triumph of socialist revolution over one-third of the world. Marxism-Leninism—the theory and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat—has become the unfailing guide of the world working class striving for proletarian revolution. The masses in advanced and backward countries alike are rallying round its banner to achieve their final emancipation and establishing a world without exploitation and war. In the final phase of its inevitable advance this revolutionary doctrine is being threatened from within the working class movement.

The revisionists deny the historical necessity of proletarian revolution, create illusions about peaceful co-existence of exploiting and exploited classes, about the peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism, and the peaceful liberation of colonies; they deny the historical necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and its proletarian class character, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for the rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organization and above all of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society. The policies of the revisionist leaders of the CPSU lead to the disarming of the revolutionary forces at a time when their victory is drawing near.

It is, therefore, essential that a relentless and principled fight is waged against this new challenge, and the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine maintained and its revolutionary essence preserved and strengthened so that it continues

to guide the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations to final victory.

While revisionism constitutes the main danger in the working class movement, Marxist-Leninists cannot ignore the rise of certain Left trends which also depart from Marxism. Pretending to fight revisionism, this trend in reality lands itself into subjectivism, and assails Marxism-Leninism from the Left.

The celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Marx takes place in the midst of a gigantic struggle to rescue the great doctrine from distortions inside the working class movement. It takes place at a time when the world bourgeoisie, incapable of resisting Marxism-Leninism's triumphant march frontally, are waging an ideological war against it by resorting to subterfuges, misrepresentation and distortion. In this they are aided and abetted by the revisionist heresies. The Plenum calls upon all Party members to accept this challenge and defend the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and maintain its revolutionary purity. Let the anniversary be the starting point for all Party members to go back to the writings of the great teacher, discipline their mind and plunge into the ideological battle to rout all distortions of Marxism.

(g) Riots between Different Nationalities

An alarming development recently in our country has been the resort by the reactionary elements to rousing national animosities which have in some cases led to riots and loss of lives and, above all, the disruption of the growing unity of the toiling people. The ruling Congress party has had a direct hand in this nefarious game.

The Central Congress Government with its unjust language policy, refusal to concede the demand for autonomy of the Mizos and Nagas, its wrong policy on Jammu and Kashmir, and denial of States' autonomy has been most guilty in creating ill-feelings among the people inhabiting various regions of the country.

The denial of equality of all languages and the imposition

of Hindi by the Congress rulers has led to anti-Hindi agitation in a number of States especially Tamilnad.

The legitimate opposition of the Hindi-speaking people to English being imposed on them is being sought to be diverted by interested groups to champion the cause of imposing Hindi on other linguistic groups, while in Tamilnad, in the name of fighting the imposition of Hindi, some groups are trying to divert it in support of English and to oppose even voluntary learning of Hindi. Thus the unity of the toiling masses and the integrity of India is being threatened.

In Assam, a Lachit Sena has come into existence, which engineered riots against non-Assamese under the slogan of "Assam for Assamese". Further, it is well-known that the State Congress rulers who are vehemently against giving the hills people the autonomy which is their legitimate right, had a hand in engineering these riots.

In Bombay, the Shiva Sena which has grown under Congress patronage has been raising the worst chauvinistic feelings in the name of protecting the interests of Maharashtrians in jobs and services, and directly attacking the workers and employees from Kerala and other South Indian States. Encouraged and helped by the police, the Sena indulges in intimidating and terroristic activities against the workers from South India. The real purpose of this chauvinistic campaign was soon revealed when the leaders of the Shiva Sena declared opposition to Communism and our Party as their main target. This chauvinism is intended to split the ranks of Bombay's multi-lingual working class, weaken it in its immediate fight against the capitalists, undermine its class unity and pave the way for a direct attack against the Communist Party. The raids on working class meetings and Left trade union offices and the constant propaganda against our Party clearly reveal the real class purpose behind this chauvinism.

The Congress rulers of Maharashtra and Mysore are trying to pit the people of these States against one another in the name of border disputes, river waters disputes, etc.

In West Bengal, the reactionary vested interests and a section of Congress leaders are making attempts to create ill-feelings and incite riots between the Bengali population and people from other parts living in the State. In some other States also, the slogan of "sons of the soil should get jobs" is being made the cover to divert the wrath of the people against growing unemployment created by Congress policies to people from other States.

The growing unity of the toiling people against Congress misrule is alarming the reactionary ruling classes and they are resorting to various tactics to divert the attention of the people. Communal riots, regional ill-feelings are all being organized by them to disrupt the growing unity of the toiling people.

The Left and democratic forces in the country have to foil this game, fight against tyranny and for justice for all people, and safeguard and strengthen the unity of the Indian people to rally them in a solid phalanx against Congress misrule.

(h) Defeat Congress in West Bengal

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the glorious struggle and the victory of the people of Bengal. The Plenum hails the working class of the State who went on a 48-hour general strike immediately after the dismissal of the U.F. Ministry on November 21 and again on November 30, the peasants and intelligentsia, men and women and especially the heroic part the students and the youth played, under the leadership of the U.F. of various democratic parties against the illegal dismissal of the U.F. Ministry by the Central Congress Government nominated I.C.S Governor, Mr. Dharma Vira, and against the illegal defectors' Ghosh Ministry.

They have forced the Central Government to dismiss the Ghosh Ministry and order mid-term poll to seek anew the people's verdict. This was the course which our Party had been advocating from July 1967 when the Congress had

started to obtain defectors by hook or crook to topple the U.F. Ministry.

Now, the attention of the people and of the democratic parties, especially of those who had been constituents of the U.F. Ministry and U.F. struggle, would naturally be directed to preserve and strengthen the unity among the U.F. constituents to give a crushing defeat to the Congress as had been done in Kerala in 1967. The efforts of the Congress to create a third front, by winning some constituents or other of the U.F. Ministry must be defeated. A situation like that of 1967, when democratic forces had got split into two fronts, and allowed the Congress to run away with nearly 80 seats more than it should have got, must be prevented from developing.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) is confident that this can be achieved. The constituents of the U.F. Ministry are aware from their own experience that with regard to every step that the U.F. Ministry took to alleviate the sufferings of the people in Bengal, the Central Government with all powers concentrated in their hand and with the help of bureaucracy came in the way of their implementation. They realize that a radical change in Centre-State relations is necessary. The U.F. Ministry along with the people must fight and force the Central Government to give more financial resources to the State Government and allow total control over the bureaucracy and drastically curb the power of the Central Government to interfere with the States' autonomy.

For this purpose, the 18-point programme must be concretized in much greater detail, and the people are to be educated from now on and during the whole election campaign and later about the necessity of constant mass pressure and struggle to make the Central Government concede these rights, while our whole Party Programme should continue to be placed before the people.

Similarly, U.F. parties must have realized that the Congress raises the bogey of anti-Communism to undermine the solidarity of democratic forces and even split certain sections

from the U.F.; and certain individuals and sections being carried away by such bogey or even showing vacillations, had cost the U.F. Ministry heavily. Similarly, it must also have been realized that any vacillation to defend the just demands and struggles of peasants against landlords, and of workers against their employers, led such elements later to be influenced by the anti-Communist bogey raised by the Congress and the vested interests.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) is also confident because, before the constituents of U.F. Ministry the people's verdict on relative strength of parties in the U.F. Ministry, as expressed by 1967 elections, is there and nobody can lay exaggerated claims to seats. The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) approves the general principles advanced by our West Bengal unit for allotting seats in the coming election. The seats won by different parties, and the seats where they stood second to the Congress, should go to that party concerned. Those seats in which defections took place should be considered by all parties together before allotment, particularly because in many of the areas concerned the party or parties in the name of which the seats were won have no organizational hold and mass influence. People must be taken into confidence from time to time regarding the standpoints of different parties on the seats which are in dispute.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic parties and forces to forge unity in action not only to defeat the Congress during the elections, and restore the popular U.F. Ministry with greater stability and with greater unity of purpose, but also to wrest more powers for the States from the Centre which alone will enable them to give substantial relief to the people and defend democracy for the people.

(i) On Centre's Conspiracy against Kerala

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) reviewed the economic and political situation that is fast developing in Kerala. The Central Government has been

persistently failing to fulfil its commitments to supply 70,000 tons of rice on the basis of which the entire State was put under statutory ration of six oz. of rice per adult per day, when the single zone system was established, with the result that the people of Kerala have been forced to satisfy themselves on a ration of three oz. of rice per day for the last ten months.

On top of it, the Central Government has withdrawn the subsidy on rice, and increased the price for its supplies. If the Kerala Government were to subsidize this increase in price for the rice to be supplied by the Central Government, the State Government would incur an expenditure of Rs. 25 crores per annum.

The CPI(M) has been staunchly advocating a national food policy under which the Central Government should insist on every State procuring all the surplus foodgrains from the top ten per cent of the big landlords and ensure a minimum ration of 14 oz. per adult per day through a system of statutory rationing in all urban and deficit and distress areas.

The Central Government, guided by the interests of landlords, hoarders and profiteers, has refused to undertake such a national food policy. On the other hand, it has used the Single-State food zone to starve the people of Kerala and to discredit the U.F. Government and to topple it.

In these conditions, the only course left open to the State Government is to demand that it be allowed to purchase in any part of India or outside the necessary quantity of rice and other foodgrains and discharge its elementary responsibility of supplying the people of the State a minimum of 12 oz. foodgrains per day on a no-profit-no loss basis.

The Central Government refuses to accept this demand also. Under the circumstances, the C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) appreciates the policy of the Kerala Government not to raise the retail price of rice in the ration shops, despite the heavy increase in the supply price by the Government of India. The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) wishes to point out that this position cannot continue for long. Very soon, the alternative

posed before the State Government by these diabolical policies of the Central Government will be either it will be forced to increase the price of rationed rice or to face financial bankruptcy within the next four months.

It is highly improper for any democratic party and particularly for a revolutionary working class party like the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to be forced into such a helpless position of acquiescing in the supply of three oz. of rice ration and that, too, by additional price rise while remaining in the Ministry. The continuation of our Party in the coalition Government, under these conditions without leading the struggle of the entire people of Kerala against the Centre for adequate food at reasonable prices would be compromising its position in the extreme. Hence the C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) is of the opinion that our Party together with its allies in the U.F. Government of Kerala will have to confront the Central Government, irrespective of the consequences.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) also wants to underline the fact that the refusal of the Central Government to meet the increased cost of D.A. of low-paid State Government employees, of local bodies and teachers, as well as its refusal to allow adequate financial resources to the State Government has made it impossible for the State Government to meet the most elementary needs of the people. All this has made a mockery of States' autonomy.

With a view to covering up the Central Government's deliberate policy of physical starvation of the people and imposing financial bankruptcy on the State, the local Congress at the bidding of the vested interests and the Central Congress leaders, has now let loose a virulent campaign of vilification against the State Government. False charges of breakdown of law and order, of courts and the judiciary being brought under contempt, and Party's volunteers being trained for military purpose are freely bandied about.

It must be noted that while the Congress Government at the Centre is following a policy of starving the people of

Kerala, the Youth Congress of the State, obviously under the inspiration of the Central and State Congress leaders, has launched on a programme of so-called satyagraha against the State Government on the issue of rice supply.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) warns that this vicious attempt at starving the people, of starving the State financially, to make it go bankrupt, and the campaign of vilification is part of a diabolical conspiracy to discredit the U.F. Government, to topple it. The conspiracy must be smashed by the unity and will of an awakened people.

The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic forces in India, and particularly to the parties in the U.F., to rise to the occasion and rouse the people to the grave dangers facing them and prepare them for the struggle in defence of their food, the right to their democratic Government and States' autonomy. It directs all Party units, and especially the Party units in Kerala, to forthwith launch a mighty mass campaign and mobilize the people for these great tasks.

**Statement of the
Central Committee of the CPI(M),
Placed before the Central Plenum
at Burdwan on Cultural Revolution in China**

Several comrades are raising the question as to what our attitude is towards the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and why a section on this subject is not included in the present Draft of the Ideological Resolution. Comrade M. Basavapunniah, in consultation with members of the Polit Bureau, had written an article in *People's Democracy*, explaining our stand towards it. The Central Committee, subsequently, endorsed it, stating that it would be our official stand, until further comprehensive discussion and decision is taken on the whole question. Hence, it would be incorrect to include this topic in our Ideological Resolution, at this stage without such a discussion and decision.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 21, 1968. This Central Plenum was held on April 5-12, 1968. This relates to the Ideological Document covered under Item No. 17 of this Volume.

Report of the Debate on Ideological Resolution of the CPI(M) Adopted at the Central Plenum at Burdwan, April 5–12, 1968

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), on April 11, adopted the Draft on ideological questions with some amendments proposed by the Central Committee. Of the total 207 delegates attending the Plenum, 162 voted for the Draft, 27 against, and 9 remained neutral. The nine amendments proposed by the Central Committee were to strengthen some of the formulations in the Draft regarding the contributions of National Liberation Struggles in the present day world, the role of Stalin, the question of Yugoslav revisionism, and the issue of unity in action of the socialist camp in Vietnam.

After three days of general discussion on the Draft, in which 41 delegates participated, the Plenum on April 10 rejected a major amendment moved in the form of alternate drafts by some comrades from Andhra Pradesh. Twentytwo delegates voted for their documents while 158 delegates voted against them and thirteen remained neutral out of a total 207 delegates.

Among major amendments pressed to vote and were defeated by the Plenum were those :

—Demanding deletion of the entire section on Unity in Action which received 45 votes in favour, 153 voting against the amendment;

—Stating that the revisionism in a concentrated form in all actions of the CPSU leadership was endangering world

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 21, 1968.

revolution. This amendment secured 52 votes in favour, with the majority voting against it.

Demanding the deletion of the sentence in the Draft which states that "our criticism of the compromising and collaborationist policies pursued by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state does in no way imply the totally erroneous idea that the Soviet Union has become an ally of U.S. imperialism or is working for sharing world hegemony with American imperialism and for the division of spheres of influence in the world, as this is tantamount to nothing short of placing the Soviet Union outside the socialist camp." This amendment received 37 votes in favour and the Plenum by an overwhelming majority retained the sentence in the final document.

The demand that the Chinese Cultural Revolution should find a place in the document was not pressed after the C.C. statement that the Party's stand on the question had been explained in M. Basavapunnaiah's article in *People's Democracy* and inclusion of the topic in the document without further comprehensive discussion and decision would be incorrect.

Two main points of controversy on which attention was focused for a major part of the discussions were the characterization of the leadership of the Soviet Union as allies of U.S. imperialism for world domination and following from it, the question of united action by the entire socialist camp on the specific issue of fighting U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

The entire Plenum was unanimous that the Soviet leadership was a modern revisionist leadership and by its policies had done immense harm to the world Communist movement, and the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism.

The alternate drafts had taken up the position that the revisionism of the Soviet leadership had reached to such proportions that they had become the political representatives of bourgeois elements in the Soviet Union. They were

collaborating with U.S. imperialism and had become its allies in the global strategy of world domination and were rapidly restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union.

To substantiate their case, they advanced the following arguments : Inside the Soviet Union material and profit incentives had been introduced; centralized planning is being undermined; the extent of personal holdings of collective farm peasants had been increased and they were allowing foreign monopolists to set up industrial units inside the Soviet Union, and at the same time were collaborating with private capital in foreign countries to establish joint ventures; the Soviet leaders say their state is not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a people's state and the Communist Party a people's Party.

Externally, the Soviet leaders had with their policies of collaboration with U.S. imperialism, refused to give necessary and adequate aid to the Vietnamese people, betrayed the struggles of the Congo and Cuba and of West Asia; on the question of the nuclear non proliferation treaty they had joined hands with U.S. imperialism to safeguard their nuclear monopoly and exert pressure on the non-nuclear states, all their agreements with the U.S. imperialists were designed to contain China and hand over the national liberation movements bound hand and foot to the imperialists.

Since the Soviet leadership had become an ally of U.S. imperialism and was collaborating with it for world domination, and since, according to them, it refused to consider U.S. imperialism as an enemy, they held that China was correct in rejecting united action with the Soviet Union on the question of Vietnam.

The Plenum by overwhelming majority rejected this understanding as un-Marxian and totally erroneous and upheld the standpoint of the Central Committee as put forward in its Draft.

According to this, the Soviet leadership was undoubtedly following revisionist policies, doing immense damage to the world Communist movement and betraying anti-imperialist

struggles. But it was wrong to conclude that there was already a developed bourgeois class in the Soviet Union whose political representatives were in the leadership of the Party and state. The Soviet Union is still a socialist state and a part of the socialist camp.

Also there was no such economic class in the Soviet society, like the imperialist bourgeoisie of the Western countries, which needed foreign markets and exploitation for its existence. Collaboration with U.S. imperialism because of revisionist policies was one thing, but the Soviet Union itself becoming an imperialist country was a totally different thing.

While developments in the Soviet Union and some of the East European socialist states needed further study, the Plenum, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist analysis of classes in Soviet society, rejected the totally wrong conclusion that the Soviet Union was allying with U.S. imperialism for world domination. The Plenum upheld the C.C.'s understanding that the Soviet Union was still a socialist country, that restoration of capitalism had not already taken place in the Soviet Union, but if the leadership pursued its present course there was the danger of the restoration of a new type of capitalism there.

On the question of united action also, the Plenum upheld the view that while there could be no unity between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists in the same Party, unity of action between the Soviet Union and China cannot be forbidden in principle on the ground that revisionists are at the head of the Soviet state. In the context of the grim struggle being waged by the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and the U.S. aggression on the socialist state in North Vietnam, there is urgent need for united action by the socialist camp as a whole to beat back the aggressor.

But, the Plenum held, such united action had been made difficult by the collaborationist policies of the Soviet leadership, its anti-China postures and actions and tardiness in giving the necessary aid to liberation struggles. Mutual confidence

which had been lost because of wrong Soviet policies and actions had first to be restored, particularly since the joint action in the present case means military action. The Plenum thus placed the responsibility for the absence of joint action in Vietnam squarely on the shoulders of the Soviet revisionist leadership while at the same time disagreeing with Chiga for ruling out united action with the Soviet state in principle on the ground that the revisionists were heading the state.

With the wrong conclusion about the Soviet Union not being a socialist state which in fact meant the denial of the existence of the socialist camp as the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries supporting it were put out of its pale, the alternate viewpoint had challenged the entire concept of the new epoch in which the correlation of forces on a world scale had changed vastly in favour of socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

Once the concept of the new epoch was challenged, it was inevitable that the basis of the Party Programme adopted in 1964 was also challenged as that Programme was based on the ideological understanding of the new epoch and the possibilities it had opened up. The alternate viewpoint characterized India's independence as "formal", wanted a change in the definition of the class character of the Indian state stating that it was a state of the big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie and not a bourgeois-landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie; wanted to change the characterization of the stage of the Indian revolution since, according to them, the basic contradiction in India is between U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the one side and the country as a whole on the other. In the process of challenging all this, they also rejected the concept of socialist aid to backward countries saying it only facilitated further U.S. penetration into these countries. They also challenged any such foreign policy as non-alignment and also challenged the united front tactics of the Party.

The Plenum rejected this entire understanding as a departure from Marxism-Leninism and upheld the Programme and other basic documents of the Party.

It held that Indian independence was not “formal” as the alternative drafts made out, nor was it “full and complete” as the Dangeite revisionists tried to make out but that the Indian ruling classes had been able to utilize the political independence won to strengthen themselves and to develop to a limited extent an independent economy because of the new favourable correlation of forces in the new epoch.

It held that the Indian state was a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie, the main contradiction in Indian society today was that between the bourgeois-landlord Government and the people and as such the Indian revolution was in its second stage, i.e., the agrarian stage. The Plenum came to the conclusion that the Party’s participation in the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala has strengthened the Party and popular movements of the two States.

It held that, while the revisionists were wrong in saying that socialist aid would help India to develop an independent economy, socialist aid will help the ruling classes to develop industries to a certain extent and to strengthen their position to bargain with the imperialists.

Thus by rejecting the erroneous, un-Marxist positions on the controversies in the international Communist movement and on the question of the strategy and tactics of the Indian Revolution, the Plenum becomes a landmark in the history of our people’s struggle for democracy and socialism.

Biggest Ever Rally on Conclusion of Central Plenum, of the CPI(M) at Burdwan*

The mercury had shot beyond 104°F and a scorching sun glared ruthlessly on Burdwan on April 12, 1968. Yet, the streets that are normally deserted at that hour were full of people.

Here is a detachment of volunteers with red caps and red scarves marching to their posts. Now comes a demonstration from Bihar—most of them agricultural workers. They have come from Shahjahanpur of Monghyr district and from Bhagalpur district, their *lotas* and napkins tied on the traditional staves. From some of them fly Red Flags. From Kanchrapara in the district of 24-Parganas have come some 300 working men and women in a chartered bus—they are now on their way to one of the three points from where three central demonstrations are to start for the Camping Ground.

One of these points is on the banks of Krishnasayar, a vast tank flanking the Burdwan University and its Boys' Town. More processions arrive there : From Durgapur, Kanksa, Budbud, Ondal—all of them in Burdwan district itself. The workers of Sen Raleigh of Asansol are there also—they cannot be missed because of the colourfulness of their demonstration with banners, cut-out portraits and Red Flags.

In almost all the demonstrations, women form considerable

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section—women workers from the collieries, peasant mothers with their babies, working women from the middle classes, old women and young bashful brides.

There are smaller demonstrations galore and it is a tough job for the volunteers astride cycles and wielding megaphones to marshall all of them into position in the main demonstration that is yet to form itself for the start.

Despite the precautions taken by the authorities to avert a probable traffic jam on the bustling Grand Trunk Road, it has, meanwhile, turned into a sort of village fair with bullock carts, seven-ton trucks and long-distance buses vying with each other for a little space to escape the jam and in the process creating a situation worse than before. Volunteers and traffic policemen straighten things up when the processions start coming along the G.T. Road.

Processions have come from Calcutta in chartered buses—all the names of the local committees can be spotted on the banners they display. So have processions come from the districts of Howrah and Hooghly. Here is a procession from Memori composed mostly of peasants—Bengali and adivasi. They shout slogans—"Land to the tiller." Before the refrain dies down shoots forth another—this one from another procession following them, a frail young man with his veins standing out in the excitement leading it.

Now comes the procession of the delegates, headed by A. K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, Promode Dasgupta and others. Most of the 207 delegates and 18 observers from all over the country are here—except the few who had to leave for urgent jobs in their States. It wends its way to the Camping Ground, near the Railway Station on the G.T. Road, very slowly. This leisurely pace is not to the liking of the demonstrators who shout slogans louder than before. Going slow on account of the traffic jam meant retention of the energies they had come prepared to spend on this historic occasion of the Central Committee Plenum and they cannot be dissuaded. By the time the delegates' procession reaches the Ground, the sun is almost setting. Fortunately there is a separate

enclosure for the delegates, otherwise they would not have been able to even stand on the G.T. Road which has already been occupied by thousands. There is literally no place enough anywhere on the Ground for even a little boy to stand. Every single newspaper had to call it the biggest rally in Burdwan.

At one corner of the Ground stands a bookstall of the National Book Agency. There is a crowd there— some of them thumbing books and pamphlets. According to one of the salesmen, the buyers at the stall were mostly those who had come from the villages and the industrial centres and they bought political literature in most cases, both Bengali and Hindi.

The meeting starts with an IPTA squad from Calcutta and another of the Sen-Raleigh workers singing rousing songs. Comrade Subodh Chowdhuri, a veteran revolutionary of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case and now Secretary of the Burdwan District Committee of the Party, presides over the rally.

Members of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee were presented to the audience before comrade Benoy Chowdhuri welcomed the leaders on behalf of the Reception Committee.

General Secretary P. Sundarayya was the first speaker. Tracing the history of the Party from 1964 when it threw out the revisionists as well as the issues that faced the international Communist movement, he said that the C.C. Plenum has been able to clinch these issues and take a stand on them. The Big Business controlled Press tried to disrupt and slander our Party. Mr Chavan tries to implicate us in anything that happens anywhere in India. They also hoped that the Party would split over the ideological issues now. But after nearly nine months of discussion, the Party has been able to preserve and strengthen its unity while taking an unequivocal stand on the ideological issues.

On the basis of our own experience, our Party has been able to criticize the Soviet Party, the Party of Lenin who built the first Workers' State and socialism. When the present

leaders of the CPSU departed from Marxism-Leninism, we said you are going wrong.

The great Communist Party of China, which had shown to the backward countries how to liberate themselves and start building socialism and from whom we have also to learn a lot, did the correct thing when they boldly stood up against modern revisionism and the leadership of the CPSU. We have to and we did acknowledge that. But today when the same Party comes with certain formulations with regard to the situation in India, we are unable to accept them. Similarly, we are unable to accept the Chinese Party's rejection of unity in action on the issue of Vietnam.

Radio Peking has been letting loose barrage against our Party Programme and against our Party leaders. It even went to the extent of saying that the United Front Governments of West Bengal and Kerala have been suppressing the people. We then have to regretfully say that Radio Peking does not know the situation in India. We adopted the Party Programme on the basis of our own understanding of our own situation and the events of the last three-four years have shown that we have been correct. It is because of the correctness of the Party Programme that the popularity of the Party is on the increase despite attacks by the reactionaries.

The bourgeois Press, the Dangeites and the bourgeoisie expected us to join the anti-China chorus. We will not. We shall try to learn from the great Chinese Party whose contribution to Marxism-Leninism is immense, from their great revolution and with renewed confidence we shall go forward to show Mr. Chavan and others that it is not easy to suppress our people and its Party, the CPI(M).

The Burdwan session of the Plenum has given us confidence that our Party line is correct. With the people marching with us, no amount of slander and conspiracies will deter us from relentlessly fighting for the goal, concluded Sundarayya.

The next speaker, B. T. Ranadive, reminded the audience that it was through the actions of a party that the people

judged it. The clever enemies of the people are trying to disrupt the United Front by maligning our Party and there are many who are ready to oblige them. While it is our business to show to the Congress party that they have no place on the soil of the country, we should not forget that heaven will not appear on earth in case we gain all the seats. It will be only a step forward to the final battle between the oppressed and the oppressors when the people will have to fight for every single inch of advance.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad conveyed the greetings and good wishes of the people of Kerala to the people of West Bengal for the glorious struggle they launched against the Central Congress Government which got rid of the hated Congress PDF Ministry.

E. M. S. described at length the Centre's machinations to starve the people of Kerala and to incite them to rise in revolt against the U.F. Government. But the people are solidly behind the United Front Government.

"We hope that the people of West Bengal will inflict a still greater defeat on the Congress in the ensuing mid-term election than the Fourth General Elections. A United Front Government in West Bengal with our Party having a dominant place will go to strengthen the struggle of the people of Kerala against the Centre's machinations," E. M. S. concluded.

P. Rammurti explaining the decisions taken on the international issues, said, our differences with revisionists of the CPSU is that when the imperialists are committing aggression on a state of the socialist camp they are not mobilizing the people and the immense resources of the socialist camp to come in support of the heroic fighters of Vietnam. Had they done that the struggle of the people of Vietnam would have advanced further.

Jyoti Basu reminded the audience that it is not through the election that people can wrest power from the bourgeois-landlord rulers. Still we advocate taking part in the elections in order that we can utilize the limited opportunities of

the Constitution to get organized. It is only through organization that the people can hope to stand against the might of the ruling classes, he stressed.

The meeting over, the Prantik unit of the Calcutta IPTA staged a play, "Long March", which ended after midnight. The rally came to an end with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Preserve, Strengthen the United Front*

Editorial of the "People's Democracy", April 21, 1968

As the electoral struggle against the Congress approaches, serious efforts are made to undermine popular unity in West Bengal.

A development in this respect is the policy outlined by the National Executive of the BKD to which the West Bengal BKD headed by Sri Ajoy Mukherjee is affiliated. That Executive recently passed a monstrous resolution recommending virtual withdrawal of the BKD from the United Front with the slogan of fighting anti-national and anti-democratic forces. Among anti-national and anti-democratic forces it included our Party and the Communist movement in general. To provide a fig-leaf to their anti-Communism, the leaders coupled Communists with communalists— a familiar trick of all Congress leaders who know that anti-Communism alone gets easily exposed.

Following this, the West Bengal Executive adopted a resolution requesting the President of the all-India BKD to authorize Sri Ajoy Mukherjee to take appropriate means as and when necessary, to implement the National Executive's resolution in the context of the present political situation in West Bengal and mid-term election. It is known that BKD in West Bengal has not taken a decision to secede; on the other hand, it has stated that it would remain in the United Front; its representatives attended the meeting of the United Front and participated in the discussion. But all this does not remove the fact that by deciding to wait for a decision on the ques-

tion by its central leadership it has not yet rejected the all-India policy of fighting the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist movement in general; that it has not yet given a categorical reply that it regards every party in the United Front as fellow-fighter in the democratic fight against the Congress and not as an enemy. On the contrary, the President of the all India BKD, whose presence on the eve of the United Front meeting did not seem to be fortuitous, indulged in the usual type of Communist-baiting—so familiar in Congress and other anti-Communist circles.

Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha openly declared Communists to be among the enemies of his party. He said that sometimes it was necessary to join hands with the lesser evil by which he again meant our Party and the Communist movement. And then again he insinuated that our Party had extra-territorial loyalty and said, "In no case we can be a party to the activities of those who have extra-territorial loyalty". Sri Sinha further uttered the familiar cry for a third force of democratic and nationalist parties, i.e., an anti-Communist bloc playing at anti—Congressism but concentrating on anti-Communism and undermining the democratic movement and unity.

Such were the views and policies voiced by the BKD President on the eve of the United Front meeting without any dissent from the Bengal unit. In this background, the mere assurance to remain in the United Front falls far short of what is required of a firm constituent of the United Front.

It is not necessary to reply to everything that Sri Mahamaya Prasad says. Who will take his talk of fighting communalism seriously when this gentleman only recently headed a Ministry in which the Muslim baiting Jana Sangh was a partner? Who will take his talk of defending democracy seriously when it is known that in his capacity as Chief Minister he obliged his friend and patron, the Raja of Ramgarh, by withdrawing a number of civil cases against him?

It is known that since the formation of the all India BKD, there was a strong anti-Communist current in that organization,

because a number of its leaders had seceded from the Congress only after the elections for opportunist reasons and they were neither disciplined nor tamed by the democratic movement. The Bangla Congress, on the other hand, had to operate in the midst of mass upheavals in the State and in spite of vacillations, certain anti-Communist and anti-democratic leanings which reached their climax in the October episode, had to tune to the democratic movement.

In some of the parties of the United Front there are elements who do not take a firm stand against the Congress or the vested interests. In the name of fighting anti-Communism, they represent the vested interests—the big bourgeois-landlord outlook. It is these elements that vacillated at every step during the days of the United Front Ministry and began to utter anti-Communist slanders. When the Congress raised a cry about the breakdown of law and order, they vacillated and wanted the police to suppress the people and even went to the extent of getting the Ministry dissolved as on October 2.

The BKD is at present still in the United Front though there is vacillation and failure to dissociate from statements disruptive of the United Front. But there is no doubt that appreciation of the full weight of popular feeling for unity will tilt the balance against the vacillations and make the organization give up its present equivocal and anomalous stand. One thing is absolutely clear : It is essential that there should be unambiguous agreement on a minimum programme which should be spelled out in the clearest possible terms. Any party which hesitates to accept it or has reservations has no place in the United Front, unless the reservations are of a very minor character. The mid-term election coming the wake of jails, tortures and bullets is a serious battle to advance the interests and strength of the masses and every party must unhesitatingly commit itself before the people to push through the programme, whatever may be the opposition from the Congress and the vested interests.

In spite of the spate of anti-Communist propaganda recently

unleashed, our Party assures the people of West Bengal that it will do everything in its power to protect and strengthen the United Front without sacrificing the basic principles and objectives of the Front. Our Party is confident that given the vigilance and intervention of the people, all the parties in the United Front will come together to wage the common battle on the basis of a minimum programme. That is the wish and command of the people of West Bengal and no party worth its salt can resist it.

CPI(M)'s Mammoth Rally in Calcutta*

A dusty haze hovering over the fringe of the Monument Maidan blurred the visibility of the numerous processions that could not enter into the Maidan proper. They had to be content with whatever space they could find for themselves, for the Maidan overflowed to the bus routes and tram tracks and touched the bus stands on the Chowringhee. It even occupied the football ground on the north of the Monument despite the pavilions of the football clubs hindering their vision of the platform and rostrum.

It was one of the biggest meetings— and decidedly *the* most disciplined and organized— recently held in Calcutta. It was convened by the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M) on April 21, 1968 presided over by Jyoti Basu.

Processions came from the near-by localities, from the districts of Nadia, Midnapur, Maldah, Murshidabad. Some came in chartered buses, some came by train. Women formed a remarkable section of all the processions—women agricultural labourers, working women, refugee women and women from middle class homes of the city and suburbs.

A bevy of Red Flags with a giant one in the middle swayed majestically in the breeze from the backdrop of the platform. An IPTA squad began the rally with rousing songs and nearly three hours later the entire Maidan was lighted

*This report was published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 28, 1968.

up with torches lit by the multi lakh audience. And that announced the end of the historic occasion.

Muzaffar Ahmad, founder member of the Party on being requested to address the audience appealed to them to rally round the CPI(M) yet closer.

P.^o Ramamurti, member of the Polit Bureau of the Party, congratulated the people of West Bengal for the magnificent struggle that they waged for three months to dislodge the traitor Congress-PDF clique. Many laid down their lives, thousands went to jails—"it was reminiscent of Jalianwala-bagh"—and in the end the Congress Government at the Centre had to reckon with the fact that repression cannot cow down a determined people.

• The Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) met and discussed at Burdwan for eight days. People have been asking : What have you been discussing for all these days—philosophy, *atman* or *anatman*? The CC Plenum had been discussing the ideological differences in the international Communist movement. We Communists have a philosophy. We have to take stock of the world situation, class alignments and relations and against this background decide our course of action. That was what we did at Burdwan.

There was a time when the imperialists— British, French, Dutch and others— used to rule the world between themselves. But the face of the map is changing. Not only the Soviet Union but a number of other countries have gone the way of socialism. And in Asia, the most populous country in the world— China— has established socialism.

This is the era of decline of imperialism. In Africa, in Latin America, everywhere imperialism is getting a good thrashing. Everywhere the people are rising against imperialism— even in the United States the Negroes are rising against U.S. imperialism. We had to take note of all these things. All roads now lead to Communism— this is the teaching of history for the last few years. If the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the peace and justice loving peoples of the world can stand united the days of imperialism can be made even shorter.

That is why we could not but state that had the Soviet Union and China and the entire socialist camp stood firm and united and warned the U.S. imperialists that their aggression on another state of the socialist camp would mean facing the joint might of the socialist camp, the U.S. imperialists would not dare to continue the aggression in Vietnam:

The CPI(M) had an obligation to make its position clear to the international Communist movement. Besides, it also has to carve its own way for leading the Indian revolution. The CPI(M) emerged stronger than before, united ideologically, after the Burdwan Plenum which is unfortunate for its enemies, who expected to see it disintegrate and get disrupted.

Discussing the national situation at length, P. Ramamurti said that instead of learning from its own mistakes, the Government of India is bent upon pursuing the same wrong path. It wants to protect the profits of the employers, heaping more taxes on the people and in this way try to pass the burdens of the crisis, which is the creation of its wrong policies, on to the people.

But the people are not taking it lying down. Protests and struggles are mounting everywhere.

And to distract these mounting struggles they have revived the bogey of "anti-nationalism". It is not only the ruling classes that are afraid of their growing isolation. The U.S. imperialists are also mightily afraid of the phenomenal growth of the Communist movement in India. It is they who are buying up politicians and through them raise the anti-Communist bogey to isolate the CPI(M).

They tell the people that we are the agents of China, of Pakistan, and what not. When we say we want to give land to the tillers is it to the peasants of China that we want to give those lands or to the land hungry kisans of India? When we demand the confiscation of foreign monopoly capital in India, do we propose handing over the proceeds to the Government of China or to the people of India? We are the agents of the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes, the toiling people of India and are the enemies of imperialism, jotdars blackmarketeers and monopolists.

If one is to search for agents, one will have to find them in the parties of the ruling classes. It is the agents inside the Congress who are selling the country to the imperialists. It is the voice of America that one hears when a Masani speaks.

The people are struggling against the policies of the Congress. The struggle is not going to be easy. The vested interests have the state machinery—the army, the police, the judiciary, the bureaucracy—in their hands. But even all this will not save them from their final doom when all the 500 million people of India will rise against them. In this mighty and glorious struggle for the overthrow of the Congress regime and the establishment of a People's Democracy, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pledges to stand by the people whatever the sacrifice.

Promode Dasgupta, member of the Polit Bureau and Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee, said that we could not form a united front in 1967. The bourgeois Press began to sow pessimism and shout that the two Left fronts would make the victory of the Congress inevitable. It was only our Party which could assert that if we had correctly understood the mood of the masses as expressed in the valiant struggles they waged for food and other rights in 1966, the Congress would not have obtained a majority despite the existence of two contending Left.

The CPI(M) had declared that the allotment of seats should be on the basis of the verdict of the people in the last election. According to that verdict, we are prepared to fight for 98 seats—seats which we gained and where we came close second to the Congress—though we had our candidates in 135 seats last time.

This is not to the liking of some other constituents of the United Front. For instance, the Right Communists are not agreeable to this formula. They have advanced another theory that the allotment should be made on the basis of parliamentary votes obtained by a party. They won five parliamentary seats in West Bengal; in two of them they did not win a single Assembly seat, in two more they have lost and won

a seat each through election petitions and in only one have they won a Assembly seat. Even if their formula is accepted, how will seats be allotted to them on the basis of this? Then there has come another formula— allotment based on the proportion of votes received by a party. According to that, the CPI(M) is entitled to some 80 seats. But which 80 of the 280 seats will be allotted to us? There is no reply to this.

We have declared and we want to declare again that we will honour the verdict of the people and shall not be guided by any other party. Why is this difference in the matter of allotment of seats among the UF constituents coming up? It is because some of the parties are interested in getting the strength of the CPI(M) reduced.

There are in the United Front different parties who represented different class interests. How they reacted when the gherao movement gained momentum, when the peasants began to occupy illegally-retained land, has been seen by the people. There were even some parties whose all-India leadership began to say things which the State unit did not dare to say in regard to gherao etc. The people have also seen that there have even been attempts to topple the U.F. Government from within which would have taken place on October 2, 1967, and that the constituents of the U.F. stood divided on a number of important issues affecting the lives of the people. All these have gone to enhance the political consciousness of the masses.

Defeating the Congress in the election only will not solve problems. It will only help in consolidating the people's consciousness. Let us face the election and consolidate our consciousness to fight the machinations of the Congress Centre with greater unity and cohesion in our ranks, Promode Dasgupta concluded.

Polit Bureau member Jyoti Basu said that we are proud because the Congress and the reactionaries consider us to be their main enemies. We are attacked because we uphold the cause of the working class, the peasantry, the toiling millions. Not only they attack us politically, they attack us with long

detentions without trial. And now they have started raising the cry of banning our Party. They even tried to table a resolution in Parliament to that effect. The resolution could not be placed because of procedural irregularities. Yet they will continue to look for opportunities to ban our Party. But they forget that everytime they tried to suppress or malign our Party, the Party came out of such ordeal with still greater strength.

The Congress has brought the country to ruin during its 20-year rule. It has increased our dependence enormously on the imperialists. On the other hand, with the growing opposition it faces from the people, it has started butchering democracy within the country while taking recourse to communal and provincial riots and other divisive tactics to disrupt the ranks of the people.

But the heroic people are fighting and fighting hard. We are trying in our limited way to organize the people so that all these struggles can be led to the final fight for the overthrow of this bourgeois-landlord government and establishment of a People's Democracy.

Referring to the goings-on in the United Front in West Bengal, Jyoti Basu said that parties with different class affiliations are trying to minimize the capacity of the U.F. while at the same time trying to reduce our strength. Some of the parties of the U.F. have decided to dissociate themselves from the United Front. They have done so after due considerations of all that are involved in their decision. We hope that they will still see reason and remain in the U.F. But if they decide to break with us, it will not affect our resolution to fight the election along with the other constituents and preserve the unity of the United Front.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet, another member of the Polit Bureau, spoke in Hindi wherein he demonstrated the correctness of the formulations made in the Party Programme as proved by the events of the three-four years after the Seventh Party Congress.

The meeting ended with the entire audience singing the *Internationale* standing.

Savage Terror against Tribals in Srikakulam*

P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the CPI(M), sent the letter dated May 3, 1968 to the Prime Minister of India for her immediate intervention.

There is no law and order in the tribal area of Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh today. What prevails there is lawlessness and terror created by the landlords, traders and the police. The whole area has been turned into a huge concentration camp.

Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), has, in a letter, drawn the attention of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to this situation and requested her to intervene in the matter, order the immediate stopping of the savage repression, withdraw all police camps from that area and institute an impartial enquiry into the whole matter.

Comrade Sundarayya's letter to the Prime Minister from Vijayawada on May 3, 1968, reads in full :

Dear Prime Minister,

On behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), we wish to bring to your knowledge the grave situation that is created in the tribal areas of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, as a result of the terrible repression let loose by the State Government on the tribal people in that district.

In the recent period much publicity is given to the situation in the tribal areas of this district; interested parties have circulated stories of depredations of tribal people; the Press have given inspired reports of tribal revolt, led by the Communists; some reports have even gone to the extent of

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, May 19, 1968.

attempting to prove a Communist conspiracy to create a 'Naxalbari', to create liberated areas and so on.

The spokesmen of the Government have also dished out, on and off, stories of tribal outrages, most of which are based on surmises or fertile imagination and many are pure concoctions. What is behind all this propaganda barrage against the tribal people and against our Party is the pitiable attempt to hide the ugly and cruel face of landlord oppression, suppression and exploitation and the police protection given to these criminal landlords.

Hence, we wish to briefly give the picture of the situation in that area, as it has developed in the recent period.

Medieval Exploitation

The tribal population in Srikakulam district is about 200,000. They live in a primitive economy and almost away from the civilized world. Shifting cultivation is prevalent and collection and sale of forest produce like tamarind, roots, fruits, grass, etc., are their subsidiary occupations.

Many decades ago, traders and contractors from the plains penetrated into the tribal area and, in course of time, have become exploiters, the type of whom we find in medieval times. The land of the girijans has passed into the hands of these exploiters; debt bondage is still very common. Traders pay nominal prices for forest produce sold by the girijans, but charge exorbitant prices for the necessities of life like rice, oil, salt, clothes, etc., which they sell. Forced labour (*vetti*) is universal and false measures are common.

The method by which the trader usurps the tribal land is very ingenious : He advances some money on condition that the tribal peasant repay him in kind at a particular rate. If the grain the girijan delivers at harvest time is not sufficient to clear off the debt, the dues will be compounded. After a period, the accumulated arrears would increase to such a large amount that the land of the debtor will be taken possession of on usufruct mortgage. Actually, a girijan lost his ten acres of land and his draught animals, when the loan of

Rs.50 he had taken, in a few years, grew to Rs. 1500 even after annual payments for redeeming the debt were paid.

As per the Regulation of 1917, a non-tribal cannot acquire the land of a tribal without permission of the Government; so, when the land is taken possession of it will be shown as usufruct mortgage. The law is circumvented, the land of the girijans transferred to the trader, and the girijan becomes landless.

Added to this exploitation is the restriction put by the Government on shifting cultivation and the complete neglect by it of these areas. Shifting cultivation is prohibited, civic needs are ignored and social development forgotten. As a result, the tribal people now live as agricultural labourers, farm servants, bonded slaves and as just aboriginals without education, without culture and depleted in health and hygiene.

It is under such circumstances that the girijans began organizing themselves in order to agitate and secure amelioration of their abject conditions, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) helped them in organizing their union. Soon the union grew into an influential body; its nominee became the President of one Panchayat Samiti and its members secured many panchayats in another Panchayat Samiti. As a result, they were able to stop some inhuman methods of exploitation; they got back some of their lands; the daily wage rate of 25 paise was increased to four seers of paddy; farm servants' annual wage was increased from 800 kilos of paddy to 2000 kilos of paddy; three days' leave per month was also secured. The union also agitated for fair prices for forest produce and for reducing the interest rates. It stopped forced labour and illegal collections; and brought under cultivation cultivable waste land in the forest. It tried to stop smuggling of grain out of the tribal area.

Government Repression

The trader-cum-landlords used all methods to suppress this awakening among the tribals. They sent false reports to the

Government, and influenced the police. Corrupt local police officials, ever ready to serve these rich, powerful landlords, adopted a policy of repression.

A number of criminal cases were launched against the girijans : At least 1500 girijans were involved in one or another case, by the end of 1967. The manner in which the law was used to suppress the girijan movement can be seen from the conviction of 19 girijans on a charge of dacoity, while in fact, they were stopping smuggling of paddy to plains from the Agency area.

The Government, instead of welcoming this awakening and helping the girijans in their just, legal and constitutional movement, acted with a heavy hand to suppress it. They sent armed reserve police to the tribal areas, during the transplantation and harvesting periods to suppress the agitation of the girijans for fair wages, and to prevent the girijans from stopping smuggling as well as to prevent shifting cultivation.

They set up new police stations in the tribal areas, which soon turned into torture chambers. Prohibitory orders under Section 144 were issued for months at a stretch, once in about 200 villages and again now in about 500 villages.

Added to this, a vicious political propaganda was carried on by Congress leaders and by Government officials. State INTUC leaders issued utterly false public statements that a large number of Congress followers were murdered by the Communists in this tribal area, while not a single incident was mentioned.

A scare was created that girijans were planning to loot the weekly shandies.

During their tours, the PWD Minister, the Revenue Minister and the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad encouraged the landlords and gave a free hand to the police to suppress the girijan movement.

Even the Chief Minister, relying upon the coloured reports sent by corrupt police officials made statements on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and Council that lawlessness was being created by our Party in the tribal area.

Our Party, several times, represented to the Chief Minister and the district officers about the falsehood of the propaganda let loose against our Party and the girijans, about the landlord atrocities and about the partisan, pro-landlord steps the local police officials were taking. We demanded an impartial inquiry and suggested names also to the Chief Minister. But the prejudiced Government refused to retrace its policy and went ahead with it.

Naked Landlord Terror

The result is that the landlords, emboldened by the encouragement given by the Ministers, top Congress leaders and by the help they are getting from the police officers, have taken the law into their own hands and begun a reign of terror in the tribal area. This culminated in firing with guns and killing two girijans, Sri Kondagorri Mangulu and Sri Arika Koranna, who were proceeding to attend a tribal meeting on October 3, at Limbdi.

Since the beginning of this year, the Government has stepped up its policy of repression. Not a single landlord had been molested or beaten, not a single paisa of any trader has been lost, in all these years, but with the slogan of maintaining law and order in the tribal area, the Government has today turned the whole area into a big police camp. Virtual Police Raj is in sway in this area. A special Police Superintendent, a Deputy Collector and a Tahsildar with magisterial powers have been appointed and the whole area has been handed over to the armed police.

What type of law and order the Government is maintaining in the tribal area in Srikakulam district can be seen from some of the following instances.

Armed police daily swoop on the villages on the pretext of search for Communists and for arms. But what they do is assaulting people, looting properties and arresting girijans.

On March 3, they raided Bhurjaguda and beat all the people till blood spilled from their bodies. They raped a woman, Puyake Seethamma. An old woman of 70 years,

Sayamma. was beaten on the head by the butt of a rifle, and her head was broken. A child of five years was also severely beaten.

On March 4, they raided Peda Kharja and fired upon the people killing two and severely beating several people. The beating was so savage that Sri Ramulu, President of the Panchayat Board, vomitted blood. His son, aged ten, was also beaten and arrested. His wife was molested and her gold necklace was stolen. K. Vasanthulu was beaten severely and B. Adinarayana was beaten savagely resulting in breaking his hand.

The police raided Danda Sura and raped four women. Women who resisted were thrown on the ground and their sex organs pounded with rifle butts.

B. Paramma of Gumma was arrested and tortured for the fault that she protested against police excesses. She was put in handcuffs and kept in the police lock-up, she was tied to a window with a chain, even while the handcuffs were on her hands. (She is the woman who on October 31, 1967, was beaten and molested by some Congressmen in Labidi.)

In Kukkididi village, the reserve police forced all the girijans to work without wages in laying a road, and then arrested some of them. Many houses were looted.

A veritable siege is effected and nothing is allowed to come in or go out of this tribal area. A person who was ill was prevented from going to a hospital in another village. With difficulty, he was given permission for three days to go to the hospital. No girijan is allowed to go deep into the forest to look after his land or to collect forest produce. No person from the plains can go to the tribal area even for hawking daily necessities of life. No girijan is allowed to go to weekly shandies in the plains; no girijan can go from one village to another, even to attend social functions. Celebrating festivals is prevented, and congregation of people at festival times is prohibited. Almost all the goats and chicken in the area are swallowed by the police.

Looting, Beating, Molesting

We can narrate a whole series of looting, molesting, beating and other criminal acts committed by the police in the tribal area, all in the name of keeping law and order. Goats, chicken, cash were stolen by the police in Dakshini, Jammu, Jammuvalasa, Sirpi, Sirpivalsa, Poosakuda. Gudivaḍa, Moram, Boddidi, Vangara, Dorakoni, Allati, Kedarapuram, Samalguda, Kombandi, Vutachalam, Dombai, Rayaguda, Gottivada, Neradavalsa, Tikabayi, Luchimpeta, Kitigesu, Billukota, Vattada, Gujjuvai, Vodabayi, Mangalapuram, Gorati, Sikhabadi, Nidigallu and its hamlets, Peda Tolumenda, and in these villages, properties worth thousands of rupees were looted by the police.

Women were molested and raped in many villages. In Dakshini village, two girls, Chinnamma and Kantamma aged 16 were raped by 20 policemen : Lachamma, Pydamma, Lallamma and Radhamma were abducted and molested by stripping them naked. In Neelakanthapuram, three women were raped. In Sobja village, the daughter of Venchala Naidu was raped and she has not returned to the house for weeks.

Police and goondas who profess Congress faith, daily go to villages, beat people, threaten them with dire consequences and forcibly collect money and other valuables from them.

The village Munsiff of Sikabadi, Behara Madhusudana Rao, Krishnaiah, Lakkaguda Patrudu are leading in this illegal collection. Even the Raja of Kurupam is indulging in this. All these landlords and traders are threatening people that if they do not enrol as members of the Congress and if they do not donate to the Congress fund and if they do not fly Congress flags on their huts, they would be handed over to the police.

Moneylenders and traders have taken advantage of this and are threatening girijans that if they do not pay off the old loans— towards redeeming which payments worth several times the principal loan have already been made— they would be taken to police camps and tortured. Wages have been slashed, prices paid for forest produce cut down, prices

of paddy, rice and necessities of life increased, and exploitation in the old way has been redoubled.

This, in brief, is the situation in the tribal area in Srikakulam district. So far, about 800 girijans have been arrested and put behind the prison bars. Many more are being kept in police custody for weeks together. There is no law and order in that area today. It is lawlessness and terror created by the landlords, traders and the police. The whole area is turned into a huge concentration camp.

In order to cover this up, propaganda is let loose that the girijans were preparing, under the leadership of our Party, to wage a liberation struggle, and to create a 'Naxalbari' in Srikakulam district. Reports are being sent and published that large number of fire-arms have been recovered from the villagers in this area, and that the girijan 'armies' have been routed. But it is a very strange thing that with hundreds of guns and with an 'army', not a single shot was fired and not a single policeman was attacked by the girijans. Not a single landlord or a trader was molested, nor attacked nor harassed during all this period. But still such cock-and-bull stories are daily being dished out and are being circulated and the Press is fed with reports of recovery of fire-arms, etc.

If this type of repression continues, if such attacks on the girijans persist, we are afraid that the situation would worsen and that the life and economy of the tribal people would irreparably be damaged.

Hence we request you to intervene in the matter, order the immediate stoppage of the savage repression let loose on the tribal people in Srikakulam district, withdraw all police camps from that area and institute an impartial enquiry into the whole matter.

We also request that immediate and energetic steps be taken to stop the inhuman exploitation of girijans, to accept their demands and faithfully implement them. The tribals only want that their lands, usurped by the landlords, traders and other non-tribals, are restored to them, cultivable waste lands in the forest distributed to them for cultivation, out-

standing debts annulled, restrictions on shifting cultivation removed, fair wages fixed, fair prices paid for forest produce, essential commodities sold at controlled prices, forced labour severely punished, right to freely collect forest produce for constructing houses, for manufacturing farm implements, etc., recognized, and cheap credit provided.

They also want an autonomous area to be formed, where the tribals can administer their own affairs.

We earnestly hope that you will give your immediate and careful consideration to the points raised in this memorandum and do the needful.

Polit Bureau Resolutions on Kerala and West Bengal*

The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee of the CPI(M) adopted these resolutions in its meeting held in Calcutta on May 20-22, 1968

I. On Kerala

The Polit Bureau, in its meeting held between May 20 and 22nd, 1968, heard detailed reports from Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. K. Gopalan, C. H. Kanaran about the deteriorating food situation and the political developments in Kerala.

The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee had repeatedly pointed out the policy of physical starvation of the people of Kerala and of imposing financial bankruptcy on the State deliberately pursued by the Central Government and of the virulent campaign of vilification of the U.F. Ministry in general and of our Party in particular by the State Congress at the bidding of the vested interests and the Central Congress leaders, as part of a conspiracy to discredit the U.F. Government and topple it. Time and again, our Party had appealed to all the constituents of the U.F. and all democrats to mobilize the entire people of Kerala for struggle against this anti-people policy of starvation of the people and for defeating this conspiracy.

The systematic and calculated refusal by the Central Government to fulfil its commitment of supplying 70,000 tons of rice per month and supplying less than half of it, has forced the Kerala Government to cut the rice ration by half, i.e., to 3 oz. per day. On top of it the Central Government has enhanced the price of rice supplied by it with the result

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that the State Government with its meagre resources has to foot the bill of Rs. 13 crores to subsidize this meagre 3 oz. ration.

The Central Food Ministry has been shamelessly attempting to conceal these facts by putting out doctored figures of the quantity of foodgrains supplied by it to Kerala.

The Press statement of the Central Ministry of Food released on May 19, 1968, is the latest example of this trickery. Even these doctored figures show that the rice supplied to the State has fallen from 9.10 lakh tons in 1965 and 8.03 lakh tons in 1966 to 5.37 lakh tons in 1967. These figures, however, do not reveal the real extent of the cut imposed. In the first four months of 1967 the committed quantity of 70 thousand tons had been supplied. But, from May 1967, i.e., the next month after the U.F. Ministry took office, rice supplies were halved and in some months were less than half. The result was that whereas for the first four months of 1967, 2.80 lakh tons were supplied, for the remaining 8 months of the year when the U.F. Government was in office, the total rice supplies were only 2.59 lakh tons, i.e., a monthly average of about 30,000 tons.

Even during the first four months of 1968, which is tom-tommed as a year of bumper harvest, and despite the fact that rice stocks with the Centre have substantially increased, it has persisted in short supply. This conclusively and irrefutably proves that the Central Government has been motivated by political considerations, and with absolute callousness to the sufferings and privations of the people does not hesitate to use people's food supplies as a weapon against the U.F. Government.

Further, the Central Congress leaders have entrusted to the Congress party in Kerala the task of capitalizing on the people's discontent, generated by the drastically reduced ration, through a systematic slander campaign against the U.F. Government and our Party in particular, that the ration-cut is imposed by the U.F. Government. It has been engineering and organizing so-called movements and struggles against

the U.F. Government, making it the target of attack and shielding the real culprit, the Central Congress party and its Government.

The results of the recent municipal elections clearly indicate that the people's patience and the enormous reservoir of goodwill for and the confidence in the U.F. Government are under severe strain; they indicate the restiveness among the urban population because of the continued 3 oz. rice ration for the past one year, and as to how the Congress party tried to exploit it against the U.F. Government.

The parties of the U.F. cannot look on with helplessness and allow the Central Government to continue to starve the people of Kerala, and to allow this conspiracy to topple the U.F. Government. The most urgent and supreme task before the parties of the U.F. is to mobilize the entire people and by unleashing their united struggle to defeat this policy of starvation and scotch this conspiracy.

The Polit Bureau notes with concern that some of the contingents of the U.F. have not become aware of this danger. Some of them have even raised the demand for the abolition of Single-State food zones and abolition of all controls and free trade as the way out of the situation. Past experience has shown that such measures, far from relieving the situation actually create fertile ground for the thriving of blackmarketeers, and fleecing of the people.

It is amazing to see the leaders of the Right Communist Party spearheading the campaign against the launching of the struggle. While paying lip service to the need for such struggle they advance specious arguments to sabotage the struggle.

They say that the struggle should be decided by the U.F. as a whole and blame our Party for openly advocating it. But all these 12 months, they never raised the issue at any time in the Coordination Committee and it was our Party that raised it. Some months ago the Coordination Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to devise ways and means of starting the struggle. The CPI(M) cannot sit quiet, when

its efforts to defend the people are sought to be frustrated, and it has every right and is duty-bound to place the full facts before the people and rouse them, for the supreme task.

They say that the Government should have functioned the official machinery to curb the abuses in the ration shops. They hide the fact that the effort by the Government to enact legislation for the formation of popular committees precisely to prevent such abuses has been thwarted by the Central Government which refused to give assent to the Bill and thereby they are shamelessly giving an alibi to the Central Government, and seek to punish the U.F. Government, and our Party as its predominant partner for the heinous crime of the Central Government.

They allege that because of the delay in enacting the Agrarian Reforms legislation, which is under preparation, the struggle for food should not be launched as though the enactment of the Reforms is a substitute of the Central supplies of foodgrains to this highest deficit State in the country.

Thereby they are playing the game of the Congress party, and despite their declared opposition to the Congress party since the time of the elections, are revealing their true colours as abettors of the Congress Government in its attacks on the democratic forces.

The commonly accepted Election Manifesto of the U.F. had made it clear that no State Government in Kerala can solve the State's food problem without adequate supplies from the Centre and stated categorically, "The Government will demand of the Centre to provide in time all the rice requirements of the State's people at prices within the capacity of the poor people of Kerala and will seek the cooperation of the people to exert the necessary pressure on the Centre".

Our Party seeks to carry out this solemn pledge to the people. The Right Communist leaders, by spearheading the campaign against the Kerala people's struggle for food, will

be betraying the commonly accepted programme and the trust of the people reposed in the U.F. and its election pledges on the basis of which they voted it to office.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all the constituent parties of the U.F. to seriously consider the dangerous situation developing in Kerala and cooperate in launching a united struggle against these policies of the Central Government and forge such popular sanctions as would make it concede the just demand that the State should be either supplied with the required rice or allow the Government to buy anywhere outside the State and keep buffer stocks to make up for the short supply of rice by the Central Government. Experience has shown that the Central Government cannot be relied upon to honour its commitments and without the State Government having stocks by such purchases outside the State, it cannot discharge its responsibility of giving minimum rice requirements of the people.

The people of Kerala, forced to live on the three-ounce ration for a year now, have been groaning under enormous hardships and misery.

It is a serious matter for our Party that it has still not done its duty to mobilize the entire people of the State for a determined struggle against the Central Government to secure adequate food for the people. Every Party member, every Party unit, every Party committee has to urgently become aware of the serious situation that is being created in the State and move into action without the least delay to prepare for this legitimate struggle against the Central Congress Government.

The Polit Bureau directs all Party units in Kerala to intensify the mass explanatory campaign and overcome the hesitations and vacillations of the democratic parties and groups and win them over for a joint and united mass struggle against these policies of the Central Government and for the mobilization for the just demands of the State Government and thereby smash the conspiracy to topple the Government. The entire energies of the Party should be directed to this supreme task.

The Party appeals to democratic forces throughout the country that what the Central Government is conspiring is to topple the only remaining Left and democratic Government that came into existence as a result of the last general election and thus nullify the verdict of the people. It appeals to them to support the just struggle of the Kerala people for food and to defeat this diabolical conspiracy.

II. On West Bengal

The Polit Bureau reviewed the political situation in West Bengal, especially the efforts of certain vested interests to form a third front, to disrupt the U.F. mass base and to help the Congress win the mid-term poll.

It endorsed the stand taken by the West Bengal State Committee over this issue. The P.B. while welcoming the joint statement issued by West Bengal BKD leaders and CPI(M) leaders and Sri Ajoy Mukherjee's reiteration that there is no "anti-national force" in the West Bengal U.F. and that he will work to strengthen the U.F., at the same time feels it necessary to draw the attention of the people that the BKD's all-India leadership persists in its disruptive anti-Communist line.

The P.B. also wants the people to note the Right Communist leaders' slanderous campaign against our Party, CPI(M), of being responsible for the widening of the divergences in the U.F.

Unless this slanderous and mischievous campaign against our Party, CPI(M), is ended by the vigilance of the democratic forces, the strengthening of the U.F. will itself be retarded and the people will get confused and it will benefit the vested interests and the Congress.

The P.B. also directs the West Bengal State unit to complete the negotiations with other constituent parties of the U.F. on the minimum governmental programme as well as over the adjustment of seats on the basis of the formula it had already advanced. It expresses its hope that our Party will be in a position to start the election campaign in the

constituencies where we are in a position to fight the Congress and defeat it, from June itself.

The defeat of the U.F. in Krishnagar by the Congress underlines the importance of grassroot organization in every village on the basis of tremendous class battles of the rural masses against jotdar exploitation and not merely rely on the spontaneous anti-Congress discontent. It also underlines the importance of U.F. going into action early, with a clear-cut minimum governmental programme, putting an end to the vacillations among certain elements in the constituent parties and inspire the people to go into the battle with confidence to achieve victory over the Congress.

III. Greetings to French Working People

The Polit Bureau hails the great working class struggle in France against the monopolist ruling groups. Over 8 million workers for the last one week are in possession of all factories and institutions and are demanding radical changes to achieve greater rights and power for the toiling masses of France.

IV. On the J & K Unit of CPI(M)

The Jammu and Kashmir State Committee of the CPI (Marxist), under the leadership of Comrade R. P. Sharaf has been writing in their Urdu weekly organ, *Jammu Sandesh*, editorials and articles against the Party policies and decisions during the last six months. This State unit boycotted the Central Plenum and none including the Central Committee member, Comrade R. P. Sharaf attended it. And while the Plenum session was being held, this State unit passed a resolution, and released it to the Press, denouncing the CPI(M) as neo-revisionist and seceding from the CPI(M) to set up a new party of their own. All these months they have not sent any communication to the C.C. office intimating their differences nor about their functioning. Even their decision of going out of the Party was not sent to our office.

The P.B., taking all these circumstances into consider-

ation, expels Comrade R. P. Sharaf from the Party, and dissolves all Party units in Jammu and Kashmir. The P.B. will take necessary steps to reorganize the Party with those members who are still loyal to the Party Programme and to the decisions of the Central Committee and who are prepared to observe and function under Party discipline.

Right Communists Play the Congress Game in Kerala*

**Statement jointly issued by A. K. Gopalan and
E. M. S. Namboodiripad at a Press Conference in
Trivandrum (Thiruvananthapuram) on May 29, 1968**

It is with interest that we read T. V. Thomas' claims of being the champion of Kerala's struggle against the Centre and the unity of the front that is needed to lead that struggle to success. If this does not remain in words but is translated into action, there will be none happier than us, because we have always advocated and worked for a line of joint struggle by Communists and Socialists as well as all democrats against the policies of the Congress which rules at the Centre. As a part of this programme, at the time of all the elections, we had tried to form non-Congress united fronts. When we had begun to work with such a perspective T. V. Thomas and his friends had condemned us saying that we were being led by blind anti-Congressism. One has only to recall what they had said about us from 1962-63 to the Kerala elections in 1965. If they have changed the attitude which they had adopted then, if they have today begun to feel that they should take the lead in building broad unity for the struggle against the Central Congress Government, it is clearly welcome.

But we cannot but ask whether T. V. Thomas and his party have any idea of the tactics which the Congress rulers are resorting to, to break the growing unity of the people against them and whether they have the perspective of foiling these tactics. This question will serve as the best touchstone to see how far their claim conforms to the reality.

When the Communist Party was united and the conflict inside it began between the revisionists and Marxists, the Congress Government at the Centre had used all the weapons in its armoury against those Communists who were waging the struggle against revisionism. The Home Department of the Central Government then launched repressive measures on the basis that the revisionist Communist leaders were "patriots" and those who opposed them were "Chinese agents".

When in 1964, the revisionists and Marxists became two separate parties, the Central Congress Government did not hesitate to stamp the Marxists as "friends of China" and take repressive measures against them. We do not now wish to go deep into an examination of the event of that period. But we cannot but request T. V. Thomas, who has today entered the scene as the champion of "broad democratic unity" to the extent of even getting the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee to participate in the struggle against the Central Government, to examine for himself the attitude he and his friends took to the anti-Communist united front which the Central Government was knocking together in 1962-65 and its central slogan of "isolating the Chinese agents".

The "White Paper" and the Rightists

It will be good if T. V. Thomas and his friends will calmly think over a few things like the source from which the slanders contained in Nanda's "White Paper" originated, from whom the Central Government got the greatest help then, who were then the champions of broad democratic unity against the Chinese agents, etc.

We had hoped that we would be able to treat these discomfiting events as a closed chapter of our political history. We had hoped that the experience of the 1965 elections in Kerala would provide a lesson to T. V. Thomas and his friends and that they would not again become collaborators in the anti-Communist (Marxist) activities of the Central Government.

We had also thought that the development of the united

front formed to successfully conduct the mass struggles following the Kerala Bandh of 1966, the general elections of 1967, etc., would create the conditions which would relegate to the background the memory of the 1962-65 history. Unfortunately our hopes and expectations have all been belied.

Experience is that even after the seven-party United Front assumed office on March 6, 1967, the Right Communists are continuing their anti-Communist (Marxist) attitude which only helps the tactics of the Central Congress Government. One thing will be clear from an examination of what the Right Communists have been doing since the formation of the Ministry, from their propaganda and agitation, and that is that at every stage they have acted with the sole aim of isolating the Communist Party of India (Marxist). In this matter they have followed the same tactics and policy pursued by the Congress and the Kerala Congress.

Playing the Game of the Congress

For example :

1. Within a few weeks after the United Front Government assumed office, the food situation in the State became extremely acute. Even the six-ounce ration which had been given for two years became impossible, the ration quantum had to be cut to three ounces. As a natural consequence of this, prices in the open market rose inordinately.

The Congress consciously tried to channelize the helplessness and demoralization of the people into anger and discontent against the United Front Ministry. Student organizations under Congress leadership launched agitations and struggles against the Kerala Government. They also made an attempt to isolate and attack the CPI(M). Dr. Georg Thomas, Deputy leader of the Legislature Congress Group, demanded the removal of the Communist (Marxist) Food Minister.

2. The Right Communists and their Press took up positions which helped this anti-Communist (Marxist) agitation organized by the Congress and other opposition parties.

The same demand which Dr George Thomas raised in the Assembly—the demand for the removal of the Food Minister—was raised from outside the Assembly by the State Council of the Right Communist Party. When the Food Minister was ill and bed-ridden and the Chief Minister was temporarily looking after the food portfolio, the Right Communist leader, C. Achutha Menon, expressed his glee at a Press Conference saying whatever be the reasons, the Food Department was not being handled by the Food Minister.

What the Right Communists have been propagating since then is only a repetition of what the Congress says. Contrary to what had been clearly stated in the Policy Statement adopted by the United Front and placed before the people before the general elections, the Right Communists conducted their campaign screening the responsibility of the Centre in the matter of rice allotment. They went to the extent of issuing statements saying that the six ounce ration could not be given even during the Onam festival not because the Centre had not given what it had promised, but because the State Government had not done what it should have.

Covering up the difficulties created by the Centre in the matter of taking over the management of rice mills under private ownership and giving powers to popular committees, they spread the blatant lie that the Kerala Government had failed on both these issues. Later they themselves had to admit in the Coordination Committee of the United Front that their charge was baseless. The Coordination Committee, with the assent of the Right Communists, also unanimously stated that the rice crisis in the State was due to the Centre's failure and discrimination against the State. Yet they did not have the decency to express regret for the lie they had spread.

3. Not only on the question of rice, but on many other issues, the Rightists carried on continuous propaganda to blacken the CPI(M) in general and its Ministers in particular. It was some of these slanders by them that were later repeated by RSP leader Sreekantan Nair in a letter. The

Coordination Committee was asked to enquire into them. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Coordination Committee for the inquiry has been satisfied that all that had been said against our Party and our Ministers are baseless. In this matter also, the Rightists have not had the decency to express regrets for having spread blatant lies.

4. The slanderous charges made against us by the Right Communists and certain other conflicts inside the United Front became the subject-matter of discussion in the Coordination Committee's meeting in November. After the discussions, it was unanimously decided that such open charges and conflicts should not be repeated. We hoped that a new chapter would begin after that. But the Right Communists have continued in their old way.

Their Broad Unity

More vehemently than ever before the Rightists began naming individually and attacking CPI(M) Ministers. They took up issues connected with the departments handled by CPI(M) Ministers and organized agitations and sought support for these agitations from opposition parties including the Congress. In an organized fashion they tried to build "broad democratic unity" in these anti-Communist (Marxist) agitations.

5. The culmination of all this was what happened in the budget session of the State Assembly. In this session, the Right Communists not only made charges against CPI(M) Ministers; on the basis of these charges they also sought to rally the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition behind them. It is worth mentioning that members of the Congress and Kerala Congress on more than one occasion said that they supported the entire speeches of the Right Communists except for one sentence where they had said that they supported the budget.

6. We are not forgetting that on many occasions other constituent parties of the United Front have participated in these attacks against us. But the initiative for this had always

been taken by the Right Communists. After the Congress and the Kerala Congress, no other party had the impudence of the Right Communists to spread so many lies so shamelessly against us.

7. When all this was going on, the Congress and the Kerala Congress were raising the slogan of isolating the CPI(M) inside the United Front. Kerala Congress leader K. M. George in more than one speech endorsed the agitations of the Right Communists against the CPI(M) and stressed the need for forming a Ministry excluding the Marxists. As for the Congress, the resolution of its Kottayam Conference evolved tactics for a struggle to isolate the CPI(M) and an appeal was made to the other constituents of the United Front to work towards this.

8. This is the occasion when, not only in Kerala but all over India, reactionaries are raising the slogan of isolating the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It is under cover of this slogan that they began their first attempts to overthrow the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry in West Bengal.

The Truth Behind this Slogan

It is under cover of this same slogan that they are trying to sabotage the united front that is now taking shape in West Bengal. Anyone can see the attempts that are being made on the all-India level itself to exclude the Communist Party of India (Marxist), rally all the other non-Congress parties against the CPI(M) and thus disrupt the non-Congress united fronts.

A Congress member of Parliament even moved a non-official resolution demanding a ban on the CPI(M). The Speaker refused permission to the motion only on the technical ground that instead of mentioning the Communist Party of India (Marxist), it had referred to the Left Communist Party.

It is a part of this all-India effort to evolve tactics to isolate the CPI(M) that the Kottayam Conference of the Congress, in the presence of Congress President Nijalingappa and Central Minister Panampilly Govinda Menon, adopted

the political resolution which worked out the tactics for isolating the CPI(M).

9. In this situation, what should the Rightists have done if their claim of being champions of anti-Centre struggle and mass struggles have any basis? What they should have done was to tell the people the game behind this slogan of isolating the CPI(M), openly state that this was the first step to disrupt the growing unity of the people against the Congress and the anti-people policies it has been pursuing, and appeal to each of the constituent parties of the United Front and to the entire people of Kerala to be vigilant.

10. But what did the Right Communists actually do? What they did was to even more vehemently repeat their slanderous allegations against the Ministers of the CPI(M), raise even imaginary issues connected with their departments and launch agitations and struggles, even issue statements publicly that a CPI(M) Minister was accessory to a murder—in short, what they did was to pursue against the CPI(M) the same tactics of struggle the Congress had evolved in another form.

11. Crowning all this came a statement by T. V. Thomas that the CPI(M) was getting isolated because of its own mistakes. T. V. Thomas is happy about the self-isolation, for whatever reasons, of the Party which the Congress and Kerala Congress are openly trying to isolate. What can be said about a person who with the same tongue speaks about the anti-Centre struggle and claims to be champion of popular unity for that struggle!

Let us remind T. V. Thomas and his friends that even if our Party has to face temporary isolation for popularizing a policy which we think is correct, we are not afraid of such a situation. We had proved this in 1962 and 1965. Everyone including T. V. Thomas' party had then shouted that we were Chinese agents, that we are Pakistani agents. Is it not because you thought that we were totally isolated that you created an electoral front against us in 1965? You know what its outcome was and if you still want to pursue the

same tactics, we cannot stop you from doing it. As for us, we are not following any policy which can result in self-isolation. The policy we have adopted is one which will facilitate the mobilization of the largest number of people in the struggle against the Central Congress Government.

If, for any reason, the policy we pursue is not for the time being acceptable to all sections of the people we will not stop popularizing and implementing that policy for fear of the temporary isolation that is likely to result. Hence, we will use this occasion to once again state what our policy is.

As made clear in the joint statement adopted at the time of the formation of seven-party United Front before the elections, the Central Congress Government's anti-people policies are responsible for food scarcity, unemployment and all the other ills from which Kerala is suffering. Hence any effort to defend the interests of the people of Kerala can only be through struggle against the Central Congress Government and the anti-people policies it pursues.

The majorities in legislatures which non-Congress parties secure in Kerala or any other State and the Ministries that are formed on the basis of such majorities have to be utilized for the struggle to shorten the life of Congress rule at the Centre.

It is possible that such a line would not be completely acceptable to the Right Communists or other parties. They perhaps think that they should somehow maintain good relations with the Central Congress Government and run the State administration without creating any big conflicts. That this is a myth, that the existence of the non-Congress Governments itself depends on the struggle against the Central Congress Government has already been proved by the experience of West Bengal and other non-Congress States.

Experience of Kerala

What has been the experience of Kerala itself?

Till March 1967 the Centre supplied enough rice to maintain a six-ounce ration. From April 1967, this was suddenly stopped.

As a result the ration had to be reduced to three ounces. Even after the first harvest of what has been called an unprecedentedly bumper crop, the Centre is not allotting enough rice to the State to give a six-ounce ration. To add to the problem the Centre has also given the directive to raise the price of even the three-ounce ration.

Congress leaders of Kerala go around saying that there is no political discrimination in all this, that it is because of difficulties in procuring enough rice, etc. In reply to this we had said that if the Centre was so helpless, the State Government was ready to take the responsibility of purchasing the rice needed by the State and distributing it. All that the Centre had to do was to give the necessary powers to the State Government and the facilities needed to buy rice from any of the States of India or from any country outside.

The Centre did not concede this legitimate demand. According to them, this would break the unity of India! Then, if we say that to maintain that unity, the Centre should buy rice from wherever it is available and supply it to the State, the Central Government is not prepared to do that either. At the same time, Congress leaders in the State start agitations against the State Government for not getting adequate rice.

Thus on the one side there is the ration-cut, on another side ration price-increase and on the third side, agitations by local Congressmen against the State Government. For quite some time now it has been clear that the Kerala people will have to powerfully oppose the Congress policies responsible for all this. We had said that the people of Kerala should fight as one against this cruel policy of the Centre and that the Coordination Committee of the United Front should give the lead for such a struggle.

In pursuance of this the Coordination Committee had called for the Kerala Bandh on September 11. After that, we had again raised in the Coordination Committee the question of organizing the agitation and struggle against the Centre. The Coordination Committee had, in fact, appointed a sub-committee to plan out this agitation and struggle.

But we had to bring before the people the issue of this struggle against the Centre when it became clear that instead of going forward on the path decided on, Right Communists were trying to divert the attention of the people against the CPI(M), and some other constituent parties of the United Front were also knowingly or unknowingly involved in this Rightist game. This should expose the hollowness of their cry that we are bypassing the United Front and organizing the struggle alone.

When the Rightists began postponing the struggle on one pretext or another and at the same time continued the slander campaign against the CPI(M), we had to declare categorically that even if we were alone we would fight this inhuman policy of the Centre. Even when we declared this we were confident that once all the facts were placed before the people, the other parties including the Right Communists will have to come to the path of the anti-Centre struggle.

Our decision was the forerunner to strengthening the anti-Centre struggle on the basis of the broadest unity of the people. And on that basis, we had begun our work. We are happy that this is at least partially understood now, it is also welcome that even the Right Communists have now begun making speeches and issuing statements in support of the anti-Centre struggle and the popular unity needed for it.

It is also good that they have now begun demanding that the United Front should discuss and take decisions about when the struggle against the Centre should begin, what forms it should take, etc. We will gladly participate in such discussions. But we want to state that if these discussions are to become fruitful, the Right Communists should abandon their attitude of singling out the CPI(M) and attacking it.

Before closing this statement, we would like to bring up another point. Apart from speeches and statements in the Press, other efforts have also been going on to isolate us. It had even reached the stage of a proposal to form a Ministry excluding us and with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress. Our information is that T. V. Thomas and some

other Right Communist leaders were active participants in these efforts. It was when this conspiracy was being hatched that T. V. Thomas made his notorious Ponnani and Trichur speeches. It is not much use the Right Communists now concealing all this and coming out as the champions of unity.

We are not very happy that we have to openly speak of the wrong attitude of the Right Communists. It is our wish that this should be avoided as far as possible. But we were convinced that even to build the popular unity about which the Right Communists are speaking so much now, it was necessary to bring before the people the misdeeds they have committed so far. We hope that they will give some thought to all this and correct their policy. We also hope that the popular unity manifested in the 1966 Kerala Bandh and the 1967 General Elections will get further strengthened and Kerala's struggle against the Centre will be crowned with success.

P. Sundarayya's Note on National Integration*

The General Secretary of the CPI(M) submitted a Note dated June 18, 1968 to the National Integration Council having its meeting at Srinagar from June 20, 1968

From June 18, 1968
P. Sundarayya,
General Secretary,
Communist Party of India (Marxist).

To
The Chairman,
National Integration Council,
Government of India,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

Let me thank you on my Party's behalf for extending us the invitation to join the deliberations of the National Integration Council.

1. *At the outset*, I may be permitted to make it perfectly clear that we accepted the invitation to attend this meeting, not because we are optimistic of any immediate, positive and fruitful outcome of these deliberations, but it is the foremost importance of the problem under discussion, a problem that is causing serious concern to all the democratic forces of our country, that has prevailed on us to attend this meeting and present our views on the issue, in as

*Published as a printed booklet in June, 1968.

clear and precise a manner as we can. The reason for this opinion of ours is not difficult to be discerned. A look at the cavalier manner in which this highly complex problem is treated by the powers that be during the last twenty years, after the attainment of political independence, and especially since 1959-61, when the issue, in all its magnitude, forced itself into the forefront of the political arena, does not inspire us with the optimism that the political party in exclusive monopoly of power in the country is either seized of the seriousness of the problem or can tackle it.

2. The frequently recurring communal and religious riots in several parts of the country, the inter-State disputes and wrangles on innumerable small and big issues that threaten, at times, with the imminent prospect of national riots, riots on the language problem, the constantly growing and deepening friction and estranged relations between the States and the Union Centre, and the unashamed attempts of the reactionary vested interests to freely trade on these evils in furtherance of their narrow and selfish class interests—all these, today, are found aggressively on the ascendant in our country. To deny or underplay this truth is nothing but to attempt to fly in the face of the facts of life and the realities in the country. If the problem is not tackled and solved by seeking correct methods and solutions in time, we are afraid that the time may not be far off when things erupt and burst up taking their own spontaneous course, much to the dismay and horror of all those who cherish the democratic unity of our country and rapid progress of our people. These fears of ours are not unfounded or ill-conceived, as several of our political opponents say in trying to slander our Party, but based on the study of modern world history and the entire experience of the formation of single-nation states, the experiment of multi-national states under the leadership of the modern bourgeoisie and the living examples and lessons of unifying different nations and nationalities under socialism, of course, on a totally different plane from the one conceived by the capitalists and their political theorists.

3. Our Party is keenly interested and extremely anxious to resolve this problem on a strictly scientific and democratic basis and strives its utmost to avert the danger that threatens to engulf our country in the days ahead. This keen and vital interest of ours in Indian unity and real national integration arises from the very class basis on which our Party is founded and pledged to go forward. The working class will be in a position neither to forge its own absolutely necessary class unity nor the unity of the allied democratic classes in its struggle for social emancipation and advance in the midst of disruption from communal and religious riots, national animosities and pogroms and the inter-State rivalries whipped up by interested chauvinist forces.

Secondly, we as Marxists, while fully aware of the fact that "for its development capitalism demands the biggest and most centralized States that are possible", are conscious of the truth that provided congenial conditions for democratic advance and social progress are not curtailed, "the class conscious proletariat will always stand for the larger State", as "it will always welcome the closest possible economic amalgamation of large territories in which the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie could widely unfold".

Thirdly, we are of the considered opinion that such large-sized multi-national states cannot remain strong and stable unless the widest democracy and fullest autonomy for the constituent parts are guaranteed in word and deed, and we have no reason to entertain the illusion that such a guarantee, in the ultimate analysis, can be ensured under the rule of capital and its exploitation, notwithstanding the fact that "even within the framework of capitalism it is possible to reduce the national struggle to a minimum, to sever its roots, to render it as innocuous as possible for the proletariat".

Lastly, our Party is quite conscious that our country is newly liberated and remains an economically backward one, that the anti-imperialist task of elimination of this dependence and liquidation of the consequent social and political

effects on its further progress is still an important factor, and this anti-imperialist, democratic struggle is immensely facilitated by a democratically united strong state, i.e., the Indian Union.

Such in brief is the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the issue and we are strictly guided by it.

4. As already pointed out above, we have to state frankly that the very understanding and the basic approach of our Party differ fundamentally from the one formulated and practised by the Indian National Congress and several other political parties in our country. The resolution on National Integration adopted at the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress, held in January 1961, attempts to trace the main source of the origin and growth of the tendencies and trends of disintegration in post-independent India to the 'democracy, with widespread system of elections' and observes thus: "Under the cover of political and social activities, the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again in some measure...Communalism which has in the past done so much injury to the nation is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity to encourage reactionary tendencies. Provincialism and linguism have also injured the cause for which the Congress stands. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that every effort should be made to remove these evils and always to keep in view the unity and integrity of the nation." Life and experience since these utterances, full seven years ago, prove beyond a shadow of doubt that such an understanding of this problem is utterly shallow and the so-called efforts to remove the alleged evils are reduced to nothing more than empty platitudes.

Or else how can one explain the series of communal riots and massacres that took place during 1966-67? What about the language riots in 1965 and once again in 1967? How, and wherefrom, comes the inspiration for the Shiva Sena, Lachit Sena, Tamil Sena and the like, all of which prosper on narrow nationalism, chauvinism and parochialism? What

are the lessons that emerge from the fact that not only the old Naga problem remains unresolved after more than ten years, but several other problems of a similar nature which are widespread all over the North-eastern frontiers of our country also have been added to it with a vengeance? How to explain the general deterioration of Centre-State relations and the particularly acute and growing political strife between the Congress-dominated Centre and the non-Congress held State Governments, during the last one year? What are the underlying causes behind the deteriorating relation between the people of Kashmir and the Indian Union and why the same people who once enthusiastically welcomed close relations and union with India have gradually grown sceptical and suspicious, providing fertile ground for the exploitation of their frustration for different ends by different interests?

Numerous explanations advanced and apologetic reasons trotted out do not and cannot hide the ugly truth that the problem of the democratic unity of the different communities, nationalities and peoples living in the Indian Union today, is far from solved. On the other hand, the emotional and patriotic unity that was widely prevalent in the days of the freedom struggle against the alien imperialist rule and also current in the initial stages of post-independence days, is not only, today, absent, but the danger of disunity and disruption has increased, assuming far more serious proportions than was ever witnessed during the last half a century.

One cannot objectively analyse the causes for this sorry state of affairs and find out real solutions if the outlook prevailing and the policies pursued by the party in power during the last two decades are not subjected to careful scrutiny and review.

5. Our Party does not and cannot accept the totally perverted and dangerous thesis that 'democracy, with its widespread system of elections' has 'resulted in some ways in encouraging certain disintegrating forces'. The reality is that it is the denial of democracy and its distorted application

that are at the root of this so-called evil, one of its chief causes and major source of mischief. What we are witnessing in our country, today, is the existence of a howling contradiction between the outmoded, mediaeval, feudal, and semi-feudal economic social base on the one hand, and on the other, the parliamentary democratic political superstructure, which is sought to be introduced and functioned in post-independent India. Parliamentary democracy is based on the capitalistic mode of production, while autocratic rule is the form of feudal and mediaeval society. The political attempts at reforming this anarchic, mediaeval economic base have not touched the fringe of this stupendous problem and every passing day of the perpetuation of the old order is resulting, as it is inevitably bound to, in the intensification of this contradiction between the economic base and its political superstructure. The so-called evils of casteism, communalism, parochialism, linguism, etc., which are catalogued as the sources, threatening the unity and integration of the country, in the ultimate analysis, are nothing but some of the crude manifestations of the decadent, semi-feudal agrarian social order, that is jealously defended by the present state and Government of India, while attempting to develop capitalistic economy. A closer examination of the country's economy, constitution and its working during the last several years clearly reveal as to how it stands guard in defence of the so-called property rights of the feudal and semi-feudal monopolistic vested interests. Instead of attempting to resolve this basic conflict through necessary and urgently called for radical reforms of the social-economic base, it is strange to find that the Congress party seeks to discover the reasons for the growing threat of disintegration in the system of elections and democracy in the country. Is it any wonder then that such an analysis of the causes of the phenomenon under discussion, in the final analysis, may land them in the company of those who acted as the butchers of democracy under the treacherous slogan of 'controlled democracy' and similar other forms of perversions of democracy?

6. It is not difficult to understand the close and intimate connection between the country's economic base and its political superstructure. The extent and measure of success or failure in the Congress Government's attempt at industrializing and modernizing the country's economy is bound to reflect in the extent and measure of success or failure of the attempt at introducing political democracy and its flourishing in the country. It is inconceivable that real political democracy can function and flourish on an economic soil which is riddled with all conceivable contradictions, strife and crisis. The snail's pace progress of our industrialization and modernization of our economy, the manner and method by which this is sought to be achieved, i.e., through collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, through alliance with big landlordism and through encouraging the growth of Indian monopolists, and the widespread mass discontent generated because of the growing gulf between the urgently needed social demands and the limping and tardy growth of industrialization—all this is not only creating conditions of great social unrest but also engendering forces of inter-State strife and Centre-State disputes—disputes regarding the allocation of resources, industries and other developmental activities to different States and regions in the Indian Union. To put it sharply, the capitalist path of development embarked upon by the Congress Government, at a stage of world development when the very world capitalist order is decaying and rapidly disintegrating, is unable to sustain and nourish the unity of different nationalities in the Indian Union, and, on the contrary, is gravely undermining unity and fast fomenting centrifugal forces. The democratic, anti-imperialist urges that inspired national unity and the singleness of purpose in the days of the freedom struggle against alien rule are, today, on the wane; and the principal reason for this is the frustration felt by the democratic classes and masses, born out of the fiasco of the path of social advance, chosen by the Congress Government. Hence, any attempt to analyse and assess the causes of the growing threats to Indian unity and to seek

remedies without-relating it to the underlying basic and deep socio-economic factors would reduce itself to a futile exercise. The entire experience before us since 1959, when the issue was mooted afresh, goes to corroborate our apprehensions.'

7. 'Besides persisting in the basic mistakes pointed out above in tackling the problem of Indian unity and national integration, the Congress party and Government are also committing the serious blunder of putting casteism, communalism and the democratic demands of nationalities on apart with one another and of denouncing all of them roundly as forces of national disruption and disunity.

A correct and scientific approach to the entire problem demands of us, first and foremost, that the realization that our country comprises of several developed and developing nationalities with their distinct and separate languages and corresponding cultural frames of mind, notwithstanding the existence of certain common features of an all-Indian cultural background and economic-political interests. Any attempt at either non-recognition or half-recognition of this biggest reality is fraught with serious dangers to our national unity.

Unfortunately, there prevails a strong tendency among several political parties and their leaders to wish away this reality by deluding themselves that the concepts of a country and a nation are synonymous and that the Indian Union is a single-nation-state. The two categories of states, i.e., unilingual or single-nation national state and the multi-lingual or multi-national state, by the very nature of things, are different in character and composition, and demand two different types of democratic solutions to the different problems they will have to face. But the present rulers as well as some other leaders of different political parties in our country do not reckon with this truth, and strive to carry the administration of the Indian Union, more or less, on the lines the former colonial rulers were carrying on in the pre-independent India.

The stubborn resistance offered to the formation of linguistic States, the persistent attempt to force one language as the sole official language of the Indian Union, the denial of democratic and autonomous rights to the States, the rejection of full autonomy and even separate States within the Indian Union to a number of peoples living in the hilly forest regions of our country (usually designated as tribes) in compact territories, the non-recognition of the rights of linguistic minorities and the non-implementation of rights that are conceded on paper, and the excessive and exclusive concentration of state power in the hands of the Union Centre and its Government, are some of the major manifestations of the above-cited undemocratic and authoritarian outlook.

Is it not strange that even today we often come across political leaders denouncing the democratic demands of nationalities as 'linguism and parochialism', and make themselves bold to state that the danger to national integration has increased because of the linguistic reorganization of States, and then suggest the abolition of the same?

8. Our Party, after a careful and serious consideration of this problem has come to the conclusion that unity of the Indian Union can be effectively defended and the process of national integration can be carried forward only by a consistent application of democratic principles and methods to one and all the aspects connected with this issue; denial of democratic process cannot but endanger the unity the integrity of the Indian Union. We draw your attention to the observations made in our Party Programme and in other resolutions (Appendix).

9. The other disturbing and distressing phenomenon that is on the ascendant and causing serious concern to all the democratic and secular-minded forces in the country, is the repeated recurrence of communal riots and the consequent scare and insecurity that have come to prevail in the minority community throughout the country. It is not necessary to catalogue here all the ghastly incidents that have taken place during the last four to five years in our country. If these are

allowed to continue in the same way as till now, there is hardly any doubt that the secular foundations of our society will be completely undermined with all the consequent damaging national and international repercussions on our country's future. Why this spurt in this ghastly phenomenon? Which are the forces actively working behind this menace? What are the concrete steps taken by the Government to uproot this evil? From where comes the failure in this regard? And what is to be done to arrest this menace? These are questions that the present deliberations of the Council should urgently address itself to, if it is earnest in tackling the problem.

To sidetrack attention from the rising social problems, reactionary forces like the Jana Sangh and others fan Hindu communalism, incite violence against the Muslim minority, and rouse the most backward obscurantist sentiments. Only a couple of years ago the capital of India saw the disgusting anti-cow-slaughter demonstration led by naked sadhus and organized by Jana Sangh leaders, with the Government helplessly watching the situation. Certain Congressmen—prominent leaders—openly associated and fraternized with these reactionary forces. The Government yielded to their pressure and in spite of its boast of secularism did nothing to educate the people regarding the anti-national reactionary character of the demand.

The fact is that the Government, the Congress party and its leaders, with all the boast of secularism, are prisoners of Hindu chauvinism, and afraid of attacking its worst manifestations.

While casteism and a communal outlook may still persist in all communities, the communal problem as manifested in Hindu-Muslim riots, is mainly a problem created by Hindu chauvinistic parties—like the Jana Sangh—hunting out the Muslim minorities. Almost in every riot the initiative comes from these chauvinistic elements in the Hindu community; the minority community is the worst sufferer; they are rapidly losing all sense of security of life and property; it is a

constant complaint not only of the minority but also of impartial observers that in these riots the police and the bureaucracy not only do not grant any protection to the minority community but often incite the rioters against it.

The Government knows this to be true. They have facts in their possession regarding the Ranchi riots. But not one spokesman of the Government has the courage to fix the main responsibility on Hindu communalist elements. They all talk in a general way of fighting communalism clubbing the hunted minority with the chauvinistic elements in the majority community. In this way the fight against communalism in the concrete is dodged and the people are cheated with pious expressions about communal peace and national integration.

The protection and defence of minorities—religious, socially oppressed—is one of the tests of democracy and the Government is completely failing in this by its refusal to curb Hindu chauvinism.

Besides has the Government thought of the problem of securing minimum justice for the minorities? Is it not a fact that the members of the Muslim minority find it extremely difficult to get jobs in all concerns including the Government services? Is it not true that Urdu which is the mother-tongue of a vast number of Muslims is being accorded unequal treatment and even suppressed by some State Governments?

There are two aspects of this problem. The first is the situation created by riots engineered by chauvinistic elements from the Hindu side. The Government must show courage to fix the responsibility in proper quarters and smash their designs which form a conspiracy against the unity of India and its democratic advance.

It is at the same time true that these riots take place in the background of an obscurantist outlook prevailing among the people. That is why there is so much callousness among the people towards the sufferings of the minority, sometimes only a weak resistance to the conspirators. This is the measure of the total failure of the vaunted secularism of the

Government. This fake secularism has only strengthened the obscurantist religious outlook because the Congress leaders heading the Government have been pandering to every backward sentiment in the name of secularism. It is not a secular spectacle to see the President of India and the Prime Minister doing obeisance to a *jagadguru* in the wake of the anti-cow-slaughter riots.

As in the days of British rule, communal riots are used to divide the toilers, to wreck the common democratic struggle and to strengthen the rule of the vested interests. Provincialism, communalism and casteism all are being used consciously by the reactionary forces including Congress leaders to stem the tide of the working class and democratic movement. The rise of the Shiva Sena in Bombay which attacks workers from Kerala is due to the open encouragement given by the Congress leaders and even the Home Minister cannot escape responsibility in this. The reason for this encouragement is that the Shiva Sena is ardently anti-Communist and its leaders openly worship at the altar of Adolph Hitler.

The leader of the organization openly accepted responsibility for the attack on the office of the Girmi Kamgar Union of Bombay, but did the Congress Ministers, did the Home Minister demand or take any action against him or call for even an explanation? He describes the people from Kerala and Tamilnad as lungiwallas and says they are all criminals. Does the Home Minister know about this? Does the Chief Minister of Maharashtra know about it? Thackeray, the Shiva Sena leader, knows that his anti-Communism is so much appreciated by the Maharashtra Government that his open attacks on South Indians will be encouraged and protected.

In the face of this does the Government have any right to talk of national integration?

We are, hence, compelled to conclude that the major responsibility for the present state of affairs in the deteriorating and deplorable communal affairs rests on the shoulders of the Government and the political party in power at the Union Centre. Notwithstanding the repeated declarations

denouncing communalism and upholding secular democracy by the leaders of the Government and the Congress party, and even, taking certain drastic steps at times when things threaten to go out of hand, we cannot but observe that a sort of patronizing, lenient and escapist attitude is adopted by them towards communalism, and in particular, the majority communalism, which is more menacing in the situation. Does the ruling party sincerely and seriously believe that communalism can be fought with the cooperation of and in alliance with avowed communal forces?

Is it not perverse in the extreme to bracket Communism with communalism and repeat *ad nauseam* that the Congress party and Government are out to fight against both, simultaneously?

It is widely known and a firmly established fact that the Government does not hesitate to go to any length to ruthlessly suppress workers' and peasants' struggles and throw thousands of Communists behind bars for years—all, of course, under the name of protection of law and order and prevention of violence. What prevented the Government from firmly dealing with persons and organizations whose hands are drenched in blood, and who are responsible for the ghastly murders of scores and hundreds of men, women and children in the communal orgies during the last four to five years? It is not the lack of whole-hearted co-operation and support of the democratic and secular forces that prevents the Government from acting, but its own unwillingness to act in the manner it is expected to act, because it does not want to take any action to curb the vested interests, who again and again resort to the staging of these riots whenever they think these would save their interests. It is not the paucity of bombastic statements and pompous resolutions to put down communalism with a heavy hand that has failed to curb communalism, and no new resolutions of the kind can either inspire confidence or achieve the desired purpose. What is urgently demanded is to sincerely and seriously implement the pledges frequently made by the Government on this score.

We deem it our duty to warn our countrymen that the communal unrest prevalent in the country and the distressing situation created by it are sought to be utilized by the dark forces of reaction, both at home and abroad. We are fully aware of how in the past the foreign British rulers had exploited the communal tensions and disputes to perpetuate their slave rule. It would be the height of folly if we either forget this sad and costly experience or entertain the naive idea that similar other foreign forces are not eagerly awaiting today for such developments, to exploit them for similar evil ends. Some of the 'silent' activities of certain foreign imperialist 'missions' and 'benevolent organizations' are, already, giving us enough advance warnings of this danger. Here again, the Government seems to be extremely complacent and highly unguarded.

Internally, besides the reactionary communal forces, there are other vested interests who do not hesitate to exploit the communal situation for their selfish ends. In the urban and industrial centres, as things stand today, the mass of workers and other middle class employees are of a composite and cosmopolitan character in which there are people belonging to different national and linguistic groups and also of different communities and religious faiths. The crisis and the consequent unemployment are causing unrest and frustration among them. In the vicious attempt to throw the burdens of the crisis on the working masses, some employers are not only not averse to utilizing this situation but on the contrary eager to exploit it for dividing and disrupting the working people, so that the divided and disrupted workers may not unitedly resist the offensive against them. The riots in Jamshedpur and Rourkela a few years ago and the recent riots in Ranchi go to prove this. The slogan of the organizers of the Shiva Sena in Bombay, some of the leaflets and posters seen in Calcutta in the recent period, and similar other developments in a number of places illustrate the threat to inter-State amity, to the amity between different linguistic nationalities. If this heinous game is overlooked or tolerated,

it would not only endanger inter-communal and inter-State amity but also seriously disrupt our economy.

10. Recently, Parliament and the whole country were rightly indignant with the ghastly burning alive of a Harijan farm-servant in open daylight in Kanchikacharla village in Andhra Pradesh. The Press has been giving numerous incidents of atrocities that are being perpetrated, on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and on other backward communities. This phenomenon is not just stray incidents confined to some particular areas or to particular States. It is a common practice, throughout the country—the legacy of the evil practice of untouchability and social oppression and brutality that persists in our rural areas, even after 20 years of independence and in spite of our laws and commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes! It is the result of the growth of feudal and semi-feudal landlordism and of the 'new rich', on the semi-feudal caste and social basis, and of their grip over the village economy and life! It is a reflection of the failure of the Government to liquidate the medieval feudal economic base, of its failure to abolish landlordism, give land to the tiller and assure him land and employment, fair wages, and decent living conditions (house-sites, education and medical services). It is a reflection of the growing domination of the village landlord vested interests, through the policies pursued by the Congress Government in the name of community development, Panchayat Raj, Co-operatives, etc., all with the laudable objective of amelioration of rural masses, but which are designed to strengthen the old feudal and semi-feudal landlords developing into the new rich and their domination over the village life. The whole state machinery, and especially the police and courts, are turned to serve this purpose. Hence no wonder these atrocities are increasing and a terrible brutalization of village life, negating all human values and decencies, is taking place. We need not be taken by surprise, if these unfortunates, their patience exhausted, resort to desperate methods and caste riots break out on a large scale in the rural areas, which are

already coming on the distant horizon. We will be having caste or race riots along with the present communal and language riots. It is only if the minimum economic living conditions are guaranteed, land and employment and social equality assured by eliminating the domination of the old feudal and semi-feudal as well as of the new rich, this danger can be avoided. The democratic opinion and forces must assert and force the Government to give up its present policy of using the state machinery in support of the village oppressor against the rural poor, against the Harijans and backward communities but use it, use its full strength, against the vested interests and bring about radical economic and social transformation in the rural side of our country.

To conclude, today threat to national integration has become acute because of the policies pursued by the ruling classes, big business trying to build a capitalist economy, in alliance with feudalism and in collaboration with foreign imperialists. Denial of full autonomy to the States and refusal to recognize the natural aspiration of equality of the developing nationalities in the forest and hilly regions; no serious and special efforts to develop the backward regions and backward communities; denial of equality of all State languages and of efforts to make Hindi the sole official language; no guarantee of protection to minorities—religious, linguistic or national—from the onslaught of the vested interests, especially of the majority communities; the failure to assure minimum living conditions to the masses; failure to liquidate unemployment and guarantee of full employment; assure land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants; opportunities and guarantees for all children, especially the children of backward communities, for education and employment; guarantee of social security and leisure for rest and cultural activities; but, on the other hand, using the whole state machinery in the interests of landlords and the village new rich, the moneylenders and the black-marketeers, the profiteers, and of big business.

It is only the reversal of all these policies of the ruling

classes and consistent application and widening of democracy in all spheres—economic, political, social and state spheres—and taking stern measures against the vested interests, and protecting the general mass of people that would lead to the elimination of these tendencies against national integration. Any amount of resorting to repression and autocratic rule against the masses would not help anyone to forge national unity but will, on the other hand, lead to greater disintegration.

That is why our Party is not very optimistic about finding a full and permanent solution, as outlined above, under the present democratic solutions and struggling to get them adopted and implemented, these tendencies can be minimized. Our Party is prepared to co-operate with all democratic forces, in whatever steps they take, to fight against these disintegrating tendencies, as long as they are consistent with widening the democratic processes that will enable the vast masses to fight the vested interests and their disruptive, anti-social activities.

APPENDIX

Linguistic States

The Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) says:

“After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of republican India on the basis of linguistic states, full autonomy to these states and regional or local autonomy to the tribal regions. Although it abolished the feudal states and merged them in the Indian Union under popular pressure and in the background of people’s struggles, yet, under the influence of the short-sighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis. The solution of the problems came ultimately, though haltingly under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses. Even now, some unsolved problems remain.”

So, we demand the completion of the process of

reorganization of states on linguistic basis. All states must have equal powers. Border disputes among linguistic states should be settled taking village as the unit and geographical contiguity as the basis for readjustment.

Language Problem

The Programme on the issue says:

“The language problem is not solved satisfactorily. The languages of the different states are yet to be enshrined as the language of administration and courts and as the medium of instruction. English continues to hold the field in our administration and education. Even before the regional languages have come to occupy their rightful place in the administration and educational sphere and even while refusing to give practical effect to their equal status in Parliament and in the central administration, attempts are being made to impose Hindi in place of English on the non-Hindi-speaking people. This gives rise to the fear that their languages would be denied their rightful place and suppressed.”

“Right of people to receive instructions in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state as the language of administration in all its public and state institutions, as well as its use as the medium of education in the state up to the highest standard; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region where necessary in addition to the language of the state. Use of Hindi as an all-India language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between the people of different states. Adhere to the principle of replacing English by the regional languages at the state level and Hindi at the Centre as administrative language. Transition from English to Hindi at the Centre should be simultaneous with the same from English to the regional languages in the states; the preparation for this transition which is being made by the Centre with regard to Hindi should also be made with all necessary central assistance in states in regard to regional languages. At the same time,

for the transition period the duration of which should be decided with the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, English should be given the status of an associate administrative language. Equality of all national languages in Parliament and central administration will be recognized. Members of Parliament will have the right to speak in any national language and simultaneous translation will be provided in all national languages. All acts, government orders and resolutions will be made available in all national languages. Urdu language and its script will be protected."

The Polit Bureau resolution adopted on December 7, 1967, on the issue of Language Controversy says:

"The Government has introduced in Parliament an amending Bill on the Official Language Act of 1963. This is supposed to give statutory recognition to the assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, regarding the continued use of the English language as long as the non-Hindi speaking people did not desire a change.

"Even to this Bill strong opposition is being expressed in the Hindi-speaking areas, as imposition of English on Hindi-speaking people. The Congress leadership tries to mollify them by pleading that it is not advisable to force the pace of making Hindi the sole official language, but it would be done slowly and that the three-language formula is intended to achieve this objective gradually.

"Some opponents to Hindi being imposed as official language are advocating that English should be declared as the sole official language and as the medium of higher education and as the language of the High Courts and of the Supreme Court and of the central administration and as link language.

"Our Party in its Programme has declared that equality of all national languages in Parliament and central administration should be recognized and each state language should be used in the respective state as medium of instruction up to the highest level and in all public and state institutions (including all courts), replacing English. Use of Hindi as an

all India official language will not be obligatory but it should be voluntarily developed as administrative language at the Centre and should be encouraged as a means of intercourse between the people of different states in India.

“The Polit Bureau of the C.C. of the CPI(M) wants to reiterate our party position in view of the present controversy over the official language Bill.

“The amending of the Bill itself does not go far enough even to implement the assurances of the late Prime Minister. It does not make it obligatory to use English in addition to Hindi for all official purposes of the union and for the transaction of business in Parliament but only for purposes of communication between non-Hindi states and for certain other purposes.

“This Bill, with the official resolution moved along with it, and also the actual steps which the Central Government has been taking and further steps which it proposes to take, makes it clear that the Central Government is determined to force Hindi as official language and make it take the place which English used to occupy earlier.

“The Polit Bureau declares that our Party is opposed to this effort of forcing Hindi as the sole official language, as that would be only leading to the disruption of the unity of the Indian Union.

“1. Our Party, therefore, demands that this Bill be amended in such a manner as to make obligatory the continued use of English for all official purposes of the Union and Parliament until the non-Hindi speaking states desire otherwise, and that the Government should not have any rule making powers to change the language policies.

“2. Our Party wants that till the Indian people in the multilingual Indian states voluntarily choose to adopt the Hindi language as the administrative language at the Centre, the status quo must be continued and along with the existing English language, Hindi as well as all other Indian state-languages be equally developed and used for as many purposes as possible at the Centre, while in the states the respective

state languages must be used for all purposes, in universities, in courts and for carrying on the whole state administration.

"3. Our Party is opposed to the three-language formula in education, as it imposes English and Hindi or some other modern language on the children, which only imposes unnecessary burden and retards even acquiring the minimum educational and general standards.

"Our Party stand is that:

"(a) The medium of instruction at all stages including the university and post-graduate stages should be through the regional languages and English should be replaced at least within five years;

"(b) Elementary education up to 7th or 8th standard should be imparted only through mother-tongue or regional language and no other language be made compulsory;

"(c) In the secondary and university stages, facilities should be provided for learning of English and Hindi for those children who want to learn them.

"Our Party stand is that all administrative works, especially all matters connected with the people, even in central Government departments and offices situated in different linguistic regions and states should be conducted in those regional languages.

"And all personnel necessary to man the central services after recruitment should be asked to learn the additional language that would be necessary to carry on this office work, depending on the nature of the work and place of his posting. Learning of or proficiency in Hindi, English or any other language should not be made the general precondition for any central recruitment and promotion.

"It is only by assuring equality of different state languages and their simultaneous development that ultimately the people in the multilingual Indian Union will forge strong fraternal bonds and choose voluntarily Hindi alone or Hindi along with some other language as their administrative language or languages at the Centre. Any other course is bound to lead to the disruption of Indian unity."

States and Centre Relations

Communist Party of India (Marxist) Programme on the issue states:

“Although our state structure is supposed to be a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the central Government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy very limited power and opportunities; their autonomy is formal. This makes these states precariously dependent on the central Government, restricts their development and other nation building activities and thus hinders their progress.

“It is but natural that in such a situation the contradiction between the central Government and the states should have grown. Underlying these contradictions often lie the deeper contradiction between the big bourgeoisie of this or that state on the other. This deeper contradiction gets constantly aggravated due to the accentuation of the unevenness of economic development under capitalism”.

The Central Committee resolution on *Political and Economic Developments* adopted on August 27, 1967, states:

“Widest autonomy and greater resources for the states; to begin with (a) 75 per cent share of all the taxes centrally collected should go to the states; (b) most of the subjects in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution should be transferred to the states; and (c) all officials belonging to all India services like the IAS, IPS, etc., should be completely under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Governments of the states in which they serve.”

On Naga, Mizo and Assam Hill People's Problem

The Programme of the CPI(M) states:

“In some states there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct languages, culture, and traditions. These people are undergoing transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness, which finds no opportunity for expression in their present condition of

being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union. They demand regional or full autonomy to advance their regions where their numbers and geographical lay out permit such a possibility. But the bourgeoisie for whom this tribal people become good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who, because of their tribal conditions, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or disrupts them by some concessions to their top leaders."

"The tribal areas or the areas where population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social and cultural conditions will have regional autonomy with regional Government within the state concerned and shall receive full assistance for the development, or full autonomy."

2. The Central Committee resolution adopted at its meeting held from June 12 to 19, 1966, on the *Naga and Mizo Problem* runs as follows:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes that relations between the Centre and the Nagas have not registered any significant change for the better. The talks between the Prime Minister and her colleagues on the one hand and the representatives of the Nagas on the other have not led to any political settlement of the problem.

"In the meantime, another centre of tension has arisen in the Mizo district of Assam. The Mizo National Front has raised its banner of revolt in the same way in which the Nagas did a few years ago. The leaders of the Government and the ruling party themselves admit that the situation is getting serious.

"The Central Committee is of the opinion that it is the Government's failure to take necessary steps for economic and cultural development and to grant autonomy in time that led to the conflict with the Nagas and Mizos. The use of force to suppress them has only further intensified the conflict.

"The Central Committee, therefore, demands that the

Government should stop its military measures and start talks with the representatives of the Mizos.

"The Central Committee demands that the Government should continue the cease-fire and talks with the Nagas.

"The Central Committee further calls on the Government that it should concede the demand for the formation of a separate Assam Hills people's state."

3. The Polit Bureau on December 7, 1967, adopted a resolution on *Assam Hill People's Demand* which is given below:

"Assam, with a number of tribes in the Hills, who have their own languages and tribal customs and way of life, and with a many times more Assamese and Bengalee-speaking population in the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys, has been the scene of agitation by tribal peoples of the hill areas for a separate hill state. It is absolutely essential in the interest of the security of the country that their fear of being dominated by the plains people be removed and a sense of contentment prevails among the tribal peoples of the hills who are on the borders of the country.

"The Government of India, in the communique of the Home Ministry dated January 13, 1967, committed itself to reorganize the state on the basis of a federation of equal units, and further stated that the details of the scheme should be worked out within a period of six months. The leaders of the hill people accepted this proposal.

"However, due to pressure from the Congress party of Assam it sought to resile from its commitments and appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Asoka Mehta to go into whole quesiton. In the face of this resiling from the commitments by the Government of India, the leaders of the hill people understandably boycotted the committee.

"Although it has recommended the constitution of one or more legislative assemblies for the tribal areas and transfer of a number of subjects to their assemblies, the Asoka Mehta Committee's recommendations are understandably rejected by the hill people. For, under the scheme of the Committee,

there is no equality between the units. Key and important subjects like law and order, industrial development, higher education, etc., are left to the Assam Assembly, in which the tribal representatives will be in a small minority.

“Even with regard to the subjects transferred to the tribal assemblies, the Chief Minister of Assam will have overriding powers as he alone has the right to recommend any measure passed by the legislative assemblies of the tribal areas for the approval of the Governor. Moreover, he alone has the right to appoint the Minister for the Assam state from the tribal areas.

“The Polit Bureau, therefore, demands that in the interests of strengthening the unity of the country, the central Government should carry on their commitment of reorganising the state on a federal basis, and that the subjects to be reserved for the common federal assembly should be by mutual agreement between the federating units.

“The Polit Bureau is also of the opinion that if the central Congress Government cannot persuade now its own party and other political forces of the Assam plains, then it will have to concede separate statehood to the hill districts of Assam and will have to work to bring about voluntary federation of equal units at a later stage.”

4. The Assam State Committee of the CPI(M) adopted the following resolutions in its meeting held at Gauhati from June 6 to 9, 1968 :

On the Reorganization Issue

“The Assam State Committee of the CPI(M) having considered the latest position as regards the issue of reorganisation of Assam, deeply regrets that the Government of India has again deferred the due declaration on this issue.

“The Party had been viewing the latest proposal with an amount of expectation, as it could have been a basis of a political settlement acceptable both to the plains and the hills. This proposal blended the principles of full autonomy with legislative organ of power, with the possibility of unity

for common interest of the entire Assam zone. The Committee notes with regret that, by raising unreasonable objection as regards law and order, the Congress leadership now is trying to back out from the promise solemnly given to hills people. Autonomy without police power will mean little or nothing in a case like this. The conferment of police power on a government responsible to an elected legislature, can by no means, constitute danger to the security of any part of India. If it does, then the Constitution of the land becomes meaningless. The Government of India has enough constitutional power to ensure proper use of power given to a state. In any case, it is a strange argument that a section of our Indian people cannot be relied upon with power that can readily be conferred on Governors!

“The position of Shillong cannot be a bar to a settlement. There are constitutional guarantees of minority rights and citizenship rights; moreover, special provisions safeguarding minority rights and legitimate interests may always be agreed upon. But in no case can a handful of people having vested interests be allowed to stand in the way of a political settlement of the hill problem.

“There is no doubt that the attitude of the Congress is holding up a settlement, which both the peoples of the plains and the hills now desire. Examining the objection of the Congress leadership raised against the latest proposal, one cannot but conclude that a settlement is being deliberately scuttled, and instead, ground is being sought to be prepared for a ‘nailed fist’ policy of suppression in the hills. The sad consequence to which such a policy would lead is too well known in Assam; the Party warns that, the people both in the plains and in the hills should take serious note of this blind policy, which will gravely harm the people’s interests.

“The Party reiterates its well-known stand on this issue: it stands for full autonomy and statehood for the hills, within united Assam on the basis of complete, equality of status or directly under the Indian Union.

“The Party notes with satisfaction that, the right of the

hills to have a separate state, if they so desire, is being recognized by large number of people in the plains itself. It ardently hopes that the democratic movement in the plains and in the hills would stand unitedly for a fair settlement, against the discredited Congress policy of domination and conflict”

On the Plains Tribal Movement

“The Assam State Committee of the CPI(M) notes with deep concern that the Congress Government while it leaves the hills problem unsolved, has succeeded in creating another tribal issue in Assam involving the plains tribals this time. The repression let loose against the workers and supporters of the Plains Tribal Council at Kokrajhar showed that a plains tribal minority, the Bodos, have been thrown, from the position of a peaceful agitation into the vortex of political struggle launched with bullets and lathis in well-known Congress style.

“The Committee condemns the repression on the leaders and supporters of the plains tribal movement and demands that they be released and normal civil rights be restored in this area. The problems of the national tribal minorities are serious political problems and the method of repression and suppression is not only futile but extremely pernicious in the context of situation in Assam. The Congress, by its tribal policy, has already damaged the cause of Assam and her unity. There should be an end to it.

“As a backward minority, Bodos have every right to agitate for removal of disabilities, inequalities and social injustice. The Congress Government being the Government of the rich, never did justice to the national tribal minorities. Bodos are mainly peasants. It did not protect their lawful tribal lands for encroachment and grabbing by landlords and money-lenders. The officials did not act in the cases. In cultural matters, primary schools in Bodro language could be provided for one sub-division only, after a decade, covering less than one-twentieth of the plains tribal population and

one-twelfth of the Bodo population! Apart from this they suffer from social disabilities as they are considered to be socially inferior and unequal. Their economic condition, based on cultivation only, has been ruined by rapacious landlords and moneylenders, most of whom are non-tribals. And against this discrimination and injustice, when the tribal people rise in protest, the Congress Government finds no answer other than policeman's baton!

"The Communist Party of India (Marxist) supports the just and legitimate demand of the tribal minorities for equality and social justice with economic and cultural development. The problems of plain tribals differ from that of the hills tribal nationalities who have homogeneous home regions. The plains tribals are an interspersed minority, whose political and cultural rights should be freed from fetters of inequality. Their language must be treated with full respect due to an Indian language making it the medium of instruction, step by step, for high schools. There should be no discrimination in the matter of service and representation which must be proportionate to their population at all levels. Their lands should be restored and protected and special aid should be given for economic development. All traces of domination by non-tribal vested interests should be erased and there should be more tribal administrators in areas of tribal concentration.

"Such are some of the minimum tasks which should be taken up. Social inequality and racial domination are crimes, which must be combated by every democrat in the country. The Party appeals to all, tribal and non-tribal, to unite for land, food, work, democratic rights, and minority rights and defeat this regime of domination, chauvinism, and exploitation."

On Communalism and Casteism

The Programme states:

"The big bourgeois leadership loudly proclaims that ours is a secular democracy and is opposed to religious and

obscurantist principles being imported into it. But the truth is, far from effectively combating these anti-secular trends, the bourgeoisie gives concessions to them and strengthens them. Its leaders do not take a consistently secular stand, but are themselves victims of religious obscurantism." They try to distort the whole concept of secularism; they would have the people believe that, instead of complete separation of religion and politics from each other, secularism means freedom for all religious faiths to equally interfere in the political life of the people. This approach of the bourgeoisie can be clearly seen in several official documents and reports. Furthermore, the concessions that they give to the communalism of the majority can be seen in the fact that in constituting the National Integration Council the central Government had no hesitation in appointing the representatives of the Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahashabha while scrupulously keeping out the representatives of non-Hindu communal organizations. Not stopping at that the ruling classes do not hesitate to foment the differences between nationalities and communities to disrupt the popular movement in order to further their narrow class interests.

"Our Party, therefore, has the duty to fight an uncompromising struggle for the consistent implementation of the principle of secularism. Even the slightest departure from that principle should be exposed and fought. While defending the right of every religious community whether it is the majority or minority—as well as of those who have no faith in any religion to believe in and practise whatever religion they like or to remain irreligious, the Party should fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the social, economic, political and administrative life of the nation. Equally opposing the efforts of the leaders of all religious groups to interfere in the public life of the country, we should concentrate fire on the chauvinistic leaders of the majority religious community—the Hindus. At the same time, we should continue to point out to the minority religious groups that their legitimate rights can be defended and protected only

on the basis of a consistent application of the principles of secularism.

“In conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights to the minorities provided in the Constitution are also not implemented. The bourgeois-landlord state thus fosters centrifugal and disruptive forces and fails to build the unity of the country on secure foundations.

“Abolition of social oppression of one caste by another, untouchability to be punished by law. Special facilities for the scheduled castes, tribes and other backward communities shall be provided in the matter of services and other social and educational amenities.

“Separation of the state from all religious institutions, the secular character of the state will be guaranteed. Interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the political life of the country shall be prohibited.

“Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.”

Letter to Andhra Comrades*

**Letter sent by the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to
Andhra Comrades in June 1968**

Dear Comrades,

The meeting of the Central Committee, which was held at Burdwan, following the conclusion of the debate on and adoption of the ideological draft, reviewed the political-organisational developments inside the Party and took certain decisions. One of these decisions was to address a Party Letter to all party members in Andhra, and the Polit Bureau was directed to draft and forward it to comrades in Andhra.

What is the nature of the problem that our party unit in Andhra Pradesh is faced with and why has it become necessary for the C.C. to address such a letter to the entire membership?

The alternative drafts presented to the Central Plenum by some leading comrades of Andhra, the majority decision of the Andhra Plenum rejecting the C.C.'s draft and the resolution placed before the Central Plenum, the detailed exposition of the political views contained in the alternative drafts by one of the important spokesmen chosen by their votaries, and a series of amendments moved and supported by the majority of delegates from Andhra, make it abundantly clear that the differences with the present political-ideological line of the Party do not confine themselves to one or two individual issues or propositions in the C.C.'s ideological draft, but constitute a fundamental opposition to a whole series of basic questions concerning the Indian revolutionary movement as well as the international communist movement.

*Published as a booklet in June 1968.

The Central Plenum, after a free, frank and thorough discussion, decisively rejected the alternative drafts and the political line propounded in them as totally wrong and basically departing from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. It characterised it as a fully worked out left-adventurist line which stands diametrically opposed to the Party Programme and the political line of our Party.

This, undoubtedly, is a serious political development, and its gravity is all the more heightened because of the fact that this left deviation has come to dominate one of our Party's key strongholds, namely, Andhra, which has occupied a proud place inside the Indian communist movement during the last three decades and more.

Not merely this. Such a fundamental opposition to the political line of our Party, obviously, cannot but have its direct imprint on the party organisation in the state as well as the entire Party in the country. The reports made by the members of the Central Committee from Andhra in the meeting of the C.C. and the one, in particular, presented by Comrade Hanumantha Rao, Secretary of the State Committee, have convinced the C.C. beyond a shadow of doubt that the party unit in Andhra is in the midst of a serious inner-party crisis which, in its turn, has virtually paralysed the functioning of the State Committee and its Secretariat for the last two months and more. The reports also reveal that disruptive tendencies of groupism, factionalism, indiscipline and even open defiance of party forms, at different levels, have come to freely prevail. Instead of sharply reacting against this menace, the C.C. learns that a sort of justification is sought to be given to these evil manifestations by some comrades, who argue that it is, after all, the sharp expression of serious political-ideological divergencies and, hence, need cause no big concern and worry to the Party and C.C. Some comrades even go to the length of maintaining that these sad developments are mainly due to the C.C. and its persistence in upholding its ideological-political line, which according to them, is right-reformist and revisionist, and, hence, they should be

treated as a necessary part of the "inner-party struggle" for a correct revolutionary line.

The C.C. views these developments in the Andhra unit as a serious threat to the Party's unity in the state. It decides to do its utmost to defend the unity in the Andhra state unit and assist the erring comrades in overcoming their left-opportunist deviation, and to strictly adhere to the Party's political line and its organisational discipline. This, in short, is the object of the present Party Letter, and we shall endeavour to point out how on a series of ideological-political issues, several leading comrades in Andhra are swayed into extreme left-sectarian positions, and how they will have to seriously rethink and retrace from these erroneous views.

Let us start from the basic concept of the present epoch, the controversy around this concept and its implications and see how the right-revisionist and left-opportunist distortions express themselves on it.

1. New Epoch

The concept of the new epoch, in short, is nothing but the reassessment of the new alignment of class forces on a global scale in the period following the Soviet victory in the second world war which culminated in the formation of the formidable world socialist camp, comprising one-third of humanity and one-fourth of the earth's surface. This big and fundamental change in the correlation of class forces on an international scale has its immense revolutionary implications and no Marxist-Leninist can work out correct strategy and tactics of revolution without fully grasping the significance of these changes, with all the implications that accompany these changes. Hence the utmost importance of a precise definition of the present epoch and the need to concretise what it exactly signifies in class terms to the world proletariat fighting for its final emancipation from wage slavery.

What is the controversy over this question in the world communist movement? The controversy, in fact, is not so

much regarding either the definition of the epoch or about the new radical changes in the world balance of class forces that have come about.

The entire controversy centres round the issue as to how the modern revisionists are distorting the meaning and significance of the new epoch, how under cover of the new epoch they seek to negate class contradictions and class struggle, how they attempt to revise the valid Marxist-Leninist propositions applicable to the entire epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale, and as to how the bankrupt and class-collaborationist thesis of so-called peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and peaceful transition is sought to be made into a general line of the world communist movement.

Further, as clearly seen in the case of the Indian revisionists, they extended this right-opportunist thesis to a number of questions connected with revolutions in colonial and economically dependent and newly liberated countries. The repudiation of the concept of proletarian hegemony in the people's democratic revolution, the advocacy of the so-called independent or non-capitalist path of development under the joint hegemony of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the deceptive picturing of the role of socialist aid as though it counteracts the evils of foreign monopoly capital and paves the way to the country's industrial revolution, the defining of the present Indian state as a 'bourgeois state' and by implication, virtually negating the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution, and the advocacy of faith in the parliamentary and peaceful path *in practice*, despite certain demagogic slogans to cheat the gullible, are some of the crude manifestations of modern revisionism.

Our Party Programme decisively rejects one and all of these revisionist distortions of Marxist-Leninist propositions. Our ideological resolution adopted at the Burdwan Central Plenum carries forward the correct programmatic understanding and clarifies the issues connected with the world communist

movement. This principled and uncompromising fight against the menace of modern revisionist theories and practice shall have to continue and it is our earnest duty as Marxist-Leninists to carry it to the end.

But, in the name of carrying on the struggle against modern revisionism and the right-opportunist distortion of the meaning and significance of the new epoch, certain left-sectarian and infantile trends are raising their head. If they are not fought and eliminated promptly, no effective struggle against modern revisionism or the determined defence of Marxism-Leninism is possible.

How do they express in our Party as revealed in the inner-party discussions on our ideological draft?

Some comrades object to the very concept of the new epoch and maintain that there is nothing new from what Lenin had defined in his time, i.e., the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, "the era of social revolution is beginning", etc. They seem to entertain the wrong idea that this whole concept of the new epoch is the 'creation' of the modern revisionists in order to push forward their class-collaborationist theories under its cover. Thus their entire wrath and hatred towards revisionist distortion of the significance of the new epoch is allowed to cloud their revolutionary vision making it difficult for them to perceive the real meaning and content of the new epoch.

These comrades are obviously wrong and the new big class changes in the post-second war period were being noted by Marxist-Leninists, long before the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. To cite a few: "The end of the second world war brought with it *big changes* in the world situation. The military defeat of the bloc of fascist states, the character of the war of liberation from fascism and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in vanquishing the aggressors, *sharply altered the alignment of forces between the two systems— the socialist and capitalist— in favour of socialism*". (A. Zhdanov, *International Situation*, September 1947—*Emphasis added*).

“This is the *historic epoch* in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down their doom and world socialism and people’s democracy are marching to victory”. “*The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp has surpassed that of the imperialist camp.*” (Mao Tse-tung, December 25, 1947—*Emphasis added*).

The same is more positively and clearly asserted thus: “It is a *great new epoch* that we are facing, and its main characteristic is that the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, that the forces of the awakening people of the world have surpassed those of reaction.” (CPC, *Long Live Leninism*, April 16, 1960—*Emphasis added*)

Any number of such references to the concept of the new epoch can be cited from the speeches and writings of Marxist-Leninists, and it is totally wrong to dismiss it as the ‘invention’ of the modern revisionists. It is utterly unbecoming of a communist to shun the assessment of new alignment of class forces for fear of the revisionists running away with it and distorting it.

There are some other comrades who, too, are victims of a left deviation. They formally, no doubt, agree with the concept of the new epoch but in practice negate its existence.

On the one hand, they grossly exaggerate the world revolutionary situation depicting world capitalism to be ‘on the verge of final collapse’ and advocate aggressive tactics of revolution, and on the other, weave out theories that modern revisionism—the outcome of the external pressure of imperialism and the internal influence of the bourgeoisie—has more or less succeeded in ‘peacefully’ transforming several socialist states including the Soviet Union into allies of U.S. imperialism for the division of the world into spheres of influence.

This sectarian school of thought indulges in the glib talk of the existence of a powerful socialist camp, but when defining it, all socialist countries including the USSR which are under the leadership of the modern revisionists are virtually

discounted and the People's Republic of China and Albania are talked of as the only two states constituting the socialist camp at present.

They talk of U.S. imperialism being isolated and encircled by world people's revolutionary flames and simultaneously advance the thesis of U.S.-Soviet axis for the encirclement and annihilation of People's China, the only remaining "base of world revolution and liberation".

If the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist Parties maintains that "it is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society", the left-sectarians maintain that national liberation movements play the decisive role in the destruction of imperialism and for the final emancipation of mankind.

In the year 1960, when representatives of the world Communist Parties met, there were 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. Subsequently some more Communist Parties have been formed in the newly liberated countries of Africa and other continents. Some left-sectarians argue that most of these parties have ceased to be Communist Parties by virtue of their being led by the modern revisionists, and consequently, the CPC and some other parties it recognises as Marxist-Leninist, alone remain as the Communist Parties of the world. Thus it is not a powerful world communist movement, with whatever revisionist and dogmatist defects afflicting it, that exists today, but one or two real Communist Parties and some splinter groups in different countries that agree to follow them.

If all the above-mentioned views are pieced together and their class meaning is assessed concretely, the new alignment of class forces that goes into the making of the new epoch simply disappears, and the picture of a totally different alignment of forces on a world scale emerges. The left-sectarians do not realise the line they advocate lands them into such an absurd position, and when the C.C. sharply points it out, they 'protest' that their viewpoint is distorted.

This grossly sectarian and clearly subjective understanding of the new epoch and the alignment of class forces that constitutes it run like a red thread in several propositions of theirs on a series of issues connected with the communist movement in India and the world as well. Unless these comrades rectify their erroneous views on this question, they can neither succeed in overcoming the sectarian positions on a series of connected issues nor can they fall in line with the correct political line of the Party.

2. On the Character of Indian Independence

With the new and changed correlation of class forces in the world arena in favour of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces, the capacity of the imperialists to practise, as they did before the second world war, trickery and deception of conferring nominal and formal independence, while retaining the actual and real political power in their hands, is considerably restricted and weakened. The imperialists, confronted with the formidable socialist camp on the one hand and the world working class movement and the surging tide of world-wide national liberation movements on the other, were compelled to compromise with the bourgeois leaders of the national liberation struggles and concede national independence to scores of colonial countries in the period following the second war. As a matter of fact the imperialists have changed their tactics in the radically changed conditions of the world from the old colonial method of direct, military-political rule over colonies to the indirect methods of economic, political, trade and aid, etc., to perpetuate their colonial plunder, while not hesitating to use direct, military and aggressive methods when faced with popular revolutions threatening the very foundations of foreign monopoly capital in these newly liberated countries.

In the new conditions created as a result of the new radically altered balance of world forces, the national bourgeoisie—both big and non-big—of the newly liberated countries have secured new opportunities, not only to play between

the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism for their class advantage but also on the rivalries between different imperialist states; they have found additional opportunities in the newly secured state power to assert their political independence to bargain hard with the imperialists and also to beat down the internal popular revolutionary movements wherever they tend to acquire such sweep and tempo as to threaten their exploiting class rule.

It is precisely this new situation that offered scope for the emergence of the so-called foreign policy of non-alignment and independence as an important political phenomenon to be taken into account; it is again this fundamentally altered alignment of forces in the international arena that enabled several newly liberated countries, under bourgeois leadership, to conceive the so-called planned industrial development with the 'aid' of both the socialist and the imperialist states; it is this new world situation that forms the background where even some of the smallest newly liberated states under bourgeois leadership are, sometimes, able to stand up against the imperialist pressure and blackmail.

Our Party, during the period 1947-55, did fail to take due note of these big new world changes and, instead, tried to assess the meaning and significance of the newly won national independence of India in the old frame-work and characterised Indian independence as formal and fake; and rejected the new status of India as of either political independence or national independence, and thus committed a left error.

The right-reformists and revisionists, in the name of the new epoch and under the plea of correcting the then-prevailing sectarian and dogmatic understanding on the issue, have come to the conclusion, that Indian independence is, more or less, complete and real, that what has come to exist in India is a *bourgeois state with a bourgeois government*, and that all that is required to remove the weaknesses, if any, and make it full and complete, is to build an independent

economy with the aid of the socialist camp and also by hard bargaining with the imperialist bloc. Thus, by implication, they reduce the stage of our revolution to the socialist stage and consequently, even skip the present democratic or agrarian stage of our revolution which has to complete the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks. But they continue to talk of national democracy under the joint leadership of the bourgeoisie and the working class or under the leadership of all firm anti-imperialist forces to carry out the tasks of the present stage of the Indian revolution.

Further, they draw two other totally false lessons, i.e., that Indian independence could be achieved without violent revolution, and through peaceful means; and that the national bourgeois leadership could secure it contrary to the commonly asserted communist stand that the proletariat alone is destined to lead the successful struggle against imperialism for national independence in the present era.

It is this non-class right-reformist assessment of Indian independence that gave birth to the bankrupt thesis that the internal policy of the Congress government is directed towards the building of independent capitalist economy and a corresponding social structure, and that the foreign policy it is pursuing, is a policy of non-alignment, independence, peace and anti-colonialism, which deserves the support of the proletariat. It is this thesis that ended up in the advocacy of the infamous slogan of united front with the so-called progressive wing of the Congress party and government, against the so-called, 'extreme right reaction' both inside and outside the Congress, which is depicted as the sole danger.

The Programme of our Party decisively rejected both these right and left errors, has concretely and correctly assessed the nature and character of Indian independence in the background of the emergence of the new epoch after the end of the second world war:

"As a result, the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan, and political power was transferred to the leaders of the Congress party on August 15, 1947. Thus ended the

political rule of the British in India and a state headed by the Indian big bourgeoisie was established. With this the first stage of the Indian revolution, the stage of general national united front, chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule, came to an end”.

“The British imperialists hoped that despite the transfer of power, they would be able, by their entrenched positions in our economy, to make our independence *formal*. But the course of historical development since then has been disappointing to the imperialists and their hopes were belied.” (*Party Programme*, para 3 and 4).

But, once again, the left-sectarian trend inside the Party is advocating the thesis of Indian independence being ‘formal’, ‘fake’, etc. The difference from the 1948-55 mistake, of course, is that if earlier our national independence was characterised as ‘formal’ and ‘bogus’ under the British imperialists, it is now described as ‘formal’ and ‘fake’ under the U.S. imperialists; if earlier the sectarian thesis on the issue was sought to be buttressed with the argument that the national bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism and surrendered before it because of the imminent threat of class revolution at home, the present thesis argues that the ruling big bourgeoisie has been transformed into a comprador bourgeoisie, that the internal class contradictions have become so acute, reaching the stage of ‘armed revolution facing armed counter-revolution’, that, as a result, the bourgeoisie has finally gone over to imperialism and surrendered national independence; and if the earlier sectarian assessment reduced Indian political independence to a satellite status under the old colonialism of the British imperialists, the new sectarianism seeks to define it as a puppet status under the U.S. imperialists, a neo-colonial state.

If modern revisionists ‘liquidate’ imperialism by the magic word of the new epoch, the modern sectarians seek to liquidate the entire significance and political import of the new epoch, virtually reducing it to mean that U.S. neo-colonialism has replaced the old colonialism of the British.

3. The Stage of the Indian Revolution

It is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism that there are not, and cannot be, revolutions without stages. It is, again, the ABC of Marxism that each of these stages of the revolution is distinguished by one contradiction as the principal contradiction since "at every stage in the development of a process, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role". (Mao Tse-tung)

Our Party Programme describes the nature of our revolution in the present stage as essentially anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic (Para 96).

Consistent with the stage of the revolution, the principal contradiction is pinpointed as the one between feudal and semi-feudal landlordism and the great mass of the peasantry, or in political terms, between the bourgeois-landlord state and government, led by the big bourgeoisie, defending the landlord order and protecting the foreign monopoly interests, and the entire people interested in the completion of the people's democratic revolution.

The revisionists, on the one hand, characterise the present Indian state and government as a bourgeois state and government and, on the other, define the stage of the revolution as democratic or in their terminology national democratic. If the state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie as they assert, then, a revolution against that state power cannot but be proletarian, socialist in character. Since they have given up Marxism, these contradictory characterizations do not worry them. Nor do they bother to define which is the principal contradiction in the present stage of the Indian revolution.

The left-sectarians formally accept that the present stage of our revolution is people's democratic or agrarian. But when the question of defining the principal contradiction of this stage of the revolution is undertaken, they passionately argue that the country's sovereignty has been surrendered to U.S. imperialism, that the big bourgeoisie has transformed itself into compradors and lackeys of U.S. imperialism, and thus the contradiction between the nation as a whole on the

one hand and the U.S. imperialists and its lackeys on the other has been intensified and assumed the character of the principal contradiction. They do not stop for a while to think that they are arguing in support of the national liberation stage or the all-in national united front stage of the revolution and against the people's democratic or agrarian stage.

4. The Indian Big Bourgeoisie and its Character

The right-reformists and revisionists do not lag behind others in formally denouncing the Indian big bourgeoisie as monopolists and big business who are reactionary and counter-revolutionary. They, too, exclude them in words from the revolutionary front in their class strategy for democratic revolution. Then how does their right-opportunism express itself on the issue? They deliberately hide the fact, first, that the big bourgeoisie is in the leadership of the present Indian state and government, and, second, they deny the fact of their alliance with big landlordism, the alliance for the preservation and perpetuation of their class rule and exploitation through compromise and collaboration with foreign monopoly capital. The revisionists maintain that it is the non-big national bourgeoisie which, in the main, is at the helm of the state and government and its only crime is allowing the big bourgeoisie "to hold powerful influence" and "having strong links" with the landlords. From this opportunist and class-collaborationist thesis comes their bankrupt policy of support to and unity with the Congress party and government, in order to rescue it from the pernicious clutches of the so-called extreme right reaction, represented 'by the big monopolists and landlords. The latest volte-face of the revisionists and their loud-mouthed denunciations of the Congress government and noisy slogans of anti-Congressism do in no way absolve them from this guilt, because their basic understanding on the class character of the state and government, as formulated in their programme, remains basically the same in spite of their latest modifications at the Patna congress of their party.

How does left-sectarianism express itself on this controversial question? In the past, the left-sectarian view contended that the entire Indian bourgeoisie—big and non-big—had gone over to imperialism under the growing threat of class revolution at home, and that it had become the lackey and stooge of British imperialism. Hence, there was no question of any section of the bourgeoisie having a place in the class strategy of the democratic revolution, and the two stages—democratic and socialist—of the revolution got “intertwined” into one stage since it had to be a revolution against the entire bourgeoisie, big and non-big.

Our Party Programme steers clear of these two deviations, right and left-opportunist in character, and incorporates the correct Marxist-Leninist conclusions on the issue.

But, once again, certain sections inside the Party supported by others from outside the Party, are denouncing the programmatic formulations and are demanding their revision in a thoroughly left-sectarian direction. Of course, it now wears a new garb and plays a new tune. The left-sectarians argue that the Indian big bourgeoisie has been transformed into a comprador bourgeoisie and, consequently, it has become the stooge and lackey of U.S. imperialism; that, since the Indian big bourgeoisie is comprador and serving as the lackey of imperialism, it has no contradictions whatsoever with foreign monopoly capital which need to be taken into account and tactically utilised by the Indian working class in its struggle for the people’s democratic revolution; that the Indian big bourgeoisie and the government dominated by it are neither in a position to utilise the inter-imperialist contradictions, to any extent, nor can they afford to play between the world camps of socialism and imperialism; and finally because of all these developments and, in particular, due to the extremely sharpened class contradictions at home, a shift in the contradictions has come about. The contradiction between the nation as a whole and the U.S. and its comprador lackeys has assumed the role of the principal contradiction and, consequently, a shift takes place

in the stage of our revolution, that is a shift to the stage of general national united front, when the edge of the revolution is to be chiefly directed against U.S. imperialism with the slogan of 'national liberation-war' against U.S. imperialism and its Indian stooges.

5. On the Assessment of Capitalist Path

The new Indian state and government, under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, embarked upon the so-called five-year plans of development and even gave it the name of building a 'socialist pattern of society' in India. Before 1955-56, our Party was denouncing them as plans carried out under the dictates of the imperialists and in league with them. They were described as only "the means of looting the state budget by foreign firms of experts and suppliers, by high-placed bureaucrats in charge and big speculators on the stock exchange."

Subsequently, in the name of correcting this sectarian, lopsided and negative understanding, the dominant leadership of the then united CPI, had begun to move in exactly the opposite direction, the direction of right-reformism and revisionism. In course of time, step by step, the revisionists have degenerated into unashamed apologists of the Indian big bourgeoisie and its capitalist path.

The right-revisionists assert that "the national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself the task of putting the country on the path of *independent* capitalist development" (Para 32 of the Rightist Programme). Their programme states: "In pursuance of this general aim the Congress governments have substantially curbed feudal vested interests..."

Thus, neither is the big bourgeoisie found in the leadership of the new state and government, nor has big landlordism any place in the state and government power. 'National bourgeoisie' secured power! And took upon its head the task of independent capitalist building! And the "national proletariat" under revisionist leadership has to ally with this "national bourgeoisie" to transform it into a 'non-capitalist path'!

The right revisionists assert that “the public sector becomes an instrument of building an independent national economy, of weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and, to a certain extent, of Indian monopolies” and the same “public sector goes a long way towards eliminating the legacy of our colonial past.” (*Aspects of CPI Programme*, pp. 8-9)

The revisionist programme also views “socialist aid as *essential* for independent anti-imperialist economic growth, as a *crucial* force aiding the completion of the national democratic revolution.” (*Aspects of CPI Programme*, pp. 9-10 —*Emphasis added*)

Our Party Programme has resolutely rejected this line as crassest revisionism and also corrected the left-sectarian and dogmatic approach that was current in the early period of 1948-55. Clear, correct and unequivocal formulations are made on one and all the topics connected with the capitalist path of the Indian ruling class.

However, once again, a left-sectarian and dogmatic trend is now raising its head, and is openly challenging the line of the Party Programme on the issue of the capitalist path and its political and economic implications.

The fundamental critique of the capitalist path from the Marxist-Leninist angle is being erroneously understood and interpreted as though no industrial development of any significance is possible or has taken place, that the development of capitalism and capitalist relations in any degree is completely ruled out, and that all that has taken place under the capitalist path is only the increasing dominance of foreign monopoly capital and the strengthening and further consolidation of feudal and semi-feudal land relations. Thus the strategical despising of the capitalist path is being mechanically and dogmatically projected into its tactical evaluation, refusing to take into account the development of capitalism and capitalist relations under the bourgeois-landlord government.

If the right-opportunists and revisionists grossly exaggerate

the potentialities of the capitalist path of development and then proceed to weave out theories of so-called 'independent development' and 'industrial revolution' led by the bourgeoisie, the sectarians seek to discover only increasing dependence on imperialism in every new step in the direction of setting up industries, and the strengthening of feudal and semi-feudal land relations, in every step of agrarian reform or in every new technique in the field of agriculture.

If the revisionists indulge in the impermissible talk of "socialist aid as the crucial force aiding the completion of the national democratic revolution", the left-sectarians look upon socialist aid as the main lever through which U.S. capital penetrates into and dominates over, our national economy.

They characterise Soviet aid as aid intended to buttress the reactionary governments in order to gang them up against the People's Republic of China.

If revisionists sing panegyrics to the public sector in industries and depict it as an instrument to liquidate the grip of foreign capital and to curb native monopoly capital, the sectarians describe the public sector as an instrument to develop subservience to the imperialists as well as native big capital.

The fundamental truth that there is no capitalist path opened before our bourgeoisie under the present epoch is being extended to its absurd limits of negating the actual extent of development of capitalism and capitalist relations in the country; and finally, this sectarian trend seeks to drag the Party back to the mistaken positions of 1948-55, which the Party has corrected.

6. On the Issue of Foreign Policy

The government of India, soon after it took over the reins of the newly liberated state, declared that it would pursue a policy of friendship, neutrality and independence in its relations with the nations of the world and this has come to be characterised as a policy of non-alignment, peace, independence and anti-colonialism.

The policy of non-alignment, of course, it goes without saying, is in the main, a class policy of the bourgeoisie heading the weak and economically backward countries and states. It enables them, in one degree or other, to play between the two world camps and also on the rivalries between different imperialist states, to their class advantage; in objective, political terms this trend of non-alignment, in the measure it resists being drawn into the aggressive war-blocs of the imperialists, is anti-imperialist; and it is incumbent on the forces of socialism and democracy to utilise this trend in the general world anti-imperialist struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, while not for a moment forgetting either the treacherous and opportunist character of the class which adopts this policy, or the tremendous inconsistencies it exhibits when putting this policy into practice.

However, due to the inadequate assessment of this new big political trend and the new world conditions that gave birth to it, our Party, during 1948-55, was characterising the government as one that was essentially carrying the foreign policy of the British imperialists, and as following a foreign policy that was flirting with the USA and facilitating the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. Instead of seeing the dual character of the so-called policy of non-alignment and the dual nature of the class that is operating it, and accordingly adopting a dual tactic towards it we were dogmatically denouncing the non-alignment policy as merely the smokescreen for a policy subservient to the imperialists.

The right-reformist and opportunist trend in our Party adopted a non-class and revisionist interpretation of the concept of the "non-alignment policy". It was elevated to the height of genuine anti-imperialism, peace and anti-colonialism, clean missing the class which operates the said policy. They were also trying to mechanically copy the tactics of the Communist Parties in power, while echoing what the leaders of the socialist states were saying to the non-aligned governments at the governmental level—and all this in the name of proletarian internationalism and creative Marxism.

Our Party Programme has corrected the earlier sectarian approach and understanding on this issue and also resolutely rejected the revisionist line on the same.

But, once again, a noisy left-sectarian attack on the correct programmatic position of our Party is being launched by some comrades. They demand its revision, in a left-adventurist direction.

The present left-opportunist line describes the policy of non-alignment of the Indian government as a myth and a "big hoax and it is becoming a part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialists, an instrument to suppress national liberation struggles," and "an instrument to build an anti-China axis."

The very comrades who hold these views dare not deny that the non-alignment policy of the Government was "progressive, anti-imperialist" between 1954 and 1959, when the slogans of "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai and Hindi-Russi Bhai-Bhai" were rending the skies in India, but it is now denounced as imperialist-inspired because there are marked pro-imperialist stances in the current stage.

It is true, and our Party takes due note, that the single biggest factor that has gone to seriously undermine the non-alignment policy of the government since 1959 is the consistent anti-China policy that the government of India has embarked upon. Thereby, the government of India's policy of non-alignment, i.e., not joining either camp, has undergone a shift, since the open hostility and opposition to People's China, a country with 700 million population and a big part of the socialist camp, virtually places the Indian government in a state of undeclared war with one part of the socialist camp. The tall claims of the government leaders that their policy of non-alignment remains intact and unscathed are deceptive in the extreme.

Our Party Programme, after a thorough description of the different phases and facets of the non-alignment policy of the government, correctly concludes "that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken

for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies.”

But, from this, to conclude, as our sectarians do, that the entire policy of non-alignment is given up, that the relations with the rest of the socialist camp have come under complete rupture, and that the Indian government has aligned itself with the imperialist camp and become a subservient tool of U.S. imperialism, is obviously wrong and factually incorrect.

If, sometimes, the Government of Pakistan takes an independent stand, then it is considered as a measure of its national independence and its assertion!

But, if “sometimes the Indian Government appears to take an independent position, different from that of America,” then “such efforts are becoming more and more efforts to cover up its surrender to U.S. imperialism.”

With India “surrender to U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more real, while independence of the country is getting more and more formal”!

With Pakistan, the assertion of national independence is becoming more and more real while its alignment with military blocs simply formal!

The sectarian school of thought, which correctly notes that the bourgeois-landlord government of Pakistan that is formally aligned with the imperialist war blocs is able, in the recent period, to take steps in the direction of non-alignment, arrives at a totally incorrect conclusion that the non-alignment policy of the Indian government is given up for good, substituting it with a policy of total surrender and subservience to imperialists.

They do not ask themselves the question as to what are the new changes in the alignment of class forces, that enable the government of Pakistan to move in the direction of ‘non-alignment’ from ‘alignment’ and prevent the Indian government pursuing a policy of non-alignment and take it to alignment with the U.S. war blocs? They tacitly admit that the correlation of world forces, today, offer enough

possibilities for the weak and economically backward states to assert independence, in a measure, and be non-aligned. The main reason the left-sectarians ascribe to the said total 'surrender' of the Indian government is that internal class contradictions in India are extremely accentuated to the point of a threatening class revolution, and it is this that compels the government to completely abandon non-alignment and totally surrender to the imperialists.

This, obviously, is a grossly subjective and sectarian estimation of the situation, which we propose to deal with next.

7. The Current Situation and its Estimation

A correct estimation of the situation alone can enable a Communist Party to evolve a correct tactical line—this, of course, is an established Marxist-Leninist dictum. Lenin emphasised in his own time that "Tactics must be based on sober and strictly objective estimation of all the class forces in a given state—and in neighbouring states, and in all states the world over—as well as of the experiences of the revolutionary movements" (*"Left"-Wing Communism*). This truth is repeated over and over again by several Marxist-Leninist leaders, and history shows us that whichever revolutionary party ignored or neglected taking this truth into serious account had come to grief. Our own experience in the long past convincingly confirms the complete truth of this statement.

What was one of the main mistakes that cost us dearly during the period 1948-51? Besides a number of theoretical and ideological errors with regard to the stage and class strategy of revolution, they were the mistakes of overestimating the depth of the economic crisis, overestimating the political awakening of the classes and masses, the undue reliance on the spontaneous mass upsurge and the evolving of a political-tactical line on that basis—all this did prove immensely harmful to building and advancing the revolutionary movement.

Hardly two years after this, and even before the ink was dry on our 1948-51 lessons, our Party repeated another such

serious mistake. Basing on the electoral defeats of the Congress in 1952 and events following immediately and citing certain data that strengthened our pre-conceived conclusion, the Political Resolution, at Madurai, in 1954, declared: "All these make it unmistakably clear that what we are witnessing today is not merely the maturing of the economic crisis but, along with it, the initial stages of the development of a political crisis" (*Madurai Resolution*, p. 28). But life and events proved that it was a gross overestimation of the situation.

On the basis of such an estimation of the situation and in the background of that political understanding, our Party had gone into the mid-term election battle of Andhra in 1955. Again, how did we estimate the level of political and class consciousness of the people and the state of their class and mass organisations in Andhra? Life and history proved that we suffered from the mistake of a sectarian overestimation of the situation.

Let us take the latest example of the 1967 general elections. Does not our election review sharply bring out that in a number of states our committees had overestimated the mass strength of the Party, overestimated the degree of revisionist isolation and also grossly overestimated the degree of political consciousness of the people?

One of the sources of the rise and spurt of both the right-opportunist and left-sectarian deviations inside the communist movement is this monstrous mistake of over-estimation of a given situation, leading to political debacles and consequent frustration among the party ranks.

Taking all this into serious account the C.C., in its resolution on "New Situation and Party's Tasks" adopted immediately after the 1967 general elections, attempted to soberly assess and estimate the then-prevailing economic-political situation in the country.

It notes the deepening economic crisis, as an integral part of the world capitalist crisis, and also points out how the capitalist path of development, embarked upon by the big

bourgeoisie to extricate the national economy from the chronic crisis it was thrown into by the British colonialists, has itself got into a crisis.

Secondly, it notes the post-election political developments in the country and comes to the conclusion that a political crisis too has set in, and is in its initial stages.

Thirdly, it takes stock of the degree of political consciousness and the state of organisation of the masses and classes, in particular, the working class and the peasantry, and notes: the proletariat "as a class is very poorly organised, and to the extent it is organised in trade unions, the movement suffers from crude economism. Only a very small part of the organised trade union movement in the country is led by the Communist Party while the rest is under the leadership of several petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties. Its class consciousness is at a pitifully low level and its Communist Party is extremely weak and confronted with the menace of revisionism organised in the shape of the Right Communist Party. Living and functioning in a country as ours, with a predominantly agrarian population, its unity with the toiling masses, particularly with the peasantry, is not yet forged even in its rudimentary form. We as Marxist-Leninists are quite aware that the entire course of progress and the outcome of the struggle ultimately depends upon the degree of the development of the class consciousness and organisation of the proletariat as a class and its firm alliance with the peasantry. Our Central Committee has already examined the serious defects of our work in the working class and peasant fronts and discussed the ways and means to overcome them and these conclusions are embodied in two separate documents, now before the Party." (p. 51)

Lastly, the C.C. resolution, while presenting the picture of the new favourable situation that is developing in the country for the proletariat, warns thus: "The deepening economic crisis, no doubt, has now passed to the political sphere and set in motion a political crisis. And yet, it is still in its initial stages, though in the days to come it is bound to get

intensified and mature. Any attempt to over-rate or exaggerate the degree of its depth and maturity would lead us to grossly underestimate the immense reserves which they still have on the one hand, and to do everything to disrupt and suppress the popular struggles on the other to perpetuate their exploiting class rule. Such a wrong and oversimplified estimation is fraught with dangers to our Party and other democratic forces since it might land them into erroneous moves, and thus play into the enemy's hands." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, p. 50)

It is on the basis of such an assessment of the situation that the C.C. has worked out its political line to head different mass fronts and movements in the country.

The revisionists and their leaders who, for a decade upto now, were singing eulogies to the planned development and steady progress under the Congress regime discovered, in the post-election situation, a golden opportunity for staging a "parliamentary insurrection." They decided to ally with any and every party and accept ministerial posts wherever they were offered to them; they began to acclaim the non-Congress' state governments as transitional governments paving the way to their much-talked-of national democratic government; and they got themselves noisily busy for a parliamentary insurrection to topple the central Congress government and establish a non-Congress coalition government—mind you, all this, again, with a score of M.P.s in their group in the Lok Sabha whose total strength exceeds five hundred members. Their day-dreams went so far as to visualise an immediate possibility of split and class differentiation in the bourgeoisie, when the so-called progressive wing of the Congress would join hands with their 'twenty-two' in forming a new coalition government!

If such is the revisionist estimation of the situation and a corresponding tactical line has been worked out, how does the new sectarian standpoint assess the current situation and advocate its own tactical line?

It declares open opposition and hostility to the entire

assessment of the current economic-political situation presented by the C.C. in the resolution on "New Situation and Party's Tasks", and roundly denounces it as nothing but a modified version of the revisionist tactical line.

It maintains that the thesis of deepening economic crisis and the setting in of the initial stage of the political crisis is as old as that of the Madurai congress resolution of 1954, and what we are in, at the present stage, is a revolutionary situation, demanding the highest revolutionary forms of struggle and methods of organisation.

It puts forward the thesis that the big-bourgeois-led government stands exposed and isolated amongst the masses as the comprador lackey and stooge of U.S. imperialism, that counter-revolution has placed the bayonet and bullet on the agenda leaving no alternative for the revolution except to meet it with the same weapons, that the masses are tired of and fed up with strikes, demonstrations, petitions and elections and hence they refuse to be mobilised through these 'time-worn' forms of struggle, that the talk of building the class and mass organisations, the building of a strong Communist Party and a powerful united front, etc., is empty prattle as all these are tasks impossible to be fulfilled, unless they are integrated with and carried side by side with the peasant partisan war.

This grossly subjective and left-adventurist school of thought contemptuously rejects the tested Marxist-Leninist yardstick of judging whether a situation is revolutionary or not, and seeks to substitute it with its own dogmatic formulae, conjured up in its grand seclusion. It does not bother to raise the elementary question and answer as to how the proletariat is organised in any state or the country as a whole, as to what the level of its class and political consciousness is, and what its exact mood is at the present stage; it does not care to ascertain as to what the actual state of the peasantry is, how far it is organised or not, whether the proletariat and its Communist Party has so far succeeded to any appreciable extent in popularising its revolutionary agrarian

programme, let alone organising struggles on the widest scale, and at what stage is the much-needed worker-peasant alliance. This sectarian school does not think it necessary to assess the strong and weak points of the Communist Party as it now stands nor deem it as one of the key factors in the matter of decisively influencing a political situation; and, of course, its study and assessment of the class enemy and the forces behind him, is all the more deplorable.

Thus the left-sectarians have, virtually, come to adopt, as Engels puts it, the Blanquist "viewpoint that a relatively small number of resolute, well-organised men would be able, at a given moment, not only to seize the helm of the state, but also by a display of great, ruthless energy, to maintain power until they succeeded in sweeping the mass of the people into the revolution". The only amendment of the sectarians to this Blanquist theory seems to be that if Blanquism conceived of capturing central state power through its method, our 'lefts' conceive of capturing state power, first in one or several rural pockets and finally at the centre. Otherwise the new left-sectarians maintain the same Blanquist theory of repudiating the role of the classes and the masses. The atrocious part of the story is that the left-adventurist school wants to pass all this under the sign-board of Marxism-Leninism, even though there is hardly anything common between the two.

From such utterly un-Marxian theories of petty bourgeois revolutionism and adventurism, the utilisation of the bourgeois parliament and legislatures by the proletarian party is condemned out of hand as 'parliamentary cretinism'; the utilisation of the positions in the government at states' level, under conditions where the Party has neither the fear of becoming the camp-follower of other classes and parties nor is in a weak position to be dominated and swamped by alien political parties, is sought to be denounced as 'Millerandism'—proletarian parties allying with imperialist bourgeoisie and joining its government. The tactics of united front and united action with other democratic classes and the parties

representing them, is decried as "opportunist alliances", since according to them these parties are not consistently democratic and hence "out and out reactionary"; if our Party declares that it strives to achieve the revolution by peaceful means and pins the responsibility on the ruling classes for forcing violence on the revolution to counter the violence unleashed against it, they say, "it is all breeding revisionist illusions of peaceful transition", and demand that we should declare for violent revolution since it is anyway inevitable under the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship; these comrades pick out stray, scattered and tiny islands of militant peasant and tribal people's struggles in the vast ocean of our country's peasantry and then proceed to make the thesis of a matured agrarian revolution and give armed struggle, people's war, national liberation war and similar other grossly exaggerated and highly bloated slogans of the day; and as a result of this totally un-Marxian outlook, contempt is shown for patient, painstaking and sustained work among the basic revolutionary classes of the proletariat and the peasantry, while directing their appeal to the emotions of the restive petty bourgeois student and youth sections who are yet to be schooled, tempered and trained in Marxism-Leninism and its revolutionary theory and practice.

The gross left-sectarian estimation of the current situation does not stop there. This petty bourgeois revolutionary trend virtually negates the role of the classes and masses, and their unity, organisation and political consciousness in the revolutionary struggle. The ultra-sectarian thesis that this left school of thought expounds, that in the struggle against imperialism united action by the Soviet Union and China is ruled out since the former is headed by revisionist leaders, is extended and projected into the sphere of building united class and mass movements in India. It is opposed to any united work and action with trade union and kisan organisations which are under the leadership of the revisionists; and it is also opposed to the forging of any electoral fronts with the revisionist party as well as other non-Congress democratic

parties. Thus, the most elementary Marxist-Leninist tactical principles of building class and mass unity in struggle are being discarded under the pseudo-radical slogan of "fighting an uncompromising struggle against the revisionists". This left trend erroneously projects the correct Marxist-Leninist position that there can be no unprincipled unity with revisionism inside the same party to the question of united fronts and united actions with the revisionists to reject these correct Marxist-Leninist tactics.

Thus, the left-opportunist estimation of the current situation and the corresponding tactical line it advocates has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. This grave error of our sectarians, if not immediately corrected, would prove doubly disastrous to the cause of our revolution and, in a sense, more damaging than their equally mistaken views on the programmatic issues, which we pointed out earlier.

8. Opportunist Errors and their Ideological Roots

We have so far examined how on a series of issues connected with the programme, strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, right-revisionist and left-opportunist mistakes express themselves. As far as the question of right-reformist mistakes, their origin, evolution and culmination in the Indian communist movement are concerned, it is dealt with in detail in the seventh congress report, published under the title *Fight Against Revisionism*. Further, the resolution on the ideological questions in the international communist movement, adopted at the extended plenary session of the C.C. at Burdwan between April 6 and 12, 1968, makes it abundantly clear as to how the standpoint of the Indian revisionists finds itself in complete agreement with the positions of modern revisionism led by the leadership of the CPSU. Hence, it needs no more elaboration in this letter. But the manner in which the left-sectarian trend manifests today needs examination.

It is quite interesting to note that the Programme and the general political line of our Party, as evolved and adopted

at the seventh party congress and pursued since then, did not encounter any opposition from any party unit or any leading comrade at different levels, till the time of releasing the C.C.'s ideological draft for discussion in the middle of August 1967. Not merely there was no opposition, but the Programme and the political line were generally acclaimed by the entire Party as basically correct and resting on sound Marxist-Leninist foundations, steering clear of both right and left mistakes.

Then, how is it that the majority of leading comrades in Andhra Pradesh and a few others from different states now come to consider that our Party Programme is wrong on several crucial questions, that our political line is essentially revisionist and that our resolution on the ideological questions concentrates its main fire against the alleged left-sectarianism instead of right-revisionism, and directs its edge on the left errors of Chinese leaders instead of the modern revisionism of the CPSU leaders.

Evidently there is a big shift in the political-ideological position of these left critics, and it is a shift, sudden, patent and to the extreme left from that of the till-now-accepted standpoint of the Party Programme and the Party's political line. They cannot deny it.

How do they explain the reasons for this shift? They admit that it is principally due to their rethinking which has begun after the campaign of open denunciation of our Party and its political line as neo-revisionist was let loose by the Chinese press and radio since the middle of the year 1967.

Yes! Rethinking, and rectifying the mistakes if and when any are found, and learning from the fraternal criticism of any brother party is always necessary and welcome. But is it permissible under the plea of rethinking to follow uncritically the denunciatory critique of the Chinese Communist press and radio? Have they, also, not to rethink for themselves as to how a political line they were accepting as basically correct for three years till the middle of the year 1967 is suddenly transformed into a totally wrong one subsequently, and whether

they are not now as uncritically and as blindly accepting the Chinese critique as correct as they seem to have done in the case of accepting the Party Programme and its political line till recently? It is for these comrades to seriously ponder over these questions and objectively and self-critically review their stand.

As far as these comrades are concerned they cannot plead that they are kept in darkness regarding our differences with the CPC on specific questions dealing with our Programme and political line. As early as the first quarter of 1964, when the present Programme was in its drafting stage, it was clearly and openly stated in one of our printed and widely circulated documents thus:

• "We would also like to bring to your notice that on some of the concrete questions such as the characterisation of the present Indian state, the nature of the present government and its leadership we have some differences and serious reservations with the positions taken by the CPC as well as the CPSU in some of their documents. In drafting our Programme we tried to incorporate our understanding on these questions and excluded all this from this ideological document. It has been our endeavour to be as objective as possible without the fear of being dubbed pro or anti-CPSU or CPC as our enemies often try to do." (Introduction to *A Contribution to Ideological Debate*, p. 2)

The attention of the comrades was drawn to the same point, during the pre-congress and seventh congress discussions. And yet, none objected to it and every comrade present had accepted it. The easy acceptance of political positions and still more easy rejection of the same on no sure and tested a ground, we have to observe, does not behove of any serious Communist, let alone leading party cadres.

Coming to the point of our attitude towards the leadership of the CPSU and that of the CPC, contrary to the allegations and accusations of our left critics, our C.C. and Party have made their position absolutely clear.

We hold the leaders of the CPSU responsible for the

opening of the flood-gates of modern revisionism in the world communist movement with many of their discredited theories and practices, on a series of issues. We also have announced publicly, that they are responsible for the prevailing disunity and division in the socialist camp and world communist movement.

We are equally clear and categorical about the ideological political stand of the CPC in this controversy. On all the issues of ideological debate—such as war and peace, peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition, peaceful transition, the issue of Stalin, the so-called party of the people and state of the people concepts, and the principle of independence of Communist Parties and non-interference, the critique of the Chinese Communist Party is essentially correct, and based on the unassailable standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Further, the CPC, by boldly taking up this fight against modern revisionism, led by the leaders of the CPSU, has rendered great service to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, and our Party and its C.C. gratefully acknowledge it and hail it.

However, we cannot accept certain positions of the CPC on some vital issues connected with the world communist movement as well as on the Indian question as either correct or conforming to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. The outright rejection of the principle of unity in action, between different socialist states and the world Communist Parties, against imperialism, on the ground that some of these socialist states and Communist Parties are under the leadership of the revisionists, according to us, is wrong in principle and harmful in practice. Similarly, while believing in the complete correctness of the unhesitating and sharp exposure of the class collaborationist and revisionist policies of the leaders of the Soviet Union, we cannot subscribe to the erroneous theory of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the sharing of world hegemony and the perpetuation of world domination.

Lastly, we are firmly convinced that the CPC, in its reading of class relations in India, in its assessment of the current

situation and the tactical line worked out on that basis, is completely incorrect and contrary to realities and life. This mistake assumes all the more grievous proportions when it, openly and frontally, interferes in the internal affairs of our Party with a view to imposing its own political line on it.

Is it not strange, in the face of these factors, that our left critics, instead of sharply reacting to the unwarranted and hostile attack, launched by the Chinese press and radio against our Party and its political line, atrociously assert that our Party with its ideological-political line is directing its main fire against the Chinese Party?

This strange behaviour can be explained only by the fact that our left-sectarians are carried away by the CPC and its great contribution in the fight against revisionism, to the point of losing their objective and independent thinking that they clean miss to note certain of its left mistakes. And in fact what our Party considers as some left errors of the CPC in the course of its struggle against modern revisionism, our lefts have come to consider these very mistakes as the heart and soul of the Chinese contribution in the fight against revisionism. If, for a long time, in the past the cult of the CPSU was fostered on the ground that it was infallible, now, the new-sectarian trend is attempting to preach the infallibility of the CPC with all the harmful consequences that accompany such a creed.

If the Indian revisionists, on the one hand, proclaim from the house-tops that every non-Congress government that provides them with a ministerial post is a 'transitional government' on the road to the so-called 'national democracy' of their invention, the sectarians, on the other, simply echo the Chinese denunciation of the Kerala and Bengal U.F. governments as Congress-blessed reactionary governments, more reactionary than the Congress governments.

If the revisionists are indulging in the infantile talk of parliamentary insurrection basing on a few scores of left and democratic MPs in a house of five hundred, with hardly ten to fifteen per cent of the electorate to back them, the

sectarians rejoice in repeating the stories of non-existent rural armed insurrections in scores of places in India.

If the revisionists define the present Indian state as a bourgeois democratic state, the sectarians seek to correct them by describing it as a neo-colonial state.

If the revisionists hate the People's Republic of China, denounce the CPC as 'Trotskyite' and anti-Communist, and heartily desire its exclusion from the socialist camp and world communist movement, the sectarians, with a vengeance, reply to them that there now exists a U.S.-Soviet axis for world hegemony and domination under the evil leadership of the revisionist leaders of the CPSU, that the Soviet Union and other socialist states following it hence have no place in the socialist camp, and a global strategy to fight this U.S.-Soviet axis is the dire need of the hour for world proletarian revolution.

If the revisionists believe in the theory of one world liberating centre (the Soviet Union) and one party hegemony (the CPSU), notwithstanding some other revisionist theories of 'polycentrism', the sectarians fondly imagine and fanatically advocate the thesis of People's China assuming the role of the 'world liberation mission' and the CPC acquiring the 'leading role' of the world communist movement. But the CPC itself, in its polemics against the Soviet leadership, quotes approvingly the resolution of the Communist International in 1943 dissolving the Comintern: "the solution of the problems of the labour movement of each country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles." The CPC, then, declares, "in the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise."

If the revisionists have come to consider that the CPSU has acquired the god-given right of grossly interfering in the internal affairs of other brother parties, of course, in the name of defending Marxism-Leninism of its own definition, the sectarians argue that such a 'right' has now descended upon the CPC, since, according to them, it, alone, is the exclusive repository of Marxism-Leninism, with a historic

duty and a mission to chalk out the political lines for one and all the C.P.s in the world.

But the CPC itself in its "Polemic on the General Line", refuting the CPSU's charge against it of seizing the leadership of the international communist movement had said:

"However, we must tell the leaders of the CPSU that the international communist movement is not some feudal clique. Whether large or small, whether new or old, and whether in or out of power, all fraternal parties are independent and equal. No meeting of fraternal parties and no agreement unanimously adopted by them has ever stipulated that there are superior and subordinate parties, one party which leads and other parties which are led, a party which is a father and parties which are sons, or that the leaders of the CPSU are the supreme rulers over other fraternal parties."

After tracing the history of this question in the international proletarian revolutionary movement the CPC said, "The question confronting all communists and the entire international communist movement today is not who is the leader over whom" and concludes:

"In the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise. Fraternal parties should be independent and completely equal, and at the same time they should be united."

Both the right-revisionists and left-sectarians compete with each other in their attempt to create some sort of church-like centres of Marxism-Leninism with their own high priests to preside and give divine, unerring and final decisions reducing the science of Marxism-Leninism, virtually, to the status of a mediaeval 'faith'. The correct Marxist-Leninist concept of Communist Parties learning from each other, from mistakes and achievements, of collectively thinking and commonly imbibing the lessons and of each party correctly applying the theory to its own concrete conditions is sought to be substituted with the dangerous concept of 'ordering parties' and 'obeying detachments'. It is better to remember always the following from the CPC's General Line:

“If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle;

“Then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat.”

The grossly subjective and left-infantile attacks on the party's ideological and political line emanate from the fact that some of our comrades, in their immense hatred of revisionism and innate urge for militant struggle against the exploiters' rule, have lost their Marxist-Leninist bearings and slipped into petty-bourgeois revolutionism. The tardy progress of the revolutionary movement in the country, the frustration caused in the face of long years of bourgeois-landlord misrule, and the ocean of petty bourgeoisie that surrounds the poorly organised and politically backward working class movement of our country, offer fertile ground for the flourishing of these alien trends. Above all, the long-neglected Marxist-Leninist schooling and tempering of cadres, through theoretical and practical training, in the once united Communist Party of India, has left its evil legacy to our Party, and we need not feel shy of admitting how weak and vulnerable we are in this regard, and what stupendous difficulties we face in overcoming it.

The interesting part of the story is that both these opportunist deviations seek to cover up their mistakes by wearing the mantle of Marxism-Leninism, while attacking the correct positions of our Central Committee as 'centrism' or

'neutralism'. This attack on the correct class line, sometimes, also assumes a funny form, i.e., the revisionists maligning it as essentially left-sectarian and dogmatic and the left-opportunists slandering it as essentially revisionist and 'neo-revisionist'; and the common feature of both is to spurn the very correct Marxian concept of fighting on two fronts, the right and left-opportunist errors, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, while its respective adherents parade as self-annointed knights and crusaders of demolishing the menace of modern revisionism or modern dogmatism. Both the wrong trends pretend to take inspiration from the great Lenin and his immortal teachings in the fight against revisionism and left-sectarianism, but in actual practice the revisionists practise the trick of citing passages after passages from his famous work of *"Left"-Wing Communism* and the like and to scrupulously avoid mentioning anything from his voluminous and rich contributions in the relentless fight against revisionism and its chieftains of the Second International, whereas the left-sectarian school quotes profusely from Lenin's scathing attacks on right-reformism and revisionism and meticulously avoids mentioning anything from his merciless exposure of dogmatism and left-adventurism. Lenin, by both the schools, is presented not as the great Marxist revolutionary who fought on two fronts, sparing neither, but only as an uncompromising fighter either against revisionism or sectarianism! Add to all this, the Indian revisionists, to defend their position, heavily rely on the modern revisionism of the leaders of the CPSU, and try to exploit the great prestige built around the CPSU, Soviet Union and all its might, accumulated over half a century under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin; on the other hand, the sectarian trend that is rising in our Party, in the recent period, is attempting in a big way to defend its sectarian theories and actions by heavily drawing upon the prestige of another big Party leading another mighty socialist state, i.e., the Chinese Communist Party, the prestige of which is doubly enhanced amongst the world revolutionary ranks because of its sharp exposure and bold fight against

modern revisionism led by the leaders of the CPSU. In short, if Marxism-Leninism for the Indian revisionists has come to virtually mean the uncritical acceptance of CPSU as the infallible guide to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, for our sectarians, the uncritical acceptance of every proposition and step of the CPC and unquestioned loyalty to it have come to mean the hall-mark of Marxism-Leninism.

9. The Right and Left Opportunist Trends and their Organisational Manifestations

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 has very correctly pinpointed how the revisionists reject "the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society." We are quite familiar with our Indian revisionists, how they do not care to respect either democracy or centralism inside the party, utilise either the aspect of democracy or the aspect of centralism only in the measure that suits their revisionist political line, and in the bargain make a mockery of the principle of democratic centralism, sticking to offices like leeches, no matter even if the majority in the Party is pronouncedly opposed to their leadership.

The sectarians and left-adventurists in their turn, as seen in the case of the Naxalbari leaders and others who are wedded to the Naxalbari political-ideological line, also, make the Leninist organisational principle of democratic centralism, the first casualty in their inner-party struggle.

They demand the right of revolt against the party line and also simultaneously the right of party membership, and if opposed, they non-chalantly ask the question, "did we not do the same while breaking with the revisionists"? Thereby, they clean forget and ignore the fact that such a revolt took place after ten full years of intense inner-party struggle for a correct political line, after the Dangeite leadership closed the doors of deciding the dispute through inner-party discussion and by democratic means, and after the majority of

the members in the Party found no alternative except to revolt and break if the Party and the revolutionary working class movement were to be defended and safeguarded.

They justify their revolt against the C.C. and the accepted party line, at the very first appearance of their differences with it, without either caring for the opinion of the overwhelming majority of party members, or to the decisions of the duly-elected C.C. which is to function as the highest authority between two congresses.

They seek to reverse the political line of the Party and substitute it with an alternative line, which is neither born out of experience nor an outcome of reviewing the implementation of the accepted political line, but one broadcast by Peking radio and circulated by the Chinese press.

They defy party forms and norms and in turn accuse the C.C. of not adhering to forms and norms, not because the C.C. was not acting within the strict confines of the party's constitution, but because the exercising of C.C.'s rights would curtail their right of taking liberties with the party organization and party's political line.

They threaten the Party with a split, and to cover it up spread the unfounded gossip that the C.C. is out to resolve political-ideological differences through disciplinary measures.

They arrogantly defend their open breach of loyalty to the Party Programme and the party's constitution which they have solemnly pledged, and in turn demand the C.C. and Party to be loyal to the CPC and its political line, which we have neither pledged nor can ever pledge. Communists, all over the world, are known to be loyal only to Marxism-Leninism, and to the party programme and constitution worked out by the concerned party of the country in accordance with its Marxist-Leninist understanding. Strangely enough, the sectarian view that confronts our Party, today, advocates the same discredited theory of "father party and son party", a theory sought to be practised by the Khrushchovites and roundly denounced by the Chinese Communist Party and all

the Marxist-Leninists of the world as one of atrocious and disruptive character.

Has all this anything in common with Marxism-Leninism, its organizational principles and proletarian internationalism? Absolutely there is nothing in common. And yet, it is sad to see that a good section of our comrades in Andhra Pradesh who have for years loyally served the Party and its cause, have fallen victims to such an infantile left-opportunist line, both in matters of politics and organization.

Comrades, the Polit Bureau is addressing this letter to our party members in Andhra Pradesh at a crucial turn of events in the life of our Party. The P.B. hopes that every party member and, in particular, every leading comrade in Andhra Pradesh, would rise to the occasion, overcoming every manifestation of subjectivism, and earnestly endeavour to appreciate the spirit in which this letter is drafted and understand its contents.

The first nucleus of the Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh was set up in 1933-34, and it is by now full thirtyfive years since then. During the long and chequered history in this period, it has earned a proud place in the hearts of the toiling millions of Andhra Pradesh, through its services and sacrifices in the cause of our common people. Its sustained work and diverse activity among the worker and peasant masses, the leadership given to the democratic demands of forming the separate state of Andhra and Visal Andhra, and above all, the historic Telengana peasant armed revolt it had heroically led against the mediaeval and oppressive regime of the Nizam of Hyderabad, have acquired for the Party big prestige and a national status in the political life of Andhra Pradesh as well as in our country. This was proved beyond a shadow of doubt, when the people in their millions rallied round our Party's banner during the first general elections in the year 1952 and in the short period immediately following it.

However, the fact remains that the communist movement in Andhra, as it stands at the present stage, is not yet able to firmly base itself either on a strong and organised work-

ing class movement or a powerful and solid agrarian revolutionary movement. The bourgeois-landlord classes through their political party, i.e., the Indian National Congress, utilising the state and governmental power they secured, were able to capitalise on the democratic gains more than us, the democratic gains achieved mainly by our Party's active participation and contribution. Thus, in the struggle that our Party, as a working class party, is locked with the bourgeois-landlord classes during the last one-and-a-half decades we were thrown on the defensive, and our advance has been very tardy, halting and has been even reversed, in some respects. For this state of affairs, apart from the temporary and short-lived political advantages our class enemies could secure for reasons beyond our control, the ascendancy of the right-reformist outlook and practice in the Andhra Pradesh party unit, which subsequently led to serious revisionist disruption and split in the party and people's movements under its leadership, has its disastrous contribution, and in no way it can be minimised.

Our party unit in Andhra is called upon to concretely assess the class realities obtaining in the state at present, to correctly estimate the political situation and the alignment of class forces, and to devise ways and means to overcome the existing shortcomings. Our Party's existence and activities are confined to seven to eight districts out of a total of twenty in the state, and, also, to some taluks and pockets in these seven to eight districts. It is evident that without widening and extending the democratic movement to ever-wider areas and sections of people, the task of defending or taking the movement to higher levels in the few strong pockets where the movement is strong and on which the class enemies are concentrating their attacks, becomes doubly difficult. The class enemies, as experience tells us, are out to squeeze us out of the existing pockets, and to achieve their objective, they are constantly resorting to violent and provocative actions against our Party and thus seek to draw us out into unequal class battles in which they hope to destroy

us. How to tackle, manoeuvre, and mark time in order to meet the enemies' offensive in a more advantageous situation to us is a difficult job to be tackled by our State Committee. But in no case we should be helplessly dragged into a position of accepting battle on their terms to oblige our class enemies.

The present phase we are now passing through, the deepening economic crisis and the growing political crisis, do certainly offer us greater opportunities of overcoming the lags and shortcomings in our movement in a comparatively shorter period of time, provided we do not lose our balance in the face of provocative violence and the calculated offensive of the bourgeois-landlord classes and their government.

What is required to fully utilise the possibilities inherent in the developing economic-political situation is a strong, united and disciplined Communist Party. As Lenin put it, "in its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization", and the Communist Party alone is that highest organization. The enemy, having tasted the fruits and reaped the benefits of disruption of the Party and the movement caused by the revisionist betrayal, is once again anxiously looking for another round of disunity and disruption from left-opportunist mistakes, and he is not hiding his evil intention and glee over it. In such a situation, to allow any more weakening of our Party, its unity, discipline and cohesion, is nothing short of playing into our enemies' hands and causing damage to the cause we all cherish, and for which we have so far given all our best.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all party members and units in Andhra Pradesh to rise to the occasion, to accept the decisions of the central plenum and to loyally and truthfully implement them, and to defend the unity and discipline of the Party, a party that is built over decades of struggles and great sacrifices.

No quarter should be given to the subversive and disruptive slogans of the Naxalbari leaders who staged an open revolt against the Party and openly and shamelessly advocate the

subversion of the CPI(M) wherever it is possible and disruption where such subversion is stalled. Such a conspiracy for building a factional party within the Party should be scotched. Every honest party member will have to be doubly vigilant against this undermining tactic of the "ultras" parading under the garb of uncompromising revolutionaries.

No party member should tolerate any tendency to overtly or covertly challenge and defy the accepted party line, the decisions of the Burdwan plenum, the norms and forms of our party organization and its basic principle of democratic centralism.

Party will Emerge More United and Stronger*

Editorial of the "People's Democracy", June 23, 1968

Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy, D. Venkateshwara Rao and Kolla Venkayya have been expelled from the Party for their anti-Party activities, subverting all discipline and deliberately pursued to compel the Party's hands and invite expulsion.

All Party members in India, all well-wishers and sympathizers of the Party are bound to feel worried and concerned over this development in Andhra.

It was only two years ago that our Party leaders and ranks were released from jail and started reforging their contacts with the masses and rebuilding the Party on revolutionary foundations. The courage with which all our Party ranks faced the period from 1962 onwards, when avowed American agents, and Government circles, abetted and aided by the treacherous group of Dange revisionists, joined in hunting us out as Chinese agents, drew forth the admiration of the people. The courageous way in which our Party called for an end to the Indo-Pakistan war, when the revisionists and other parties once again betrayed the people, made a deep impression on all sections. The elections and the subsequent collapse of all other Left parties before opportunism once more concentrated attention of the progressive forces on our Party.

*This is on expulsion of Party Comrades in Andhra Pradesh. This is connected with the Document covered under Item No. 29 of this Volume. This may also be connected with the Document covered under Item No. 20, 31, 32 of this Volume

It is, therefore, but natural if our sympathizers and well-wishers feel sad and distressed over the recent happenings inside the Party when some of its units or members had to be disciplined. And it is but natural if they feel shocked or overwhelmed when they hear that certain prominent leaders of the Party in Andhra have to be expelled from the ranks of the Party.

However, it must be realized by all that Nagi Reddy and others left no other course open to the Party. Either the Party had to defend its line and discipline, its capacity to act as a class party or to disband itself and accept the right of Nagi Reddy and others to spread anarchy inside the Party, to reduce it to a debating club, with each member professing his own opinions on national and world problems, and acting according to his individuals whims and fancies.

It must be realized that inner-Party struggle is often a class necessity and a leadership which neglects it, refuses to face it, just becomes an instrument of disrupting the Party. A Party grows stronger not only in its struggle against the external enemies, but also in its fight against all harmful and poisonous tendencies that arise in its midst.

Knowing that Nagi Reddy and others held different views on questions concerning the international disputes within the world Communist movement, knowing that of late they also professed profound disagreement with the Party Programme, they were given full opportunity to place their views before the Burdwan Plenum of the Party. They were given full time to expound their views to the Plenum, their documents were circulated to the Plenum members and there was full debate on their views. Unfortunately for them the Plenum delegates were not impressed by their childish adventurist line and views and their alternative document which when put to vote got only 22 votes out of a total of 210. A few abstained while the remaining voted down their document and endorsed the Central Committee Draft.

The Plenum by a very big majority rejected the amateurish line of Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy. Did they accept the

verdict of the Plenum and indicate by word and gesture that while holding to their opinions, they will carry out the line of the majority as loyal Party members? This is the minimum that is expected of every Party member. Without this no party—no Marxist Party—can function.

The Party is a fighting organization, the vanguard and the organized detachment of the working class. Stalin wrote: "The principle of the minority submitting to the majority, the principle of directing Party work from a centre, not infrequently gives rise to attacks on the part of wavering elements, to accusations of 'bureaucracy', 'formalism', etc. It need hardly be proved that systematic work by the Party, as one whole, and the directing of the struggle of the working class would have been impossible if these principles had not been adhered to. Leninism in the organizational question means unswerving application of these principles. Lenin terms the fight against these principles 'Russian Nihilism' and aristocratic anarchism, deserving only of being ridiculed and swept aside."

The Polit Bureau knowing that these were old members and leaders of the Andhra unit of the Party wanted to be patient with them and give them one more chance to rectify themselves; when the Central Committee, after the Burdwan Plenum, directed the Polit Bureau to take all necessary steps to protect the discipline and unity of the Party in Andhra to implement the Burdwan decisions, the Polit Bureau refrained from removing any of them from the strategic posts they occupied; it contented itself with filling in the vacancies in the Andhra State Committee with members loyal to the Party line.

The Nagi Reddy-Pulla Reddy combination took advantage of the situation to create disruption and confusion. They openly organized factional activities and in the name of reporting on Burdwan decisions propagated their own anti-Party line in the units. When P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Party, and Basavapunnaiah, member of the Polit Bureau, went to Andhra to explain the Burdwan decisions,

Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy attempted to sabotage the meetings. And, lastly when they were asked to explain their conduct, their factional activities, their persistent effort to disrupt the Party, their slanderous campaign against P. Sundarayya, the Party's General Secretary, and Hanumantha Rao, its State Secretary, they rushed to the Press condemning the Party leadership.

It is under these circumstances that action had to be taken against this group. Not to take action, not to enforce discipline would have meant divesting the Party of all authority, permitting open sabotage of the Party line and allowing it to be disrupted completely.

Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy & Co. were bent upon disrupting the Party. This group was carrying on its factional activity for months. As early as February last, the General Secretary of the Party reported in writing to the Central Committee of the factional and disruptive activities of the group. The Party organ, on which some of their followers worked, was openly used to circulate anti-Party views, undermining the confidence of the people in socialism and its achievements. In the guise of fighting revisionism, their adherents working on the journal mocked at the Soviet system and its achievements in a manner worthy of counter-revolutionary bourgeois agents. When these mistakes were pointed out to Pulla Reddy, he feigned innocence and said that the comrades working on the paper were incorrigible. This was just a ruse because Pulla Reddy himself was inciting the comrades to write this anti-Communist stuff in the name of fighting revisionism.

These people took advantage of Party schools to propagate their anti-Party views. Pulla Reddy produced a syllabus entitled "On the lessons of the international Communist movement" for the schools. The pamphlet had to be withdrawn by the Polit Bureau because it was a gross distortion of Marxism-Leninism and was sheer propaganda for the anti-Party, anti-Leninist views of Pulla Reddy & Co. Disregarding all Party documents including the document on "Tasks on the Kisan Front", Venkateshwara Rao and Kolla Venkayya published a

syllabus on kisan movement and our tasks in which they advocated their own line as against the Party's line.

Along with this these people continued to attack our West Bengal and Kerala Ministers, echoing the bourgeois slanders against them. Pretending to fight parliamentarism, they ridiculed the mass struggle against the P. C. Ghosh Ministry and sneered at our Party in Bengal for the "revolutionary achievement of President's rule", and at our Party in Kerala for getting more rice from the Central Government. Undeterred by a sense of shame that they with their gaseous talk of revolution were not able to activize any sizeable section of the people of Andhra, they started attacking those Party units which were pushing the popular struggle ahead. They falsely charged the West Bengal and Kerala units of the Party with slowing down the mass movement, but did not explain why they themselves were unable to do anything in the direction of mass struggles.

They echoed the worst bourgeois slanders against our Party on the question of Naxalbari and supported the disruptive and deceptive line of the expelled Party members in West Bengal whose adherents today distinguish themselves by wholesale opposition to any mass struggle.

In Party meetings and gatherings they openly praised their adventurism and ridiculed the Ideological Draft of the Central Committee. Pulla Reddy got printed a pamphlet denouncing the Central and State leaderships as revisionists and got it sold through Party publication sales depot.

In the Andhra State Plenum several comrades revealed how Pulla Reddy was secretly circulating documents opposing the Party line; these people or their adherents supplied the details of the Andhra Plenum to anti-Party journals like *Deshabrati* in West Bengal.

When the Andhra Party journal started publishing articles from the central journal on ideological issues, these people asked their followers to sabotage the sale of the paper. These are some of their crimes for which they were bound to be expelled, unless they discontinued their anti-Party ways.

Enough has been written about Left-adventurist politics in our paper. Recently a whole series of articles were written debunking their stand on the ideological disputes in the international movement. There is little to distinguish between the Nagi Reddy group's stand and that of other Left-opportunists.

It will be sufficient if their political line is briefly summed up. As regards points of ideological dispute, these people on some questions make formulations which no Marxist-Leninist Party in the world has made. They oppose the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence as an essential element in the foreign policy of a socialist state; they fail to understand the present epoch as one of proletarian revolution, of transition from capitalism to socialism and consider it to be an epoch of national liberation movements. They fail to understand the national liberation struggles as a component of the world socialist revolution and describe them as the decisive force.

They liquidate the socialist camp and in the name of fighting the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, denounce the Soviet Union as an imperialist Power. Along with the revisionist leaders they virtually condemn the Soviet people as revisionists and imperialists. Under the pretext of fighting revisionism they screen American imperialism, consider the Soviet Union to be the main enemy. It is because of this outlook that they callously oppose any proposal for united action for the defence of Vietnam. They are opposed to any united action of the socialist camp against American imperialism. They, like the revisionists, act as the servitors of American imperialism and perpetuate the split in the socialist camp.

On internal questions they adopt an equally disruptive policy which has nothing to do with a Marxist-Leninist class analysis nor the stage of the consciousness of the people. They declare India to be a dependency of the USA; they advocate a line based on the assumption that the ruling classes are already completely isolated from the people; that no political and ideological struggle is necessary against it, they

argue as if the last stage of the struggle has already arrived; describing the ruling classes as comprador and puppet forces, they belittle each and every form of mass activity—strikes, mass struggles, election struggles—and only advocate one form of struggle. With the words perspective and revolution in their mouth, they advocate a line which leads to disbanding every form of mass activity. Thus all the auxiliary weapons of struggle are to be belittled. In particular, they oppose in principle any participation in elections thus completely abandoning Lenin's teachings on the subject.

And, finally, in the name of struggle in the peasant areas, they openly repudiate the leading role of the working class in the revolution and join the Dange revisionists. The cities and the working class to be abandoned for the cause of their revolution—this is their great contribution to the Indian revolution.

Can the Party accept this amateurish anti-Leninist line? Instead of patiently working for forging the Party's ties with the masses, for raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people and the class, so that the period of revolutionary assault is rapidly reached, these gentlemen indulge in verbal pyrotechnics and satisfy their penchant for glib talk by abusing the Party.

Just because the crisis is deepening, the conditions of the masses are becoming unbearable, it is necessary that the Party should be well-organized, should have a minimum stable base in its class and among the people, so that in the shortest possible time it can lead the people towards its revolutionary objective.

Anyone who undermines the unity of the Party or creates obstruction in the way of the Party's struggle for the masses aids the ruling classes. The Nagi Reddy group seeks to do both by its organizational and political line. It can have no place in the Party.

To have to write such sharp words about former colleagues is a distasteful task. To have to expel them is still more distressing. But then those who turn their backs on Marxism

Leninism have to be branded, not fondled. The fact that action had to be taken against some people in some States shows that the Left deviation is not confined to a few cursed individuals. As the Madurai resolution of the CC on Left Deviation states "It is an ideological disease of frustrated individuals and it also affects young militants whose militancy is not tempered by the fire of class struggle and disciplined by Marxist-Leninist outlook. Inside our Party there are many militant honest young members who are drawn towards the pseudo revolutionary line because it appears to be militant. Especially in the wake of our election reverses in many places many turn with revulsion from patient and sustained mass work..." In Andhra it should be noted that there were election reverses and hardly any big mass movement.

The resolution further said, "But the main cause of the attraction is due to the growing economic crisis and desperation, impatience and frustration are growing and the mass struggles as yet have not developed to that pitch where they could be seen as the effective means of fighting the present regime. Lack of Marxism Leninism, failure of the Party to transform this militancy into revolutionary fervour—all create a situation in which the appeal of Left doctrinairism remains." "Left deviation will thus be a constant source of danger in the coming period and it will have to be consistently fought. But just because of the situation and factors mentioned above it cannot be fought only by taking organizational measures. In fact, the main fight against it must be conducted ideologically by patient explanation and propaganda." This is the line which the C.C. and P.C. are pursuing in fighting Left-opportunism. Organizational action is taken only when members refuse to observe the minimum discipline and disrupt the Party.

Is there any other course left for the Party? To strengthen the unity of the Party and its discipline is the common task of all Party members and the P.B. is confident that all will rally to the banner of Party unity and rebuff the attempt of disruptors.

The Rebel's Press Statement*

Following is the Press statement dated June 15, 1968, issued by T. Nagi Reddy, MLA, Kolla Venkaiah, Devulapalli Venkateshwararao and Chandra Pulla Reddy :

With the conclusion of the meeting of the Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee (Marxist) on 13.6.68, the disruptive and dictatorial organizational methods of the Polit Bureau leadership have reached new heights resulting in an extremely great crisis in the organization in the Province.

With the help of the recently nominated four members the Provincial Committee has given full powers to the Provincial Secretariat, to take whatever action it deems fit against not only four of us who have spearheaded the opposition to the ideological line of the Central leadership but also on the majority of the District Committees and leaders of the youth and student organizations, who are opposed to the ideological and political line of the P.B. leadership, with the false plea that we are disrupting the discipline of the organization and flouting accepted resolutions of the Burdwan Plenum. This is only a preparatory step to expel us from the Party.

We wish to categorically say that this extremely disruptive, dangerous step of the P.B. and P.C. is merely a culmination of the various undemocratic methods the P.B. lead-

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, June 30, 1968. The reply to this statement is given under Item No. 32 and 33 of this volume. Item No. 29 of this volume may also be connected with it.

ership had adopted to implement completely revisionist line both on the national and international issues.

Having adopted a pro-Soviet and anti-China ideological document, the P.B. leadership has adopted most undemocratic methods to get through its resolution.

Even before the comrades had an opportunity to see the C.C. document, the C.C. gave its document to the Press to create an anti-China atmosphere. It refused to place alternative documents before the Party comrades for a thorough discussion. It refused to call a special elected Party Congress to take a decision on the ideological issues, but instead called for a Central Committee Plenum. Even the delegates of the Plenum were not elected. The delegates from Kerala, Bengal and certain other provinces were merely nominated delegations. Thus the C.C.Plenum was not an elected Plenum but a nominated Plenum.

Even before this Plenum met, because of its neo-revisionist line and disruptive methods, majority of the Party members in Orissa, U.P., Bihar, Kashmir, certain important sections in Bengal had already been either forced to leave the Party or expelled from the Party.

In spite of all these undemocratic methods, the overwhelming majority of the District and Taluk Committees in Andhra, and our Provincial Plenum rejected the C. C. document and accepted our alternative document.

Having got a false majority at Burdwan in the nominated and truncated Plenum for its document, the P.B. leadership has resorted to the most unusual and repugnant dictatorial methods against the Andhra Committee, against the four of us, members of the Secretariat and District Committee which have spearheaded the resistance to the C.C. line.

The P.B. has unilaterally thrust certain organizational decisions on our Andhra Committee. It nominated two of its followers to the Secretariat and four to the P.C. executive to create an artificial majority for itself in those executive bodies.

It has banned the four of us from reporting on Burdwan Plenum to the District Committee, banned us from addressing

public meetings. It has banned the District Committees from holding their regular meetings without the knowledge of the Provincial Committee Secretary. It has banned the Secretaries of youth and student organizations from discharging their responsibilities. It has banned the District Committees, youth and student organizations from running political schools; it has already expelled some important comrades from the Party in Khammam. It has already given notices to certain comrades in other districts. It has taken actions against certain members of the cultural squad of Panigrahi of Srikakulam district.

We have never heard such organizational decisions inside the Communist Party throughout our 30 years of political life.

In consonance with these disruptive steps, the P.B. issued an Open Letter to comrades and published it in the Party paper, accusing us as Trotskyites, adventurists and Chinese agents.

Having thus tried to prepare the political ground to isolate us from the Party members, now the P.B. and P.C. leadership have taken an organizational decision to take action against us.

Even the decision of the P.C. giving authority to the Secretariat to take actions against us was passed with 12 : 10 majority. It could get even the slender majority only with the help of the nominated four members. But for the four nominated members, the P.B. group is a minority in the elected P.C.

Some P.C. members proposed the withdrawal of the P.B. Open Letter, the P.B. organizational decisions, restoration of the old P.C. and Secretariat to discuss the implementation of Burdwan Plenum decisions, the question of maintaining the unity in the Party and the issues facing the movement in Telangana and Srikakulam districts. Even this was rejected.

These disruptive steps of the P.B. leadership are no surprise. The P.B. Open Letter has brought out the neo-revisionist line of the P.B. leadership in all its nakedness. It

has given a good conduct certificate to the Soviet leadership that it is not working for anti-China front in collaboration with American imperialism. It has discovered the possibility of planned development through foreign and Soviet aid. It has discovered non-alignment in the foreign policy of the present Government to some extent. While the Government in alliance with the goondas and landlords is attacking the people and Party workers to ruthlessly suppress the movement in certain districts like Nalgonda and Srikakulam, the P.B. Open Letter accuses us that we are advocating an immediate armed revolt which the people of Andhra know is a white lie. These facts clearly show that the P.B. leadership has taken over the revisionist policies of the Dange group on all these issues lock, stock and barrel.

Because of these neo-revisionist positions of the P.B. both on the national and international issues, it is meeting with increasing resistance from the Party ranks.

Having disrupted the Party in Northern India, the P.B. has stepped down to attack and disrupt the Party in Andhra, an important component of the Party. It is afraid that the party ranks will revolt and force a change in the Party line. Before such an eventuality arises the P.B. and the P.C. leadership want to expel us from the Party and consolidate its own group.

We call upon all the Party members to rise in revolt against this neo-revisionist line of the P.B. leadership, to resist the disruptive organizational methods of the P.B. leadership. We call upon them to pass resolutions at all levels demanding of the P.B. Leadership to withdraw the P.B. Open Letter, withdraw its organizational decisions thrust upon the Andhra Committee, restore the old P.C. and Secretariat and demand a Party Congress to decide the ideological line of the Party.

Since the P.B. has already addressed an Open Letter to the Party ranks, we four of us have decided to address the Party members directly and explain our differences with the P.B. leadership to the Party ranks.

Rebuff the Rebels, uphold Party Unity*

**Joint statement of P. Sundarayya and
M. Basavapunnaiiah on behalf of the
Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

The following is the next of the statement issued by Comrades P. Sundarayya, General Secretary, and M. Basavapunnaiiah, member of the Polit Bureau, on behalf of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Vijayawada on June 16, 1968:

The Press statement issued by Nagi Reddy Pulla Reddy, Kolla Venkaiah and D. Venkateswara Rao on June 15, 1968, after levelling a series of wild and slanderous accusations against the CPI(M) and its central leadership, ends up thus: "We call upon all the Party members to rise in revolt against this neo-revisionist line of the P.B. leadership..." and "to pass resolutions demanding of the P.B. leadership to withdraw the P.B. Open Letter, withdraw its organizational decisions..., restore the old P.C. and Secretariat and demand a Party Congress to decide the ideological line of the Party".

This strange, infantile and disruptive revolt staged by these four State Committee members against our Party, no doubt, does not come as a surprise either to our Central Committee or the public at large, who have been closely following the developments in Andhra during the last six months. This statement calling for a revolt against the Party, we know, will be received with glee by the enemies of our

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, June 30, 1968. This is in reply to the statement of the Rebels covered under Item No. 31 of this volume. Document under Item No. 29 of this Volume may also be connected with it.

Party, while creating sorrow and indignation among all the loyal and honest Party members and well-wishers of the Party.

Why start this scurrilous revolt? What are the political, ideological and organizational reasons trotted out in justification of this disruptive move?

The entire grievance against the Party and its central leadership, in short, boils down to the following: "Having adopted a pro-Soviet and anti-China ideological document, the P.B. leadership has adopted most undemocratic methods to get through its resolutions"—this alleged "pro-Soviet and anti-China ideological document" of the Burdwan Central Plenum advocating "a completely revisionist line both on the national and international issues". The Central Plenum held at Burdwan "was not an elected Plenum but a nominated Plenum" and the delegates "from Kerala, Bengal and certain other provinces were merely nominated delegations". Hence, in defence of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political ideological line against the 'completely revisionist' and 'neo-revisionist' line and in defence of inner-Party democracy against the most undemocratic methods of the Central Committee, a call for revolt against the Party and its leadership is justified.

We have to state, at the outset, that the content of the entire statement is out and out politically shallow, ideologically bankrupt and organizationally adventurist and it is a disruptive document.

Nagi Reddy and the three others who spearhead the opposition to and revolt against the Party and assert that the political-ideological line of the Party is 'completely revisionist' and 'neo-revisionist' have miserably failed in their statement to point out one single ideological political issue on which our Party has revised the basic tenets of Marxism Leninism. And yet, they embolden themselves to slander the Party's political line as neo-revisionist. Is it not the height of irresponsibility and a naked demonstration of political bankruptcy to charge the Party with the grave crime of neo

revisionism without spelling out even a single fact to substantiate the charge? To indulge in such wild and filthy accusations against the political line of the Party does not speak of their political ideological maturity which they proclaim from housetops, but only demonstrates their Left infantilism and naked factionalism.

They arrogantly assert that the Party's ideological document is "a pro-Soviet and anti-China document". One can understand the criticism if it is discussed whether the document stands foursquare on Marxist Leninist theory and practice. But to examine it from the point of whether it is pro-Soviet or pro-China, or anti-Soviet or anti-China is not becoming of any Communist, let alone those who claim to be Marxist-Leninist theoreticians. We will have to remind these rebels that no Communist can remain a Communist if he were to degenerate into either anti-Soviet or anti-China maniac, since both these countries are socialist countries, irrespective of the revisionist or Left-sectarian mistakes that are being committed by the present leaders of these parties and states.

It is a pity that these people have worked themselves up into anti-Soviet positions under the bogus plea of a crusade against revisionism, and demand that the Party toe their bankrupt line. Better they are frankly told once again that our Party cannot oblige them and reduce itself to being either pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet or pro-China or anti-China and that our Party wishes to strictly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and pursue the path of socialism without deviating from it. Is it not ridiculous for these gentlemen to demand that the Party adopt a line of anti Sovietism, and when they are rejected, turn round against Party and malign it as following an anti-China line?

Since the statement of Nagi Reddy and others makes much of the ideological draft of the Central Committee, its preparation, circulation, etc., we deem it necessary to place certain facts which reveal the utter hollowness of their charges.

First of all, the ideological draft which was adopted by

the Burdwan Plenum was first prepared by the Polit Bureau in the month of June 1967 and was sent to all State Committees for criticism and suggestions for its improvement. The P.B. also had sent copies of the same to all members of the Central Committee and asked them either to send their criticism and suggestions, if they had any, or to produce a draft of their own in case they fundamentally disagree with it.

It is pertinent to note that not a single State Committee, at that stage, had expressed either any fundamental disagreement or submitted any alternative draft but had, by and large, accepted the draft and acclaimed it as satisfactory. Similarly, not one member of the C.C., including D. Venkateswara Rao who now joins the company of Nagi Reddy, had expressed any fundamental disagreement at that stage, nor come forth with any alternative draft before the C.C., according to the suggestion of the P.B.

It is still more interesting to note that D. Venkateswara Rao, despite his opposition to certain formulations and moving amendments to the document in the Madurai C.C. meeting, voted in support of the document, but wrote to the C.C. a month later saying that he was withdrawing his support to the C.C.'s draft. It was in the next C.C. meeting held at Calicut between October 30 and November 4, 1967 that D. Venkateswara Rao submitted his alternative draft and demanded its circulation.

The C.C. considered the issue and rejected the demand, since it could not muster the minimum strength among the CCMs required under the Party's Constitution. But at the Burdwan Central Plenum, the three alternative critical drafts, by D. Venkateswara Rao, Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy and Kolla Venkaiah, respectively were circulated to all the delegates and full opportunity was provided to them to express their views and freely and frankly participate in the discussions and decisions.

Is it not silly in face of these facts to come forth now with the baseless accusation that the P.B. denied the

opportunity for democratic discussions and violated inner - Party democracy? Why did they participate in the Central Plenum and its discussions if they honestly believed that it was a fake body, packed with some nominated proteges of the C.C. and P.B.? Did they discover its fake character after their political and ideological line was pinned down as petty-bourgeois revolutionism and Left adventurism and trounced and defeated by an overwhelming majority? We leave it to the people to draw their own conclusions.

The manner and method of constituting a Central Plenum have not been left vague to be arbitrarily decided by the C.C. or P.B., the Party's Constitution lays down a precise procedure. The Central Committee basing itself strictly on these constitutional provisions, decided the procedure as early as in August 1967, at the C.C. meeting at Madurai. The C.C. resolution specifically gave authority to the State Committees as to the manner and method of conducting the discussions and whether to hold District and State Plenums or adopt any other appropriate procedure to elect the delegates to the Central Plenum. Not one, literally not one voice of opposition was raised to this decision of the C.C. at any stage, till the Left-adventurist line was routed at the Central Plenum. May we ask these pseudo-champions of inner Party democracy as to what they were doing during all the period between August C.C. and the Central Plenum with the decision of the C.C. regarding the constitution of the Plenum and why now they are shouting hoarse against the Plenum with the lying propaganda that it was a nominated body?

Above all, it is astounding to hear from these rebels the dirtiest lie that "the delegates from Kerala, Bengal and certain other States were merely nominated delegations". They are informed enough and are fully aware of the fact that in Kerala there was a regular State Conference conducted with the specific permission of the C.C. and it was this conference, after a five day session, that unanimously authorized the newly-elected State Committee to elect the delegates to the Central Plenum. Similarly these opponents of the Party

line know that in Bengal the widest democratic discussions were organized, and 11,000 party members had participated in the discussions, that extended District Committee meetings were held for the discussion of the ideological draft, and finally the State Committee had unanimously elected the delegation. Not one complaint, literally not one, has been heard from either Kerala or Bengal till today on this score. And yet, Nagi Reddy and his accomplices in Andhra have the impudence to slander the Kerala and West Bengal delegations as nominated delegations. May be, they want to confuse the uninformed and ignorant around them by such tricks, as they have tried to do with their bankrupt political line.

The statement of the rebels seeks to spread another lying propaganda that the C.C. and P.B. have already taken disciplinary actions against or forced "the majority party members in Orissa, U.P., Bihar, Kashmir and certain important sections in Bengal", to leave the Party. Our C.C. or P.B. has so far not taken any disciplinary action on anyone for his or her different ideological political viewpoint and whatever actions have been taken were taken only when the concerned members came out openly in defiance of the Party and its elementary discipline.

The truth is that in Orissa out of a 800 on the Party rolls some 150 had left the Party. In U.P. out of a total of 3,600 members nearly a half revolted and left the Party under the leadership of one former CCM. In Bihar out of a total of 1,600 on the rolls only 150 people left the Party. In Jammu and Kashmir the total membership does not exceed 500, the adventurist leaders of the State Committee have announced their severence with our Party, and we have yet to ascertain the actual position of the members. In the whole of North India, excluding Punjab, our Party's strength in the different States does not exceed a total of 8,000. Out of that if two or three thousand are misled into a revolt against the Party by leaders like Nagi Reddy, does it substantiate the cheap propaganda that a majority of members of the CPI(M) are in

revolt against the C.C. and P.B.? This again is aimed to give false hopes to their following in Andhra.

Nagi Reddy and his rebellious colleagues complain with a sense of injured innocence that "the P.B. Open Letter accuses us with advocating an immediate armed revolt which the people of Andhra know is a white lie". We will have to point out firstly, that for reasons obvious, our Party Letter does not charge them with what they allege, and presents their political case as objectively and truthfully as their alternative documents put it.

Secondly, may we ask these comrades as to why they were fretting and fuming against the C.C. and P.B. for warning against the adventurist bragging of armed struggle and liberation base by the leaders of Naxalbari, even as early as May and June 1967? What is the sense of raising the slogan 'Naxalbari way is our way' in Party and mass gatherings? What is the political meaning of the slogans raised in illegal leaflets and pamphlets like "Bhagat Singh's way is our way" and "Che Guevara way is our way"? Let us tell these people frankly that we are not naive either to be taken in by talk of armed struggle, immediate or in the remote future, nor afraid of these aims. What we are concerned with is their anti Party, Left-adventurist propaganda and their incitement of petty-bourgeois revolutionism among the militant and impatient young Party members. Our fight against them is the fight against an anti-Marxist and extreme Left-sectarian political line, and its organizational counterpart, the defiance of the Party discipline and call for revolt against the Party.

The P.B., as well as the Andhra State Committee, has shown extreme patience and tolerance towards the factional activities of Nagi Reddy and others, with the hope that they would be able to see their folly, if time was allowed, and the issue discussed dispassionately. But every concession shown by the C.C. and P.B. is construed as its weakness and step by step, they have organized a party within the party to implement their anti-Party line.

When the C.C. and State Committee confront them with

the charge of anti-Party factional activities, they realize that their game is up and decide to stage an open revolt. That is what their Press Statement reveals. The persistence in indiscipline and factional activities for months in spite of repeated appeals to desist from them, and the final open revolt staged by these four leaders leave no option before the C.C. and P.B. except to summarily expel them from the Party.

The P.B. appeals to all Party members and sympathizers to fight this disruption and rise to defend the Party, its political-ideological line, organizational unity. It also draws the attention of all Party members to the fact that all reactionaries in the country are concentrating fire on our Party, they rightly see in it the real, political, class, revolutionary force. To allow this game of reaction to disrupt and destroy our Party, from whatever quarter it comes and under whatever garb it appears, is highly injurious to the cause we all dearly cherish and for which our people have shed their blood. The P.B. calls upon the State and District Committees to sternly deal with the rebels and uphold the Party, and its political line with honour and pride.

Not National Integration —they Aim at Curbing Liberties*

Editorial of the “People’s Democracy”, June 30, 1968

The meeting of the National Integration Council, as was expected, ended in nothing except utterance of platitudinous banalities accompanied by proposals to strengthen the powers of the bureaucracy. The basic causes of the serious problems facing the country were fully dealt with in our Party’s memorandum to the Conference published last week in our paper. It held the present bourgeois-landlord government responsible for the rapid disintegration of the country and its common consciousness; it showed that the selfish class policies pursued by the Government in every sphere, its narrow class interests which came into conflict with a genuine democratic solution of every problem concerning national unity, were the source of the rapid disintegration of the country’s unity.

It was therefore easy to see that the Conference would produce nothing except airy talk accompanied by further class attacks against the liberties of the people in the name of checking the forces of disintegration. This is exactly what has happened. While the Conference totally failed to locate the problems or deliberately shoved them to avoid solutions, while it refused to identify the main culprits, it recommended further arbitrary powers to the bureaucrats who have been guilty of helping the anti-unity elements.

Four main problems confronted the Conference. The

*This may be connected with the document covered under Item No 28 of this Volume

development of the national problem in India which demands a reassessment of the relations between the Centre and the States and autonomy and statehood for certain regions or areas; the linguistic chaos and anarchy created by the policy of the Centre which is based on the domination of Hindi and refusal of equal status to all the languages of the people; the oppression of Harijans and the rise of provincial chauvinism leading to fratricidal attacks on toilers from other States and finally, and perhaps the most menacing problem in the North, the widespread communal riots leading to attacks on the Muslim minority.

Did the Conference members show any seriousness in dealing with the problems raised? Meeting in Srinagar, which along with the entire Kashmir valley is a volcano of national discontent, the Conference had no time to deal either with the situation in Kashmir or with the serious conditions in other border areas where discontent among border nationalities has led to armed revolt. Nagaland and Mizoland have already given serious warnings to the Indian nation. The representative of the Assam Hill Tribes made an effort to draw attention to the problem which was dealt with in our memorandum. But the Congress Bourbons and their invited guests had no time to deal with this basic problem of Indian unity. Nor did they attach any importance to the complete recasting of the Centre State relations—to the demand for freeing the States from the death grip of the Central python.

The whole problem was considered to be part of regionalism, which speaks volumes for the bankrupt understanding of the sponsors of the Conference.

The Committee on Regionalism whose report was accepted by the Conference recorded its own bankruptcy in the following words : "The question of relations between the States and the Centre and question of autonomy of hilly and forest areas especially in border regions could not be taken up within the short time available". Why did they call the meeting if they had no time to consider this basic problem? The fact is that the Government does not consider it to

be a basic problem but only a problem arising out of regional mentality—a law and order problem.

The report on regionalism instead of fighting regionalism makes concession to it on the question of settlement of linguistic border issues; it gives up the principled stand of taking the village as the unit for demarcation of the borders. This will only perpetuate border disputes and intensify the forces of disintegration.

The committee treated the problem of economic imbalances in a superficial way; regarding the problem of employment opportunities for local people, it reiterated one common citizenship for Indians; it also suggested that where qualified persons are available from among the local people of the State they should be given a major share of the employment and employers should be requested to give effect to this objective, as a matter of policy.

And about regional organizations the Committee had nothing to say except demanding effective measures against senas which provoke disturbances by appealing to regional sentiments. That organizations like the Shiva Sena in Bombay are patronized by the Maharashtra Ministers, and that even the Home Minister is still indulgent towards it, were facts not unknown to the Committee. But since it was all a game of make believe, who dares speak the truth? What is the use of telling the Maharashtra Government to take firm measures against the Shiva Sena when its police are instructed not to interfere in the Shiva Sena's attack on the Girni Kamgar Union of Bombay or on the hawkers and slum dwellers from Kerala?

The Committee acts like an innocent babe and pretends as if there were no vested interests directly promoting the regional anti-unity activities. Organizations like the Shiva Sena are the conscious creation of certain vested interests aided by CIA money to attack the toilers' struggle and disintegrate the common class and national consciousness. These forces cannot achieve their reactionary aims without smashing the unity of the struggling people. They include forces

which patronize the Congress, and also Congressmen and Congress Ministers. In truth and honesty, this should have been told to the people. But how dare the Committee do it?

As regards the question of linguistic inequality which divides the people, the Conference had nothing to say. Though perhaps the question was raised by some members of the Conference, the Committee's report does not refer to it. An issue which threatened to disrupt the nation only recently, was passed over in silence because the Government was not prepared to adopt a democratic solution and afraid of freeing itself from the clutches of Hindi fanatics.

The Council crowned its bankruptcy by adopting a high sounding meaningless declaration whose banality is only matched by its hypocrisy. In the background of the general hunt of Muslims, the declaration only talks about communalism in general, but dares not identify the communalism of the fanatical Hindu chauvinists as the main culprit and danger to the nation. Our Party, together with some other parties and individuals like Mrs Subhadra Joshi, had the courage to identify this culprit and point the accusing finger at the Jana Sangh and the RSS.

Our Party in its memorandum has stated : "the communal problem as manifested in Hindu-Muslim riots, is mainly a problem created by Hindu chauvinistic parties—like the Jana Sangh—hunting out the Muslim minorities... The Government knows this to be true. They have facts in their possession regarding the Ranchi riots. But not one spokesman of the Government has the courage to fix the main responsibility on Hindu communalist elements. They all talk in a general way of fighting communalism clubbing the hunted minority with the chauvinistic elements in the majority community. In this way the fight against communalism in the concrete is dodged and people are cheated with pious expressions about communal peace and national integration."

This is exactly what the declaration as well as the Report on Communalism does. It talks in general about secularism; about the rise of communal tendencies, about the necessity

of fighting it and asserting all the gracious moral values that are supposed to be enshrined in that magic book called the Indian Constitution. But it dares not by a word tell the blunt truth that the communalism is the communalism of the Hindu chauvinists and that those to be protected against it belong to the Muslim community. It was very correctly stated in our memorandum : "The fact is that the Government, the Congress party and its leaders, with all the boast of secularism, are prisoners of Hindu chauvinism and are afraid of attacking its worst manifestations". How can the Government create a sense of security and integration among the minorities when it dares not even name its tormentors?

This same outlook is to be seen in the Report on Communalism adopted by the Conference. Once again the Hindu chauvinists are not identified and the entire question is reduced to one of getting more powers for the corrupt bureaucrats who often fan and incite the riots. Among the profound measures it suggests is the establishment of special intelligence unit, as if the riots have been breaking out for lack of information to the Government. Others are : Amendment of Section 153A IPC, punishment for rumour-mongering and publication of alarming news, power to prevent publication of provocative news, district authorities to be made personally responsible for prompt action to prevent or stop communal riots special courts with summary powers to deal with Communal offences.

Can the bureaucracy and the present Government be trusted with these additional powers to do even handed justice to the minorities and save them from attack? The massacres that have been going on in the last few months, were they due to lack of adequate powers for officials? On the other hand, is it not a fact that in a number of places in U.P. and Bihar the powers were used against the minority community when it was being aggressively attacked by the chauvinistic Hindu elements?

What guarantee is there that the additional powers will not be used against the minority, the possibility being there

all the more as the statement of the Conference clubs the minority with the aggressive elements from the majority. The fact is that no sane person can trust this tainted bureaucracy, this class machine for suppressing the common man, with additional powers. Only the compelling power of people's unity will force the Government to move against the real culprits.

Both on the question of regionalism, and communalism, the Conference shuns fight with the main enemy, indulges in platitudes and cheats the people. And it utilizes the plight of the minorities, the anxiety of the people to protect unity, to perfect the bureaucratic machine which it requires to use to suppress the people.

The Conference exposes the utter bankruptcy of the ruling classes and shows that they are incapable of uniting the country. Under their regime the country can only disintegrate. This is one more reason why people must unite to give a burial to this class regime.

Fiasco of Revisionism*

B. T. Ranadive

PART I : REAL FACE OF PROGRAMME AMENDMENTS

The Patna Session of the Indian revisionists throws new light on the ideological fiasco of the leadership and shows how under the pressure of political events, the revisionist leaders had to go back on some of their own formulations and explain away the reactionary crudities of their Programme now that they stood nakedly revealed to their ranks. The leaders, of course, have gone on record saying that everything that they said and did, including what they did not say and did not do, has been proved to be correct and right. The Programme, the policy, the tactics—all are justified and presented to the ranks as great gems of wisdom. And yet if you read through their report, it is plain that in spite of being hundred per cent correct they had to own and acknowledge ‘mistakes’, ‘shortcomings’, ‘vacillations’, etc., on a number of major issues.

If all this was really a process of self-enlightenment, of a genuine understanding, even partial, of the criminal mistakes they had committed, of the utterly treacherous character of the line they had advocated, and the complete betrayal of internationalism by them on two successive occasions, we would have welcomed it. But here is an attempt to put a cloak of respectability on the crimes committed, while graciously condescending to acknowledge a few failings.

*This document was published in the “PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY”, Calcutta, in seven instalments in its issues dated April 7, 1968, May 12, 1968, May 19, 1968, May 26, 1968, June 2, 1968, June 9, 1968 and June 30, 1968.

Of course, while doing this they first assure their ranks that our Party, the CPI(M), has been doing nothing but piling up mistakes and that it is responsible for many setbacks of the movement. Every occasion is used to create a wall between our Party and their ranks.

Two Successive Betrayals

To take but one instance, the fact that their Hindu communalist line during the Indo-Pak war created a revulsion among wide sections of Muslims who were attracted by our Party's line is put by them in the following words: "But our agitation at times was defective in the sense that we did not sufficiently stress the need for an end to the war and on peaceful methods. The CPM exploited our shortcomings on this score and created an impression among the Muslims as if they were the foremost champions of peace and settlement between the two countries." (*Political Report*, p. 100)

Can any person have any respect for leaders who palm off their crimes on others? For any party which calls itself Marxist-Leninist, here was once again complete betrayal of proletarian internationalism for the second time, with the revisionist leaders going under the banner of the capitalist-landlord clique, and becoming warmongers. It was not just a question of underplaying peace and proletarian solidarity as the revisionists claim. They were outdoing even the Jana Sangh in their national chauvinism and, if we remember it correctly, criticizing the warring Government for not being sufficiently firm and bellicose.

In fact, so overwhelmed were they by national chauvinism that they turned against the hand that had fed them ideologically. They turned against the Soviet leadership, loyalty to whom is their highest test of internationalism. By their own standards they completely repudiated all sense of proletarian internationalism and sank deep into the cesspool of bourgeois nationalism.

Listen to these worthies, now forced to make a confession: "Our weakness was revealed in our lukewarm attitude towards

the Soviet pronouncements and moves which were to lead to the Tashkent talks. In fact we were initially critical of some Soviet statements in connection with the Indo-Pak war. We did not come out forcefully when the proposal for Indo-Pak talks under the Soviet initiative was being first mooted. No wonder that Lal Bahadur Shastri's public statement in support of the Soviet proposal for Indo-Pakistan talk came before that of our Party."

In short, the warring leader of the bourgeoisie, the Prime Minister, proved less bellicose than these worthy gentlemen who pretended to be internationalists. They did not support the Soviet efforts for peace and were prepared to play the American game of setting India and Pakistan at each other's throat.

In 1962, they were prepared to join with the Americans—accept imperialist help—against China; in 1965, they were prepared to play the role of war incendiaries to bring grist to the mill of the imperialists. This time they could not boast of the fig-leaf of Soviet support also.

How they acted as incendiaries and broke the solidarity of the working class of the two countries is revealed by themselves. "We did not pay much attention to the necessity of appealing to the healthy forces in Pakistan [Oh, they have discovered then that even in Pakistan there could be healthy forces—some demarcation from the Jana Sangh!] and East Pakistan. Understandably, our comrades there felt upset and became critical."

Yet even now they justify their policies. But the facts are clear. Their comrades in Pakistan had to attack them for their chauvinism. They are forced to make a belated confession that they failed to realize that there were toilers, exploited classes, in Pakistan. Perhaps no other party in the capitalist world, claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, could boast of two successive betrayals of internationalism in such a short time.

Instead of disowning this anti-revolutionary outlook, this gross betrayal and crossing over to the camp of the

capitalists and landlords, the leadership tries to explain it away.

And when the Muslim masses of our country see these gentlemen in their true colours, and turn with a revulsion from them towards our Party whose courageous advocacy of peace they correctly appreciated, these gentlemen call it exploitation of their shortcomings by our Party. Said just like a bourgeois party. The bourgeoisie does not recognize that the proletariat has a positive role to play, a class line that represents the interests of the downtrodden masses. Everytime the working class party advances its line in opposition to the bankrupt line of the bourgeoisie, everytime the masses respond to it, they decry it as exploitation of the situation or the ignorance of the masses.

The Political Report contains many instances of this approach; it also reveals that the opportunism of some of their formulations became so exposed that the revisionist clique had to amend many of them.

Programme “Modification”

Even the Programme has not escaped modification, because of the rough handling received at the hands of a rapidly developing situation. The first casualty is the revisionist conception or characterization of the Indian state.

Article 46 of the revisionist Programme adopted at their Bombay session stated : “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...”

Thus the state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie which upholds and develops capitalist relations.

The big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence only at the governmental level (not at the state level). The landlords are not a class sharing power in the state, but are allowed only admittance into ministerial positions at the State level.

As against this our Party Programme stated : "The present Indian State is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, led by the big bourgeoisie who are increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital in pursuit of the capitalist path of development."

Here you see the basic difference. The state is the state of the capitalists and landlords. Besides, it is led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital. All the elements—the classes wielding power, the leadership of the compromising Big Business—are stated here.

Our Party had attacked the formulation of the revisionists and pointed out that the revisionists were covering the reactionary alliance with the landlords in the state by denying that they shared power with the national bourgeoisie and presenting the present state as anti-feudal; that by denying that it was led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism they were minimizing its anti-popular character as well as capacity to compromise with imperialism and betray national interests. They dubbed all this as sectarianism.

The definition was essential to pursue the policy of compromise with the national bourgeoisie which the revisionist leaders have been pursuing and to divert the attack towards reactionaries and monopolists who were supposed to have no connection with either the government, the state and who were presented as sabotaging the progressive policies of the government and the state.

And now the revisionists are changing their basic formulation. Why? Not, of course, because it is wrong and opportunist, but only because it is liable to be misinterpreted for lack of clarity, etc. And the main reason, of course, is that

our Party is exploiting their weaknesses. Listen to Bhupesh Gupta : "The CPM leadership, for example, has been at pains to prove their charge of 'revisionism' against us by such misinterpretations and distortions. In doing so, they have picked on this or that formulation to serve their purpose, while ignoring the fundamental propositions of our Party Programme".

Bhupesh Gupta assures everybody that the amendments only clarify, they "have not in the least altered anything fundamental in the Programme". This latter claim is, of course, true. With all the amendments the Programme remains as revisionist as it was in 1964.

Amendment and Clarification

Let us, however, see how the amendments clarify.

In his articles in *New Age*, Bhupesh Gupta says : "The article 46 as amended reads as follows: 'The State in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole in which the big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence. This class rule has strong links with the landlords. These factors give rise to reactionary pulls on the State power.' "

On this change, Bhupesh Gupta comments : "It will be noted that the Party Programme retains its original position that the State is an organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie. It does not accept that the power is shared by the landlords. However, the amendment highlights the relation of the big bourgeoisie to the State power—which is now under the control of the national bourgeoisie as a whole. Although the Programme does not accept the thesis of the CPM Programme [the big bad wolf] that the big bourgeoisie is in the leadership or that the State is a bourgeois-landlord State", it "takes full note of the powerful influence the Big Business exercises in relation to State power as well as the links of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie with the landlords."

This is supposed to be just clarification, to avoid distortion by the CPM. Revisionists always dread truth and they

are here covering their opportunist formulations with a gloss of change.

Now, these gentlemen, in the name of clarification only, are forced to eat some of their words and formulations. Now they are discerning for the first time that the big bourgeoisie is influencing not only the government but the state also. Oh, great discovery, gentlemen! You are getting on, no doubt. We sympathize with you for the mental and intellectual exertion involved in this discovery.

Same Revisionist Understanding

But mark their words: The big bourgeoisie, the Tatas, the Birlas, the big industrial capitalists do not lead the state; they just wield powerful influence on it. They are promoted, no doubt. Formerly they held 'considerable influence' only on the government; now they hold 'powerful influence' over the state (just a matter of clarification, no doubt). But those who own the banks, monopolize the deposits, spread their industrial empires—they are not the real masters of the state. The same revisionist vomit is dished out under the guise of some change, to cheat the ranks. No doubt, the crude formulation that the big bourgeoisie was not in the state anywhere was found to be too bogus. So they have been admitted to the state now.

And, of course, there is not a reference, not a hint that any of this section which controls the state has any links with imperialism. Our Programme states that the state is led by the big bourgeoisie which is increasingly collaborating with imperialism.

It seems from their description that the collaborating and compromising section is out of the state and the state is really led and controlled by anti-imperialists—at best sometimes vacillating sections. As before, this is to give a certificate of anti-imperialism to it and screen its compromising character.

Similarly, our revisionists could no longer conceal the role of the landlords in the state. In the Bombay Congress,

they had humbugged the ranks to believe that the landlords had no share in state power; they had only a few ministerial positions which enabled them to sabotage the progressive land reforms launched under the state of the national bourgeoisie.

The agrarian crisis, the exposure of the land reforms, the famines, the peasant struggles and their brutal suppression, make it impossible to sustain this fable. The formation of non-Congress Ministries also brought to the forefront the stronghold of landlord interests on the state and the bureaucracy and revealed even to the ignorant that this "State of the national bourgeoisie" would not shrink from sabotaging every radical measure benefitting the peasantry at the expense of the vested landed interests. Some change was called for.

Hence now the state of the national bourgeoisie is supposed to have class links with the landlords but the latter do not share power in the state. Once again, giving the state an anti-feudal character, certifying it that it can be an instrument in the struggle for anti-feudal revolution and screening its alliance with the landlords. Only the most servile and trained lackeys of the national big bourgeoisie could fail to see the bourgeois-landlord alliance, whose dire and devastating effects are seen visually in the agrarian crisis and the suppression of the peasantry.

So they formulate: "These factors [the influence of the big bourgeoisie, and the links with the landlords] give rise to reactionary pulls on the State power". The state power—of the national bourgeoisie—is alright. The big bourgeoisie and the landlords only give reactionary pulls in their direction. What is the logical conclusion? Defeat the pulls so that the state is kept on the straight path. Here is not an alliance with the landlords; here is not the leadership of the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital—but just a few reactionary pulls on it. The edge of the struggle against imperialism, feudal survivals, for People's Democracy need not be directed against the state, but against

those exercising reactionary pulls. The conclusion is the same that emerges from their earlier formulations.

The "Trifle" They Forgot

But, of course, things are too hot for our revisionists; so while virtually repeating the formulation about the state and the class leading it, they have to accept by an amendment to the Programme that the alternative path of "National Democracy" cannot be implemented unless the rule of the national bourgeoisie and the capitalist path which it is pursuing are ended. This is a first-rate fiasco for all their theories and what they have been preaching.

For, nowhere in their Programme have they stated that they are out to end the rule of the national bourgeoisie. On the other hand, they talk of defeating reaction, inside and outside the ruling party, of only doing away with the monopoly power of the bourgeoisie, of sharing power with them—all indicating the formation of a coalition Ministry and nothing else.

Now they are compelled to say that there must be an end to the rule of their beloved national bourgeoisie. Though it must pass the comprehension of any person, why after certifying the state to be free from landlord alliance, and the dominance of sections compromising with imperialism, the rule should be overthrown to achieve an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist "national democratic revolution". Logically it should lead to the state being used as an instrument of National Democracy—this is the line in their Programme and this continues today also in spite of this verbal concession to the demand for ending the rule of the national bourgeoisie.

Our Party had repeatedly attacked the revisionists for sidetracking the fight against the state in the name of fighting the forces of reaction; for diverting attention from the state in the name of concentrating only on the monopolies and communal reactionaries. We had stated that these people were not interested in ending the present state. Now, while basically they are sticking to their formulations, under

pressure, they are forced to agree that the rule of the national bourgeoisie must be ended.

So bankrupt was the revisionist Programme that it neither contained a call to end the present state—the National Democratic State was only a call for coalition Government—nor to end the Congress Government. They had drawn a great programme for National Democratic transformation as a step to socialism and all that, but forgot a trifle—the question of state power, the question of ending the rule of the bourgeois-landlord alliance; they even forgot to say that the Congress Government should be replaced by an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Government, etc. This was not forgetfulness; nor was this a failure to be explicit and clear. It was just their line and attitude to the bourgeois-landlord state.

Article 76 of their Programme only talked about the new path without raising the question of changing the rule of the bourgeoisie. Now our revisionist gentlemen have seen the weakness and just want to ‘clarify’ it. The amendment runs, “This alternative path will mean, first and foremost, the replacement of the Congress or any other form of bourgeois rule by a Government composed of consistently anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly classes and forces capable of and determined to carry out revolutionary changes”, etc.

On this Bhupesh Gupta comments, “Nowhere in our Party Programme had it been expressly stated that the Congress rule must be overthrown and replaced by a democratic Government representing anti-imperialist, etc., forces. This amendment makes clear and explicit what was implicit,” etc. Now these gentlemen have realized that their Programme does not ‘explicitly’ raise the question of change of Government or of state power. Great Marxist-Leninists! It took four years for them to realize this. Great progress!

Thus their basic formulations getting exposed, the bankruptcy revealed before the people, the leaders are forced to manoeuvre, make a few changes, keeping the atrocious framework of the Programme and its revisionist formulations intact.

Demagogy to Hide Opportunism

But these manoeuvrings will yield no results. For so long as the basic line of the Programme stands, the line of betrayal, of desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie, of rejection of proletarian internationalism, a few phrases do not mean any change in practice. But of this more subsequently.

Meanwhile, we ask these gentlemen one question: Are you serious about any formulation? Your amendment talks about "the replacement of the Congress or any other form of bourgeois rule by a Government composed of *consistently* anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly classes". Is this your conception of the National Democratic Government or state? Do you include the national bourgeoisie among the consistently anti-imperialist, etc., forces? Article 77 of your Programme says in regard to this class, "...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". So, the national bourgeoisie has no place in your Government? Or have you now decided that they are consistently anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly?

All this shows that it is dangerous to use demagogy where class realities are concerned, and where revolutionary intentions are absent. Marxism-Leninism is a science, and you cannot hide your opportunism by using a few phrases to hide your servility to an alien class.

Do you realize the meaning of a state or government only of consistently anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly classes? Even the vaguest memory of Marxian understanding should enable you to realize the class meaning of what you state. But, obviously, you are out to cheat your ranks.

PART II : REBUFF TO THE PROGRAMME

As we have stated, the revisionist leaders have been forced to change the earlier crudities in their programme. After defending their basic erroneous anti-Marxist formulations

for four years, now the leaders are compelled to modify or change them.

They had to eat their words on the question of the leadership of their so-called National Democratic Front. Article 80, paragraph 4, of their Programme says, "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".

Perhaps no party claiming to be Marxist-Leninist has made such a blatantly servile and class-collaborationist formulation as this Dange group of revisionists has done. Years ago, Lenin had taught that in the era of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie becomes incapable of leading the democratic revolution, because the latter, with the full participation of the masses, shows every possibility of growing into a socialist revolution. Hence he developed the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution; this hegemony was to be the guarantee that the democratic revolution would not be betrayed and that it would necessarily grow into a socialist revolution.

Anti-Leninist Concept

Turning against this teaching of Lenin, the revisionist leaders abandoned the idea of proletarian hegemony and openly preached the idea of sharing hegemony with the bourgeoisie in the democratic revolution. The concept of joint leadership of these two classes for the success of the democratic revolution is a totally anti-Leninist concept and in effect leads to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

Our Party repeatedly attacked this anti-revolutionary concept and practice following from it. This was, however, the essence of their attack on People's Democracy and state of People's Democracy. They said they did not think that a state led by the working class was called for; all that was necessary was a state under the joint leadership of the capitalists and the working class.

We wrote: "Establishing the People's Democratic state

under the leadership of the working class to complete the democratic revolution and prepare the pre-conditions of socialism, or betraying the democratic revolution by offering the bourgeoisie a share in the leadership in the name of National Democratic state—it is on this that the differences between the Communist Party and the revisionists are centred.”

The author of the joint leadership formula was of course S.A. Dange who had clearly and brazenfacedly spelt it out in one of his documents prior to the Bombay Congress of the revisionists. Dange had not put it negatively as the Programme did but had positively called for joint leadership.

The revisionist leaders defended this notorious formula as concrete application of Marxism-Leninism. But it became indefensible and since it revealed their utter dependence and servility towards the bourgeois class, so now at last they are compelled to change it, give it a different meaning and at the same time pretend as if they were doing nothing more than putting the old idea in just positive terms.

Formula which Boomeranged

The new amendment reads, “The leadership of this alliance belongs to firm anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and anti-monopoly forces.”

Commenting on this, Bhupesh Gupta writes, “The original formulation in the Programme is in negative terms...the amendment now defines the class content and character of the leadership in positive terms.” In reality, what is there common between the old formulation and the new addition? Neither the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie nor the exclusive leadership of the proletariat has only one meaning—the leadership is shared between the two. The other anti-imperialist sections nowhere came under the formula.

But now an attempt is made that the positive way of presenting this notorious formula of class collaboration is leadership of all anti-imperialist forces. From sharing of leadership with the bourgeoisie to sharing of leadership with all firm anti-imperialist forces—such is the sweep of their

positive formulation. A leadership forced to abandon its blatantly collaborationist formulation is now falsely asserting that all that it meant was the joint leadership of firm anti-imperialist classes.

However, one thing is clear—the attempt to install the national bourgeoisie in leadership, to ascribe to it more revolutionariness than even the peasantry, has boomeranged. And now the revisionist leaders have to talk about the leadership of all the anti-imperialist classes.

In the first place, see how the leaders are changing their emphasis. In their Bombay Programme, they were blatantly advocating sharing of leadership with the entire national bourgeoisie; they did not distinguish between a firm and vacillating section. Now in his explanation, Bhupesh Gupta says that the other anti-imperialist forces will share the leadership with those sections of the bourgeoisie which remain firm against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital.

Gentlemen, have you discovered such sections among the national bourgeoisie that will remain firm against not only imperialism, feudalism but also against monopoly capitalists? But in your own Programme, you declare that the entire national bourgeois class vacillates and is inclined to compromise with imperialists and feudalism and pursues anti-people policies. And yet, determined to put them in the leadership, you discover certain firm sections among the national bourgeoisie.

Old Idea in Modified Form

The correct position is that this class, apart from the monopolist and big bourgeois sections which are directly hostile to the democratic revolution, vacillates all the time and is never firm. It is quite conceivable that sections, while vacillating all the time, while sometimes opposing the revolution, may again come back and remain with the Front—but they are never firm and even on the basis of the criterion applied by the revisionists, they cannot have a place in the leadership; they may be in the alliance; they may be in the Front and the Government but not in the leadership. But by talking

about some firm sections worthy of being in the leadership, the revisionist leaders are again putting the old idea of sharing leadership with the bourgeoisie in a modified form.

Then, how far is it correct to state that the leadership may be shared by the other anti-imperialist forces, anti-monopolist forces, such as the peasantry, revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie, etc.?

In the first place, one must thank the revisionists for remembering the peasantry after four years. A glorious achievement, no doubt. And yet this formulation which once more negates the Leninist concept of hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution in the name of sharing the leadership with the peasantry, is a reactionary formulation worthy only of the modern Mensheviks. It puts the rich peasant, the middle peasant, the city intelligentsia and the petty-bourgeoisie on the same plane as the working class and abandons all class analysis of the forces behind the revolution, the firm and leading forces, the vacillating and weak forces.

If all these sections can be equally anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, etc.—gentlemen, why do you talk of workers' and peasants' alliance? Why do you attach special importance to it? Or is it just a phrase for you and you do not designate thereby the main, the driving forces of the revolution? Why don't you include all other sections when you describe the core of the alliance? Such tricks won't do. When you say that the workers' and peasants' alliance is the core, you have already singled out these forces as the more consistent and uncompromising among all those who may form the Front. You can't escape the conclusion. And, therefore, you cannot justify your opportunist conclusion that the other forces also can share in the leadership.

No Faith in Marxism-Leninism

It is correct to state that the workers' and peasants' alliance is the core of the anti-imperialist front, but it is incorrect to state that anyone except the working class can provide the leadership in the democratic revolution. In the present epoch

of democratic revolutions rapidly growing into socialist revolutions, when in the democratic revolution itself, people have to fight the monopolists, the vacillations of other classes do not disappear. To imagine that their outlook has become so revolutionary that they have ceased to act according to the position of their strata in society is to indulge in non-class petty-bourgeois muddle. This is what Lenin taught and this is what is being deliberately ignored. In this connection, the revisionists and their mentors dare not refer to Lenin because they want to repudiate him.

How the peasantry vacillates to the point of danger even after the achievement of the revolution was seen in Russia after the February Revolution. Lenin described the Soviets as state of the type of the Paris Commune, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure. He said, "They refuse to recognize the obvious truth that inasmuch as these Soviets, *inasmuch as* they are a power, we have a state of the *type of the Paris Commune*".

"I have emphasized the words, 'inasmuch as', for it is only an incipient power. By direct agreement with the bourgeois provisional Government and by a series of actual concessions, it has itself surrendered and is surrendering its position to the-bourgeoisie". This was due to the fact that the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the working class still continued to be swayed by illusions about the bourgeoisie even though they were the real power. These sections are able to develop their full revolutionary potentialities only when they develop confidence in the working class and its Party, otherwise they vacillate.

But the revisionists want to paint the situation as if the democratic revolution can be successfully organized without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, the leadership of the proletariat and its Party. The proletariat is able to guide just because it has Marxism-Leninism to guide itself, because it is the class in modern society that is vitally interested in the success of the democratic revolution and its growing into socialist revolution.

By negating the hegemony of the proletariat the revisionists negate the working class and its revolutionary science, Marxism-Leninism, and the proletarian Party. And that is but natural—they don't believe in Marxism-Leninism at all.

Slogan of Deception

Thus the common leadership of all anti-imperialist classes is a slogan of deception. It is correct to state the Government will be one of all anti-imperialist classes; but in the actual conduct of the revolution each section does not play an identical role. The workers and peasants form the driving force, the core of the alliance; this itself distinguishes them from the rest; inside the peasantry itself the rich peasant will not play the same role in Indian conditions as the poor peasant or the agricultural worker—much less can he be elevated to the position of leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The ruinous effects of giving him a leading place in the kisan movement for a number of years are there for all to see.

Even though the worker-peasant alliance is the core of the Front, it will be wrong to say that it is the workers and peasants who lead the Front. The leadership again is determined by the position of the class in present society, etc.—it must rest with the working class since if the movement is conducted except on the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, it will face serious reverses. To make the peasants and other toiling sections see the correctness of this strategy and tactics, of the partial and ultimate slogans of the present phase—and make them accept in the course of the struggle these as their own experience—in this precisely lies the leadership of the working class. Without this there is no successful revolution, no successful defence of it, nor its growing into a socialist revolution.

Exclusive Indian Contribution

As for the national bourgeoisie, the leadership ascribed to it is an exclusively Indian contribution to the armoury of world

revisionism. No international document of recent times also ever talks about the national bourgeoisie or any of its sections sharing leadership with the working class or the anti-imperialist forces.

Our revisionists in their incautious moments sometimes refer to the 1960 Declaration of 81 Parties. What does that document say on the question of the national bourgeoisie? "This alliance [the alliance of the working class and the peasantry] is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. *The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability.*" (Emphasis ours)

Messieurs revisionists, do you *understand* the meaning of the sentence? Even the extent of *participation* of the national bourgeoisie depends on the stability of the workers' and peasants' alliance. Where then is the question of leadership of the national bourgeoisie, sharing leadership with it? The document nowhere mentions even indirectly that the national bourgeoisie is to lead the struggle. It only raises the question of their participation.

And, again, the same document states that even in countries which are dependent, the national bourgeoisie "retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism"—(not successfully leading it). "After winning political independence the people seek solutions to the social problems... As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism". Once more the position is hardly the condition for sharing leadership with them or for installing them in the leadership of the democratic revolution.

You see none but the bankrupt Indian revisionist leaders make such idiotic formulations, like the sharing of leadership with the national bourgeoisie. Its likely participation in anti-imperialist struggle is confused with leadership and the entire class balance is changed to suit the needs of this compromising, vacillating class.

Indefensible Position

Finding that their bogus formulation, the new one, also could not be sustained for any length of time, Bhupesh Gupta has started resorting to prevarication and equivocation. In explanation of the rejection of proletarian hegemony, he makes two statements: "Peasantry and middle classes may not be at a given time under the leadership of either the working class or the national bourgeoisie." Then in bold types, "The thesis that the leadership of the working class is not a precondition of the front does not, however, at all mean that the working class will not play a leading role in organizing the National Democratic Front and the revolutionary movement."

When you blandly state that there will be no proletarian leadership even after the formation of your National Democratic state, you are not talking about preconditions; but you are asserting that even when your national democratic revolution achieves state power, there will be no leadership of the working class. During the entire period of struggle as well as after the formation of your new state there will be no leadership of the working class. Para 4, section 80, of your Programme deals with the *state* in the hands of the National Democratic Front—and you assert that in this alliance which will hold this new state neither the working class nor the bourgeoisie will be the exclusive leaders. Now you assert that all anti-imperialist, etc., forces will lead, and not the working class alone. But you are nowhere talking about or discussing the leadership of the working class or any other class as a precondition of the National Democratic Front.

You know your whole position is indefensible and you now slyly pretend that you object to the leadership of the working class as a precondition to building of the Front. In reality you are in principle opposed to the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. If it were a question of opposing it as a precondition to the starting of any activity, front, etc.—there need be no discussion. The leadership is not a readymade affair. It evolves during the actual course of the revolutionary movement through the correct role and

guidance of the proletariat. But this is not what you mean. You insist that during the entire stage of democratic revolution, proletarian hegemony is barred.

Then your statement, "peasantry and middle class may not be at a given time under the leadership of the bourgeoisie or the proletariat". Is this the point you are dealing with in your Programme? You are dealing with a combination of classes, their relationship during the entire period of democratic revolution and you state that the proletariat will not lead the revolutionary forces. Thus it is not a question of what relationship may exist among the revolutionary forces at any given time. You are insisting on a given relationship for the entire period. Now when you casually write about the peasantry not being under the leadership of the working class or the bourgeoisie at any given time, you are just throwing dust in the eyes of your followers. And, besides, it is known that this independence of the peasantry cannot continue for a long time.

In the Company of Mensheviks

No, this is not the point. The point is not whether the peasantry is today under the leadership of the proletariat; the point is certainly not whether proletarian leadership is to be a precondition of anything. The point is what should be the line and understanding of a Party which claims to stand by Marxism-Leninism. Does it consider it necessary that for the guaranteed success of the democratic revolution proletarian leadership is essential and does it work for the consummation of this? Does it put the working class on the same plane as other sections and does it hold any one of these classes might fulfil the role of leadership and share it with the working class? It is here that you give a directly anti-Marxist answer and join the company of the Mensheviks of Lenin's period.

And in spite of this, you are sometimes forced to talk of the leading role of the proletariat in organizing the revolutionary movement—though not, of course, of the role of leadership. The proletariat should fight, sacrifice, do every-

thing but lead—this is your demand. And you promise to the working class a leading position in the alliance—gradually after the coming into existence of the National Democratic state and placing effective state power in the hands of the vacillating classes including the national bourgeoisie.

PART III : OPPORTUNISM ON THE QUESTION OF PEASANTRY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Bhupesh Gupta in his article unconsciously makes a significant admission. "The question of amending the Party Programme on the question of peasantry in Chapter V was discussed at some length. But it was decided that the question should be more thoroughly studied in view of the extreme complexity of the problem".

Bhupesh Gupta is, of course, silent about the content of the amendment. He has reason to be. Because it threatened to debunk their present revisionist position which does not base itself on a growing differentiation inside the peasantry—a position which our Party has taken in our Programme—a position which is the only consistent application of a Leninist understanding of the problem.

But our revisionists dread nothing more than class analysis and class outlook, and fear nothing more than reliance on the revolutionary sections or their leadership. A hotch-potch analysis which clubs the exploiting and exploited elements in the rural areas politically, which magnifies the importance of the former, suits their reformist politics.

Differentiation Inside Peasantry

Anyone who is serious about a democratic revolution in India cannot avoid such an analysis; anyone who knows that commodity production and capitalist relations are developing in India cannot escape it. But the revisionist leaders are determined not to recognize differentiation inside the peasantry for arriving at a political estimate of the different sections.

What does their Programme say and what was the amendment?

Their agrarian analysis is full of contradictions besides being an attempt to prettify the national bourgeoisie and their Government. After a lot of talk about semi-feudal relations, about survival of semi-feudal land relations and conditions of the poorer strata of the agrarian masses, they blandly write, "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*". (Emphasis ours)

These words carry only one meaning. The bourgeois-landlord state has virtually abolished feudal land relations—the overwhelmingly large area of land was now in possession of cultivating proprietors. This is not just curbing of semi-feudal relations, this is virtually their abolition. This is how they praise the Government and the national bourgeoisie.

No doubt in complete contradiction to this claim, they also talk about strong survivals of feudalism, of sub-letting and share-cropping—which, according to their own statement, is confined to only a small area—but the main formulation is that the major section of the land is operated by peasant proprietors.

In contrast, our Programme states the abolition of the intermediary rights has been followed by eviction of millions of tenants both legally and illegally or the tenants being forced to purchase the land rights from the landlord. In the ryotwari areas also they have actually led to the eviction and uprooting of millions of peasants from the land. The much-talked-of legislations regarding ceiling on landholdings have been so framed as to enable the big landholders either to preserve their holdings untouched or to split them up through fictitious partition among their family members.

Two Different Understandings

The difference between the two understandings is clear beyond doubt. The revisionists credit the national bourgeoisie

with redistributing land on the basis of private ownership and virtually abolishing feudal land relations. Their subsequent stress on survivals, batai, share-cropping, is just a balancing performance and does not logically follow from their basic understanding. With this understanding, they cannot say that there are strong survivals of feudalism in India.

And that brings them to their next contradiction. They say, "Interpenetration of strong [?] survivals of feudalism and growing capitalist relations of production is the dominant character of socio-economic life in India's countryside". If this has any meaning it means that stratification inside the Indian peasantry is growing apace and it is thoroughly incorrect to talk about an undifferentiated mass of peasantry when discussing the classes behind the current stage of the revolution. It means that the peasantry is being divided into rich, middle and poor peasants—and agricultural workers, and different sections will play a varying role in the revolutionary struggle. It leads straight to the conclusion that the latter two are the firmer sections and basic allies of the working class.

But this is precisely what the revisionist Programme does not accept. In consonance with their basic principle of reducing the role of proletarian and semi-proletarian elements, they put the rich peasant and agricultural labourers on the same plane in relation to the revolutionary struggle. In their Programme they ask, which are the classes that are interested in the national democratic revolution? And when they refer to the peasantry they say "the broad masses of the cultivating peasants including the rich peasants and agricultural workers" are interested. There is no distinction between the various sections—no firm reliance on one section, no mention of the vacillations of the exploiting sections.

In effect this is a plea to base the agrarian movement mainly on the rich peasant, at best the middle peasant, a counterpart of the joint hegemony of the proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Rich Peasant Ideology

So palpably opportunist was the conception in the Programme that an amendment was moved to rectify the wrong understanding. Though there was no attempt to change the erroneous formulation regarding land relations, yet the amendment sought to take into consideration the differentiation inside the peasantry. It described the rich peasant as the rural counterpart of the national bourgeoisie; the middle peasant as a firmer ally than the rich peasant and stated that their party should strike deep roots among the agricultural workers, rely on the poor and middle peasants and unite the entire peasantry. This, however, was too much for the revisionist leaders.

What? Base yourself on the differentiation among the peasantry? Why, that is Left sectarianism. And if you accept the differentiation what will the CPI(M) say? What? Differentiate yourself from the rich peasants? Accept that he has no leading role? Then what will happen to the sharing of leadership with the national bourgeoisie?

What arguments were advanced to meet the new amendment are not known. But it is clear that the discussion was sabotaged under the plea that this was a very complicated problem. To accept differentiation inside the peasantry—once the growth of capitalist relations is accepted—is it so complicated? And to determine the revolutionary role of each section on the basis of its economic position—is it so strange and complicated for those who claim to be Marxist-Leninists? No, the point is the revisionist organization is so honey-combed with rich peasant ideology, with the ideology of the national bourgeoisie, that any class approach is becoming impossible for it.

Thus everything in the Programme remains as before.

Political Parties

And then the revisionist leaders suddenly decided to delete Chapter IX of their Party Programme which deals with their characterization of political parties.

The reason advanced for deletion is their sudden discovery that in a programmatic document, characterizing and describing the various parties is not necessary. The real reason is that their characterization of some of the political parties has proved to be so completely wrong that they had to change it completely; a further reason is that they cannot justify their coalition opportunism with the Jana Sangh—the fascistic communal organization of reaction—without forgetting their characterization of it.

Listen to their characterization of the Dravid Munnetra Kazagam in their Programme: “The Dravid Munnetra Kazagam (DMK) is a party in the South [oh, not in Tamilnad—the South—spoken like a Jana Sanghi], 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”. In the political report to the Patna Congress, the DMK is mentioned as a party of democratic opposition—a qualitative change. These chameleons of election began to change their characterization of DMK as elections approached and blamed their Tamilnad unit for sticking to the characterization given in the Programme.

Regarding the Muslim League—which was really active only in Kerala—they wrote, “The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal organization”—the last word in condemnation for them in those days. They attacked our Party in Kerala for reaching an understanding for adjustments with the League in the 1965 elections. Their disruptive activities in the service of the Congress were repudiated by the people and they were routed in the elections. Then as the next elections approached they began to sing a different tune discovering the positive virtues of the League.

And as is usual with this dishonest crowd, they began to tell their followers that it is not they, but the League that has changed. They described the fiasco of their farcical analysis in the following words in their political report to the Patna Congress: “On the question of Muslim League both the CEC

and the Kerala leadership, however, pursued a somewhat rigid attitude. It is now seen that on account of its policy changes as well as change in Kerala's political situation the Muslim League there has a positive role to play in advancing the democratic movement in that State." (p. 54)

From a communal organization with whom there can be no truck to an organization which has a role to play in advancing the democratic movement in Kerala—such is the sweeping change in their estimation, not because of a more profound understanding of problems of the minorities but only because of opportunist considerations.

Opportunist Considerations

Regarding the Jana Sangh their Programme says: "The Jana Sangh and the RSS are not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organizations wedded to Hindu revivalism. They foment communal fanaticism against the minority community and organize communal rioting. The RSS is, moreover, organized along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements." (p. 45)

This characterization also became inconvenient as the revisionist opportunists decided to join the coalition Ministries, with this hated Jana Sangh whose hardcore consists of the semi-fascist RSS. Is it not better that such characterizations are removed from the Programme so that the unscrupulous place-hunters have a free hand in deciding their alliances?

Immediately after the elections, when in U.P. and Bihar the Jana Sangh emerged as a strong party, the Rightist leaders began to say that there should be no untouchability approach towards the Jana Sangh; that its rank and file is changing and that to carry on the fight against it, it should be welcomed as a worthy partner in the coalition Ministry. And Bhupesh Gupta went one step further and began to assure that the Jana Sangh leaders also were becoming more anti-imperialist. Is there any wonder that they should delete the entire section dealing with political parties?

A further reason is that it contains wrong formulations regarding the Congress whose opportunist implications are now easily seen. The entire part of the section dealing with the Congress does nowhere talk about a relentless fight against the Congress and its leaders, the need to rescue the masses from their influence, to expose the treacherous character of the leadership.

It makes the formulation : "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". An opportunist formulation which screens the disruptive reactionary class role of the Congress leadership and creates illusions about winning over the Congress masses without undermining their leaders. It further exaggerates the process of differentiation inside the Congress and makes it appear as if the progressive forces have been waging a great fight against the reactionary forces inside the Congress and demands that the revisionists make serious 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 policy of the Government, to fight for the realization of the demands of the National Democratic Front. This, in effect, was nothing but a line of becoming the tail of the so-called progressives in the Congress.

Nothing but right opportunism could result from this and our Party had warned against it.

Two years ago, we had warned precisely against these opportunist results: "When in these circumstances the revisionists talk about making ceaseless efforts directly to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, it is not difficult to see what this formulation means in practice. All that these efforts will amount to is that instead of rousing the people against the policies of the Congress and thereby drawing the Congress masses into the struggle, the revisionists will only be seeking cooperation with this or that so-called progressive group inside the Congress. All that they

need to do is to label someone progressive in comparison with someone else... The masses behind the Congress do form a big section of our people.... But surely their cooperation is not to be had by singing hosannas of the Congress... But the revisionists just did not talk about a struggle against the Congress. All they talk about is to seek cooperation with the 'progressive group'. Shastri is preferable to Patil, Nanda to Morarji—that is all that this will result in." This is exactly what has happened. However, the revisionist leaders consider all as minor aberrations.

Servility to Congress

How is it that the revisionists' estimate of almost all parties has proved to be wrong and farcical? Because it was based on the supremacy of the national bourgeoisie and, following from it, the supremacy of the National Congress. If you declare the national bourgeoisie to be a leading force in the revolution, you must respect its organization (which represents the bourgeois-landlord alliance). Hence the servility towards the Congress—in the name of its following, in the name of the progressive wing and progressive forces.

Their estimate about the DMK, the Muslim League was the same as made by the Congress bosses who claimed that they were the representatives of national interests. In their eyes, as during the British days, the Congress represented anti-imperialism while other organizations like the Muslim League, the DMK represented anti-national tendencies.

In describing the Jana Sangh as communal and reactionary they did not offend the national bourgeois leaders of the Congress who also attack the Jana Sangh in the same way. And, in practice, they exactly followed the Congress by compromising and collaborating with the Jana Sangh. This was formulated by their unscrupulous parliamentary opportunism—by the conception of parliamentary path. After all, if you have decided to sell yourself to the class enemy of the working class, does it matter to which section you sell yourself?—this seems to be their argument.

No wonder they exposed themselves completely in regard to their characterization of the political parties and their subsequent policy towards them. The radicalization of the people and the growing isolation of the Congress unmasked the reactionary character of their characterization and they had to be withdrawn.

Listen to their confession: "The party's line of overcoming the division between the masses following the democratic opposition and those following the Congress was again incorrectly and narrowly interpreted to foster certain Right opportunist attitude towards the Congress. We were perfectly correct in emphasizing the importance of positive approach towards democratic elements. But there was considerable exaggeration of their potentialities. In our agitation and propaganda, while trying to attract them (which was correct), we did not always pay due attention as to how the Left masses and others who had moved away from the Congress would react. On the question, for instance, of Indira-Morarji tussle over the Prime Ministership some of the utterances and observations from the party centre including the central organ were of a Right-opportunist character. These created wrong impressions about our party line and we had to face volleys of questions on that score during the general elections. This is not, however, to suggest that a differentiated treatment of the two was by itself wrong."

Here you get the disgusting face of the revisionists. Events compel them to own the mistakes inherent in their policy. While owning them they want to suggest that they were due to a wrong interpretation and implementation of their basically correct policies. A dishonest claim.

But the long extract is enough to show the utter bankruptcy of their pro-Congress formulations. The servility towards the Congress and the national bourgeoisie makes them a hanger-on of the Congress. In the name of winning over the Congress masses they find themselves far behind the radical masses who disown them. They support Indira against Morarji, exposing themselves so crudely that during the

elections their bona fides as Left are challenged. And yet they justify their differentiation between the two. They have not learnt anything. They are not prepared to change their outlook; self-criticism is only a screen to continue their treacherous policies.

At the same time, their characterization about the Congress has led to so many fiascos that they seek to delete the entire portion so that their treachery cannot be traced to their opportunist formulations and they are free in future to ally with anyone they choose.

PART IV : CHAUVINISM DURING THE INDO-PAK WAR

In his article on the Patna Congress, hardly a fortnight after its session, Bhupesh Gupta writes the following: "At the time of the Indo-Pak war our party came out not only for national defence but also for peaceful settlement of the Indo-Pak problem. It stood by the minority community—which then felt insecure and which was also subjected to threats and persecutions... The party became the foremost defender and upholder of the historic Tashkent Declaration."

Compare this tall claim with what these gentlemen are forced to admit in the Political Report to their Congress. While completely justifying their chauvinistic stand, the report had to admit, "In the first place we did not pay much attention to the necessity of appealing to the healthy forces in Pakistan and East Pakistan... Understandably, our comrades there felt upset and became critical. It was, of course, right on our part to arouse the spirit of defence and highlight the defence tasks when the fighting was on. But our agitation at times was defective in the sense we did not sufficiently stress the need for an end to the war and on peaceful methods".

"In our agitation we were not always mindful of the specific nature of the Indo-Pak war and of its implications in the internal political life of the country, when the reaction to what we say and do among the vast minority community cannot be discounted." (This is euphemism for saying that

their utterances were understood as communal utterances by the minority community, and, in our opinion, they were rightly understood as such.)

And then the report says that they were lukewarm to Soviet pronouncements and moves which led to Tashkent; they were critical of Soviet statements. "No wonder it is Lal Bahadur Shastri's public statement in support for the Soviet proposal for Indo-Pakistan talks that came before that of the party."

Guilty of Communalism

If these words have any meaning, it means that the revisionist leaders opposed peaceful settlement, forgot the common bonds of toilers and betrayed all principles of internationalism and in the bargain were guilty of communal utterances. Can anyone with a minimum sense of honesty present the role of the party as a glorious role, claim that it stood by the minority? Bhupesh Gupta prints this claim in bold letters and subsequently in his article paraphrases some of the criticism omitting all references to opposition to Soviet moves for peaceful settlement.

That is how they make self-criticism and attach no importance to it. But it is enough to prove that they make lying claims about themselves.

In "*Left-wing Communism*", Lenin wrote: "A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfils its obligations towards its *class* and the working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of rectification—that is the hall-mark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the masses."

It is, of course, useless to quote Lenin to these people. The way they treat their self-criticism, the way they admit mistakes only to deny them, only show that they are a non-

serious crowd for whom training and educating the class has no meaning. In fact, their self-criticism is only formal; it is perhaps forced on them because of the crude communalism of their policy. But there is not a twinge of conscience that they betrayed the working class or that they deserted to the camp of the capitalist-landlord rulers. Listen to what they say in the same Political Report:

“The Indo-Pak war saw a great upsurge of anti-imperialism and democratic sentiments throughout the country, and the U.S. and British imperialists stood thoroughly exposed and universally denounced”. See, there was not chauvinism at all but only a great anti-imperialist upsurge. Need we then wonder that these gentlemen in the name of leading the anti-imperialist upsurge, joined the disgusting race for rousing national chauvinism? They are not in the least ashamed of it, they boast of it. Only occasionally they say, we did not keep ourselves on guard against bourgeois nationalism.

Certificate to Government

And then note the following sentence: “Secularism passed a severe test”. This is what the paid hirelings of the Government, the official spokesmen and a host of fanatical communal nationalists from the Congress have been telling the world. And these revisionist leaders in their utter sycophancy are spreading this fable and giving a certificate to the Government of their beloved national bourgeoisie. They are not bothered to find out whether they themselves have passed the test of internationalism; they are very much concerned whether the bourgeois-landlord Government passed the test of secularism and they are in a hurry to certify it.

Why do you conceal the well-known fact that the Government was far from secular in its outlook, that its officials oppressed the minority community on suspicion and large numbers of people were arrested just because they were Muslims? There were protests from well-meaning Congressmen and Nanda and others were apologetic. The Home Minister, just as a fig-leaf, gave a homily to police officers to be

judicious in their arrests and not to show suspicion against the minority, and uphold the secular outlook.

It is known that indiscriminate arrests were made from amongst the minority community. One had to be in a Congress jail at the time to understand how the arrests were just vindictive, full of malice against the Muslims. This came out of a communal outlook that is rampant in the Government. Everyone knows that among those arrested were Muslims who were members of the Congress for forty years, some who, though spurned by the Congress, refused to join the Muslim League at great cost to themselves, some who had been in British jails for years, some who were leaders of the local Congress in its difficult days.

To cover this gross attack on the community, the Congress leaders circulated the lie that secularism had passed the test; that everyone stood by the ideals of nationalism. And the revisionist leaders join in this dirty trick. Actually they themselves have to admit that the minority was harassed and they claim credit for defending it. And yet when it comes to the criticism of the Government they go on distributing bouquets to the Congress Government. Why don't our revisionists bring these facts before the people and expose official claims? Why don't they explain who passed the test? Were the people expected to join in a massacre of the Muslims because of the Indo-Pak war?

No Different from Jana Sangh

One need not go into a detailed discussion of the Indo-Pakistan war. But is it not a facile description to declare it to be an anti-imperialist upsurge? Why forget the wretched conditions of the people of Kashmir, the extinction of all liberties that had taken place under the rule of Bakshi—the agent of the Union Government? The Congress Government has every reason to screen the facts about suppression of democracy in Kashmir. Should those who claim to be Marxists forget this trifle when giving an overall certificate of anti-imperialism to the conflict. Besides, has the defeat of

Pakistan forces contributed an iota to the restoration and expansion of the liberties of the people of Kashmir?

Apart from this, what does their analysis show? That they just echo exactly what the bourgeois-landlord Government was saying about Pakistan and calmly certify that the Indian ruling class had no class aims of its own; that the bourgeois-landlord clique was only acting out of patriotic motives. Is there anything to distinguish them from the worst chauvinists including the Jana Sangh?

A party which sees the misdeeds only of the Government of a foreign country but has nothing to say about the Government of its own country is just an appendage of the ruling classes.

Listen further, "The Tashkent spirit had also to face direct and indirect resistance from the Ayub regime...It is, however, mainly due to Pakistan's negative attitude that the Tashkent Agreement is not being duly implemented and the Tashkent spirit has not become a dominant factor in Indo-Pak relations". This reads like the report of the Government of India's External Affairs Ministry, not the report of an independent political party.

It is extremely doubtful whether Prime Minister Kosygin will join in throwing this one-sided blame on Pakistan. But the revisionist hangers-on of the Government of India completely identify themselves with the bourgeois-landlord clique and echo every explanation which it offers to justify itself. They are such wonderful Marxists that for them it is not necessary to analyse the class aims of the Government in foreign policy. What is the use when it is all patriotic and defending the country! They do not wish to remember that the bourgeoisie always presents its interests as national and patriotic interests and that the proletarian party has to unmask it.

Proletarian Foreign Policy

A hundred years ago, in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (First International), Marx

said, "If the emancipation of the working class requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in viratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance of their criminal folly by the working class of England that saved the west of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic...have taught the working class the duty to master themselves the mystery of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power, to combine in simultaneous denunciations and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class."

Marx made the fight for an independent proletarian foreign policy a part of the struggle for working class emancipation. But the revisionists would have none of it. They prefer to adopt the class policy of the bourgeois landlord Government as their own and cloak it under the garb of patriotism.

After this can anyone attach any importance to what they say about the national bourgeoisie or the big bourgeoisie, or can anyone take them seriously when they now talk of ending the Congress rule or bourgeois rule in any form? If you identify yourself so completely with the exploiting classes in their foreign policy, if you have nothing but complete justification of their policy, it is futile to expect that you will fight them.

PART V : ALLIANCE WITH THE JANA SANGH

The revisionist opportunism in connection with the parties of extreme reaction like the Jana Sangh has been directly or

indirectly endorsed by the Patna Congress. There is no refutation of the opportunist alliance with the Jana Sangh in several State Ministries. The National Council of the revisionists last year formulated the opportunist line in the following words : "In the struggle for building up the united front in the coming period, the task of exposure and fight against the policies of the Right-reactionary parties and of watching and combating their reactionary moves at every step in time assumes crucial importance. To underestimate or play down the task would be fatal for the Left and democratic movement".

Having made this offering to the trusting rank and file, these slimy opportunists then turn to the practical course of compromise and conciliation with the communalists : "At the same time the question of how to expose and fight these parties has to be tackled skilfully and taking into account the concrete features of the new situation". Oh, the question is only how to expose—whether 'abstractly' by exposing their misdeeds among the masses, their communalism, their support to the vested interests and denouncing them as enemies or concretely by joining hands with them in coalition Ministries, welcoming them as great allies in the fight against the Congress, and cheating the masses to believe that the Jana Sangh is also an opposition party—a party of democratic opposition to the Congress. They, of course, chose the concrete way in contrast to the "Left-sectarian" abstract way of which, of course, the CPI(M) is guilty.

What is the 'new situation' that has emerged to justify this treacherous policy? "The mass upsurge is affecting even the rank and file of the reactionary parties with a mass base. Such is the case with the Jana Sangh, for instance, and our experience in Bihar has shown this". Here you get the dishonest revisionist leadership in its true colours. What is the reality, gentlemen?

The reality shown by the elections and events following it is that the economic crisis and Congress policies have led to tremendous discontent and unrest among the people. And

where the democratic movement is weak, where Left parties fail to inspire the people, this discontent is manipulated by the treacherous Jana Sangh, exploited by it for its own purpose—the trusting masses believing that the Jana Sangh also is seriously interested in fighting the class policies of the Congress.

This is totally different from the analysis that mass upsurge is affecting the mass following of the Jana Sangh. The revisionists want the people to believe that the Jana Sangh has a huge stable mass base and that now the masses are coming into the arena of struggle, therefore, the tactics of united front with it should be pursued—of course, in the name of exposing it. The fact is that there is a spontaneous mass discontent which the Jana Sangh is trying to exploit and which the revisionists help it to exploit when they refuse to wage a direct battle against it and expose and defeat its attempts to sidetrack the mass unrest.

The revisionist discovery of a loyal and stable mass base of the Jana Sangh, is just an excuse to justify their shameless collaboration with it.

Read further what their earlier resolution says: “The contradiction between American imperialism and the Indian people is sharpening. This also shakes the basis of the Right reactionary parties.” So what? Don’t expose them but form united front Ministries with them? Here is the sage advice: “Under these circumstances our exposure and fight has to be done flexibly in such a manner and on the basis of such an approach as would further the process of political differentiation within these parties as far as possible. Exposure has to be concrete and political related to policies from issue to issue”. You see, exposing their communalism, their support to the vested interests and refusing to cooperate with them is not concrete, political or from issue to issue. Oh, no, to take a position before the masses that the Jana Sangh is a reactionary political party with no place in the democratic movement is not concrete, it is dogmatic and rigid. Listen, “A dogmatic and rigid approach of ‘untouchability’ will only

result in more and more initiative passing into their hands with dangerous consequences for the country.”

Here is the whole line of surrender to communalism in a nutshell. They are not collaborating with these Muslim-baiters, these arch reactionaries with RSS leaders as the core of their leadership; they are just furthering the process of ‘political differentiation’ inside the Jana Sangh; when they join hands with a semi-fascist organization in an opportunist Ministry they are not surrendering to communalism; they are just being concrete and exposing it from issue to issue.

Only the most gullible people can swallow these bankrupt claims and fail to see that the revisionist leaders, in their opportunism have come out with an open justification of coalition and collaboration with parties of extreme reaction.

Tactics, methods and manoeuvres which the working class adopts in relation to democratic parties with whom it has something in common, are suggested in connection with extreme reactionary parties against which the progressive forces must wage a relentless battle. The reactionary and the democratic parties do not have even a common class enemy. The Jana Sangh is the extreme wing of the classes whom the progressive forces want to rout. Its difference with the Congress is that the latter is not a sufficiently avowed agent of the exploiting classes and not sufficiently avowedly anti-Communist. To talk of tactics of united front in connection with the organization is to join hands with it against the people. That is where a vague anti-Congressism, uninhibited by class outlook and discipline leads.

It should be realized that the pro-Jana Sangh policy of the revisionists is not a lapse; it is finely worked out with nice pros and cons, and painted bright with the slogan of concrete exposure. It is a deliberate line pursued relentlessly despite the repeated massacres organized by the Jana Sangh.

It is this line that was endorsed by the Patna Congress. Where has it led the revisionists? In the name of avoiding misunderstanding with masses, of leading the anti-Congress upsurge, they become the biggest advertisers of the Swatantra

Party and its Ministry in Rajasthan—the Swatantra Party which according to testimony of *Pravda*, was financed during the elections from CIA funds. This, of course, is a minor detail for these gatherers of political garbage. It was a wonderful sight to see Bhupesh Gupta holding a joint Press Conference along with Gayatri Devi—the Jaipur Maharani—all in the name of enabling the masses to reap their own experience.

This approach and line naturally led to bold initiative—not to fight the class enemy but to join hands with him. In fact, the line was evolved, the excuses were invented to suit an opportunist practice. Long before the National Council resolution, the State units of the revisionists decided to join hands with the Jana Sangh leaving it to their centre to invent theoretical excuses. They write in their Political Report, “Difficulties, however, arose in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab. Should the Party join the non-Congress Government which would include the Jana Sangh?” “Our Bihar comrades took the bold initiative and decided, with the approval of the Secretariat, to join the coalition Government”. Bold initiative, indeed, not in the cause of revolution, but to get closer to counter-revolution.

It is this same approach that enables them to give a certificate of honesty—democratic sincerity to the Jana Sangh, in one of the write-ups in *New Age*. That is really how their ranks are made to understand their approach to the Jana Sangh: “The inclusion of the Jana Sangh in the Government is not a sop; its participation is on the basis of a concrete programme which is formulated to meet the immediate demands of the people and which is non-communal in nature”.

In Bihar perhaps, the excuse was that the Jana Sangh would not be in a dominant position in the Ministry. In U.P., there was no such excuse. But the relentless course of opportunism demanded that here also the revisionists should join the Jana Sangh. The State Council asserted itself and also agreed with the proposal to join in a Jana Sangh dominated Ministry.

Listen to their report: "In U.P., the position was different on account of the fact that in the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal the Jana Sangh has 97 members, which is more than the SSP, CPI and Republicans put together. The Party Centre was averse to our participation in a coalition Ministry, in which the Jana Sangh would naturally occupy a dominant position. But the overwhelming majority in the State executive felt otherwise and the Party Centre ultimately came to the same conclusion". (It seems the State Executive coerced their Centre to shed 'dogmatism' and the latter was always willing.) The reason of course, is, "otherwise the people would have misunderstood our position". You see the entire issue without finesse and frills. It has nothing to do with differentiation, winning over the people or functioning in a Left-dominated Ministry. It is plain and simple—the coercion of place-hunters who are prepared to sell any principle to get a few ministerial posts and join hands with the avowed enemies of the people.

And, finally, this outlook led them to the slogan for a democratic non-Congress coalition from which they did not exclude the Jana Sangh or the Swatantra. They specifically stated that there would be no untouchability in connection with the implementation of this slogan. Criticized by us and others they tried to wriggle out of the formulation by saying that all they meant was a Government of only democratic parties.

Now in their Political Report they are forced to give up all truck with the Jana Sangh in connection with this slogan and admit that they were prevaricating in their earlier formulation, leaving the door open to it.

This is how they make a dishonest attempt to disown what they preached and riggle out of an inconvenient formulation: "The National Council meeting of April has made it plain that such a democratic coalition must be based on a common minimum programme, the guidelines of which have got to be anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, etc...A reactionary coalition is thus ruled out, although for tactical purposes it

was not expressly stated in April as to which parties, as their policies stand today, are likely to be out of bounds in a democratic coalition." For 'tactical purposes' these worthies with bold initiative dared not tell the people that their new democratic Government will have nothing to do with the Jana Sangh. They wanted to create illusions among the masses that the Jana Sangh also might be an honourable partner in this coalition. May we ask these gentlemen, which class do you wish to serve by your tactics? The working class or the monopolists?

How is it that every time this fear of the Jana Sangh dominates their minds? If they do not *support* a Jana Sangh dominated Ministry, the masses will misunderstand them. If they do not *join* a Ministry along with the Jana Sangh, the masses again will misunderstand. If they expose the Jana Sangh, they will be isolated from the masses. If they frontally state that the Jana Sangh is not a democratic party and has no place in a democratic coalition, again it is not the Jana Sangh but these worthies that will be isolated. From where comes this inferiority complex before a semi-fascist force, this subservient attitude to it? All this has nothing to do with reality. It is because they have decided to be in the opportunist coalition Ministries at all costs, it is because without the Jana Sangh they cannot be in the Ministries that these elements are discovering excuses to act as Jana Sangh stooges.

No wonder then that they reaped the full harvest of such a policy in the shape of growth of communalism. But all that they do is to relieve themselves verbally by a few tirades against the Jana Sangh but combine to collaborate with it in the Ministries. The more servile their cooperation, the more treacherous their surrender, the more strong their verbal denunciation without an iota of change in their practice.

The Ranchi carnage was organized by the Jana Sangh, aided by Congress elements. The Jana Sangh was partner of the revisionists in the coalition Ministry. It is known that

this Ministry totally failed to protect the Muslims who were hunted down in broad daylight—their houses set on fire, the men and women butchered, with the police standing on the sidelines or directly encouraging the goondas.

Though they seek to screen the Ministry, they have to admit in their report: “At the time of actual riots the Bihar Government failed to rise to the occasion and its role in firmly dealing with the communal outbreak fell far below expectations. And this was all the more disappointing in view of the fact that the Bihar United Front Ministry happens to be dominated broadly by democratic and secular forces.”

To give a certificate of secularism to the Ministry after Ranchi massacres requires an extraordinary capacity for lying and only reveals an attempt to screen the direct ministerial guilt in connection with the butchery. It is not correct to state that the Ministry failed to rise to the occasion, the fact is that the Ministry was a guilty partner in the Ranchi massacres. But even then the admission that is forced out of the revisionists is significant.

Gentlemen, what did you do after the ghastly massacres? Was your conscience stirred? Were you not moved? They did heroic things. Listen: “However our party has not hesitated to come out sharply against the Jana Sangh and the RSS and also the communal-minded Congress leaders who sought to play with fire for their own political ends”. (*Political Report*)

Great heroes! They came out in verbal denunciation of the RSS but did not demand expulsion of the Jana Sangh from the Ministry nor thought it fit to resign from this treacherous coalition bespattered with the blood of innocent minorities. Oh, no, ministerial posts they would not give up; resignation of the Jana Sangh they would not demand for that would cause collapse of the “non-Congress” alternative Ministry. Therefore, they took bold initiative to unleash a few verbal sallies against the Jana Sangh in public while embracing it in the Ministry.

Gentlemen, would heavens have fallen if you had resigned from the Ministry? Would you have been isolated from the common man in Bihar if you had protested against this conspiracy to divide toilers, to butcher one section, and uphold the banner of toilers' unity by resigning from the Ministry? Is the peasant of Bihar, the worker, the petty bourgeois so devoid of democratic consciousness that he would not have understood your gesture of solidarity, your resignation? Here there is no excuse that you would have isolated yourself from the people. The only reason is that in your gross opportunism you were not unwilling to pay the price of a few hundred Muslim lives to continue to remain in the Ministry. You preferred to remain in the company of the Jana Sangh over the dead bodies, the mangled bodies, of hundreds of Muslim workers. That is why you have to be denounced as the worst type of communalists. The Congress professes secularism and practices communalism. You profess historical materialism and practice communalism.

Can any importance be attached to the revisionists' verbal denunciations of extreme reaction after this performance? In their *Political Report*, the revisionists make such protests repeatedly to mislead their ranks. But they do not in the least criticize their practice towards the Jana Sangh. Consider the following hypocritical statement. "From the experience of these riots it would appear that we are neither sufficiently aware of the grave danger of communalism in the post-election situation nor are we alert and active enough in facing up to the challenge. It is not realized that the menace of communalism, which has received great encouragement from the electoral victories of the Jana Sangh, can be most effectively met only by activising and mobilizing all secular and anti-communal forces irrespective of Party affiliation".

Is your solicitude to fight communalism not hypocritical when you aid and abet it and screen its misdeeds by joining hands with it in a coalition? No wonder, then, that you have to bemoan that your party is not properly fighting the Jana

Sangh. You have to admit, "Despite all our programmatic and other declarations, we have not developed any sustained and ceaseless exposure and struggle against even the organized Rightist parties, the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party. The dangerous potentialities of these and other Rightist forces tend to be minimized at least in the actual day-to-day practice in our ranks and in the political activity of the party. Even after the last general elections there has been a tendency to underestimate the danger and the party is not naturally oriented to properly understand the massive offensive of reaction."

Your party is not only underestimating the Jana Sangh, but has deliberately laid down a line of cultivating the Jana Sangh in the name of a concrete fight, of united front tactics. You address a homily to your ranks and pose as if the leadership sees the danger which the ranks do not see. If your party fails to see the dangerous potentialities it is because you have given it a line of collaborating with communalism. That is why your pose to fight the parties of extreme reaction is just a swindle. Once again the *Political Report* states, "the Jana Sangh has become a great menace and it is using its gains in the last general elections to organize massively, both openly and covertly, aggressive forces of Hindu communalism...U.S. imperialists and their CIA are already backing up communal reaction to wreck democracy and even undermine our independence".

After this great knowledge, after knowing that the CIA is backing Hindu communal reaction and that the Jana Sangh is leading it, what do the revisionists do? They once again join hands with this CIA-backed communal reaction in another opportunist Ministry—the Bhola Paswan Ministry in Bihar—without the least sense of shame. A few months ago they sold their support to Mahamaya Prasad Sinha to be in company with the Jana Sangh; today they have sold it to another rank opportunist from the Congress to have the glory of the Jana Sangh's company. For what purpose, gentlemen? To save yourselves from isolation? To pursue the "noble"

aim of establishing a non-Congress Government in collaboration with every political opportunist that defects from the Congress?

Any sane or honest person may ask—gentlemen, where is the political differentiation in the Jana Sangh that you wanted to promote? All this is seen in the political degeneration of the revisionists who for the sake of a few ministerial posts shed all scruples and finds themselves at home in the company of the communal butchers.

And these are the people who want to teach us how to fight communalism in West Bengal. The revisionist crowd has crowned its infamy with its alliance with the Jana Sangh—and revealed to the whole world the depths that can be reached by a leadership which has sold all the basic principles of Marxism along with all sense of self-respect, decency and integrity.

PART VI : THEY SEE NO DANGER FROM U.S. IMPERIALISM

The inexorable course of events in India has uncovered the class-collaborationist illusions and policies of the revisionist leaders and the latter are now forced to admit that their party had a non-class approach, etc. Of course, all this is done in the name of self-criticism, or criticism of practice while stressing that the basic formulations in their Programme were correct.

Listen to what they say in their report: “There were illusions about the Third Five-Year Plan and capitalist planning, notwithstanding all our programmatic repudiation of the capitalist path. There were unmistakable tendencies to view the problems of planning from a non-class standpoint and this on occasions resulted in toning down our propaganda and agitation in regard to the Five-Year Plan”.

The reality is, gentlemen, that your Programme has laid down a line of sowing illusions about the Plan, a line of “national” outlook in preference to class outlook.

Their Programme even now contains the following: “The

Second and Third Five-Year Plans took measures to establish in the state sector heavy and machine-building industry. The state sector developed not only in these industries but also in finance and to a certain extent in trade. *Thus the state sector* contributed to the building of independent national economy and to the weakening of the grip of foreign monopoly capital and to a certain extent the Indian monopolies". (*Programme*, p. 12) And, again, "The giant industrial complexes now taking shape or expanding as at Bhilai, Barauni, Ranchi, Hardwar, Hyderabad and other places, stand as milestones on our road to economic self-sufficiency and independence. India, no longer linked and dependent solely on the world capitalist market *has been able to advance along the road of independent industrial growth*". (p. 14)

Screening Danger from U.S. Imperialism

These formulations were made precisely at a time when even the blind could see that India's economic dependence on the USA was rapidly growing and endangering our economic independence and sovereignty, when the Government of India was constantly yielding to U.S. imperialism. Was it not an attempt on your part to screen the economic surrender of the national bourgeoisie and paint it as independent economic development, though on capitalist lines? What is the use of now hypocritically regretting that there were illusions and a non-class outlook?

And again the reality is that the revisionists are even now concealing the blunt truth that the capitalist path not only leads to crisis and all that but paves the way to economic subjugation. Need there be any surprise that a completely class collaborationist practice should emerge out of this outlook?

One of the characteristics of international revisionism is its deliberate and studied attempt to screen the imminent danger from American imperialism and dispense with the necessity of a joint fight against it by minimizing its strength. The Patna Congress of the revisionists continues this tradition.

It cannot be denied by any sane person that one of the most outstanding developments in India during the last five years is the rapid advance of American pressure against our sovereignty and the direct threat created by it to our freedom and independence. A year ago, our party warned against "the growing threat to our national independence and sovereignty at the hands of the imperialists, notably the U.S. imperialists, and the danger of the big bourgeois-landlord dominated Government of India surrendering to them, step by step, in the face of the growing imperialist pressure and blackmail. This is patent and the danger is real. There can be no two opinions about it and we are witnessing increasing awareness of this danger in our countrymen. In the days to come, as the economic crisis deepens and the pressure of the imperialists increases, the danger of greater and greater concessions to the imperialists by the big bourgeois-led Government, allowing the foreign monopolists to make still bigger inroads into our economy and political life becomes more serious. It would be dangerous to underestimate this menace and relax our struggle against it".

Refusal to See Threat to Freedom

Can any party which professes to be Marxist miss this danger, the seriousness of American threat to Indian freedom? One has to take only a glance at the Political Resolution of the revisionists passed at Patna to realize that for the revisionist leaders imperialist menace does not exist. It seems that now they are so much convinced about the efficacy of the New Epoch that they think that the very mention of the word American imperialism is superfluous.

They profess that they are organizing an anti-imperialist, etc., revolution but when they pass a solemn political resolution and put forward a six-point programme for rallying the people, they just forget American imperialism—an omission for which they will no doubt earn the thanks of the CIA-backed communalists. Read their resolution and their Political Report and you will find that this crowd does not show

even a distant awareness that what is at stake is our freedom and independence.

They talk about foreign monopolists making super-profits in India, they not being interested in Indian industrialization; on one or two occasions they even boldly assert that Indian economy is being held to ransom by the monopolists; that India's foreign policy, etc., is being assailed—but one thing they never pin-point—that national freedom is being threatened. How can it be, with their beloved national bourgeoisie in power? And above all, in their resolution they do their best to scrupulously avoid all mention of American imperialism. They content themselves with talking about monopolists or imperialism in general. There seems to be an allergy to mention American imperialism whom the 1960 Moscow Statement declared to be the main enemy of all peoples. Is it the shyness of a leadership which in 1962 welcomed American imperialism as a friend against socialist China?

On page 2 of the Resolution, foreign monopoly capital is mentioned and it is stated it does not “desire the industrialization of our country”. In the same para, it is stated, “Hence our economy continues to be held to ransom by the imperialists, who are interested only in their super profits and not the development of the country”, etc. (Once again, no reference to the danger to political independence). On page 3, “foreign monopoly interests and their Indian partners in the import trade fatten at the cost of our development”. On page 5, U.S. imperialists are mentioned. They “are at present concentrating on undermining and subverting our policy of non-alignment and dragging India into their scheme of neo-colonialist aggression”. On page 7 it is stated that more and more concessions are made to foreign private capital and increased foreign collaboration; on page 14, the CIA is mentioned as helping the forces of Right reaction. Even the scuttling of the Fourth Plan is explained as due to the pressure of the Indian monopolists, concealing the glaring truth that the American imperialists also forcefully demanded the abandonment of the Plan.

Their Six-Point Programme

From all this it should be clear that these gentlemen totally fail to realize the grip of American imperialists over our economy and do not see the danger to the independence of our country. Of this you do not find even a passing mention in their political resolution. They are no doubt, great anti-imperialist warmen organizing an anti-imperialist revolution; only they do not believe that American imperialism presents any serious danger to Indian freedom.

This is fully reflected in their six-point programme, whose importance for the revisionists can be gauged from the following: "Such political unity of the Left and democratic forces, backed up by a common democratic platform, becomes all the more necessary when confrontation between the forces of reaction and neo-colonialism on the one hand and those of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism on the other becomes sharper and more bitter and *the power at the Centre* comes on the agenda as the crucial political question before the nation." (*Resolution*, p. 15)

So this is a programme for confronting neo-colonialism, of power at the Centre. And what does this platform contain?

Of course, it includes a host of demands from agrarian reforms, defence of wages, anti-imperialist foreign policy, defence of parliamentary democracy to national integration and cultural rights of tribal peoples—all are there. Only the struggle against American imperialism, against growing dependence on it, against its menace to our independence from the USA is studiously and deliberately dropped.

Perhaps the only *distant reference to foreign influence is to be found* in point 4. Point 4 of the platform vaguely talks about defence of national sovereignty and building up of economic independence—against whom it is not stated. Of course, nowhere in the platform American imperialism is even mentioned. Point 4 talks of only breakup of monopoly houses and only moratorium on foreign debts.

This is their platform of confronting neo-colonialism and for raising the question of power at the Centre.

If you read through all their documents you find that there is an attempt to enter into verbal attacks against American penetration without drawing any serious political conclusion. This happens because of two things: First, their pathetic faith in the national bourgeoisie; and second, their belief that Soviet help is so patent and effective that American imperialism can create no danger to Indian freedom.

Significant Silence

Another thing is of great significance. A large number of people in our country have noted that the monstrous defence expenditure of the Government of India is a terrible drag on our economic development and is intensifying the crisis. What liberal economists including the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission could clearly see, the revisionist lackeys refuse to see. There is not a word about reduction of defence expenditure in their platform. They dare not attack the national bourgeoisie on this sore point, because they themselves are purely chauvinist and do not wish to lose their credentials with the bourgeois-nationalist crowd.

Even in section 6 of the platform dealing with foreign policy, all reference to a fight against American imperialism, all mention of American imperialism, is deliberately dropped. Non-alignment, peace, struggle on all issues against imperialism, etc. are there. But you will not find any reference to American imperialism—the bulwark of world reaction, the mainstay of world imperialism. Even in connection with Vietnam there is no reference to the aggressor. General support to liberation struggles etc.—but against whom? You will not find it there. If elsewhere the platform had emphasized the struggle against U.S. imperialism, then this omission in the foreign policy section could have been explained away. But it seems to be a part of a deliberate policy.

It is thus clear that the platform is carefully adapted to protect the pro-imperialist and bourgeois-chauvinistic susceptibilities of some parties of the Left like the PSP, etc., on

whom the revisionists count in their efforts at parliamentary turn-over—which they call the question of power at the Centre.

Foreign Policy

Can you imagine any party in India professing Marxism utterly ignoring the important and dangerous developments in relation to the country's foreign policy when it passes a new political resolution after four years? Menacing developments have taken place on this question. Nowhere is the pressure of U.S. imperialism so evident and brazenfaced as on this issue. The Union Government's betrayal of Vietnam in breaking off trade relations with North Vietnam at the dictates of American imperialism, its despatch of Bhilai steel and Tata trucks to help the puppet regime are international scandals and have defaced India's image all over the world.

But our revisionist deserters, with their pipe-dreams of capturing power at the Centre by parliamentary intrigues and opportunist concessions, have no time to devote any attention to foreign policy in their resolution. There is no section analysing, elaborating the recent developments in foreign policy though they themselves in their Political Report say, "The situation emphasizes great urgency for popular mass initiative in this country on international issues, all the more so because the vacillations and capitulations on the part of the Indian Government on the one hand and the pressure of the Rightist forces, backed by U.S. imperialists on the other".

Having thus stressed the urgency of mass initiative, they forget all about recent foreign policy developments in their resolution; they fail to place the new dangers and content themselves with stating certain general demands and principles of foreign policy in their platform. In the entire resolution there is not a word of criticism or attack against the Government for its treacherous conciliation and compromise on issues of foreign policy.

In our Programme we had stated the following in relation to the foreign policy of the Government of India:

“Although the Government’s foreign policy continues to be within the broad framework of non-alignment and opposition to world war, its increasing reliance on Western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans of capitalist development, its growing economic collaboration with foreign finance capitalists, its continued membership of the British Commonwealth and as a result of all this, its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U.S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and lead to India’s isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests. It is thus evident that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies.”

In contrast to this, the revisionists had certified the Government’s foreign policy in the following words: “The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism...It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been preserved. Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it”.

Covering Government’s Misdeeds

The contrast between the viewpoints is quite clear. Events of the four years have shattered the basis for the revisionist advertisement of the Government of India’s policy. They are now compelled to say something different and yet screen the treachery of the bourgeois-landlord Government.

They say, “The vacillations and deviations on the part of the Government of India have now come to such a pass that India is now hardly looked upon in the world as having any effective or worthwhile foreign policy in the interest of struggle for peace and freedom. The basic policy of non-alignment has not been abandoned; however, the Government is shifting towards the West. But the pressures of the U.S. and

other imperialists and Indian reactionaries have largely succeeded in making it ineffective.” (*Political Report*, p. 13)

These are, of course, significant admissions from people who till yesterday were asking all progressive forces to support the Government of India’s foreign policy. These admissions have been forced out of them by the march of events and even then they are doing their best to screen the big bourgeois-landlord combine. Is it correct to state that the pressures of U.S. imperialists have only succeeded in making non-alignment ineffective? Gentlemen, why are you again covering the misdeeds of your Government? A shift to the West, which you speak of does not mean non-alignment is just ineffective. It definitely means that to the extent that you shift you give up non-alignment—not that you are ineffective.

You yourself are forced to condemn Indira Gandhi’s containment of China statement in Washington. Does it only mean that non-alignment is ineffective? You yourself attack the Indian Government for developing friendly relations with the butcher regime of Indonesian militarists. It is correct to describe it as shift to the West; but not just as making non-alignment ineffective.

Helping Forces of Colonialism

And you make the following significant, and considering your chauvinist outlook, a very significant admission: “In Southeast Asia the Indian Government’s foreign policy is pursued mainly by the consideration of India-China problem to the detriment of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism.”

In plain language it means that because of hostility to People’s China, the Indian Government is taking a position in South-east Asia which goes against the interests of anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. This, of course, is true. But this does not mean that non-alignment is just rendered ineffective. It means directly or indirectly helping the forces of imperialism and colonialism.

The fact is that the revisionist leaders, even though they now criticize the Government of India, still fail to see the

havoc that the class policies of the Government are doing in the international field. They fail to note that hostility to socialist China has become a key-note in the Government of India's foreign policy and that it has nothing to do with the protection of legitimate Indian interests. Under this screen the Government of India is giving a national colour to its policy of growing concessions and surrender before American imperialism in foreign policy. Since the revisionists themselves are victims of insane anti-China hatred, since their hatred is as deep as that of their bourgeois bosses, they are unable to see this key link in the shift and present the matter as if non-alignment is only rendered ineffective.

Even on the question of Vietnam they do not attack the Government of India squarely and expose its game of screening American aggression. Not in one of the official statements the fact is mentioned that American imperialists are the aggressors and they must withdraw. The aggressor and the aggressed are put on the same footing. All that they say is the Government does not go beyond pious expression of deep concern and asking the U.S. to stop bombing, etc.

And our revisionists have dropped a rather minor matter from the discussion on foreign policy in their report—the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. Was it not a part of our foreign policy and foreign relations? Perhaps not, according to the revisionists. You see, according to them, it was a patriotic and anti-imperialist upsurge led by the big bourgeois-landlord Government. Pakistan was the aggressor and so on.

And, gentlemen, why are you so eager to certify the Government of India's stand on the West Asian crisis? Is it not true that while condemning Israel, the Government of India dared not utter a word against the real aggressor—American imperialism? How is it that on every occasion you forget this small detail of American imperialism?

PART VII : LEFT UNITY OR LEFT DISRUPTION

Eager to secure parliamentary majority by manipulation and opportunist compromises, the revisionists in their Political

Resolution have raised the slogan of Left unity as part of this intrigue. They, however, want the people to believe that they are advancing it as an instrument of mobilizing the people against the forces of reaction in the coming great confrontation.

There is no dearth of high-sounding words. Their Political Resolution states: "Such political unity of the Left and democratic forces, backed up by a common democratic platform, becomes all the more necessary for the coming period when the confrontation between the forces of reaction and neo-colonialism on the one hand and those of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism on the other becomes sharper and more bitter and the power at the Centre comes on the agenda as the crucial political question before the nation."

None will disagree if the slogan of Left unity meant genuine united front of the fighting Left against American penetration and the growing danger it creates for Indian freedom, against the bourgeois-landlord government. But this is precisely what the revisionists do not have in mind. Their Political Resolution, as we have seen, is shy on the question of American danger to our country; the platform for democratic unity has been drawn so as not to offend the susceptibilities of the PSP and SSP leaders who do not see any American danger.

If we look a little deeply into the revisionist conception of Left unity, its opportunist character is easily seen. In their Political Report they write that in order to bring about such a development it is necessary that the four parties—ours, theirs, the SSP and the PSP—should come together in a united front. Having said this they praise the SSP and the PSP for their pro-unity leanings while attack us for our alleged disruption. According to them, we are one of the main obstacles to Left unity.

According to them, it is unfortunate that the SSP and PSP still refuse to *fully* acknowledge the great threat posed by the Rightist reaction although after the general elections there has been a greater awareness on their part of the necessity to unite the Left and democratic forces.

What is the reality? How can the revisionists say that the PSP and the SSP only refuse to fully acknowledge the threat of Right reaction? The SSP leaders like the revisionists are in alliance with the Jana Sangh in Bihar—they were partners in the Jana Sangh-dominated U.P. Ministry and in alliance with it they are busy organizing the Kutch satyagraha today. Is this just not being fully aware of Right danger or total blindness to it and alliance with a reactionary party? The PSP is following the same pattern and has shown further progress by allying itself with the Shiva Sena in the Bombay Corporation elections. It refused to join the united front in the last general election in West Bengal and Maharashtra. And the SSP leaders in Bombay are veering towards the Shiva Sena—the party's representatives in the Corporation supported Shiva Sena's candidate for mayoralty in the name of fighting the Congress.

With these facts facing them, how can the revisionists say that now after the elections the PSP leaders are showing greater awareness for Left unity? In West Bengal the PSP leadership was compelled by democratic pressure to join the United Front Ministry. At the same time, its all-India leaders joined hands with the Congress in slandering the U.F. Ministry and invited the Centre to pull it down. The defectors from the PSP played an important role in toppling down the Ministry. And its greater awareness of Left unity, discovered by the revisionists in the PSP, is proved by its desertion from the United Front.

While the SSP overcame its earlier outlook of no truck with the Communists and joined in the two Ministries of West Bengal and Kerala, it effected a number of opportunist manoeuvres, by forming Ministries in alliance with the Jana Sangh. And during recent months its all-India leadership has attacked our Party repeatedly but has had hardly anything to say against the Jana Sangh. Does all this show greater awareness of fighting the Right and unity with the Left? It is certainly correct to strive for an understanding with the SSP for unity of the Left forces, but one need not be blind to the practice followed by its leadership.

According to the revisionists, the SSP and PSP are improving in their outlook towards Left unity; only our Party shows no sign of improvement. This is what they write: "The continued hostility of the CPM towards our party is yet another negative factor that disturbs Left unity and hence enables the Rightist parties to take advantage of the situation." So it is not the revisionists who join hands with the Jana Sangh in the Ministry that disturb Left unity and enable the reactionaries to take advantage of the situation, nor the PSP which is in alliance with both the Jana Sangh and the Shiva Sena; it is our Party which exposes and fights the Jana Sangh, which exposes the opportunism of the revisionists in supporting these communal elements that obstruct the fight against reaction.

And this is their constant refrain. The anti-Communist PSP is recommended; and in the name of Left unity fire is concentrated against our Party.

It does not require more than average intelligence to understand that the so-called Left unity, whose content is a fight against our Party and its policies, is nothing but an invitation to Left disruption. They declare that our Party is one of the main obstacles to Left unity: "As far as the CPM was concerned, it bothered little to act according to the spirit of the Left parties' meetings—one of the main reasons why the necessary progress could not be made in building the united front on an all-India scale was precisely this disruptive and hostile attitude of the CPM towards our Party." These gentlemen, who found to their cost that open opposition to CPI (Marxist) led to their rout in Kerala in 1965, have no doubt become clever under international guidance and have decided to fight our Party with the name of unity on their lips.

How they laud the disruption organized by them: "The most important achievement in building up the united front was that of our West Bengal Committee". Everyone knows that the revisionists utilizing the vacillating elements and the Ghosh group wrecked the United Front and presented a

number of seats to the Congress. But for this rank betrayal West Bengal would have seen a rout of the Congress at polls with a decisive majority for the United Front. But this they glorify as their achievement. And naturally so, for their main objective, hidden though it may be, is to fight us, isolate us, to form a united front of all vacillating parties against us.

Everyone in West Bengal knows the treacherous role that these people played in October last when Ajoy Mukherjee vacillated and was on the point of submitting the resignation of his Ministry, and when the Centre had decided to hand over West Bengal to the Army, and lists for the arrests of twenty thousand were kept ready. It was attack on the democratic movement, on our Party, an attack to smash the United Front by repressing us and isolating us.

It put to the test the professions of these people to defend Left unity and the United Front. How did they discharge themselves? By screening the treacherous game of the vacillators and blaming us for the conspiracy that was hatched. This is how they cover the conspirators and slander us: "Not only during the critical days of the October crisis but all along our comrades in the U.F. Ministry and U.F. had to fight the disruptive pressures and activities by the CPM on the one hand and the Ghosh-Kabir supporters and the like on the other."

It is not accidental that the revisionists club us with the Ghosh-Kabir group. This is their line—the line of slandering and isolating us in the name of Left unity, the line of relying on every shady element as firm supporter of the United Front and Left unity, and preparing a third force. It follows from their opportunist outlook, their parliamentary illusions, their ideological corruption. When the ruling classes were singling out our Party for attack in West Bengal to disrupt the United Front, why did these people start blaming us? They accused us of sectarianism, they charged us with disruption because of our consistent advocacy of the interests of the masses, defence of working class interests, for which we were being attacked by the ruling classes.

These gentlemen thought they would run the Ministry for a longer term, that by wooing Ghosh and others they will be cooling their heels in the ministerial chambers for a pretty long time. To purchase the running of the Ministry for a few more months they wanted to give up the defence of mass interests and placate the vacillating and opportunist elements in the Ministry in the name of unity; when they found us firm, they dubbed us sectarians disrupting the United Front Ministry. The charge of disruption was hurled because they realized that the Governor would not allow the Ministry to remain in office if it continued to stand by the masses.

They virtually admit all this in their Political Report: "There was however some underestimation about the mischief-making capacity of the Centre and Ghosh-Kabir group. It was thought that somehow or other the United Front government would continue for a longer period than it actually did."

After the October events also they underestimated the mischief-making capacity of the Centre. How touching! It means that after the October events also these gentlemen continued to have illusions about the Indira Government and the Constitution! Real parliamentarians who 'underestimated', if you please, the mischief-making capacity the Centre when the entire people of India knew what the Centre was doing. But this admission speaks volumes for their parliamentary illusions and their pathetic faith in the bourgeois-landlord government.

And they also underestimated, after the October events, the utterly treacherous character of the Ghosh-Kabir group. They had illusions about them also for they were part of the glorious united front reared by them in opposition to us. Is it not significant that the traitors and defectors came precisely from that with which the Dange revisionists formed a rival united front to disrupt Left unity? They preferred alliance with these elements in preference to us, to oppose us, and they harvested a crop of betrayers. And yet they pride themselves on their notable achievement in West Bengal.

From where does this illusion about the Central Government? From where comes this illusion about the defectors? And from where this continuous tirade against us? It comes from the fact that the revisionists are in reality seeking allies from the vacillating Right to fight us. This is their conception of Left unity and united front.

No one who is serious about Left unity will adopt a disruptive attitude towards mass organizations. The revisionists themselves, trained in the use of deceptive phrases and hypocritical professions, talk about urgent steps to strengthen the unity of the trade union movement. What is their practice? They form rival unions, organize disruption of existing unions out of sheer rivalry with our Party, run the AITUC bureaucratically. The functioning of the AITUC is a disgrace, since no democratic norm is observed. A member of the Working Committee, our Party member, is bureaucratically prevented from doing his job as a member of the Secretariat. Disruption at the base, dictatorial attitude at the top in mass organizations—this is how they defend Left unity.

In Bombay, having lost morale after the attack of the Shiva Seña, their leadership has virtually closed down the Girni Kamgar Union though the ranks demand its functioning. They will not resurrect the GKU in cooperation with our comrades. The latest instance of how they defend trade union unity and the rights of the worker is seen in the provocative openly anti-working class outpourings of M. N. Govindan Nair, the revisionist Kerala Minister. Fighting the struggling construction workers on the Idikki Project, like a henchman of the capitalists, he not only refused to accept their demands, but circulated lying charges about sabotage against them; he also told a blunt untruth that the foreign aiders of the project were thinking of withdrawing their aid in view of the strike—to raise anti-working class feelings among the people of Kerala.

One may ask these gentlemen: Against whom is your front directed? Is it against the bourgeois-landlord government, against the Congress Government at the Centre? If it

is so, why is it that every time our Party in Kerala exposes the Central Government's responsibility in starving the people of Kerala, you run to its rescue like a paid retainer, and start attacking our Party in the Ministry? You take exactly the same attitude and say the same things that the leaders of the Congress in Kerala say. You screen the Central Government and slander our Party in the Ministry.

Recently when our Party gave a call for exposing the Centre's game in refusing to release agreed food supplies, they again opposed steps for a movement against the Centre and tried to divert popular discontent against our Ministers. Instead of building Left unity they undermine it from within, because they are only interested in fighting our Party and isolating us.

The culminating point of their opportunist policies is to be seen in their attempt to form a "third" force to disrupt the United Front. It is known that a leader of the revisionists in West Bengal threatened our Party that a third force could be formed any time he wished. But the Kerala revisionists have gone much ahead and started direct negotiations with the Kerala Congress leaders to form a 'third force' Ministry. The plot was laid and preliminary discussions regarding the distribution of the portfolios were also gone through. It is known to our Party that a prominent leader of the Kerala Congress met a revisionist Minister and some others and discussed the operation scuttle with them.

The resolution of the Kerala State Committee published in our last issue solemnly states: "Before we conclude this discussion about the Rightists, allow us to deal with the charge that the Industries Minister (T. V. Thomas) also participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the present government and the challenge of the Rightists that we should prove this charge. It was with the fullest responsibility and with all the details of the conspiracy in hand...that our Party Secretary and the Chief Minister laid bare this conspiracy." The same resolution gives details about the Rightists' open attempt to undermine the Ministry in virtual cooperation

with the Congress. This is the meaning of the Left unity slogan given by the Patna Resolution.

The Left unity slogan of the revisionists is thus a device to cheat their honest ranks and followers who desire united front of all Left forces; by paying verbal homage to it and concentrating fire on our Party as virtually the main obstacle to it, the revisionist leaders in fact seek to disrupt Left unity; their practice is one of opportunist alliance with all kinds of unstable elements against our Party and the genuine Left, as for instance in West Bengal during the last elections. The main purpose of their tactics is to build a third force to isolate the real Left, and play the Congress game of disrupting the democratic opposition. This finds expression in their machinations in Kerala to topple the United Front Ministry and form an alternative Ministry with the support of the Kerala Congress.

With the word 'Left unity' on their lips the revisionists bend themselves to the same effort that the Congress does—to isolate our Party from its allies and the people. They will not succeed where their bosses have failed.

On the Defectors in Andhra Pradesh*

Resolution Adopted by the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

1. The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), having heard the report of the recent developments in the State Party unit of Andhra Pradesh from Comrades P. Sundarayya and M. Basavapunnaiyah, arising out of the open appeal of revolt against the Central Committee and Polit Bureau by Nagi Reddy, D. Venkateswara Rao, Kolla Venkaiah and Pulla Reddy, endorses the steps taken by the two Polit Bureau members on behalf of the P.B. and the C.C.

2. Nagi Reddy and his colleagues in Andhra were given full opportunity to put forth their line before the Central Plenum which with an overwhelming majority of 158 to 22 rejected it as anti-Marxist and adventurist after a thorough discussion; yet they complain of denial of democratic discussion by the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau and seek to justify their factional revolt against the Party and its central leadership. The truth is that they have lost all sense of faith in and loyalty to the Party, its Programme, policy and its entire political line. No Party member who has respect for the democratic verdict of the Party Congress will ask for an open revolt against the C.C. and P.B. the moment a serious difference arises.

3. These defectors wholeheartedly supported and voted for the Party Programme and resolutions adopted at the Seventh Party Congress in 1964; and all other resolutions and

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documents adopted by the Central Committee upto its Madurai Session in 1967. Pulla Reddy in his communication to the Central Committee, dated 8th August 1967, expressing his views on the ideological draft circulated to the State Committees wrote the following:

“Acceptance of the CPC (Communist Party of China) Proposal for a General Line of the International Communist Movement as the common basis for the international Communist movement should not deter our Party from demarcating ourselves from the CPC’s mistakes on any specific issue.

“There have been occasions in the past, when constituents of the international Communist movement, who had accepted the Third International documents as the common basis, differed with one another on particular issues. Similar occasions may arise even if CPC’s General Line is accepted as the common basis.

“CPC’s attitude towards the Indian situation is one such occasion. Today CPC is openly attacking the whole strategy and tactics, our Party Programme.

“We must demarcate ourselves, and demarcate sharply, from the CPC on this question—especially on the character of the Government, estimation of the present situation, participation in the non-Congress Governments: their tactless statements on Naxalbari peasant struggles, etc., and firmly stand on the position of the Party Programme.

“We should firmly reject their interference in the internal affairs of the Party, their senseless name-calling. We must refuse to submit to their pressure tactics to browbeat the Party into acceptance of their line on the Indian situation”.

4. Yet, within a few days after this communication, Pulla Reddy and his colleagues made a total right-about turn and started attacking the Party Programme and the whole political and tactical line of the Party. And in the name of exercising their right of inner-Party democracy and of participating in the discussions on “Ideological Differences in the International Communist Movement”, these people started

organizing secret groups to carry on clandestinely anti-Party factional activities. They slandered the Party leadership and the Party line by getting anti-Party slogans written on the street walls, by distributing anti-Party leaflets, booklets and literature, by attacking the Party in cultural squad performances; in public meetings and in schools organized to propagate their views; by briefing the anti-Party Press about the discussions in Party Committees and utilizing it to propagate their anti-Party viewpoint.

5. The State Secretary seeing the deteriorating inner Party situation tried to remedy it. Twice before the Burdwan Plenum he demanded that all members of the State Committee should observe Party forms. But since the majority of the State Committee members held the same political views as Nagi Reddy, all his efforts to restore Party functioning did not succeed.

The State Secretary and other CCMs from Andhra explained the situation to the Central Committee meeting especially held on April 11 at Burdwan immediately after the Plenum. The Central Committee directed the Polit Bureau to issue an Open Letter to Andhra Party members stressing the urgent necessity of implementing the Central Committee line as decided by the Central Plenum, and calling upon them to reject the anti-Party line of Nagi Reddy and urging them to work among the people and safeguard the unity of the Party. It authorized the P.B. to take all necessary measures against all those who defy discipline and indulge in disruptive activities.

The Polit Bureau members attended the Andhra State Committee meeting specially held in Calcutta on 13th and 14th. None belonging to Nagi Reddy's group either accepted his mistake or came forward to implement the Central Committee line. The Polit Bureau deputed Comrades P. Sundarayya and M. Basavapunnaiyah to go to Andhra and hold a meeting of all leading members to explain the Burdwan Plenum decisions and authorized them to take all necessary steps including disciplinary action to get the Central Committee line implemented.

6. Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy asked their followers to boycott the explanatory meeting, and allowed only certain representatives to attend it. The State Committee issued to the Party ranks the directives given by the P.B. to ensure the implementation of the Party's line. The four vacancies in the State Committee were filled and the Secretariat was expanded to nine so that those who broadly agreed with the Central Committee's political line would be in a bare majority enabling the Committee to implement the Central Committee line.

The P.B. directed that circulation of anti-Party leaflets and literature including that of anti-Party groups like the Naxalbarites should be stopped. Party members and Party Committees were asked to take steps to see that the anti-Party line was not propagated through posters and publications, through cultural squads, through public meetings and through organizing schools and study circles. It emphasized that the State Secretariat and the State Committee must take special care to enforce that Party work was carried on in conformity with the normal Party forms.

It will be seen that while reorganizing the State Committee the P.B. refrained from taking any steps against Nagi Reddy and his group though they have been indulging in factional activities for the last six months. The Polit Bureau gave them another opportunity to mend their ways, and work within the bounds of the Central Plenum decisions and of Party discipline.

7. But Nagi Reddy and his group utilized these two months after the Burdwan Plenum to further intensify their factional anti-Party activities. These four defectors resigned from the State Secretariat. Nagi Reddy held a Press Conference where he declared that their line was opposed to the Central Committee's line and that they would persist in their line and it would not be easy to take disciplinary action against them.

These four had been going round the State holding group meetings of their followers, exhorting them to carry on their

own political line and challenging the State and Central leaderships to take any action against them.

8. In the Andhra Pradesh State Committee' meeting held from June 10 to 13, the State Secretary, Comrade Hanumantha Rao, made a report on the factional activities and anti-Party activities of this group and especially of these four members of the Secretariat and demanded their explanation. These four defended their disruptive activities and demanded that the P.B. Letter to the ranks and the P.B. directives should be withdrawn and they be allowed to propagate their own line and understanding.

The State Committee passed a resolution that these four should make a declaration that they would abide by the Burdwan Plenum decisions, the Polit Bureau's Letter and directives and would ask their followers to do the same so that the State Committee could appeal unanimously to the Party ranks to carry out Party decisions and unify the Party.

These four Secretariat members refused to make such a declaration. Even after this the State Committee, without taking any immediate disciplinary action, only authorized the State Secretariat to take necessary political and organizational measures against Party members and Party committees who continue to defy the Party decisions and persist in disruptive activities.

9. Plotting secretly Nagi Reddy conspired with the printer and publisher of the Party organ, *Janasakti*, to get it transferred to his name.

10. Nagi Reddy held a Press Conference on 15th morning, issued the call for open revolt against the Party, to which the other three defectors including D. Venkateswara Rao, a CCM, were also signatories. Therefore Comrade General Secretary and Comrade M. Basavapurnaiah, authorized by the Central Committee and Polit Bureau to deal with the situation, took steps to expel them from the Party in full accordance with the Party's constitution and rules.

11. These defectors wholeheartedly supported and voted for the Party Programme, and the resolutions adopted at the

Seventh Party Congress in 1964, and all other resolutions and documents adopted by the Central Committee upto its Madurai Session in 1967. They voted for the organizational report, "Fight Against Revisionism", adopted at the Seventh Congress and were a party to the statement that the break with the Dangeite revisionists was forced on the Party after full ten years of patient and prolonged inner-Party discussion, after every avenue was closed to settle the political and ideological dispute within the framework of Party forms, after a full-fledged class collaborationist line had come to be accepted by the revisionist leadership. Yet they try to defend their call for open revolt against the Party within a few weeks after they changed their views about the Party Programme, Party's political line and its ideological basis. They are not embarrassed when massive support is coming for their revolt from the Dangeites and the entire bourgeois Press in the country.

12. Further, these factional intriguers have the temerity to slander the Central Plenum as a nominated body and denounce the two biggest delegations from Kerala and West Bengal in particular, as "merely nominated delegations". The utter dishonesty behind this bankrupt allegation can be seen from the fact that since the announcement of the Plenum by the Central Committee in the middle of August 1967, no Party member or unit complained, at any stage, regarding the manner and method of constituting it and every State unit had fully participated in it.

Under the Party constitution it is the State Committees that choose the representatives from the State to the Central Plenum, after the Central Committee fixes up the quota of delegations from the States.

It was the State Conference of Kerala unit that, after endorsing the C.C. Ideological Draft by overwhelming majority, unanimously authorized the newly elected State Committee to choose the Kerala delegation. It was the State Committee of West Bengal, after a discussion in which more than 11,000 out of 16,000 Party members participated and

after Plenums of District Committees held and endorsed the Ideological Draft, selected unanimously the Bengal delegation to the Central Plenum. It is utter political-ideological bankruptcy on the part of these defectors now to cling to the totally false charges of denial of democracy, dictatorial methods, etc., after their anti-Party and Left-adventurist political line was utterly defeated in the inner-Party debate.

13. The open Press statement of the four defectors calling on Party members to "rise in revolt" against the P.B. and C.C. leadership makes a demagogic demand for a Party Congress sound dishonest in the mouth of those who have displayed scorn and disrespect for the democratic decisions of the Burdwan Plenum. They are fully aware of the decision of C.C, as early as April 1967, that the Party Congress would be convened in the latter part of 1968 and that the ideological discussion should be completed and the document finalized long before it. They agreed with this decision then, but only after the Madurai draft was released to the Party ranks they raised the demand for the Party Congress to finalize the ideological document, this was rejected by an overwhelming majority both in the C.C. and Central Plenum.

14. The defectors, the P.B. is fully aware, are relying on the moods and sentiments of frustrated Party members and impatient petty bourgeois youth in Andhra and other places, a frustration caused by stagnant mass and class movements and shallow Marxist-Leninist understanding, all a legacy of the long reformist past. The political ideological line, advocated by them, does doggedly refuse to orientate either to the working class of the country or the toiling peasant masses, and only tunes itself to the frustrated petty bourgeoisie, and hence to a petty bourgeois revolutionism which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. A persistent refusal to undertake sustained and patient mass work and building of the mass and class organizations, denial of the need of a well-knit and ideologically equipped Communist Party, and craze for cheap borrowing of parallels and looking for short-cuts

dominate these people. It will not be long before the momentary response which these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries get in certain circles today disappears, exposing their disruptive and dissipative role.

15. The P.B. does not deem it necessary to deal, in this statement, with the political ideological questions, on which the renegades take their stand, as they are dealt at length in the printed and published documents such as Burdwan decisions and Andhra Letter. The political line they advocate and organizational methods they adopt have nothing in common with Marxism Leninism, it is an out-and-out anti-Party, Left-infantile and putschist line. Tolerance of these trends and unity with them in a Communist Party spells ruin for the cause of the proletarian revolution and its future.

16. The Plenum by a very big majority rejected the amateurish line of Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy. But they would not indicate that they would carry out the line adopted by the majority. This is the minimum that is expected of every Party member. Without this no Marxist-Leninist Party can function.

The Party is a fighting organization requiring utmost discipline in its ranks to face the attacks of the class enemy. The principle of minority submitting to the majority, the principle of directing Party work from a centre, the principle of democratic centralism— form the organizational foundations of the Party. Revisionists from the Right and Left always direct fire on these basic principles, in the name of democracy. In reality, they repudiate the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and seek to turn the Party into a club of individuals engaged in a permanent debate. It is not accidental that after repudiating Marxism Leninism politically, Nagi Reddy & Co. should openly repudiate Leninist organizational principles and call for disruption of the Party because the majority refused to accept their reactionary line.

17. The P.B. wishes to draw the attention of all Party members and class-conscious workers to the fact that our class enemies are gloating over this Left adventurist

disruption, and the revisionist Communist Party is concentrating its filthiest attacks and fire on our Party, at this juncture.

18. The Polit Bureau appeals to all Party units in the country and to every loyal and honest Party member to rise to the occasion to defend the Party and its political line and repulse all attacks— whether they come from Left-adventurism or Right opportunism.

Raise Your Voice Against Landlord-Police Terror in Andhra Pradesh*

**Letter dated July 25, 1968 written by
P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the CPI(M)
to the Prime Minister of India.**

INTRODUCTION

We are publishing here the three memos submitted to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and also the Prime Minister of India by our Party's General Secretary, Comrade P. Sundarayya, drawing their attention to police and landlord goonda atrocities against the people in Andhra Pradesh. These memos bring out a few incidents only of the inhuman atrocities that are being committed against the toiling masses and Communists in Andhra who uphold their cause, by the Congress-landlord regime during the last decade and more.

These show the increasing open link-up between the state police apparatus and the armed bands of the landlords under the Congress regime.

These also reveal the determined and systematic efforts of the landlord regime in Andhra to wipe out all the democratic gains and economic concessions won by the people in Andhra Pradesh, especially in the Telangana area through the heroic Telangana struggle and the democratic victories scored in the united Telugu-speaking state of Andhra Pradesh.

These atrocities go to demonstrate how the landlord Congress regime has no regard to the Constitution and has only utter contempt for even maintaining ordinary law and order; they seem to have discarded all human decency in the pursuit of their class interests, and are guided by only one aim, namely, the perpetuation of their cruel exploitation,

*Published as a booklet with an introduction by the Polit Bureau of the CPI (M), in July 1968.

and in pursuit of this, to hate and destroy the Communists who champion the cause of the exploited.

These again show that the offensive that has been going on, initially unleashed against the Communists, has now assumed the form of a common offensive of the landlord-police regime on the toiling people, especially the socially backward and downtrodden sections, as is evidenced in the burning of harijan and lambadi boys alive and the reported open defence of these atrocities by a Congress minister.

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to all democratic parties and personalities throughout the country and to all those who value human decencies to raise their powerful voice against these atrocities and see that they are put a stop to immediately.

POLIT BUREAU

LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER

49, Lake Place,
CALCUTTA 29
25th July, 1968

Dear Prime Minister,

Sub : LANDLORD ATROCITIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH
AND POLICE COMPLICITY

Recently, in the press and in Parliament, indignation was rightly expressed against the tying up of a harijan to the pole and burning him alive in Kanchikacherla village in Krishna district. Attention was also rightly focussed on axing and spearing a lambadi (tribal) labourer in Kammavaripalem village of the same taluka, as well as on a series of brutal murders of harijan labourers in Manikonda and Ainapur villages of Krishna, in some villages of Anantapur and in certain other places of Andhra Pradesh.

In the press and in Parliament, it was rightly demanded

that Sri Timma Reddy, the landlord minister, be dismissed for his arrogant outburst that "harijans are thieves and they deserve to be kicked and killed" and "not only they, but the press scribes who write about these things." As his wont, he denies them now when caught red-handed, but everyone in Andhra knows that it is the truth. The Chief Minister, Sri Brahmananda Reddy, instead of summarily dismissing him, issues a statement that certain interested political parties are taking advantage of some usual incidents happening in the social life.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that it is because of the tolerant attitude and even protection given to the landlords' criminal activities and to their attacks on harijans and on the poorer sections of the society by the Andhra Pradesh ministry that security of life and of their meagre belongings of the poorer sections of the people in Andhra Pradesh has practically ceased to exist. Many a time, the Congress leaders, officials and the press shielded these atrocities as justified measures to counter the so-called activities of the Communists.

Let me straight way declare that we Communists in Andhra Pradesh, during the last decade under Congress rule, have been the special victims of these landlord atrocities and about 70 of our cadre and militants have been murdered during the "peaceful" Congress regime after the 1952 general elections, and have suffered the worst; and on certain occasions, our Party members and sympathisers were forced to retaliate in utter desperation and in sheer self-defence. But what I want to draw your attention to and impress upon you is, not to be carried away by this Communist bogey raised by the interested parties but thoroughly go into the matter and see how the landlords' atrocities are really at the root of increasing brutal assaults, inhuman atrocities and the beastly regime that is spreading through the villages of Andhra Pradesh. If these things are not checked even now, I am afraid, the situation is heading fast to a situation as in the days of the Nizam-Razakar period during 1945-48.

May I request you, Prime Minister, to just ponder over some of the following incidents, and how anybody cannot be shocked and horrified, either as a responsible political person, or even as just a human being, leave alone as a woman who is expected never to forgive the indignities heaped upon and the molestation and rape of women in many places.

1. After the Telangana struggle was withdrawn in 1951, and after the first general election, up to now, about 70 Communist workers have been murdered by the landlords and their armed bands, and thousands of people beaten, tortured and wounded. And during the last 2 years alone, in Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts, about 4,000 CPI(M) workers and supporters have been dragged to courts under various sections, especially Section 107, and cases are being dragged on year after year, with innumerable adjournments.

2. In Narsampeta taluka, Warangal district, in Chandrugonda village, during the 1965 parliamentary by-election, the lambadi peasant supporter of the CPI(M), Boda Bikya was assaulted, his legs and hands broken, *his house was set on fire and his 7-year-old son, Rajya, was tied hand and foot, and burnt alive by the Congress supporters led by one Vagya Naick.*

In Maheswarapuram village of the same taluka, in August 1965, the police opened fire at the instigation of landlords and killed a CPI (M) worker, and carried on systematic terrorizing of a group of 25 villages around.

Armed police camped in the landlords' houses, tortured 1000 persons, poured urine in the wounded persons' mouths when they asked for water, male organs were thrust into each other's mouths. Twenty-six women were raped in that one village. Houses were looted and crops destroyed.

During 1966 and 1967, the landlord attacks continued, with the police actively aiding them, and the people of Upparapalli village retaliated and killed two notorious goondas on March 29, 1967. This was the excuse for intensifying the terror and inhuman atrocities. Sixty-five villages had become the centre of the police and landlord armed band raids. 4,000 persons were beaten, property and crops worth lakhs

of rupees looted, agricultural operations of more than 200 families were forcibly stopped.

Villages were surrounded early in the morning. Women and men were not allowed to go out even to answer nature's call. Villagers were beaten with lathis, rifle-butts and bayonets, kicked with booted legs, neither food nor water was given. Knees, elbows, fingers were the special spots for beating and breaking as a form of torture. Men's organs were squeezed or pounded with lathis. Male organs were thrust into each other's mouth and pouring urine when water was asked was a usual pastime of the police and landlord gangs. Ten women were raped immediately after the Upparapalli incident.

3. IN KHAMMAM DISTRICT : In this district, many Communist workers were murdered during 1954-65 and large-scale landlord attacks were organized against poorer sections of the people and Communist supporters, in which the district Congress leaders were not only shielding the landlord bands but were also actively participating. During 1966-68, the villages of Gopati, Venkatayapalem, Kasirajugudem, Kandallappagudem have been the main targets of these attacks.

These continued attacks on the village poor by the hired bands of the landlords, over the last many years, all on the plea of suppression of Communists, have led to a situation where the landlords can dare plan any atrocity without any fear of being made to account for it. The most glaring example was the raid and atrocities committed against the Tekulapalli lambadi hamlets in Illendu taluka of Khammam district.

Sri Lakkineni Venkateswara Rao, brother of Khammam district Congress leader Narasayya, wanted to occupy forcibly the lands of lambadi peasants, Lacchutanda and Regulatanda, of Tekulapalli village, organized an attack on them with a 400-strong armed band and carried on a looting and raping spree from August 27 to 29, 1967.

Able-bodied men ran away in fear and only old men, women and children were left behind.

-Laccha Nayukudu, 80-year-old man, was beaten, kero-

sene was poured on his body and fire was lit to force him tell the place where he hid his treasure.

—Seventy-seven houses were looted: 3000 to 4000 rupees in cash, 200 bags of jawar, 240 bags of green gram, 220 bags of mirchi [Chilies], 320 tolas of silver, 200 sheep and goats were looted.

—*Twelve women were raped. Banothu Gogly was sleeping with her baby, the baby was dragged away and she was raped by M. Venkateswara Babu and five others. Islavat Purni was dragged by her hair and raped. Bakaya Mitiyali was also raped. Kuppuswamy, Gonala Narayana, M. Venkateswara Babu, Banothu Bapulya and R. Krishna are the rapists.*

4. *IN NALGONDA DISTRICT* apart from the earlier landlord attacks in various talukas, on the villagers and Communist supporters, recently during the 1967 general elections and later, the groups of villages where the landlords have been carrying on intensified raids and attacks, with active protection from and participation of the police are in Suryapeta taluka—Tonda, Miryala, Polumalla, Hussainabad, T. Penubadu, and Annaram—and in Huzurnagar taluka—Velidanda, Rangapuram, Kokkireni, Nelamarri, Cheedella, Mukunda-puram, etc.

In Tonda village, the landlords organized a raid with fire-arms, axes and spears at midnight in October 1966, on the house of the village Sarpanch, where a meeting was going on, killing Konda Venkatayya and wounding 31 others. In Miryala and Polumalla, just on the eve of polling day and on polling day itself, the Errapadu Deshmukh organized lorryloads of armed bands to attack the villagers and clubbed to death Kommu Gopayya and Rachakonda Ramachandrayya. After this, a series of attacks on this group of villages by landlords' armed bands with police support have been carried out. Hundreds of houses have been looted; beatings and tortures and false cases are a regular feature. Hussainabad village was raided 17 times within the course of a year. Police camps for every 2 or 3 villages are established but the landlords go scot-free while the poor folk and Communist supporters are the inevitable sufferers at police hands.

In Huzurnagar taluka, it was an organized armed band, led by Potu Ramulu, Potu Satyanarayan, Pandurangaswamy, Shankara Rao, Pratapa Reddy, that had been raiding the villages and indulging in lootings and beatings. In Yellapuram village, 30 were wounded in February 1967 and they were prevented from being taken to the hospital for a whole day. Womenfolk were beaten including 80-year-old ones. In Kokkireni, Rangapuram, Velidanda villages, the water lifts (*motas*) of about a dozen peasants were destroyed. Houses were looted. In Nelamarri village, repeated raids were organized, in one raid gunfire was opened wounding one Ramakotamma in 1966. Again in a raid on March 28, 1968, the same woman was caught and raped by landlords' goondas. In Cheedella village, Maraju Narasimhachari's shop was looted, his house occupied and used as the Congress office from October 1967, and later on, in another raid on March 29, 1968, on Dr. Abimallu Venkatanarsu's house, furniture and medicines were all looted. In Mukundapuram, Sri Uppala Maltayya's 33 sheep worth Rs. 2,000 were looted and sold in the Hyderabad market, the culprits were found out but no action was taken. This village was repeatedly raided, the latest raid being on June 11, with police from the Cheedella camp participating in the raid along with the Potu Ramulu gang and opened fire wounding one CPI(M) worker, Edayya. On May 22 and 23, 1968, an armed band of 400 accompanied by a lorryload of armed police under the sub-inspectors of Garidepalli and Penubadu paraded the villages of Nelamarri, Venkatarampuram, Taduvayi, Velidanda and Rangapuram, abusing the villagers and Communist supporters and beating them.

The common feature of all these raids is the practice of police accompanying the landlord bands and allowing them to indulge in looting and beating and giving protection to the attackers when the people defend themselves. The police arrest Communist supporters, hand them over to the landlord gangs who mercilessly belabour them. Persons arrested by the police are beaten and tortured in the police camps.

The extent of the landlords' barbarity can be understood

by the gruesome murder of CPI (M) worker, Tadum Narayana, in Akunur village, Janagama taluka. He was murdered by Abbu Kistayya and his gang of 30 on May 18th in the night. This comrade was taken to the house of Abbu Kistayya with his hands tied behind his back. He was put between the hinges of a door and his ribs were crushed. And later at midnight he was dragged to a nearby streamlet at the Northern end of the village. He was dragged across the streamlet with a rope tied to his legs like a fallen dog. One hand was chopped off with an axe and was thrown into a shrub; another limb, the leg was axed but not completely severed; his chest was pierced with a spear; and eyes gouged out.

That is why I requested the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, in a memorandum submitted in June 1968, to take the following steps, immediately :

“I request you to instruct the police officials, and even the special police that are posted in these areas, not to aid the village landlords and their hired henchmen, in committing these atrocities, by passing strict orders (1) not to accompany the armed bands of the landlords, when they go on raids on villages and on Communists’ houses; (2) not raid the villages or houses at dead of night, and that, too, along with the hired armed bands of the landlords; (3) the persons whom the police arrest should not be handed over to the landlords’ armed bands nor should they allow these bands to beat, torture and subject them to various inhuman atrocities; (4) not to beat or torture the arrested persons in the police lock-ups or camps; (5) not to institute cases against a large number of people on suspicion that they are Communist supporters and harass thousands of people by dragging on the cases from court to court, with unending postponements of hearings; (6) to give protection to the people from the hired armed bands from looting their houses and properties, from cruel tortures and indignities, maiming of limbs and shootings and killings and even raping of women; (7) seize all guns from landlords and their armed bands and prosecute them for all that they have been doing for the last one year;

and more (8) to do justice evenly and not to treat "Communist supporters" as non-citizens, as sub-humans, against whom anything and any kind of atrocity can be perpetrated and justified and encouraged".

Dear Prime Minister, I am forced to submit this memorandum to you (I have submitted another memorandum on the repression on Srikakulam girijans in Andhra in May 1968) and I am also enclosing a copy of the memorandum and details of incidents that have been taking place which I submitted to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, finding no improvement has taken place so far. I hope you will take interest in the deteriorating situation and see that these inhuman attacks on the village poor people, backward communities and Communist supporters and workers are stopped immediately. I hope you will stop the police-landlord gang-up against the people.

Yours sincerely,
P. SUNDARAYYA

**MEMORANDUM TO
ANDHRA PRADESH CHIEF MINISTER**

To Sri Brahmananda Reddy,
Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh,
HYDERABAD

I request your prompt intervention to stop the various attacks on the mass of poor people, and especially on those who are the followers of CPI(M), by village landlords and their henchmen, styling themselves as Congressmen, in Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts.

I request you to instruct the police officials, and even the special police that are posted in these areas, not to aid the village landlords and their hired henchmen, in committing these atrocities, by passing strict orders; 1) not to accompany the armed bands of the landlords, when they go on raids on villages and on Communists' houses; 2) not raid the villages

or houses at dead of night, and that, too, along with the hired armed bands of the landlords; 3) the persons whom the police arrest should not be handed over to the landlords' armed bands nor should they allow these bands to beat, torture and subject them to various inhuman atrocities; 4) not to beat or torture the arrested persons in the police lock-ups or camps; 5) not to institute cases against a large number of people on suspicion that they are Communist supporters and harass thousands of people by dragging on the cases from court to court, with unending postponements of hearings; 6) to give protection to the people from the hired armed bands from looting their houses and properties, from cruel tortures and indignities, maiming of limbs and shootings and killings and even raping of women; 7) seize all guns from landlords and their armed bands and prosecute them for all that they have been doing for the last one year; and more 8) to do justice evenly and not to treat "Communist supporters" as non-citizens as sub-humans, against whom anything and any kind of atrocity can be perpetrated and justified and encouraged.

I give below only a few instances that have happened during the last two years.

NALGONDA DISTRICT

Huzurnagar taluka

In Yellapuram on February 17, 1967, during the day, a gang backed by Congress leaders raided the village and wounded 30 persons. Those wounded at 10 a.m. could be removed to the hospital only at 10 p.m. Garidapalli police sided with the attackers.

Tadikonda Ranga Reddy was beaten and was hovering between life and death for a long time. His house was looted. Tadikonda Kanta Reddy and his father Jalayya were driven out of the village. Tadikonda Burra Reddi helped the wounded to be taken to the hospital, his house was looted, crops destroyed and he and his wife Latchamma were beaten and driven away from the village. T. Venkata Narasamma's hand

was axed. Her mother, Danti Reddi Latchamma, 80 years old, was beaten. T. Govinda Reddy and his wife Rajamma were beaten; one of Penumulla Venkayya's legs and both arms were broken.

Chintala Cheruvu Bhiksham, Chintala Ramulu and his wife Ramulamma, Golla Lingayya and others, about 30 families, were driven out of the village.

In Kokkireni village in June 1967, the irrigation lifts (motas) of 12 peasants were destroyed and thrown into the well. On February 2, 1968, and on March 12, 1968, and again on March 20, 1968, Sri B. Ramarao's 200 palmyra trees were felled and taken away, his house raided and looted.

In Rangapuram, on July 14, 1967, Sri Potu Raghavayya's oil-engine was looted and was sold in Suryapeta market for Rs. 1,000. On April 12, 1968, at dead of night, his house was again raided by an armed band of 70-80 persons, under the leadership of Potu Ramulu, T. A. Sankara Rao, Pratapa Reddy of Bikhumalla and property worth Rs. 5,000, from clothings to grain and livestock, was looted. Houses of Dara Kasayya, Kurapati Santayya, Kesagani Somayya were looted, they were tied to a tree and beaten, legs and hands broken, they were burned at different spots of their bodies with lighted cigars and cigarettes.

On May 22 and 23, 1968, an armed band of 400 raided the villages, accompanied by the reserve police van and the S. I.s of Garidapalli and Penubadu stations. They marched under the leadership of Potu Ramayya, Potu Satyanarayana, Satani Pandu Ranga Swamy, Yadla Papireddi, T.A. Sankara Rao and R. Pratapa Reddy (Bikhumalla), through the villages of Nalamarri, Venkatramapuram, Taduvayi (Somireddi was beaten to unconsciousness), Velidanda, where supporters of Communists were abused and beaten. On the 23rd, they surrounded the house of Potu Raghavayya and tried to raid it. The villagers defended themselves. The armed band had to withdraw but while withdrawing they set fire to villagers' hay-stacks.

NELAMARRI : On March 16, 1968, an armed gang of 15,

led by Pandurangayya, attacked the sarpanch and destroyed his water-lift and those of others.

On March 28, 1968, an armed band of 100 persons, under the leadership of the same persons, raided the villages, one Nukala Venkatareddi, a supporter of the Communists, was dragged to Cheedella camp and he was beaten severely till his joints were broken. Gudupati Ramakotamma was raped by Potu Ramulu and Gudupudi Guruvulu. This village was again raided and Saidalli, his brothers and their father, and certain others were dragged to Cheedella police camp and were beaten that night. It was in this village in June 1966 that the same armed band had opened fire and wounded 12 persons. One of the wounded persons was Gudupudi Romakotamma who has now been raped.

CHEEDELLA : In September-October 1967, Yedla Papireddi and his group of persons looted the shop of Maraju Narasimhachari and occupied his house and are using it as Congress office. Reported to the police, no action was taken. On January 23, 1968, a CPI (M) worker, Nagireddi Pullareddi, was beaten and his arms were broken; again on the 25th, Andena Achchalu was dragged and beaten. On March 29, 1968, Dr. Abimallu Venkatanarsu's house was looted, furniture and medicines destroyed and a police camp was established after the murder of Cheedella Vankatareddi, and constant police raids and harassing of villagers all around went on.

MUKUNDAPURAM : In July 1967, this village was raided and Uppala Mattayya's sheep were stolen and sold in Hyderabad for Rs. 2,000. On April 2, 1968, this village was again raided, the houses of Varakala Kanakarathnam, Dai Bhiksham, Mekapotu Venkayya, Rai Devadanam, Anjarpalli Saidulu were entered into and their crops destroyed and looted. Uppala Mattayya's house was again looted.

This village was again raided at dead of night on June 11, 1968, by the armed band, accompanied by armed police from Cheedella camp led by the usual leader Potu Ramulu. They opened fire on the villagers sleeping on the terraces of the houses. The villagers defended themselves. Later at daybreak,

the villagers were going out on their avocations when Potu Ramulu opened fire and wounded Edayya. The police and the private armed band beat villagers brutally and looted the houses.

VELIDANDA : On June 22, 1967, Bangarayya and Bhiksham were beaten by the police and kidnapped. Mamidi Satyam was dragged to the police station and was beaten. On June 27, an armed band raided Kokkireni village and destroyed 13 *motas* (water-lifts of the wells). Continuous assaults on Communist workers, especially the families of Medaramatla Seetaramayya and Mattayya, had taken place.

GAJULA, MALKAPURAM, VELIDANDA, KONAYGUEM, TENGELLAGUEM, NARASIMHALUGUEM are some of the other villages that are constantly being raided and looted, with police camps all around. But the police are holding a protective umbrella over these armed bands, and encouraging them to commit all these atrocities.

SECURITY AND OTHER HARASSING CASES IN HUZURNAGAR TALUKA

Ponugodu village	—20 persons in the name of some clashes, 30 adjournments during 1966 itself.
Velidanda	—40
Chilukuru	—Case launched in 1965. 14 adjournments.
Nelamarri	—15 persons involved. Landlords opened fire but the wounded victims were prosecuted.
Burugugadda	—80 persons under Sec. 107 for the last one year.
Munagala	—18 persons under Sec. 107
Fatehpur	—45 persons before RDO in Miryalagudem and 30 persons before Huzurnagar munsiff court, after a raid by the landlords in which 15 villagers were wounded.

Miryalagudem Taluka

In this taluka, during the 1962 election and afterwards and especially during 1965-1967, big landlords with licensed guns

mounted attacks against the poor villagers on the plea that they were supporters of the Communists.

—In Tammadam, Venkannagudem, Vempadu, Anumalá, Annaram, Nidamanur, the lands of the peasantry were sought to be occupied and landlord bands with guns raided these villages. Chintagudem, Pedadevalapalli and Anumala were the worst affected villages.

—Tripuravaram: harijan houses were raided on June 15, 1966, Poluganti Mallayya and his wife Narasamma and son Mattayya and 12 others were wounded by a gang of 50 persons led by Anumala Raji Reddy and his brothers.

—On January 19, 1967, the CPI(M) office in Miryalagudem was raided and destroyed.

—On July 19, 1967, Anumala Deshmukh Lakshmana Reddy his brother Sudarshana Reddy, raided sharecropper Alugula Venkata Reddi to occupy his lands which he was cultivating for the last 70 years. With Nagarjunsagar waters, the fields had become valuable and hence the landlords wanted to occupy these lands, ignoring the protected tenancy rights of the peasants

Nalgonda taluka

In Edulur village, a blackmarketeer was stopped by the sarpanch. The police pounced on the sarpanch and prosecuted him and 24 others. A few weeks later, on October 23 1966, the village landlords, Maddi Gopala Reddi, Boyapalli Chandra Reddy, opened fire on the people. A few days later Batampalli Venkatareddi fired at Ramalinga Reddy, a CPI(M) worker.

Suryapet taluka

Even during the election period, the group of villages near Errapadu, under the Deshmukh of Errapadu, Jannareddi Sudhir Reddy, had been a centre of serious attacks by the armed bands of this deshmukh, with police support and backing. It was in the village of Tonda, in October 1966, that the landlords attacked the house of a CPI(M) worker, Ranganna—whose

father was murdered a few years ago by the landlords—where a meeting of the village workers was being held, and opened fire killing Konda Venkatayya and wounding 15 others and 17 others, were seriously wounded with axes and spears.

—It was in the village of Miryala that Kommu Gopayya, an agricultural labourer, a CPI (M) worker was axed to death 3 days before the polling in February 1967, and many houses were looted.

—It was in the village of POLUMALLA on the very day of polling, in the very presence of the police, that Sudhir Reddy's armed bands attacked and opened fire on the people and clubbed Rachakonda Ramachandrayya to death.

TONDA : After the murder and assault on Tonda in October 1966, while the persons who were responsible for the murder were having freedom to move, in spite of the case formally launched, it was the CPI (M) supporters, about 80 persons, that were being actually prosecuted under various sections of the I.P.C. during the last two years. Recently, taking a clash between the villagers on the one hand and on the other the Congress and Jana Sangh supporters as pretext 36 Communist supporters were being prosecuted for alleged attempted murder. Their fields were laid waste and they were prevented from cultivating them, and house to house, from one irrigation well to another, these armed bands went and beat many CPI(M) supporters and as a result 8 were made immobile. Forty thousand bricks that were brought to build the panchayat office were carted away to the Deshmukh's place. Panchayat women members were kidnapped so as to get the majority. There is a police camp in the village. All these atrocities are being committed under the very nose of the police and in connivance with and active support from them.

POLUMALLA : It was after the murder, that instead of immediately arresting the landlord Jannareddi Sudhir Reddy, he was allowed to roam freely for a year and when the case was taken up, he was arrested and admitted in Nalgonda T. B. sanatorium till he was bailed out. But a large number

of CPI(M) supporters were dragged into cases not only in this village but in the neighbouring villages of Chandupatla, Chilpakuntla, etc. Assaults on toddy-tappers by the landlords and their bands continue to prevent them from giving evidence in the murder case. In fact the issue in the village was that the toddy-tappers organised themselves and prevented Jannareddi Sudhir Reddy from swallowing Rs. 15,000 to 20,000 yearly, the profit on toddy-tapping by getting it cheap at government auction, and giving low wages and returns to the actual tappers.

The police did not take any action against this assaulting gang and their real masters.

MIRYALA : For the last 2 centuries, this village was under the contract of the landlord family of Goruganti Venkata Narasayya. They overbade in toddy auctions, and prevented the toddy-tappers from enjoying the fruit of their labour. The toddy-tappers have organised themselves and are fighting against the landlords' oppression. Even before the murder had taken place there were raids on the villages. After the murder, the real persons behind it were let off but some minor personnel were prosecuted. But the villagers are being prosecuted under Sec. 107.

HUSSAINABAD : It was in 1965, after the arrest and detention of CPI(M) leaders, that village sarpanch, Uppala Ranga Reddy, who was a party member, and as such was elected sarpanch and also vice-president of the zilla parishad, left the Party and started attacks and assaults on the villagers, with his band of armed men. So far about 20 attacks have taken place and the police have foisted about 15 cases on those who defended themselves against these attacks.

—Similarly in the village of Moteh, CPI(M) supporters are being attacked and harassed by the landlords' men and the police. There is a police camp in Moteh village.

—In the villages of Kotapadu and Tallakampadu, the villagers stopped the landlords and blackmarketeers from smuggling out paddy and reported it to the tahsildar. But instead of proceeding against them, the police prosecuted a

large number of CPI(M) supporters, including the two sarpanches of these villages. Same is the case in Chilpakuntla where a large number of persons were dragged to the courts.

TUMMALA PENUPADU AND ANNARAM VILLAGES : These villages support the CPI(M). A police camp was established in Tummala Penupadu. Cases were foisted on the villagers. Defence witnesses were beaten by the S.I. of police in the very compound of the Suryapet court. In January, 1968, when there was a clash in Annaram between the Jana Sangh workers holding a meeting and a supporter of the CPI(M), the police under this S.I. raided the village the same night, 20 other supporters were dragged out of their beds and were beaten. The next morning the circle-inspector from Suryapet with armed police came, and again assaulted a large number of people. For one week, the reign of assaults and looting continued. In the compound of Suryapet court, the RSS and Jana Sangh leader, advocate N. Govinda Reddy, in his lawyer's dress itself, beat Oruganti Seetayya. No action was taken.

And in Tummala Penupadu, in the month of May 1968, because the farm servants attended a CPI(M) meeting at Suryapeta, the landlords beat them. When the sarpanch, who was a Communist, went to stop the beating, he was also beaten. There was a clash between the CPI(M) supporters and the landlords. The police and the landlords' men later raided the houses of CPI(M) supporters, looted them, and assaulted many, causing grievous hurt. Many persons were forced to leave the villages. And one harijan Communist worker was taken into custody and was severely beaten in the police lock-up and kept there for 4 days and later he was produced in the court and sent to Nalgonda district jail. This incident (harijan being beaten) took place on June 5, 1968.

—The deshmukh of Suryapeta, Lakshmikanta Rao occupied 2 acres of land belonging to one Tandu Lakshmayya situated in Suryapeta town. No protection was given by the police. The same deshmukh demanded the shepherds in Nemmikallu village to give some sheep free for a marriage function in his house. They refused and some of them were

dragged to the police station on a charge of cutting the babul trees in his lands. When they were brought to the police station, this desh mukh fell upon them and beat them severely. The police neither prevented him from doing it nor did they prosecute him.

NAGARAM VILLAGE : On November 17, 1966, at night Panchayat Samiti President Bhagavan Reddy's house was attacked and some CPI(M) workers were beaten. Police raided Kottapalli, Parsaipalli and women were pushed out with lathis at their necks. On the 20th, police arrested Sadam Sattireddi. Danda Veera Reddy's moustache and ears were pulled. On the 21st, Arvapalli Uppalayya was beaten on the head by the police. On 22nd night, Savitamma was molested in Koppula Linga Reddy's house by a police constable. The same night in Kottapalli, 10 persons were beaten.

SECURITY CASES

In about 100 cases, 1500 persons are involved in this taluka and about 800 are still going round and round the courts. The villages affected are 1. Tonda, 2. Triumalagiri, 3. Nagulapadu, 4. Annaram, 5. Cheedella, 6. Penpadu 7. Gajula Malkapuram, 8. Tallakampadu, 9. Undradondu, 10. Pillalamarri, 11. Balemula, 12. Moteh, 13. Hussainabad, 14. Polumalla, 15. Bilvakunda, 16. Gorantla, 17. Mriyala, 18. Epuru, 19. Sirikonda, 20. Gummadavalli, 21. Parsayapalli, 22. Kottapalli, 23. Kariviralla, 24. Kottagudem, 25. Jajireddigudem, 26. Patarlapadu, 27. Bandameedi Chandupatla, 28. Kotapadu, 29. Buraka Charla, 30. Eturu, 31. Velichala and 32. Mamidala.

Khammam District

In this district, from 1954-55, many Communist workers have been murdered by landlords and in many villages, large-scale landlord attacks have been organised against the poorer sections of the people and Communist supporters. In the attacks, the district Congress leaders were actively participating and shielding the landlord bands.

KASIRAJUGUDEM : Badadam Kotayya's legs and hands were broken by landlords' bands on November 9, 1966, and Linga Venkayya of Pilligudem was severely assaulted. Again, on November 27, the CPI(M) office was raided by landlords' men but the reserve police came and arrested 25 supporters of the CPI(M). On 29th night, Madibyonia Papamma's house was raided and she was beaten severely. On the 30th, Communist women were locked-up in the police camp and were abused in indecent language, and Masarapu Santamma, Jillela Latchamma, Bedadam Narasamma and Bedadam Tirupamma and Veldi Nagamma were beaten with lathis on their breasts, hands and sides.

Chakali Subbamma of Pammi village was molested and beaten to death by one Anantula Jagannadham; he was backed by the local Congress and the police officers.

—In **SINGARAYAPALEM**, on March 18, 1967, landlords' bands backed by the Congress, attacked Dudipalle Apparao, CPI(M) Secretary of Lalapuram, with crude bombs and spears, near Ravula Achutayya's house during daylight. He, Nannayya and two others were wounded.

CHINA GOPATI AND PEDA GOPATI VILLAGES : This is the village where the district Congress secretary, Kesara Ananta Reddy, lives. He wants the villagers to be submissive to him and to support the Congress. For this he organises constant attacks on CPI(M) workers and supporters' houses; and crops are being looted.

Tumu Narayana Rao was beaten in his own house by a band of 30 persons. The same gang attacked and beat Kesara Gopala Reddy of the same village who happens to be a CPI(M) supporter. His house was looted.

Forty three harijans who were arrested during the election are being dragged to the courts and similarly 75 others were involved in some case or other.

On June 6, 1968, in the morning at 8 a. m. Anumarlapudi Tirupatayya was shot dead by Kesara Narasimha Reddi, brother of Kesara Ananta Reddy, the district Congress secretary, in the open street, and Avula Venkayya and Ballagani Ramulu

were wounded. But 13 CPI(M) supporters were arrested along with K. Narasimha Reddi.

KANDALAPPAGUEDEM : In Chintakani firka, Sri Chintakani Venkatareddi, on August 30, 1967 was sought to be waylaid and murdered on his way from Pandillapalli railway station, by a band of local landlords. This same gang was responsible for 3 murders in the neighbouring villages of Pandregupalli and Khanapuram. From 1964 onwards, repeated attempts were made to kill Sri Chintakani Venkata Reddy as he had scored victory in the panchayat election.

Again, on October 14, in the same village, harijan and other labour houses were raided, one Kalinga Rajarathnam's leg was broken and Gantila China Venkayya and six others were severely beaten. The police arrested 17 persons who were the victims of the assault.

Again, on September 19, Sri Chintakani Venkata Reddi, while he was going from the CPI(M) office towards Guntipallivari bazar, in Khammam town itself, was assaulted by a gang from Pandillapalli and Ramakrishnapuram—Chandra China Managayya, Narasimharao, Janardhana Rao, Palem Venkateswar Rao, Nalluri Chalamayya, etc. It was the same gang that beat the railway gangman S. Appayya on September 11.

In **V. VENKATYAPALEM** : On November 10, 1967, the village CPI (M) secretary Ravula Durvasulu was arrested by the police and he was beaten by the armed band of the landlords and of the Congress in the very presence of the police.

This same band raided the lambadi people at night with police accompanying them and women were molested.

M. VENKATAYAPALEM : In this village, during 1960-65, the landlords were able to attack Communist supporters, and 100 persons were dragged in, in different cases. Yet, the people were able to defeat them in the panchayat election in 1964. The landlords, encouraged by Congress leaders, started their attacks on the village poor.

On February 21, 1968, Yelamaddi Pullayya and Gandadasu Gopalu were kidnapped and were kept in a Congress landlord's house the whole night and were severely beaten and let off

early in the morning. On the 22nd and 23rd, Bodupalli Pullayya's house was stoned by the landlords' men for an hour, from the house of Gangavarapu Lakshinarayana. Smt. Parachuri Annapurna, acting sarpanch, wife of Krishnamurty, was beaten at the harvest field and her leg was broken. She was kept in Congress landlord Gangavarapu Lakshminarayana's house till the evening. She was threatened to make her submit her resignation. The reserve police arrived in the evening and she was released. But neither the local police nor the circle-inspector from Khammam made any effort to take her to the hospital till a taluka leader of the CFI(M) from Silarugudem came with volunteers and took her to Khammam hospital.

Seventy harijan (MADIGA) labour families were driven away from the village and were taking shelter in Muttugudem village. The police raided the village and arrested a score of CPI(M) workers, and have launched some flimsy cases.

Attack on TEKULAPALLI LAMBADI HAMLET : These continued attacks on the village poor by the landlords and their hired gangs over the last many years, all on the plea of suppressing Communists and the active support given to them by the Congress and the police have led to a situation where the landlords dare plan any atrocity, without any fear of being made to account for it. The most glaring example were the raid and atrocities committed against the Tekulapalli lambadi hamlet in Illendu taluka of Khammam district.

One Lakkineni Venkateswara Rao, brother of Khammam district Congress leader Narasayya, purchased from Aita Sambayya 170 acres of land for 48,000 rupees, a cheap price. He wanted to occupy 10 acres of land which had been earlier purchased by lambadi peasants, Islavat Gopya and Fakira Harisingh. They refused to sell it, but were prepared to pay double the price at which they had purchased in order to retain the land, the only source of their livelihood. To occupy these lands forcibly, they mobilised a gang of 400 persons and attacked the lambadi tandas of Lacchatanda and Regulatanda, from August 27 to 29, 1967.

In the forefront of the attack was the first contractor R. Krishna of Kottagudem, marching with gun in his hand, behind him were the following leaders of the raiders: Sethu Sindhi (village government servant), Bhadrām of Mutyalampadu, Gudupudi Rattayya, Kuppalaswamy, Gonala Narayana, Madhyannam Venkateswar Rao (alias Babu), Banothu Balya, Banothu Raghavulu, Devayya, Bobbala Narasimha, Ramulu, Motukuri Rajeswar Rao, Nalamothu Tirupatayya, Kandula Mangayya and Chandrayya.

Able-bodied men ran away in fear and only oldmen, women and children were left behind. Laccha Nayukudu, 80-year-old man, was beaten, kerosene was poured on his body and fire was lit to force him to tell the place where he hid his treasure. Seventy seven houses were looted: 3 to 4000 rupees in cash, 200 bags of jawar, 240 bags of greengram, 220 bags of mirchi (chillies), 320 tolas of silver, 200 sheep and goats were looted.

Twelve women were raped. Banothu Gogli was sleeping with her baby, the baby was dragged away and she was raped by Venkateswara Babu and five others. Islavat Purni was dragged by her hair and was raped. Bakya Mitiyali was also raped and Kuppaswamy, Gonala Narayana, M. Venkateswar Babu, Banothu Dapulya, R. Krishna are the rapists.

Again on January 21 and 22, 1968, Raghunathapalem lambadi men and women were assaulted in Khammam taluka, Sree Bimla was arrested and severely beaten by the police.

SECURITY AND OTHER CASES LAUNCHED IN KHAMMAM TALUKA ALONE

<i>Village</i>	<i>Cases pending against</i>	<i>Cases that were quashed by the courts</i>
Lalapuram	25	20
China Gopati	114 in 9 cases	—
Singarayapalem	15	15
M. Venkatayapalem	20	120

<i>Village</i>	<i>Cases pending against</i>	<i>Cases that were quashed by the courts</i>
Kachirajugudem	20	40
Papatapalli	18	—
Ammapalem	15	10
Tummalapalli	15	60
Basavapuram	26	120
Kodumuru	10	10
Vandanam	20	20
Kandallappagudem	20	100
Gandhasiri	40	—
Tanikella	6	—
V. Venkatayapalem	46	30
Patarlapadu	7	—
Banapuram	30	—
Nagalancha	15	20
Subraveedu	11	—
		Macchugonda 30
		Chintagunta 20
		Raghunathapalem 20
		Chimmapudi 70
		Pindirprolu 48
		Gokinepallu 40
		Pallegudem 30
	473	823
	823	
Total cases	1296	

WARANGAL DISTRICT

It was first in Manukota taluka of this district that during 1956-62, systematic attacks on CPI (M) supporters by the landlords' armed bands, supported by the police and Congress leaders, were launched and people severely assaulted, their houses and crops burnt and looted. Communist workers were murdered in Thanamcherla, Dantalapali, Korukondapalli, Gollagudem, etc. The landlords gained the upper hand.

Narasampeta taluka

The same tactics were repeated in Narasampeṭa taluka during the 1962 elections. After these elections, when the CPI(M) leaders were under detention during 1965-66, during a parliamentary by-election in 1965, when Comrade Omkar as a detenu contested a powerful landlord candidate of the Congress, Sri Surendra Reddy, the brother-in-law of Sri Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, Revenue Minister of Andhra Pradesh, untold atrocities were committed.

It was in Chandrugonda village, during the 1965 parliamentary by-election, that the lambadi peasant supporter of CPI(M), Boda Bikya, was assaulted, his hands and legs were broken, his house was set on fire and his 7-year-old son Rajya was tied hand and foot and burnt alive by the Congress supporters, led by one Vagya Naik. It was the same Vagya who speared Yakayya, a Communist worker in 1962.

It was again in this same taluka that in August 1965, in village Maheswarapuram, in connection with a dispute about a field path between the peasants and the village landlords, the police opened fire wounding a CPI(M) worker, Chenna Reddy, who died in Warangal hospital, handcuffed, with no medical care whatsoever and the people felt that he was denied medical care and left to die at police instigation.

It was after this shooting that the reserve police camped in the village, tortured 1000 persons, poured urine in the wounded persons' mouths when they asked for water and raped 26 women including some who were pregnant. Male organs were thrust into the mouths of others.

Along with Maheswarapuram, Ramavaram, Gunturūpalli and Rajupalli were also raided. Houses and crops were looted to the extent of 100,000 rupees. Bribes were extracted from the people. 98 persons were charge-sheeted and sent to jail.

Pingala Radhaswamy and N. Narasayya, Congress supporters, stayed in the police camp and wreaked vengeance on the people. DSP Krishnamurty, Circle Inspector Bikha Singh, Sub-Inspector Sadathula Khan, were specially brought

to conduct the operation torture and loot. Head constable Venkateswar Rao was notorious in this torture and loot.

During 1965-66, 600 persons from 25 villages were roped into various cases, especially security cases. Police and landlord gangs raided again and again villages Narakkapeta Itikalapalli, Gullapadu, Mandapuram, Timmampetah, Kammapalli, Upparapalli, Dikshagunta, Budharaopeta, Lingagiri, Mallampalli, Pongalapalli, Chandrugonda, Konapuram, Madannapeta, Maheswarapuram, Chapale Banda, Rangapuram, Medapalli, Rudragudem, Sanigaram.

In Seetanagaram, on February 14, 1967, Edudarti Papi-reddi was axed, his legs and hands broken; 60-year-old Valuboju Narayana who tried to intervene was also thrown aside and beaten, one rib of his was broken. Papireddi's wife Suseela, Disita Premila, Bolledla Ramanamma were beaten and their houses looted. Budodli Pidenarasimha Reddi and China Narasimha Reddy were also beaten and their houses looted.

In Pedireddipalem two CPI(M) workers' heads were broken. Madannapeta fishermen's stocks were looted at Narsampeta when they went to sell their fish there. During Kammala Jatra (festival), in March 1967, people were way laid, beaten and robbed.

On February 7, 1967, in Pulla village, Mukunda Malla Reddy and Goda Rajayya, CPI(M) workers, were beaten by Veerayya. On February 19, Gundavari Mallayya was called to the police station and was beaten to force him to resign from the CPI (M).

Sanjeevi Reddy, a CPI(M) worker, while going to Rudragudem from Nallaballi, was waylaid by one K. Venkatarama Reddy and his group; he ran for protection to the police station but the S. I. instead of giving him protection beat him asking him to resign from the CPI(M). He was kept in the lock-up till nightfall.

Vakkala Ramachandrayya, Tota Ailayya, Desati Chandrayya, Raje Samulu were arrested by Narasampet S.I. and were kept in landlord Jitendra Reddy's house from February 18 to 20

and from 21st to 24th in Narsampet police lock-up on a trumped up charge of theft in Rudragudum village. The chilli crop of Vakkala Ramachandrayya and Gone Linga Reddi, sarpanch of that village, worth Rs. 1000 was looted by these gangs.

During the 1967 elections also, terror and assault on CPI(M) supporters continued with great intensity. Fed up with these continued atrocities and tortures, the villagers of Upparapalli retaliated and killed two notorious goondas of that village on March 29, 1967. This became the occasion for renewed terror and inhuman atrocities on the villagers all around and especially on CPI(M) supporters by the police and the landlords' men led by Pingala Radhaswamy and N. Narasayya, aided by the local Congress MLA and the Congress President of Narsampeta panchayat samiti.

Fifty five villages in Narasampeta taluka, 6 in Mulugu and 4 in Warangal taluka were raided by the police and landlord gangs. *10 women were raped* in the villages of Upparapalli, Dikshagunta, Gullapadu and Konaraopeta. 2 lakhs rupees worth of property and crops were looted, 200 families' agricultural operations were forcibly stopped and ruined, 4,000 were beaten.

Villages were surrounded early in the morning. Women and men were not allowed to go out even to answer nature's call. Villagers were beaten with lathis, rifle-butts and bayonets, kicked with booted legs; neither food nor water was given. Knees, elbows, fingers were the special spots for beating and breaking, as a form of torture. Similarly men's organs were squeezed or pounded with lathis. Keeping one's organ in the mouth of others and pouring urine when water was asked for was a special play of the police and landlord gangs. Electric current shock was also used to torture the arrested persons in the police lock-ups.

In Medepalli village 150 persons were arrested, one Udupula Dudayya, 70 years old, was repeatedly beaten by the police and his 16-year old grandson, when he intervened, was beaten severely. R. Venkata Reddy and another person were tortured and both his jaws were broken.

Twenty families were arrested in Upparpalli village in connection with the March 29 murder case, their houses were looted and burnt and crops destroyed and they were driven out of the village. This was organised by the landlord, Pingala Radhaswamy, and Sub-Inspector Seshagiri Rao, and the village Congress leader Chintakrinada Veramallu and village sarpanch Ayulu Reddy.

Recently when the accused in the above case, after conviction in the sessions court, came out on bail and reached the village by noon on May 27, 1968, they asked for police help to stay in the village. There was a police camp in the village. But by 4 p.m., Challa Kanaka Reddy and Chintakindi Narasayya and two others of the bailed persons were dragged out of their houses by the said Congress leaders and were driven out of the village under the threat of murder. The police said they could not give them any protection. And the same night the same persons attacked the house of Venkata Narasayya with guns and spears, assaulted him and his father Yellayya and father's brother Veerayya. A woman was raped. The same Challa Kanaka Reddy, when he was arrested, was tortured in the lock-up for a month before he was produced before the court.

Similarly, the present Sub-Inspector of Narsampet police station, one Ramachandra Reddy, raids the villages, arrests kisan and Communist workers, beats them and tortures them to give up their activities. The house of Comrade Venkatayya, agricultural labour worker, who had just undergone an abdominal operation, was raided by the landlord goondas. The people drove them away. The police S.I. arrested Venkatayya and beat him severely in the police lock-up.

In Ashokanagaram, the landlord gangs attacked agricultural labourers' houses on August 27, 1967, and head injuries were inflicted. The police helped them instead of arresting them.

Dikshagunta sarpanch, Sri Bandaru Komarayya, a supporter of the CPI(M), was arrested and paraded in both Dikshagunta and Upparapalli villages, all along being beaten

by the police and landlord gangs. His wife Bandaru Narasamma and his mother Butchamma were brutally beaten before the police by Pingala Radhaswamy, Mudigonda Kāmalakar Rao, Ayulu Reddi and Katukuri Mallareddi. Gopu Ramayya was beaten till his skin peeled off. Tamma Nagayya was beaten by the same persons. Udugula Komaramma and Ailamma were kidnapped and beaten. Udugula Mallayya's bull was thrown into a well.

In Dikshagunta village urine was poured into the mouth of Yadarahoyina Kammalu; Chiraboyina Latchayya and Mallayya were beaten and their organs were sought to be put in each other's mouth.

In Timmampeta, on November 12, 1967, under the leadership of Kammapalli sarpanch and Malipatel of Timmampeta village, goondas beat Yulukanti Kotayya, Sakampalli Raji Reddi and Alumela Ramachandra Reddi.

In Buddharaopet, on November 27, a band of 100 armed persons looted 64 bags of paddy. This same gang wounded Mangayya, Karra Ramireddi, burnt a cattleshed of Pallapalli Desai and looted the grain of Medavaram Kamala Devi.

Mulugu taluka

In Mulugu taluka, in Royyur village, 80 koya peasants are being sought to be evicted from 60 acres of land they have been cultivating for the last 40 years.

In tens of villages of Mulugu taluka where the tribal people were agitating for increased wages for collecting and selling beedi leaves and for increased agricultural wages, any amount of atrocities are being committed by the forest contractors, landlords and the police.

T. Bhaskar Reddy, Mulugu taluka youth organiser, was beaten at Venkatapuram bus stand by the followers of the landlord Santosh Chakravorty.

At Dummapalli, 25 persons were arrested and cases were foisted on them. Medikonda village secretary Venkatayya was beaten and his hand broken and he was arrested later by the police. Chagallu youth president K. Narahari's house

was raided by the landlord Kudu Lakshma Reddi; youth workers from Bussipuram, Dummapalligudam, Venkatapuram and Jangalapalli were dragged into cases under Sections 145 and 107. K. Narayana of Pamuru was beaten by the local goondas. On October 13, 1967, in Venkatapuram, harijan houses were raided and Kalasa Radhayya, CPI(M) worker, and others were beaten. The circle-inspector instead of arresting the culprits arrested the victims.

Mankotu taluka

Even in Manukotu taluka, where the movement was badly crushed by landlords' attacks backed by the Congress and the police during 1957-62, was not spared during the recent period.

In Kantayapalam village, on April 21, 1967, Dudekula Yasab and four others were beaten and head injuries were inflicted. Bandela Bhiksham's wife who was pregnant and Kummari Koyarelli's wife were also beaten.

In Ammavaripalem, the landlords attacked and beat youth workers M. Nagabhushana Rao, Rangarao and Venkatramayya; Mudakanti Mogalayya, his wife and sister were also beaten, their house raided and looted and pottery was broken.

—In Padamupparam village, on November 9, in the morning at 9 a.m., Duppa Sivalingam, the village CPI(M) secretary, was attacked by a gang of 60 persons and was dragged to the house of the landlord, Nukala Jagan Mohan Reddy. Sivalingam's son was beaten till he fell unconscious. His wife who was pregnant was kicked in the stomach.

On November 10, Aivala Elayya's hand was broken. A month before, CPI(M) supporter Chintakunta Venkatayya's cattle were stolen by the village police patel, Kandimalla Veerabhadrayya, and so some of the CPI(M) supporters left the village and took shelter in the neighbouring villages.

In Manukota town, on February 25, houses of Akarapu Kattamallu and Narasayya, CPI(M) workers, were raided. Narasayya's wife Elamma's hands were broken. Earlier, on December 29, Narasayya's daughter Kalavati was beaten till she fell down unconscious.

On February 24, Akarapu Uppalayya and his father were dragged out of their house and were beaten and assaulted by Akarapu Rajendra, a Congress worker. S.I. Sreenivasa Reddy was siding with these Congress workers Rajendra and Talipamulu Venkanna.

Janagama taluka

Vaddicharla: During panchayat by-elections, D. Sreeram Reddy, the Congress candidate, attacked CPI(M) workers and police arrested 24 of them and kept them in the house of the village landlord, Mote Narasimha Reddy, and they were beaten from 8 p.m. till 12 p.m. Ailayya, another CPI(M) worker, was also beaten in Navabupeta.

In August 1967, in Lakshminarayanapuram, CPI(M) supporter, Bodiga Komarayya, his mother, wife and sister were taken to Visunur police station, were kicked and beaten there. This was done at the instigation of the landlords belonging to the Visunur group who lost in the toddy-tappers' co-operative elections.

In Cheryala, the landlord group led by Veerabattina Vithal wanted to murder A. Raja Reddi, the taluka youth leader, and constant raids on the village were organized. Police launched cases against CPI(M) supporters under Section 107.

In Ippagudum, tank-bed lands that were being cultivated by peasants for the last 20 years are sought to be occupied by one Mandali Satyanarayana Reddy who was supported by P. Lakshmana Rao. Thirty seven CPI(M) supporters were prosecuted under Section 107. Attempts were being made to murder M. Narayana Reddy, Dr. Rama Rao and S. Venkteswara Rao, Communist leaders of the village.

In Macchupudu, in Narmeta police area, Gajjilli Komarayya was beaten by the police from Narmeta. His 9-year-old daughter intervened but she was felled by a lathi blow and 70-year-old Malla Venkayya was also beaten by the police—all at the instigation of the local landlord Narasimha Reddy, the malipatel and police patel of the village. He was also the sarpanch and Abkari contractor, owning 400 acres. He had driven out many

people from his village in his effort to get *patta* rights on several wastelands in the name of his cousin Amrita Reddy, which the harijans of the village were resisting.

The gruesome murder in Akunur: The extent of landlords' barbarity in this taluka can be understood from the gruesome murder of CPI(M) worker, Tadum Narayana. He was murdered by Abbu Kistayya and his gang of 30 on May 18 night. This comrade was taken to the house of Abbu Kistayya, with his hand tied behind his back. He was put between the hinges of a door and his ribs were crushed and later at midnight he was dragged to a nearby streamlet at the northern end of the village. He was dragged across the streamlet with a rope tied to his legs, like a fallen dog. One hand was chopped off with an axe and was thrown into a shrub; another limb, the leg was axed but not completely severed; his chest was pierced by a spear; and eyes gauged out. Next day the relatives went at noon for the corpse and reported the matter to the police. They came on the 20th at 10 a.m.

This Abbu Kistayya had been resorting to goondaism even earlier. Chikkula Balayya, Gorimiya, Tota Agayya were beaten, their grain and sheep looted. This Abbu Kistayya, K. Rajayya and Veerabattina Vithal are the leaders of these atrocities. The Cheryala police are in league with them.

Other Telangana Talukas

There are large tracts of government wastelands that have been cultivated by harijans and the village poor for a number of years in Ibrahimputnam taluk. The landlords wanted to evict them and occupy that land. They organized groups and the active cooperation of the police and in some cases with their participation were raiding the villages and beating the poor people.

In Aratla village (1000 acres of wastelands), Aladri Pocharam (hundreds of acres), Mirkhanpeta (200 acres), Chinatudda (40), Lingampalli, Manchala, Nomulu, Mangalampalli, Chowdiripally, the police raided the cultivators' houses, looted them and arrested the people. In 13 villages, 110 persons

were being prosecuted under Sections 107, 151, 147 and 148. Crops on the lands were destroyed, cattle and sheep impounded.

In Karimnagar taluka, in Chiguramamidi, Golivaṅkanna-palli, Lambadipalli villages, Siddula Ramesh, the bidi leaf contractor, attacked the lambadi people when they refused to sell bidi leaves at the cheap prices he was dictating, in spite of court injunction stopping his seizure efforts. The villagers resisted and then the reserve police came, beat persons, arrested large numbers, women were insulted and 553 persons were involved in cases.

In Kalavakurty taluka, in Potepalli village, under the instigation of the landlords, Yadam Rama Chandra Reddy and Simha Reddi, the police arrested Ausali Narayana who was leading the lambadis and harijans to resist the eviction efforts of the landlords from the lands they were cultivating. When the people surrounded the police station and demanded the release of their leader, the police opened fire, killing one lambadi peasant youth.

Communist Workers Murdered In Telangana

Apart from the incidents and harrowing tales of atrocities that are being committed on the villages of Telangana by the landlords with the active co-operation and participation of the police, in the name of suppressing Communists, we want to draw your attention to the murder of Communist workers in Telangana during the last two years. From 1954 to 1964 end, in the whole Telangana about 40 Communist workers were murdered, apart from another 10 to 15 in Andhra area who were murdered by the landlords. Practically almost all the cases went undetected. During the last two years, about 20 Communist workers were murdered in the whole of Andhra Pradesh, of whom the following were in Telangana :

<i>Names</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Taluka</i>	<i>Date</i>
1. Kanneganti Venkayya	Chintagunta	Khammam	13.3.67
2. Abbas Miya	Tummalapalli	"	3.7.67

	<i>Names</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Taluka</i>	<i>Date</i>
3.	Addanki Venkayya	Kachira-jugudem	Khammam	
4.	Tjrupatayya	Chinagopati	"	June 1968
5.	Konda Venkatayya	Tonda	Suryapet	1966
6.	Kommu Gopayya	Miryala	"	Feb. 1967
7.	Rachakonda Ramachandrayya	Polumalla	"	Feb. 1967
8.	Godu Lakshmi-narayana	Pandinapalli	Nalgonda	1967
9.	Tadum Narayana	Akunur	Janagama	June 1968
10.	Malsoor (alias Ramaswamy)	Ghanapuram	Mulugu	April 1968

MEMORANDUM ON REPRESSION ON SRIKAKULAM TRIBALS

Vijayawada,
May 3, 1968

Dear Prime Minister,

On behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), we wish to bring to your knowledge the grave situation that is created in the tribal areas of Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh, as a result of the terrible repression let loose by the State Government on the tribal people in that district.

In the recent period much publicity is given to the situation in the tribal areas of this district; interested parties have circulated stories of depredations of tribal people; the Press has given inspired reports of tribal revolt, led by the Communists; some reports have even gone to the extent of attempting to prove a Communist conspiracy to create a 'Naxalbari', to create liberated areas and so on.

The spokesmen of the Government have also dished out, on and off, stories of tribal outrages, most of which are

based on surmises or fertile imagination and many are pure concoctions. What is behind all this propaganda barrage against the tribal people and against our Party is the pitiable attempt to hide the ugly and cruel face of landlord oppression, suppression and exploitation and the police protection given to these criminal landlords.

Hence we wish to briefly give the picture of the situation in that area, as it has developed in the recent period.

The tribal population in Srikakulam district is about 200,000. They live in a primitive economy and almost away from the civilized world. Shifting cultivation is prevalent and collection and sale of forest produce like tamarind, roots, fruits, grass, etc., are their subsidiary occupations.

Many decades ago, traders and contractors from the plains penetrated into the tribal area and, in course of time, became exploiters, the type of whom we find in mediaeval times. The land of girijans passed into the hands of these exploiters; debt bondage is still very common. Traders pay nominal prices for forest produce sold by the girijans, but charge exorbitant prices for the necessities of like rice, oil, salt, clothes, etc., which they sell. Forced labour (*vetti*) is universal and false measures are common.

The method by which the trader usurps the tribal land is very ingenuous: he advances some money on condition that the tribal peasant repay him in kind at a particular rate. If the grain the girijan delivers at harvest time is not sufficient to clear off the debt, the dues will be compounded. After a period, the accumulated arrears would increase to such a large amount that the land of the debtor will be taken possession of on usufruct mortgage. Actually, a girijan lost his ten acres of land and his draught animals, when the loan of Rs. 50 he had taken, in a few years, grew to Rs. 1500 even after annual payments for redeeming the debt were paid.

As per the Regulation of 1917, a non-tribal cannot acquire the land of a tribal without permission of the Government; so, when the land is taken possession of it will be shown as usufruct mortgage. The law is circumvented, the

land of the girijans transferred to the trader, and the girijan becomes landless.

Added to this exploitation is the restriction put by the Government on shifting cultivation and the complete neglect by it of these areas. Shifting cultivation is prohibited, civic needs are ignored and social development forgotten. As a result, the tribal people now live as agricultural labourers, farm servants, bonded slaves and as just aboriginals without education, without culture and depleted in health and hygiene.

It is under such circumstances that the girijans began organizing themselves in order to agitate and secure amelioration of their abject conditions, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) helped them in organizing their union. Soon the union grew into an influential body; its nominee became the president of one Panchayat Samiti and its members secured many panchayats in another Panchayat Samiti. As a result, they were able to stop some inhuman methods of exploitation; they got back some of their lands; the daily wage rate of 25 paise was increased to four seers of paddy; farm servants' annual wage was increased from 800 kilos of paddy to 2000 kilos of paddy; three days' leave per month was also secured. The union also agitated for fair prices for forest produce and for reducing the interest rates. It stopped forced labour and illegal collections; and brought under cultivation cultivable waste land in the forest. It tried to stop smuggling of grain out of the tribal area.

The trader-cum-landlords used all methods to suppress this awakening among the tribals. They sent false reports to the Government, and influenced the police. Corrupt local police officials, ever ready to serve these rich, powerful landlords, adopted a policy of repression.

A number of criminal cases were launched against the girijans: at least 1500 girijans were involved in one or another case, by the end of 1967. The manner in which the law was used to suppress the girijan movement can be seen from the conviction of 19 girijans on a charge of dacoity, while in fact, they were stopping smuggling of paddy to the plains from the Agency area.

The Government, instead of welcoming this awakening and helping the girijans in their just, legal and constitutional movement, acted with a heavy hand to suppress it. They sent armed reserve police to the tribal areas, during the transplantation and harvesting periods to suppress the agitation of the girijans for fair wages, and to prevent the girijans from stopping smuggling as well as to prevent shifting cultivation.

They set up new police stations in the tribal areas, which soon turned into torture chambers. Prohibitory orders under Section 144 were issued for months at a stretch, once in about 200 villages and again now in about 500 villages.

Added to this, a vicious political propaganda was carried on by Congress leaders and by Government officials. State INTUC leaders issued utterly false public statements that a large number of Congress followers were murdered by the Communists in this tribal area, while not a single incident was mentioned.

A scare was created that girijans were planning to loot the weekly shandies.

During their tours, the PWD Minister, the Revenue Minister and the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad encouraged the landlords and gave a free hand to the police to suppress the girijan movement.

Even the Chief Minister, relying upon the coloured reports sent by corrupt police officials, made statements on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and Council that lawlessness was being created by our Party in the tribal area.

Our Party, several times, represented to the Chief Minister and the district officers about the falsehood of the propaganda let loose against our Party and the girijans, about the landlord atrocities and about the partisan, pro-landlord steps the local police officials were taken. We demanded an impartial enquiry and suggested names also to the Chief Minister. But the prejudiced Government refused to retrace its policy and went ahead with it.

The result is that the landlords, emboldened by the

encouragement given by the Ministers, top Congress leaders and by the help they are getting from the police officers, have taken the law into their own hands and begun a reign of terror in the tribal area. This culminated in firing with guns and killing two girijans, Sri Kondagorri Mangulu and Sri Arika Koranna, who were proceeding to attend a tribal meeting on October 31, at Levidi.

Since the beginning of this year, the Government has stepped up its policy of repression. Not a single landlord had been molested or beaten, not a single paisa of any trader has been lost, in all these years, but with the slogan of maintaining law and order in the tribal area, the Government has today turned the whole area into a big police camp. Virtual police raj is in sway in this area. A special Police Superintendent, Deputy Collector and Tahsildar with magisterial powers have been appointed and the whole area has been handed over to the armed police.

What type of law and order the Government is maintaining in the tribal area in Srikakulam district can be seen from some of the following instances.

Armed police daily swoop on the villages on the pretext of search for Communists and for arms. But what they do is assaulting people, looting produce and arresting girijans.

On March 3, they raided Bhurjaguda and beat all the people till blood spilled from their bodies. They raped a woman, Puyake Seethamma. An old woman of 70 years, Sayamma was beaten on the head by the butt of a rifle, and her head was broken. A child of five years was also severely beaten.

On March 4, they raided Peda Kharja and fired upon the people killing two and severely beating several people. The beating was so savage that Sri Ramulu, President of the Panchayat Board, vomitted blood. His Son, aged ten, was also beaten and arrested. His wife was molested and her gold necklace was stolen. K. Vasanthulu was beaten severely and B. Adinarayana was beaten savagely resulting in breaking his hand.

The police raided Danda Sura and raped four women.

Women who resisted were thrown on ground and their sex organs pounded with rifle butts.

B. Paramma of Gumma was arrested and tortured for the fault that she protested against police excesses. She was put in handcuffs and kept in the police lock-up, she was tied to a window with a chain, even while the handcuffs were on her hands. (She is the woman who on October 31, 1967, was beaten and molested by some Congressmen in Levidi.)

In Kukkidi village, the reserve police forced all the girijans to work without wages in laying a road, and then arrested some of them. Many houses were looted.

A veritable siege is effected and nothing is allowed to come in or go out of this tribal area. A person who was ill was prevented from going to a hospital in another village. With difficulty, he was given permission for three days to go to the hospital. No girijan is allowed to go deep into the forest to look after his land or to collect forest produce. No person from the plains can go to the tribal area even for hawking daily necessities of life. No girijan is allowed to go to weekly shandies in the plains; no girijan can go from one village to another, even to attend social functions. Celebrating festivals is prevented, and congregation of people at festival times is prohibited. Almost all the goats and chicken in the area are swallowed by the police.

We can narrate a whole series of looting, molesting, beating and other criminal acts committed by the police in the tribal area, all in the name of keeping law and order. Goats, chicken, cash were stolen by the police in Dakshini, Jammu, Jammuvalsa, Sirpi, Sirpivalsa, Poosakuda, Gudivada, Moram, Boddidi, Vangara, Dorakoni, Allati, Kedarapuram, Samalguda, Kombandi, Vutachalam, Dombai, Rayaguda, Gottivada, Neredavalsa, Tikkabayi, Luchimpeta, Kitigesu, Billukota, Vattada, Gujuvai, Vodabayi, Mangalapuram, Gorati, Sikhabadi, Nidigallu and its hamlets, Peda Tolumenda, and in these villages, properties worth thousands of rupees were looted by the police.

Women were molested and raped in many villages. In

Dakshini village, two girls, Chinnamma and Kantamma aged 16 were raped by 20 policemen. Lachamma, Pydamma, Lailamma, and Radhamma were abducted and molested by stripping them naked. In Neelakanthapuram, three women were raped. In Sohja village, the daughter of Venchala Naidu was raped and she has not returned to the house for weeks.

Police and goondas who profess Congress faith, daily go to villages, beat people, threaten them with dire consequences and forcibly collect money and other valuables from them.

The village munsiff of Sikabadi, Behara Madhusudana Rao, Krishnaiah, Lakkaguda Patrudu are leading in this illegal collection. Even the Raja of Kurupam is indulging in this. All these landlords and traders are threatening people that if they do not enrol as members of the Congress and if they do not donate to the Congress fund and if they do not fly Congress flags on their huts, they would be handed over to the police.

Moneylenders and traders have taken advantage of this and are threatening girijans that if they do not pay off the old loans—towards redeeming which payments worth several times the principal loan have already been made—they would be taken to police camps and tortured. Wages have been slashed, prices paid for forest produce cut down, prices of paddy, rice and necessities of life increased, and exploitation in the old way has been redoubled.

This, in brief, is the situation in the tribal area in Srikakulam district. So far, about 800 girijans have been arrested and put behind the prison bars. Many more are being kept in police custody for weeks together. There is no law and order in that area today. It is lawlessness and terror created by the landlords, traders and the police. The whole area is turned into a huge concentration camp.

In order to cover this up, propaganda is let loose that the girijans were preparing, under the leadership of our Party, to wage a liberation struggle, and to create a 'Naxalbari' in Srikakulam district. Reports are being sent and published that large number of fire-arms have been recovered from the

villagers in this area, and that the girijan 'armies' have been routed. But it is a very strange thing that with hundreds of guns and with an 'army', not a single shot was fired and not a single policeman was attacked by the girijans. Not a single landlord or trader was molested, nor attacked nor harassed during all this period. But still such cock and-bull stories are daily being dished out and are being circulated and the Press is fed with reports of recovery of fire-arms, etc.

If this type of repression continues, if such attacks on the girijans persist, we are afraid that the situation would worsen and that the life and economy of the tribal people would irreparably be damaged.

Hence we request you to intervene in the matter, order the immediate stopping of the savage repression let loose on the tribal people in Srikakulam district, withdraw all police camps from that area and institute an impartial enquiry into the whole matter.

We also request that immediate and energetic steps be taken to stop the inhuman exploitation of girijans, to accept their demands and faithfully implement them. The tribals only want that their lands, usurped by the landlords, traders and other non-tribals, are restored to them, cultivable waste lands in the forest distributed to them for cultivation, outstanding debts annulled, restrictions on shifting cultivation removed, fair wages fixed, fair prices paid for forest produce, essential commodities sold at controlled prices, forced labour severely punished, right to freely collect forest produce for constructing houses, for manufacturing farm implements, etc., recognized, and cheap credit provided.

They also want an autonomous area to be formed, where the tribals can administer their own affairs.

We earnestly hope that you will give your immediate and careful consideration to the points raised in this memorandum and do the needful.

Yours sincerely,
P. SUNDARAYYA

Soviét Arms Aid to Pakistan

Editorial of "People's Democracy", July 14, 1968

The Soviet offer to give arms aid to Pakistan has, as expected, provoked violent reactions in the bourgeois Press, supplied ammunition to the reactionaries in India to call into question India's relationship with the USSR and other socialist countries and thrown the ruling party into an embarrassing and defensive position.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi's comment that "any country was free to give aid to any other country—though we are not happy about it" is just an attempt to cover what to the ruling circles is a big diplomatic failure and loss of political advantage and initiative, intensifying problems of "national defence".

The extent of the promised aid to Pakistan is not known. What type of arms in what numbers and quantities will be supplied is not clear. Yet that is a very minor question. The basic fact is that after so many years of exclusive arms help to India alone, the leaders of the Soviet Union have decided to put the two on par and accepted that Pakistan also is eligible for arms aid against India.

The Indian revisionists, the sycophants of bourgeois nationalism for whom the Indo-Pakistani conflict was nothing but a conflict between an American tool and an anti-imperialist upsurge led by the bourgeois-landlord Government—how will they explain this decision of the Soviet leaders to put the two Governments on par?

From where arises this new parity, this new shift? It is not yet clear how far India's refusal to sign the non-proliferation

treaty, her double-faced stand on this question, has prompted the Soviet revisionist leaders to help her rival with arms and weapons. One need not be surprised if some such element is there in the timing of the new announcement. Here, of course, the Government of India must stand firm, at the same time give up its double-faced stand on nuclear weapons, based on an imaginary danger from People's China.

But it was clear that the Soviet Union was changing its stand because of other issues and that the old days of exclusive friendship with the Soviet Union were over. The guarded statements of Soviet statesmen that they did not want to develop friendly relations with Pakistan *at the expense of India* showed that the times had changed.

Two opposite tendencies were contributing to the process. The rulers of Pakistan, finding that exclusive reliance on the imperialist camp and continued hostility to the socialist camp did not pay adequate dividends for their own class and their selfish interests, began like India to play between the two camps, often taking an independent position; while the ruling classes of India, getting help from both the camps, still talking non-alignment, began to toe the line more and more to the imperialist camp under American pressure.

Our Party Programme noted the shift and connected it with the growth of the monopolies and Big Business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies and growing dependence of India on economic 'aid' from the USA. It also noted that the dispute with People's China further accentuated this shift in the Government of India's foreign policy. And it warned that the Government's prevarication "on a number of anti colonial issues in the recent period objectively facilitate the U.S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and leads to India's isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests"

Since then India has rapidly travelled down the road of compromise. Despite Soviet help her economy is more and

more dominated by Western-American aid; her planning is dependent on what the foreign Western Governments lend; and her foreign policy is being more and more turned to placate the growing American pressure. Her disgraceful stand on Vietnam, the snapping of trade ties with North Vietnam under direct American pressure, and the Prime Minister's recent wanderings in South-East Asia where she put forward proposals which would only help build a bloc of American satellites against people's struggles—all these shifts, though unnoticed in India, have been noticed abroad.

And the major shift has been that she has made hostility to China a basic plank in her foreign policy—in which both the Americans and the Soviet revisionist leaders encouraged her; the latter by supplying military materials against People's China actually helped her to save her image for some time. But it boomeranged on them also. The anti-China policy is now being revealed as a policy of getting away from the socialist camp itself towards the imperialist camp.

This is also seen in matters vitally affecting Indian economy. In the midst of Indian recession, the Soviet Union came out with proposals of big help, placed big orders for railway wagons, offered to lift other engineering goods. But the Government of India and its policy-makers are not yet willing to meet the Soviet offer with corresponding purchases from her, lest they offend their Western patrons. The offer of Soviet aircraft for civilian use is there. If accepted it will save a lot of foreign exchange and ease the dependence on Western sources. But the vested interests are determined to oppose it to be on the right side of the American purse-holders.

Other facts are equally startling. No decent Government, much less a socialist state, can go on supporting the Government of India's stand on Kashmir. The fabricated elections held last year in the Kashmir Valley have exposed India's bankrupt claims to have settled the Kashmir issue. The people of the Kashmir Valley are totally dissatisfied with their present status; they consider themselves as oppressed and humiliated.

Unless the Government of India is able to satisfy the people and their parties, it cannot be said that the issue has been settled. It is this situation that offers a breeding ground for Indo-Pak conflict, enabling the reactionary rulers of Pakistan to exploit the issue to drive a wedge between the people of Pakistan and India.

The Government is in no mood to listen to the voice of reason and thinks that it can cheat the world with deceitful propaganda. Day by day the Soviet Government is bound to take a more critical stand on the Kashmir question, exposing the claims of the Government of India.

It is thus not a failure of non-alignment policy but of a policy which, under the screen of non-alignment, is surrendering more and more to American pressure. The reactionaries in India, including the Right-wing Congressmen and Swatantra and Jana Sangh are bound to exploit the situation for denouncing non-alignment, for rousing chauvinism and for accentuating the process of compromise with the West—all in the name of defending national interests.

The SSP and the PSP are also bound to take a hand in this, all appealing to extreme chauvinistic feelings denouncing internationalism and ties with the socialist camp and progressive democratic countries.

The revisionist crowd will find it difficult to explain the Soviet move or expose the official policies which led to it. All these parties and groups will screen the Government, conceal the fact that it has been following a reactionary, anti-national foreign policy and that it has reaped its fruits.

These attempts must be resisted and all efforts to shift official policies further to the Right must be combated.

The situation is bound to create a lot of confusion even in progressive circles because of the Soviet revisionists' opportunist attitude and outlook towards India's ruling classes and the Government. In their opportunism they have been building up these rulers as progressive, as democratic, as anti-imperialist, building up Indian economy, and what not. They attempted to bribe the big bourgeoisie into anti-imperialism.

Their Press hardly told the truth to the Soviet people about living conditions in India, about the class struggles, about the selfish class policies of the ruling classes. Their propaganda praising the rulers, and duly echoed by the revisionists, made some progressives here believe that the Government was on the correct path; that the Kashmir problem was solved; that the Indian Government had a special and permanent claim on the socialist camp; it only raised the worst type of chauvinism in the country.

The recent move thus marks the failure of revisionist opportunism in India. It shows that an outlook which bases itself on illusions about exploiting classes must come to grief sooner or later. With all the economic help that the Soviet Union has rendered to the Government, with all the certificates its leaders have given to the Government, India's dependence on America has grown and her ruling classes are being rapidly drawn towards the Western camp. No doubt, giving economic help and continuing it, expanding the economic relations of socialist state is a correct policy. But why create illusions about the recipients and present them as progressing towards greater and greater anti-imperialism and democracy, solving the problems of Indian life? This was nothing but a variant of peaceful transformation to socialism, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and Soviet aid.

Two other aspects of Soviet decision to give arms to Pakistan must be remembered. It has much to do with Pakistan's friendship with China and it is no doubt an attempt to wean her away from People's China. India's shift does not seem to be the only reason for the change in Soviet attitude. If India is being given arms to fight China, Pakistan is being given arms to wean her away from China.

Secondly, the help is being offered just at a time when Pakistan's masses are being directly crushed by Ayub's military dictatorship. In Baluchistan freedom-fighters are being sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; the great leader of the Baluchis is again put under arrest. In East Pakistan a fake conspiracy trial is being held to crush the movement

for democratic liberties and freedom, for self-determination. Even Bhutto is saying that Ayub Khan is establishing fascism. And Pakistani journals are questioning the dictator as to why an Islamic state should tolerate former rulers and Princes.

The announcement of Soviet help at this stage will add to the prestige of Ayub Khan, and enable him to ride roughshod over the popular movement and fan anti-Indian fires.

The fact that the leaders of Pakistan have secured Soviet promises of arms aid does not mean they have become progressive just as Chinese aid to them did not mean they had become anti-imperialist. It only shows that a tremendous push and pull in the ruling circles is going on.

It also does not mean that the Soviet Union has given up the Indian rulers as lost. It once again shows that there will be no longer an exclusive reliance on them. And the fact that both will be aided with arms to fight each other reveals a certain cynical opportunism inherent in a revisionist foreign policy. Basing itself on compromise with imperialism it is free to enter into opportunist alliances even if in the longer run they go against the revolutionary movement.

The new Soviet move will no doubt create fresh problems for the democratic movement in India. There will be incessant demands for increased defence expenditure, for greater reliance on the USA, for a more chauvinist stand on Kashmir. The Gordian Knot can be cut only if India realizes that all this is due to her bankrupt anti-China policy; shows her willingness to settle with China and settle the Kashmir issue to the satisfaction of the people in the Valley; and is prepared to develop friendly relations with Pakistan on the basis of democratic understanding and revoke the reactionary trend in her foreign policy. If this is done, no shift, no pacts will matter and affect her prejudicially.

Stop This Landlord-Police-Congress Terror in Telangana*

**Letter written by P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of
CPI(M) to Shri Brahmananda Reddy, Chief Minister
of Andhra Pradesh**

Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has, in a letter to Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy, demanded prompt intervention to stop the various attacks on the mass of poor people, specially on those who are followers of the CPI(M) by village landlords and their henchmen styling themselves as Congressmen in Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts.

The letter has cited innumerable instances of such attacks some of which are reproduced below:

Nalgonda District

Hazurnagar taluka: In Yellapuram on February 17, 1967, during the day, a gang, backed by Congress leaders, raided the village and wounded 30 persons. Those wounded at 10 a.m. could be removed to the hospital only at 10 p.m. Garidapalli police sided with the attackers, Tadikonda Ranga Reddy was beaten and was hovering between life and death for a long time. His house was looted. Tadikonda Kanta Reddy and his father Jalayya were driven out of the village. Tadikonda Burra Reddi helped the wounded to be taken to the hospital. His house was looted, crops were destroyed and he and his wife Latchamma were beaten and driven away from the village. T. Venkata Narasimma's hand was axed. Her mother Danti Reddi Latchamma, 80 years old, was beaten. T. Govinda

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Reddy and his wife Rajamma were beaten, one of Penumulla Venkayya's legs and both arms were broken. Chintala Cheruvu Bhiksham, Chintalu Ramulu and his wife Ramulamma Golla Lingayya and others, about 30 families, were driven out of the village.

Rangapuram : On July 14, 1967, Sri Potu Raghavayya's oil-engine was looted and was sold in Suryapeta market for Rs. 1,000. On 12.4.1968, at dead of night, his house was again raided by an armed band of 70-80 persons and property worth Rs. 5000 from clothings to grain and livestock, was looted. The houses of Dara Kasayya, Kurapati Santayya, Kesagani Somayya were looted, they were tied to a tree and beaten, their legs and hands broken, they were burned at different spots of their bodies with lighted cigars and cigarettes.

On May 22 and 23, 1968, an armed band of 400 raided the villages of Nellamarri, Venkataramapuram, Taduvayi and Velidanda, accompanied by a reserve police van and the S.I.s of Garidepalli and Penubadu stations. Many people were severely beaten and the villagers' haystacks set on fire.

Nellamarri : On March 28, 1968, an armed band of 100 persons led by one Pandurangayya raided the village Nukala Venkatareddi, a supporter of the Communists, was dragged to the Cheedella police camp and he was beaten severely till his joints were broken. Gudupudi Ramakotamma was raped.

Cheedella Village: In September-October 1967, Yedla Paireddi and his group of persons looted the shop of Maraju Narasimhachari and occupied his house and are using it as Congress office. This was reported to the police, but no action was taken. A police camp has been established here and constant police raids and harassing of villagers all around go on.

There are seven cases in Hazurnagar taluk against over 250 persons and some of them have been adjourned as many as 30 times resulting in harassment of these people.

Miryalagudem: In this taluka, during the 1962 election and afterwards, and especially during 1965-1967, big landlords with licensed guns mounted attacks against the poor villagers on the plea that they were the supporters of Communists.

In Tammadam, Venkannagudem, Vempadu, Anumala, Anneram Nida Manur, the lands of the peasantry were sought to be occupied and landlord bands with guns raided these villages.

With Nagarjunasagar waters, the land here has become valuable and hence the landlords want to occupy these lands, ignoring the protected tenancy rights of the peasants.

On January 19, 1967, the CPI(M) office in Miryalagudem was raided and destroyed.

Suryapet: Even during the election period, the group of villages near Errapadu, under the Deshmukh of Errapadu, Jannareddi Sudhir Reddy, had been a centre of serious attacks by the armed bands of this Deshmukh, with police support and backing.

In village Tonda, in October 1966, the landlords attacked the house of CPI(M) worker Ranganna, whose father had been murdered a few years ago by the landlords, where a meeting of the village workers was being held, and opened fire killing Konda Venkatayya and wounding 15 others. 17 others were seriously wounded with axes and 32 others by spears.

In village Miryala, Kommu Gopayya, an agricultural labourer, a CPI(M) worker, was axed to death three days before polling in February, 1967, and many houses were looted.

In village Polumalla, on the very day of polling, in the very presence of the police, Sudhir Reddy's armed bands attacked and opened fire on the people and clubbed Rachakonda Ramachandrayya to death.

In villages Kotapadu and Tallakampadu, villagers stopped the landlords and blackmarketees from smuggling out paddy, and reported it to the Tahsildar. But instead of proceeding against them, the police prosecuted a large number of CPI(M) supporters, including the two Sarpanches of these villages. Same is the case in Chilpakunta where a larger number of persons were dragged to the courts.

In about 100 cases, 1500 persons are involved in this taluk and about 800 are still going round and round the courts.

Khammam District

In this district, since 1964-65, many Communist workers have been murdered by landlords and in many villages, large-scale landlord attacks have been organized against the poorer sections of the people and Communist supporters. In the attacks, the district Congress leaders have actively participated and shielded the landlord bands.

In Kasirajugudem, on November 29, at night, Madiboyina Papamma's house was raided and she was beaten severely. On the 30th, Communist women were locked up in the police camp and were abused in indecent language and Masarapu Santamma, Jillela Latchamma, Bedadam Narasamma, Bedadam Tirupamma and Veldi Nagamma were beaten with lathis on their breasts, hands and sides.

Chakali Subbamma of Pammi village was molested and beaten to death. The person responsible was backed by the local Congress and the police officers.

On June 6, 1968, in the morning at 8 a.m. Anuarlapudi Tirupatayya was shot dead in the open street, and Avula Venkayya and Ballagani Ramulu were wounded. Thirteen CPI(M) supporters were arrested along with K. Narasimha Reddi though the District Congress Secretary was reported as the culprit.

In Kandalappagudem, in Chintakani firka, Chintakani Venkatareddi, was sought to be waylaid on August 30, 1967 and murdered on his way from Pandilla palli railway station, by a band of local landlords. This same gang was responsible for 3 murders in the neighbouring villages of Pandregupalli and Khanapuram.

In village M. Venkatayapalem, during 1960-65, the landlords attacked Communist supporters, and 100 persons were dragged into different cases. Yet, the people defeated them in the panchayat election in 1964. The landlords, encouraged by Congress leaders, started their attacks on the village poor.

On February 21, 1968, Yelamaddi Pullaya and Gandadasu Gopalu were kidnapped and kept in a Congress landlord's house the whole night and were severely beaten and let off

early morning. On 22nd and 23rd, Bodupalli Pullaya's house was stoned by the landlords' men for an hour. Smt. Parachuri Annapurna, acting Sarpanch, wife of Krishnamurthy, was beaten in the harvest field and her leg was broken. She was kept in Congress leader Gangavarapu Lakshminarayana's house till the evening. She was threatened to force her to submit her resignation.

A relation of a Khammam district Congress leader purchased 170 acres for 48,000 rupees, a cheap price, in the Tekulapalli Lambadi hamlet. He wanted to occupy 10 acres of the land which had earlier been purchased by Lambadi peasants. They refused to sell it. To occupy these lands forcibly, a gang of 400 persons attacked the Lambadi tandas of Lacchatanda and Regula Thanda, from August 27 to 29. Able-bodied men ran away in fear and only old men, women and children were left behind. Laccha Nayukudu, 80 years old, was beaten, kerosene was poured on his body and fire was lit to force him to tell the place where he hid his treasure; 77 houses were looted: 3 to 4000 rupees in cash, 200 bags of jawar, 240 bags of green gram, 220 bags of chillies, 320 tolas of silver, 200 sheep and goats were taken away.

Twelve women were raped. Banothu Gogli was sleeping with her baby when the baby was dragged away and she was raped.

In Khammam taluk alone, security and other cases were launched involving 1296 persons, of which those against 823 were quashed by the courts.

Warangal District

It was first in Manukota taluka of this district that during 1956-62, systematic attacks on CPI(M) supporters by the landlord's armed bands, supported by the police and Congress leaders, were launched and people severely assaulted, their houses and crops burnt and looted. Communist workers were murdered in Thanamcherla, Dantalapali, Korukondapalli, Gollagudem etc.

The same tactics were repeated in Narasampeta taluka.

When the CPI(M) leaders were under detention during 1965-66, during a parliamentary by-election in 1965, untold atrocities were committed on the people.

In Chandrugonda village during the 1965 parliamentary by-election a Lambadi peasant supporter of CPI(M), Boda Bikya was assaulted, his hands and legs were broken, his house was set on fire and his 7-year-old son Rajya was tied hand and foot and burnt alive by Congress supporters.

It was again in this same taluk that in 1965 August in the village Maheswarapuram, in connection with the dispute about a field path between the peasants and the village landlords, the police opened fire, wounding a CPI(M) worker, Chenna Reddy, who died in Warangal hospital, handcuffed, with no medical care whatsoever and the people feel that he was denied medical care and left to die at police instigation.

It was after this shooting that the Reserve Police camped in the village, tortured 100 persons, poured urine in the wounded persons' mouths when they asked for water and raped 26 women including some who were pregnant.

Vakkala Ramachandrayya, Tota Ailayya, Dosati Chandrayya, Raje Samulu were arrested by the Narasampet S.I. and were kept in landlord Jitendra Reddy's house from February 18 to 20 and from 21 to 24th in the Narasampet police lock-up.

Fiftyfive villages in Narasampeta taluka, 6 in Mulugu and 4 in Warangal taluka were raided by the police and landlord gangs. *Ten women were raped* in the villages of Upparapalli, Dikshagunta, Gullapadu and Konaraopeta, 2 lakhs of rupees worth of property and crops were looted; 200 families' agricultural operations were forcibly stopped and ruined; 4000 were beaten. Electric shocks were used to torture arrested persons in the lock-up.

Similarly, the Sub-Inspector of Narasampet police station raids the villages, arrests kisan and Communist workers, beats them and tortures them to give up their activities. The house of Comrade Venkatayya, agricultural worker, who had just undergone an abdominal operation, was raided by the landlord goondas and the people drove them away. The police

S.I. arrested Venkatayya and beat him severely in the police lock-up.

Even Manukotu taluka, where the movement was badly crushed by landlords' attacks backed by the Congress and the police during 1957-62, has not been spared during the recent period.

In Kantayapalam village, on April 21, 1967, Bandela Bhisham's wife who was pregnant and Kummari Koyarelli's wife were also beaten along with others. In Ammavaripalem, the landlords attacked and beat youth workers, M. Nagabhusana Rao and Rangarao, and Benkatrammayya Mudakanti Mogaloyya, his wife and sister were also beaten, their house raided and pottery broken.

In Padamupparam village, on November 9, in the morning at 9 a.m., Duppa Sivalingam, the village CPI(M) Secretary, was attacked, his son was beaten till he fell unconscious, and his wife who was pregnant was kicked in the stomach.

In Jangama taluk, apart from the regular raids, assaults, etc. the extent of landlord's barbarity can be understood by the gruesome murder of CPI(M) worker Tadum Narayana. He was murdered by a gang of 30 on May 18. This comrade was taken to the house of Abbu Kistayya, with his hands tied to his back. He was put between the hinges of a door and his ribs crushed and later at midnight he was dragged to a nearby streamlet at the northern end of the village. He was dragged across the streamlet with a rope tied to his legs. One hand was chopped off with an axe and was thrown into a shrub; a leg was axed but not completely severed; his chest was pierced by a spear; his eyes were gouged. Next day the relatives went at noon for the corpse and reported the matter to the police. They came on the 20th at 10 a.m.

Apart from these and similar atrocities in many other taluks, not mentioned here, by the landlords with the active cooperation and participation of the police in the name of suppressing Communists, a number of Communist workers have been murdered in Telangana during the last two years. From 1954 to 1964 end, in the whole of Telangana about 40 Com-

minist workers had been murdered, apart from another 10 to 15 in the Andhra area by landlords. Practically almost all the cases went undetected. During the last two years, about 20 Communist workers were murdered in the whole of Andhra Pradesh, of whom ten were in Telangana: Kanneganti Venkayya; Abbas Miya; Addanki Venkayya; Tirupatayya; Konda Venkatayya; Kommu Gopayya; Rachakonda Ramachandrayya; Godu Lakshminarayana; Tadum Narayan; Malsoor (alias Ramaswamy).

Comrade Sundarayya has requested the Chief Minister to instruct the police officials, and the special police that are posted in these areas, not to aid the village landlords and their hired henchmen, in committing these atrocities; by passing strict orders, (1) not to accompany the armed bands of the landlords, when they go on raids on villages and on Communists' houses; (2) not raid the villages or houses at dead of night, and that, too, along with the hired armed bands of the landlords; (3) the persons whom the police arrest should not be handed over to the landlords' armed bands nor should these bands be allowed to beat, torture and subject them to various inhuman atrocities; (4) not to beat or torture the arrested persons in the police lock-ups or camps; (5) not to institute cases against a large number of people on suspicion that they are Communist supporters and harass thousands of people by dragging on the cases from court to court, with unending postponements of hearings; (6) to give protection to the people from the hired armed bands from looting their houses and properties, from cruel tortures and indignities, maiming of limbs and shootings and killings and even raping of women; (7) seize all guns from landlords and their armed bands and prosecute them for all that they have been doing for the last one year and more; (8) to do justice evenly and not to treat "Communist supporters" as non-citizens, as sub-humans, against whom anything and any kind of atrocity can be perpetrated and justified and encouraged.

Defeat the Congress Even More Crushingly*

**Press Communique of the West Bengal
State Committee of the CPI(M) released in
Calcutta on July 13, 1968**

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), after its meeting from July 8 to July 12, 1968, under the chairmanship of M.A. Rasul, has issued the following communique to the Press in Calcutta on July 13:

After Promode Dasgupta reported on the P.B. meeting recently held, the Committee discussed in detail the organizational reports of every district and the problems facing the various Party Committees while implementing the Central Committee's Organizational Resolution, viz., reorganization of branches, formation of auxiliary groups, education of new cadres, raising the level of political-organizational consciousness of the Party functionaries, specially that of the Branch Secretaries, and also of introducing the system of sustained activities at the bases.

From the reports it has been found that everywhere a definite advance has been registered in fighting out wrong political-ideological tendencies and disruption inside the Party as well as in consolidating the Party organization.

The district reports revealed that after the Burdwan Plenum of the CC, the campaign was launched throughout the State and the entire Party membership has rallied round the ideological document of the Party. The ultras both inside and outside the Party have been put on the defensive. Up to date the total number of members expelled and those who did not renew their membership comes to roughly 400.

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The total number of Party members on the roll on July 8, 1968, is 15,550. According to Polit Bureau directives, the renewal campaign will continue up to July 31, 1968. Hence it is hoped that a further increase in the renewal figure will be registered. Further, so far nearly one thousand auxiliary groups have been organized with five to ten members in each group in different districts. The remaining activists will be grouped together in the coming two months.

Organizational Tasks

After discussion on the organizational reports, a seven-point task resolution has been adopted by the Committee. This includes the function of each District Committee member and Local Committee member as well as of the State Secretariat as a whole and concrete tasks for the Committee members. These are some of the tasks:

One auxiliary group under every branch, education on Party documents and Programme, check-up of minimum tasks to be done by each Party member, candidate member and auxiliary group member, sale of Party organs and literature by organizing daily squads in urban areas and weekly squads in rural areas, compulsory sale of Party organ and literature and collection of funds in squads in every branch, organizing jathas for enrolling membership of mass organizations, specially of Kisan Sabhas and trade unions.

The Committee decided to launch a special election fund drive, the target of which has been fixed at eight lakhs of rupees.

The Committee adopted three other resolutions on mid-term election, flood-relief and the Government decision regarding the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and tram-fare increase.

The Committee also discussed and finalized the names of candidates to be put up in 97 out of 98 constituencies allotted to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) by the United Front.

Mid-Term Poll

The State Committee's resolution on mid-term election in West Bengal reads: The West Bengal State Committee of the

CPI(M) is happy to note that the U.F. has been successful in overcoming the differences among its constituents and has consolidated its unity on the basis of a common minimum programme and a rational allocation of seats among different parties to fight unitedly against the Congress and other reactionary forces in the coming mid-term elections and inflict on them a crushing defeat.

The Congress and all reactionary forces talked loudly about differences in U.F. to demoralize the people. They tried their utmost to raise a Communist bogey. They conspired in all possible ways to isolate the CPI(M), the foremost organizer of the masses and the major constituent of the U.F., and to form a so-called third front.

But all these efforts have miserably failed. The heightened political consciousness of the people of West Bengal, the valuable experience gained by them through bitter struggles and the ardent reliable desire for unity have made these developments possible and have created a reliable basis for inflicting a heavier defeat on the Congress at the coming polls.

The mid-term election is taking place at a time when the basic class policies pursued by the Central Congress Government have plunged our country into a far deeper crisis leading to intensified attacks on the people on the one hand and to far more dangerous surrender to American imperialism on the other. The big bourgeoisie, big jotdars and hoarders have launched greater attacks on workers, peasants and the toiling people with a view to shifting the burden of the crisis on to their shoulders and make profit at their expense. It has taken the form of retrenchment, automation, wage-freeze, eviction, grabbing of vested land, unemployment, food crisis, less relief, etc. The whole administrative machinery is being nakedly used to help the vested interests.

The U.F. Ministry stood in the way and hence it was overthrown. The policies of the U.F. in respect of workers and peasants and on the issue of democratic rights which in spite of the limitations and weaknesses were helping the

people in their struggle, have all been reversed. After initial mistakes and through experience, the U.F. evolved a food policy which envisaged stricter measures against hoarders and for procurement of surplus foodgrains of jottdas, but that also has been reversed and consequently our State is passing through an acute food crisis in spite of better crops. The democratic rights of the people are under intensified attack.

Valuable Experience

But the people have not meekly surrendered to these attacks. The workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people are engaged in bitter struggles in fields, factories, offices, etc., against heavy odds and are being steeled through these struggles.

In this connection the State Committee recalls with pride the fact that the fighting people of West Bengal during the last one-and-a-half years have gained valuable experience *and have again and again fought against and defeated the Congress conspiracy*. It is the people who, belying the pessimistic forecasts of the bourgeois Press and fond hopes of the Congress, defeated the Congress in the last general election in spite of the fact that there was no U.F. as at present. *It is the people who helped to form the U.F. Ministry.*

It is the people who stood by the U.F. against all intrigues, attacks and pressures of the Congress, the vested interests and the Central Government. When the Central Government with the help of some renegades and the Governor, dismissed the U.F. Ministry and tried to impose on the people a combined police-traitor Government with the help of bayonets, it was again the people who by their prolonged and determined struggles in defence of democracy defeated this conspiracy also.

These defeats at the hand of the people have in their turn created a crisis in the Congress and have given rise to internal squabbles and dissensions. And now the people are again continuing to fight more bitterly against the heavier onslaughts

of the vested interests. The people are approaching the mid-term election in this background and there is no doubt that in spite of all attempts of the vested interests, the people will inflict a heavier defeat on the Congress and ensure a stable victory for the U.F.

The defeat of the Congress at the polls will not, however, bring an end to the Congress conspiracies. The vested interests will naturally intensify their sabotaging activities and the Central Government will use its monopoly power to attack the U.F. Ministry in all possible ways and to further restrict its capacities to give relief to the people by denying funds. Hence the U.F. will be required to wage a determined struggle with the active cooperation of the people against these attacks, against the monopoly power of the Centre and for more powers to the States.

The State Committee invites the attention of all the parties of the U.F. as well as the people to the crucial importance of the active role of the masses and their struggles in all stages of the fight against Congress misrule. The U.F. can discharge its responsibilities only by unleashing the initiative and fighting capacity of the masses.

The State Committee takes serious note of the fact that the Central and State leaderships of the Congress, backed by other reactionary parties and encouraged by the Central Congress Government of India, are trying their utmost to postpone the election from November 1968 to a date sometime in February 1969. Being torn by internal dissensions and faced by a more organized and conscious people, the Congress leaders are afraid to face the election in November as decided a long time ago in consultation with all parties. It betrays their anxiety to gain more time to patch up their internal dissensions and to utilize the President's rule which is nothing but indirect Congress rule for a longer period in their narrow partisan interests with the fond hope of regaining their influence.

It also exposes their anxiety to allow more time to the big bourgeoisie and big jotdars to receive unrestricted police

help to beat down the fighting people, and particularly, to allow big jotdars and hoarders ample opportunities to corner surplus foodgrains after the next harvest.

The State Committee wants to remind the Government of India that it is the people of West Bengal who by their heroic struggles forced the Congress rulers to accept the demand of mid-term election at an early date and they are in no mood to allow further prolongation of indirect Congress rule beyond November.

Bitter Political Battle

The State Committee is of the considered view that the mid-term election will assume the character of a far more bitter political battle in the background of further deepening of the crisis and further intensification of class struggles. The big bourgeoisie and big jotdars, the profiteers and all reactionary interests are obviously expected to do all in their power to help the Congress in their own class interests.

They cannot forget that in spite of the basic limitations and serious weaknesses of the U.F. Ministry, the organizations and struggles of workers against capitalists and of peasants against eviction by jotdars and for land, received greater scope for development during the U.F. period with some partial gains and for this reason they would naturally be determined to fight more doggedly this time against the victory of the U.F. In such a situation, any complacency will be harmful.

Strong political campaign and grass-root organization are necessary to meet the challenge of the vested interests. The State Committee is confident that the democratic people in general and the constituents of the U.F. in particular shall take note of this fact, shall have no complacency and shall from now on start a vigorous political campaign and set up necessary organizations with a view to translating the possibility of inflicting a heavier defeat on the Congress into a reality. Recent history of the democratic movement has proved that all conspiracies of reaction and the vested interests can and shall be defeated.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is fully conscious of both the limitations and importance of the mid-term election. There should be no illusion about the fact that defeat of the Congress and formation of the U.F. Ministry can either solve the basic problems faced by the people as they emanate from the basic policies of the Central Government, or check the intensification of the crisis. But in spite of such limitations, it is very important to note that the defeat of the Congress and consequent formation of the U.F. Ministry will provide greater opportunities to the people to advance their struggles and strengthen their organizations and on that basis also win some partial demands.

Moreover, the U.F. Ministry with the backing of the people, shall be able to extend the democratic liberties of the people, give some relief to them, and take partial measures of reform in the interest of the people. This is the experience of the period of the last U.F. Ministry. Due to these positive aspects of the U.F. Ministry, the organizations of workers, peasants and other toiling people rapidly spread in both depth and breadth. Large sections of workers and poor peasants were awakened to new consciousness. The people were imbued with added confidence in their strength.

Now in the context of the deepening crisis and intensified class struggles, the necessity of inflicting a heavier defeat on the Congress has acquired added importance. The State Committee is confident that all the constituents of the U.F. and all democratic people will understand this significance of the mid-term election and will take all necessary steps to unleash mass political initiative on this issue. There can be no doubt that the people will successfully play their role and ensure a crushing defeat for the Congress.

Strengthen Mass Struggles

The State Committee is further of the opinion that the election struggle cannot and should not be viewed in isolation from the task of organizing and strengthening mass struggles on urgent problems facing the people. The poor people who

are being more impoverished day by day are passing through an acute food crisis with little relief measures from the Government. The workers are facing intensified attack in the form of retrenchment, lay-off, automation, wage-freeze, etc. The poor peasants and agricultural labourers are facing eviction, unemployment and more attack from jotdars. All other sections of the toiling people are similarly facing a serious situation. Police repression has been intensified on the people fighting against such onslaughts of the vested interests. Many political workers have been detained under the Preventive Detention Act. In such a situation, the struggles of workers, peasants and all toiling people for food and land, against retrenchment and eviction, for defence of democratic rights and release of political prisoners, and against repression have become intimately linked with the coming election battle to defeat the Congress.

The State Committee urges upon all parties of the U.F., and particularly all units and cadres of our party to organize and strengthen broad-based mass struggles on the above urgent issues, to organize solidarity campaign in support of fighting workers and peasants, to strengthen the organizations of the masses and simultaneously to start a vigorous political campaign in every area for the mid-term election.

Devastation by Floods

The resolution on floods reads:

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) feels alarmed at the widespread floods which have seriously affected large parts of several districts as well as some suburban areas and bustees of Calcutta.

While a number of people have fallen victim to the floods, tens of thousands of people have been rendered homeless and large numbers are yet to be rescued; prompt and necessary attention has not been paid to the relief and rescue work.

Devastating damage has been caused to the already late sown paddy and jute crops, pointing to a bleaker food situation

in the coming season. Inside Calcutta also, roads have been seriously damaged.

All necessary relief measures must be taken immediately to save the people of the affected areas, to make housing and house-building arrangements for them, to give proper medical attention to prevent outbreak of epidemics, and to supply seeds and seedlings in large quantities to the cultivators. Steps should be taken to improve the roads in Calcutta.

The Committee appeals to all people and to organizations giving relief and other popular organizations as well as to the units and workers of the Party to do their best to help the distressed people and contribute liberally for their relief.

The resolution on the proposal to increase tramfares says that it will be completely unjust for the Governor to permit the fare-increase during his regime before the mid-term poll. He must wait till the mid-term poll is over and a new Government is formed in the State. If, however, ignoring all this, the Governor agrees to increase tram fares, the people of Calcutta will have no other alternative but to resist this move.

The resolution has also demanded necessary steps to improve the tram service.

Programme of the United Front in West Bengal*

Released on July 20, 1968

PREAMBLE

1. After 20 years of misrule the Congress Party was voted out of office at the last General Election in West Bengal. The people wanted an anti-Congress progressive government which would work in the interests of the vast masses of the people and, accordingly, the anti-Congress parties combined to form the United Front Government of 1967.

2. The U.F. Government set to its tasks amidst great jubilation of the people and huge demonstrations of popular support and enthusiasm. In sharp contrast to the previous Congress regime the U.F. Government, from the very beginning, adopted a pro-people and democratic attitude. All the prisoners kept in detention without trial by the Congress Government were at once released; Government employees who had been dismissed by the Congress Government for their alleged political opinion were mostly reinstated, and it was declared that no one would be debarred from Government service because of political views or activity and the Government employees would have full democratic and trade union rights; State Transport and Tram employees suspended or dismissed for participation in their legitimate movements, were reinstated; the infamous Security Act, so long used by the Congress party for repression and harassment of political opponents, workers and peasants, and participants in mass movements as well as the people in general, was removed from the statute-book. The Government declared that the

*Published as a booklet in September 1968.

police would not be used to suppress legitimate mass movement. A new atmosphere of freedom of opinion, freedom of representation and demonstration, was created. The Government also agreed to institute judicial enquiry into several cases of police firing or serious complaints against the police. A fresh wind began to blow in West Bengal after a 20-year nightmare rule of brutal oppression and shameless exploitation of the people. Hard-working, unostentatious ministers of the U.F. Government were easily accessible and freely moved about among the people, often rushing in, in aid of people in trouble, and above all, displaying a truly democratic attitude towards the people.

3. There were immense obstacles in the path of the United Front Government. But even with these obstacles the U.F. Government achieved many successes within a shortwhile. Guided by a genuine desire to render as much relief and assistance to people as possible, the U.F. Government, on its own remitted land revenue in vast areas of the State where crop had failed due to drought or flood, stayed repayment of loans by peasants to the Government and generally stopped certificate proceedings against peasants. The U.F. Government went all out to serve the famine-stricken people of Bankura and Purulia. It increased the dearness allowance for Government employees and teachers and non-teaching staff in schools and colleges; rendered financial aid to municipalities and Calcutta Corporation for enhancement of dearness allowance to the employees; and drew up amendments to the Municipal Act to help the municipalities function better; it set up a Pay Commission with a view to improving the pay-scales of Government employees, teachers etc. Existing labour-laws were reviewed, and new Bills drafted for securing more benefits for workers, and more effective Government help to workers and employees in their just cause; these draft Bills were sent to the Union Government for their concurrence. Conciliation proceedings in industrial disputes were expedited, registration of trade unions was speeded up. The U.F. Government set up a large number of Government

chemist shops replacing private shops. About 238,000 acres of surplus vested land, char-land and tea-garden surplus land were distributed among the poorer peasants, and more than 10,000 acres of *benami* land were recovered for distribution among the poorer peasants.

The U.F. Government took over the management of the Calcutta Tramways Company, and thus put an end to the greedy, wasteful and irresponsible British management of this public utility service, and fulfilled a long standing national demand. The Government enquired into the scandalous corruption of the previous Congress Government regarding issue of bus permits in Calcutta and published its report. The Government also took over the management of the National Medical College, and converted the Jalpaiguri Engineering College into a Government College. Thus two institutions of public importance which were not being properly run, were brought under public management. The U.F. Government took up the cause of the displaced persons from East Pakistan and submitted an 11-point plan for the approval of the Union Government; it distributed nearly 2500 letters of eligibility for squatters' colonies, arranged for electricity in over 6000 refugee households, installed over 400 tubewells in different camps and colonies, and restored the doles cut as a measure of political victimization by the Congress Government; it arranged for the admission in hospital of over 300 refugee T.B. patients.

The U.F. Government reduced the burden of taxation on bustees and increased the taxes on big landlords in Calcutta. It removed police control over dramatic performances.

The U.F. Government tried to tone up the administration of government-owned industries, sought to revive some enterprises, to expand industrial establishments and set up Haldia Development Board to advise the State Government for the development of the areas.

Despite lack of funds and Government of India's callous attitude, the U.F. Government did its best to help agriculture. A high-power commission was set up with official and non-official experts to make an estimate of the surface and

sub-soil water resources for irrigation purposes and draw up a master plan, for best utilisation of these water resources. Many deep tubewells sunk at great cost but lying idle were brought into operation, river lift irrigation schemes were increased, various small and medium irrigation and drainage works including that of the Kangsabati Project were accelerated. Teesta Dam Project was drawn up and taken up with the Government of India for expanding irrigation to Jalpaiguri, Maldah and West Dinajpur. Schemes were drawn up for irrigation co-operatives to help poor, small and medium peasants. A plan was adopted for setting up an Agro-Industries Corporation to supply to the peasants on long-term-loan basis pump sets, shallow tubewells and other equipment for boosting agricultural production as well as industry.

The Government took some steps to increase housing facilities for the people of low and middle income groups, and tried to remove the grievances of the tenants of Government Housing Estates. It set up all party committees for distribution of flats and took steps to remove nepotism and corruption in this respect.

The discrimination practised by the previous Government in favouring a particular Bar in the appointment of the Advocate General was discontinued. The Bill for separating the Judiciary from the Executive was published.

In the sphere of medical education the North Bengal Medical College was opened at Siliguri; seats were reserved in every medical college for candidates who will undertake to serve the rural masses for at least a few years after obtaining degrees, admission to medical colleges were arranged only on merit and not recommendations and manipulations. To help the working people, out-patients sections were opened in 3 Calcutta hospitals. Some new health centres were opened and some old ones equipped and properly manned. The U.F. Government reviewed the Panchayat and Zilla Parishad administration which were infested with corruption and mal-administration, and prepared a Bill for new, democratic legislation in this matter. The Government promptly started a

thorough investigation into expenditure of several crores of rupees by a number of Zilla Parishads for relief purposes, found out that huge amounts had been mis-spent or misappropriated, informed the public about it and sought to take steps against these Parishads but were frustrated due to injunction by the High Court. For the first time in the state, a conference of the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in the state and the President of the Board of Secondary Education was convened by the U.F. Government to consider the question of the medium of instruction, and the conference agreed to take active steps for the introduction of the regional language as the medium of instruction at all stages. Another conference was held with representatives of the teachers and the student organisations and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to ensure smooth holding of the University Examinations. This proved a success with the co-operation of the teachers and students.

4. The method of securing popular co-operation was followed by all departments of the Government which set up a number of advisory committees to help and supervise administration. Of particular importance was the setting up of Food and Relief Committees, from district to anchal level in all areas, with representatives of political parties and local administration to help, supervise and participate in the procurement and supply of food, distribution of relief etc.

5. In every department of the Government, plans and arrangements were being made for bigger and more substantial improvements. The Government as a whole was preparing to tackle the larger problems of food, finance, economic planning and administrative reform when it was removed from office.

6. The obstacles in the path of the U.F. Government were many. First of all, the Indian Constitution itself stood in the way of any radical measures affecting property relations, or any measures of speedy reform. The Constitution does not give any power to a State Government in most matters vitally affecting the people. The bureaucratic State machinery

inherited from the British imperialists, and further corrupted and choked by 20 years of Congress rule, stood in the way of speedy implementation of policies and decisions of the U.F. Government. Moreover, when the Congress party went out of office, they left almost no foodgrains in Government stock. With severe drought and failure of crop there was an acute food-shortage, which was seriously aggravated by the deliberate withholding of supplies by the Centre. The failure of Congress economic plans, and the suspension of planning by the Centre, produced a serious economic situation. The wastage of public money over the years by the Congress Government had left the State with practically no resources for large welfare activities after meeting at least some of the long-standing demands for relief, aid and assistance.

7. There were also certain weaknesses and vacillations and differences within the U.F., as well as some treacherous elements linked with vested interests and the Congress party. These too served as obstacles in the path of more effective functioning of the U.F. Government.

8. In spite of these obstacles and limitations, the nine months of the U.F. Government clearly showed that this Government, born out of the struggles of the people, was working in the interests of the people and against the vested interests.

9. This Government, however, was not allowed to continue. The Congress party, although defeated at the polls, had not been completely routed. It enjoyed all the advantages, and the U.F. Government had all the disadvantages, of having a Congress party Government at the Centre. The people's verdict at the polls did not automatically end the stranglehold of vested interests over the economy, nor end their powers of political machination. The Congress party, the Congress Government at the Centre, the vested interests in West Bengal and all over India, certain elements in the top bureaucracy and the police, along with foreign imperialist agencies combined in a series of conspiracies to remove this popular Government elected by the people.

10. These conspiracies were of the most heinous kind. To begin with, riots of communal and provincial nature were engineered. When the U.F. Government, with firm determination, and with active co-operation of the people, stopped these riots within hours, the conspirators turned to the methods of bribery and corruption and unfortunately found ready response among some traitorous legislators. At the same time the Congress Government at the Centre did serious injustice to West Bengal in the matter of financial allocations, famine relief aid, and in meeting the food deficit. The Government of India refused to allot even the same quantity of rice and wheat as had been allotted to the Congress Government of West Bengal during the previous year despite the fact that famine conditions were prevailing in some districts and the deficit in 1967 was greater than the previous year. Later, the Government of India was continuously and persistently dishonouring even its own inadequate commitments about supply of foodgrains thereby creating a situation where the rationing system of the state was threatened with disruption. Many of the employers, in their turn, resorted to lock-outs and closures on various pretexts in order to teach a lesson to the workers and bring pressure to bear on them for accepting the entire burden of the recession created by the Congress Government. Many of the employers refused to co-operate with the U.F. Government in devising a machinery for speedy settlement of disputes. The big jotedars and profiteers also, with the support of the Congress, played a nefarious role in hindering procurement of foodgrains and encouraging blackmarket operations. In such a situation the toiling people's movement against the vested interests was depicted as a break-down of law and order, and a hue and cry was raised by those reactionaries who never show any respect for law and order when law and order is inconvenient for them.

11. The Congress party and the reactionaries vainly hoped that the crisis created by them would turn the people against the U. F. Government; but this hope was shattered by the

huge demonstrations of popular support for the U.F. Government in spite of the immense hardships experienced by the people in respect of food and employment. The Congress party and the reactionaries, however, mainly relied on their machinery of bribery and corruption, and on their agents within the U.F. headed by Dr. P. C. Ghosh. These traitors within the U.F. soon came into the open, and using their defection as a pretext, the U. F. Government was arbitrarily dismissed by the Central Government through the Governor and without a vote in the Assembly. The traitors were rewarded with ministry, and the so-called PDF Government was installed with the army in a state of alert and the armed police called out with reinforcement from the Central Reserve Police and elsewhere. The installation of the so-called PDF Government, then of the Congress-PDF clique ushered in a period of blanket ban on civil liberties, and a period of police-terror. Assemblies and demonstrations of people were forbidden, a large number of people were held without trial, and merciless beating up of innocent people became a daily occurrence. A barbarous regime of criminal violence against the people was imposed. But the people could not be cowed. This was also a period of continuous mass movements of protests and popular non-cooperation with the so-called Government; thousands upon thousands of people, young and old, men and women, students and youth, workers and peasants, teachers and employees, political workers and social workers courted imprisonment in a vast movement spread wide and deep throughout the State.

12. The so-called Government of the Congress and the PDF, built on bribery and corruption and treachery and violence against the people, could not and did not last. The historic ruling of the Speaker in the West Bengal Assembly, the huge mass protests, and, finally, defection from the ranks of the engineers of defection, put an end to this Government, and President's Rule was imposed on West Bengal.

13. The people of West Bengal are now called upon to give their verdict again through a mid-term election for the

State Legislative Assembly. There is no doubt that the people will confirm their verdict against the Congress in even clearer terms this time than in 1967. The people will always recall their experiences of the Congress rule of 20 years—the rule of corruption, oppression and exploitation of the people. They will recall the many martyrs whose lives were taken by the Congress Government. In addition, the people will remember the role of the Congress in 1967—how they reduced parliamentary democracy to a mockery by their game of purchase of defectors, and by their over-riding the powers of the elected legislature. The people will remember the short but sufficiently ugly rule of the Congress-PDF clique.

14. The people also see around them the results of 20 years of Congress rule in West Bengal and the continued Congress rule at the Centre. Congress's economic planning is breaking down; unemployment is rising by leaps and bounds, markets are shrinking, purchasing power of the people is falling, prices are rising, and there is widespread distress and unrest all over India. The unity of the country is threatened by the high-handed reactionary policies of the Congress Government at the Centre, and linguistic, communal and provincialist passions are being roused everywhere.

15. The crisis is developing on an all-India scale, and is likely to be intensified in the coming days. The people's struggle will be long and arduous. It will be a mistake to imagine that the struggle will end as soon as the Congress is again defeated at the polls. The U.F. is fully convinced that no lasting and radical solution to the problems of the people can be found without changing the present social order, and that only a socialist society can guarantee liberty and justice to the people. The present crisis is rooted in the present irrational and unjust social and economic system.

16. In the context of this inevitable continued struggle of the people, and in the critical days ahead, it will be of immense advantage for the people if a really popular government, pledged to honour the democratic rights and liberties of the people, and a government which will be an instrument of

struggle for the people be installed in office. Such a government will actively help the people by raising mass consciousness, by developing people's organisations and struggle, and by sustaining the people through whatever reliefs and reforms and development works can be secured even under existing conditions. If, on the other hand a Congress Government be installed in office, not only will the sufferings of the people increase by leaps and bounds, but ruthless and brutal oppression will be added on to the sufferings.

17. It is clear that the U.F. Government will have to work under a series of limitations. As has already been seen, the Indian Constitution itself is a bar to any radical measure of social reconstruction and progress. It is heavily loaded in favour of the capitalists and big landowners. Many of the existing laws are similarly loaded, and their interpretation at the law-courts have more often than not gone against the interests of the people. Moreover, the Constitution imposes severe restrictions on the powers of a State Government, practically concentrating all powers at the Centre. As long as the Congress continues in office at the Centre, and is not ousted by the democratic forces, no significant improvement can be brought in the life of our people. It is obvious that West Bengal will have to face serious difficulties from the Congress Government at the Centre in respect of food, finance, industry, labour and all other matters where the Centre has a say.

18. The present economic depression, unscientific planning, the acute dearth of funds created by the Congress rulers, and the increased dependence on foreign aid, will be further limiting factors to be faced by West Bengal.

19. Fully conscious of these limitations and difficulties, the U.F. is also fully convinced that with united and active people's struggles to help the Government, the U.F. Government will be able to secure certain important reforms and relief for the benefit of the people and to help them advance along the path of their struggle.

20. The most important and immediately achievable

improvement that the U.F. Government will bring about will be in the relations between the Government and the people. The people will feel that the government is theirs, and the government will rely on the people. The Government will not use the police against legitimate mass movements. Fully aware that its tasks cannot be accomplished without active support and co-operation of mass movements and mass organisations, the U.F. Government will develop popular movements on important issues affecting the country. It will not rely on the bureaucratic machinery alone for carrying out its tasks. Experience has shown that not only is the bureaucracy incompetent in most circumstances, but also that it contains elements that are corrupt and disloyal to the people.

21. The 18-point programme adopted by the U.F. in 1967 remains valid for the coming period too. But experience has shown that it is necessary to further concretise it, to work out and explain to the people the schedule of priorities in order that the perspectives may be clear. It is evident, for instance, that food, agriculture along with irrigation, drainage and land reforms will have to be given top priority.

The U.F. places before the people the following programme :

PROGRAMME

Administration

1. The Government of the United Front stands for a clean and honest administration. It will ensure efficiency, economy and impartiality in the administration. A State Administrative Reforms Committee will be set up to report on the steps to be taken for speedy implementation of government decisions and for dealing with people's grievances.

It will endeavour to change the rules governing the present services of I.C.S. I.A.S. and I.P.S. cadres with a view to maintaining effective control of the State Government over them. It will also take steps to change the existing Police Code so that it may not be used against the rights and interests of the people. The Jail Code will also be suitably amended.

Tribunal Against Corruption

2. The U.F. Government will fight corruption and nepotism in official and non-official spheres.

It will set up a Tribunal to investigate complaints of corruption, nepotism, jobbery and such other misconduct of ministers, high officials and of political leaders during the 20 years of Congress rule and during the PDF-Congress rule.

If any complaint be received against any minister, high official or leader for their conduct during the rule of the U.F. it will be inquired into.

Any complaint from the people in this connection shall be taken into cognizance and properly dealt with.

Food Production, Agriculture and Irrigation

3. (a) The U.F. Government will take all possible steps to increase food production and make attempts to proceed towards self-sufficiency in food, and for this, it will provide necessary facilities to cultivators through supply of fertilizers, seeds, pesticides and improved live-stock etc. It will try to expand agricultural credit, and press the Centre for nationalisation of banks and general insurance. It will try to ensure reasonable prices and proper marketing facilities for agricultural products. It will take steps to start jute buffer stock under the State with remunerative price to jute-growers. It will reclaim all cultivable wasteland and unnecessary encroachment on agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes will not be permitted. Effective measures will be taken against soil erosion.

Attempts will be made to modernize agriculture and to introduce multiple cropping.

(b) The U.F. Government will take all possible steps to bring more land under irrigation, and for this, elaborate schemes of small, medium and lift irrigation will be undertaken and derelict tanks and reservoirs will be reconditioned and put to use. It will seek to take effective measures for flood control and drainage.

(c) The U.F. Government will pay due attention to

preservation of forests. It will look to the legitimate interests of people who live in forest areas and depend on forests for their livelihood.

(d) The U.F. Government will develop poultry-farming and animal husbandry.

It will take steps for reorganisation of Greater Calcutta Milk Supply Scheme, and sponsor such schemes in other parts of the state.

Food Policy

4. (a) The U.F. Government will introduce state monopoly in wholesale paddy and rice trade, and impose suitable control over the entire trade in foodgrains.

It will adopt a policy which will prevent hoarding by big owners and hoarders, secure adequate procurement and ensure equitable distribution. This policy will be based on: (1) procurement of surplus stock of all big owners, levy being imposed on producers having 7 or more acres of irrigated and 10 or more of non-irrigated land; (2) ban on purchase by rice-mills from open market—they are to work with Government-procured paddy; (3) control of husking and chira mills; (4) keeping of a portion of procured paddy/rice (at least 30% in surplus areas, and 100% in deficit areas) in the localities where actual procurement work is done; (5) supply of modified ration in deficit areas from the beginning and extension of modified ration to other areas step by step; and (6) distribution of essential commodities at reasonable prices.

The hill area of Darjeeling district being an area of extremely low yield and high cost of cultivation, shall be exempted from the purview of levy.

It will take strong action against profiteers, hoarders and black-marketeers through preventive detention and through legislation for imprisonment, fine etc. It will also ask for powers to confiscate property in such cases.

It will exert effective pressure upon the Centre for meeting the food deficit of the State.

(b) The U.F. Government will take steps to control prices

of essential commodities and it will set up a Statutory Price Commission for fixation of prices of industrial and agricultural products.

(c) The U.F. Government will take adequate measures for relief in rural areas including gratuitous and test relief works. It will try to get the existing rules and regulations regarding famine relief and other relief modified so that the Centre bears its due share of responsibility.

Land Reforms

5. The U.F. Government will undertake a thorough programme of land reforms so as to ensure : (a) suitable amendments to the present Estates Acquisition and Land Reform Acts in the interests of the peasantry; (b) exemption of Land Revenue for peasants holding not more than 3 acres of land; (c) fix ceiling on agricultural land to be held by a farmer family in proportion to the size of the family; (d) detection, recovery and distribution of all *benami* land held in excess of ceiling; (e) acquisition of unutilised land in plantation; bringing of tank-fisheries, land comprised in orchards, dairy, poultry etc., now excluded from the operation of land ceiling, under E. A. Act; (f) distribution of surplus and *khas* land among landless and poor peasants on a permanent basis; (g) speedy payment of compensation to small intermediaries; (h) hereditary right of sharecroppers to cultivate *barga* land; small landowners will have the right of resumption for self-cultivation in order to meet their actual family needs; (i) suspension for three years of eviction of sharecroppers from land pending comprehensive legislation; (j) free distribution of land up to 5 cottas for dwelling houses in rural areas to those who have no homestead; tenancy rights of homestead land up to 5 cottas to those who are in occupation without such right and who have no other homestead; (k) removal of jurisdiction of civil courts in matters concerning ceiling, mala fide transfers, vested land etc. and setting up of special land tribunals to deal with these matters; (l) a new survey of land for the purpose of settlement and cancellation of all mala fide records made in the past; (m) moratorium on four-year-old

existing debts of peasants holding land up to 3 acres to the Government and settlement of other debts; and (n) return of land to the original sellers sold due to distress.

The scheme of reforms for the hill areas of Dajjeeling district shall have to be suitably modified due to specific features of the area.

It will help the peasants in their struggle for detection and recovery, acquisition and distribution of *benami* land and realisation of other legitimate democratic demands.

Limitations on Urban Property

6. The U.F. Government will take suitable steps against concentration of wealth and possession of unlimited land and housing property in urban areas.

Tenants' Right

7. The U.F. Government will give tenancy rights to 'thika' tenants in Calcutta and Howrah.

The West Bengal Premises Tenancy Act will be suitably amended to give reasonable protection to tenants, and obviate other difficulties which have arisen in the operation of the Act.

Industries

8. The U.F. Government will take all possible steps to foster and promote various categories of industries, specially cottage, small and medium industries and commerce, calculated to serve the people honestly and efficiently. Attempts will be made to set up more agro-industries in rural areas.

It will exert pressure on the Centre for securing licences, finance and raw materials etc, for industries in the State.

It will take effective steps to maintain peace in industry.

Co-operative

9. The U.F. Government will encourage development of co-operative. Attempts will be made to set up more co-operative societies, of producers as well as consumers, for the purpose of increasing agricultural production, devel-

opment of small industries, supply of credit, and control of prices of essential commodities.

Education

10. The U.F. Government will take determined steps to remove chaos from the field of education, and build up a sound integrated and coherent system of education; and, with this end in view it will: (a) introduce mother tongue as the medium of instruction up to the highest level; (b) introduce free and compulsory education up to class IV and to cover those areas which are still uncovered by primary schools; (c) make education free up to class VIII; (d) remove the existing disparities between the primary schools in rural and urban areas in matters of management, standards and service conditions of teachers; (e) enforce a new and comprehensive Primary Education Act ; (f) abolish the present District School Boards, and set up, in their places, new boards on a democratic basis; (g) reform the present Board of Secondary Education; (h) democratize management of universities; (i) increase salary and improve service conditions of all categories of teachers and non-teaching staff and give them security of service; (j) ensure regular payment of dues to teachers and non-teaching staff; (k) extend facilities of training; (l) tackle the problem of admission of students by starting new institutions and introducing more shifts in the existing ones; (m) change the present examination system; (n) ban entry of the police in educational institutions without previous permission of the head of the institution; (o) undertake measures of students and youth welfare; (p) develop co-operation between students, teachers and administration; (q) promote literature, fine arts, sports and physical education, and cultural activities; and (r) set up a stadium in Calcutta.

Health

11. The U.F. Government will endeavour to extend facilities of health services and medical education, and move towards nationalization of health services.

It will take steps to ensure better management of the hospitals and remove the grievances of the public in this respect.

It will take effective steps to ensure supply of adequate drinking water throughout the State.

Housing

12. The U.F. Government will try to provide more housing facilities in both urban and rural areas for the people of low and middle income groups at cheap rates, and housing co-operative societies will be encouraged.

Rehabilitation

13. The displaced persons from East Pakistan demand particular attention and the U.F. Government will make efforts to rehabilitate them so as to enable all of them to take their rightful place as full fledged citizens of India with opportunities for housing, education and employment.

The Centre will be moved to recognise those who have been forced to leave Indian enclaves within the territory of East Pakistan, and have come over to the mainland of India as refugees for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation.

The U.F. Government will put pressure on the Central Government for adequate provision of finance required for the full implementation of its rehabilitation schemes.

Labour

14. The U.F. Government will help the workers in their struggle for (a) living wages; (b) unemployment benefits, (c) adequate bonus, necessary modification of the Bonus Act; and (d) preventing retrenchment, rationalisation and automation.

The U.F. Government will amend the existing labour laws, wherever necessary, to protect the interests of the working people. It will legislate for (a) punishment of employers declaring closure with a mala fide intention; (b) abolition of contract and casual labour; (c) recognition of trade unions—compulsory recognition of union where there is one union;

in case where there are more than one union, recognition to the most representative one determined by secret ballot every two years subject to the right of representation by other unrecognised unions; (d) payment of wages for lock-out period—50% to be paid during pendency of lock-out; (e) payment of subsistence allowances pending final settlement of disputes relating to retrenchment, suspension or dismissal on charges of mis-conduct etc.; (f) Clauses of I.D. Act relating to compensations eligible to workers on various accounts would be amended to increase the quantum and for speedy payment; (g) compulsory attendance of employers and employees in conciliation proceedings; and (h) suitable punishment for default in depositing employers' contribution towards Provident Fund. It will take steps to amend Employment Standing Orders for ensuring rights of workers for improving conciliation machinery and procedures etc. It will take steps for reorganisation of the E.S.I. Scheme. It will recognise the trade union rights of all categories of government employees and it will take particular steps for thorough revision of Government Service Conduct Rules in the interest of the employees.

15. The U.F. Government will take effective steps to ensure minimum wages to agricultural labourers throughout the State, more employment for them and recognition of agricultural labourers employed in State farms as regular workers.

Unemployment Benefits and Old Age Pensions

16. The U.F. Government will take all possible steps to create employment opportunities both in urban and rural areas. It will endeavour to introduce unemployment allowance.

It will extend the scope and increase the payment of old age pensions.

Those who have fought and suffered for the independence of the country will be looked after in their old age and infirmity. The U.F. Government will give them due honour.

Separation of Judiciary

17. The U.F. Government will complete the work of separation of the judiciary from the executive and take steps for simplifying the procedure to avoid delay in disposing cases before the courts of law.

Local Self-Government

18. The U.F. Government will introduce progressive changes in the present system of local self-government and democratize Municipalities and Panchayat bodies, and give them more power and finance with a view to ensuring their proper functioning.

Minorities

19. The U.F. Government will protect the rights and interests of the minority communities. It will safeguard their right to follow their faith, preserve their special culture and language and will provide them with due protection against distrust, disability and handicaps—social, economic and educational, as guaranteed in the Constitution.

Unity of the People

20. It will combat communalism, provincialism, casteism, linguistic fanaticism, and such other evils that injure the unity of the people and affect the integrity of the nation.

Scheduled Castes and Tribes

21. The U.F. Government will pay special attention to and improve the conditions of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward sections of the people.

Women

22. The problems of women will receive due consideration from the U.F. Government. Attempts will be made to expand the facilities of education and training for women, and more jobs specially suited for them will be created.

Special Attention to Certain Areas & Projects

23. The problems of Calcutta as also of underdeveloped regions, e.g., Purulia, the Sundarbans, and parts of North Bengal particularly the hill areas of Darjeeling district will receive special attention; speedy and proper implementation of Farakka and Haldia Projects will be pressed for.

Bengali & Nepali as Official Languages

24. The U.F. Government will take steps for immediate implementation of the resolution adopted unanimously by the West Bengal State Legislature to make Bengali the official language of this State and Nepali the regional language of Darjeeling hill areas.

It will press the claim for conducting the work of courts up to the High Court in Bengali (and Nepali in Darjeeling hill areas).

Memorials to Martyrs and Removal of Relics of Imperialism

25. (a) The U.F. Government will set up suitable memorials for the martyrs of national liberation movement, August Revolt, I.N.A. and also of food movement and other democratic mass movements.

It will ask for the proper preservation of the Cellular Jail in Andaman Island as memorial to fighters for freedom.

(b) The U.F. Government will remove all statues of former British rulers and other relics of foreign rule from Calcutta and other places.

Peace and Security for the People

26. The U.F. Government will protect the people against all anti-social and criminal activities and take stern action against anti-social elements.

Berubari

27. The question of Berubari will be taken up with the Union Government.

Sovereignty of the Country

28. The U.F. Government will do everything for the preservation and strengthening of the sovereignty of the country.

Civil Liberties

29. The U.F. Government will respect and defend fundamental civil rights. It will not use Preventive Detention Act against workers' and peasants' struggle and other democratic movements. Police will not be used against any democratic movement. It will institute enquiries into police excess committed after the dismissal of U.F. Ministry, and withdraw all cases in connection with the movement against the dismissal of U.F. Government and other democratic movements. It will take steps for the release of all political prisoners. It will put pressure on the Centre to repeal undemocratic Maintenance of Essential Service Act, etc.

Popular Committees

30. The U.F. Government will take steps to form popular committees at different levels with representatives of political parties, trade unions, peasants' organizations, other mass organizations and prominent individuals for development of people's cooperation with the efforts of the Government and proper implementation of the Government decision.

Abolition of Upper House

31. The U.F. Government will take initiative for the abolition of Legislative Council of the State Legislature.

Changes in The Constitution

32. (i) The U.F. Government will work for changing those articles of the Constitution which hinder the effective implementation of the minimum programme of the United Front. It will strive in particular for a change in the Constitution in the sphere of Centre-State relations in order to secure more autonomy and powers for the states.

(ii) Amendment of the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India. •

The United Front shall advocate thorough redrafting of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India so as to include and indicate the status and use of other important languages used by different sections of the people such as Nepali.

(iii) The United Front shall advocate extension of provisions of autonomous councils in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India to the hill areas of Darjeeling district and further expansion of the powers of such district councils limiting the powers of the Governor.

Resolutions Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at its Meeting in Jaipur, August 7-11, 1968*

(a) Soviet Arms to Pakistan

The news of the Soviet Government's decision to supply arms to Pakistan has naturally caused concern among our people and a serious examination about its significance to our people and country is on.

This decision of the Soviet Government highlights the crisis of the foreign policy of the Government of India. This is not fortuitous. It is a part of the crisis of its basic policy of developing Indian economy on capitalist lines with aid from the imperialist powers and collaboration with foreign monopolists.

The Indian people rightly reacted against the American imperialists when they concluded a military pact with Pakistan in 1953 and supplied it with large amount of arms, as a threat to our freedom and to the democratic development of our country. They correctly saw in this American imperialist penetration into our continent an attempt to dominate both India and Pakistan.

However, the Government of India failed to find a democratic solution to the Kashmir problem in consultation with the leaders of the people of Kashmir and thus thwart the game of the imperialists to utilize the Kashmir question to fan hostilities between India and Pakistan.

On the other hand, the policies of the Government led to greater and greater reliance on imperialist aid, particularly on U.S. aid.

*Published as a Supplement to "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta.

This increasing dependence has led to India's isolation from anti-imperialist currents and hostility to China has become one of the tenets of India's foreign policy.

The Soviet Government did not direct its energies to restore friendly relations between India and China. But in pursuance of its own policy towards China, it supplied India with armaments on the plea of preventing India going completely under U.S. influence.

China, on the other hand, started supporting Pakistan in its conflict with India and supplying it with military hardware.

And now the Soviet Government is supplying arms to Pakistan under the pretext of developing friendly relations with a neighbouring country and of weaning away Pakistan from the influence of the USA and also of the Chinese Government.

The C.C. of the CPI(M) is of the opinion that no socialist country should supply arms to bourgeois governments except to fight imperialists. Experience shows that arms supplied to some bourgeois governments have been used not for fighting imperialism but for suppressing the working people and the democratic organizations. Supply of arms by the Soviet Government to India and Pakistan and by China to Pakistan is certainly not for fighting imperialism. On the other hand, this will only intensify the armaments race in this sub-continent and aggravate the tensions between the two countries and peoples.

The decision of the Soviet Government to supply arms to Pakistan has exposed the utter failure of the foreign policy the Government of India which seeks to utilize the anti-China stands of the U.S. and Soviet Governments for its own class purposes in its conflicts with China and Pakistan.

This policy has only led to a colossal increase in the military budget which is already over a thousand crores, increased the dependence on foreign aid, and to the ruination of our economy. The C.C. warns against reactionaries who, utilizing the Soviet Government's arms supply to Pakistan

are campaigning to force the India Government to give up its friendly relations with socialist countries and totally align with U.S. imperialism.

The C.C. is firmly of the opinion that the further continuance of this policy is fraught with disaster to our economy and independence. It, therefore, demands that the Government:

1. Give up its hostility to China and take the initiative for creating a climate conducive to negotiations and settlement of our dispute with China.

2. Initiate talks with the leaders of the people of Kashmir and arrive at a settlement.

3. Take all necessary steps to settle all outstanding problems with Pakistan.

4. Stop forthwith all aid from imperialist countries and embark on the path of building the country's economy on the basis of self-reliance which alone can lay a firm and reliable foundation for a foreign policy of peace and anti-imperialism.

(b) On Developments in Czechoslovakia

1. The grave developments in the socialist Czechoslovakia, during the recent months, are, surely, a cause of serious concern and anxiety to all the Communists and proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world. In this socialist Republic, through its official press, radio and television, an open and systematic attack was launched against some of the fundamental concepts and principles of Marxism-Leninism, on concepts and principles such as democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in the dictatorship and in the building of a classless socialist and communist society. In the course of these happenings there developed a threat not only to the socialist gains of the Czech proletariat and the people but also to the unity of the countries of the Warsaw Defence Pact, thus further undermining the unity of the world socialist camp, which, of course, is already found in the midst of

serious differences and divisions. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply disturbed over these developments and wishes to express its serious concern over them.

2. In this connection, it is interesting to note that all these attacks on socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia are sought to be covered under the high-sounding slogans of 'democracy', 'liberalization', 'freedom of criticism', and 'national needs and peculiarities', etc. but without raising the pertinent question: The freedom and democracy to which class or classes and with which objectives and aims in view or wherefrom this unfettered 'freedom' and 'democracy' had come and how it had come as to launch this frontal assault on socialism and Marxism-Leninism, after two full decades of proletarian power and building of socialism in the country? It is all the more regrettable to see that these Right-opportunist slogans have come to be upheld and supported by certain leaders who are at the helm of some Communist Parties in the world, quite oblivious of the counter-revolutionary character of this offensive which had come to be jubilantly acclaimed by the arch-reactionaries all over the world with the imperialists in the forefront.

3. A study of the facts so far available to us of the developments in Czechoslovakia would convince any class-conscious worker and Communist that the crassest Right-revisionist distortions accompanied by grossest bureaucratic abuses practised by the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party has culminated in the present situation. The fact that the bulk of the members of the Communist Party are swept away by the present Right-opportunist offensive and are unable to boldly defend the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the fact that the working class as a class is not alert enough and does not rise to give a rebuff to this offensive, and the fact that the groups of so-called "intellectuals and writers" had summoned courage to lead this offensive against socialism, and come to acquire a wider social

base and considerable volume of support for it, is a positive proof of these grievous mistakes.

4. The C.C. takes due note of the concern voiced at these developments by several parties and leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries including the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and is keenly following their public utterances and statements and the steps taken by them, to counter this menace. However, while sharing their anxiety over the Czechoslovakian developments, our Central Committee cannot ignore the fact that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had a big share of its own in opening the flood-gates of Right opportunism and revisionism in the world Communist movement. Apart from several other pernicious revisionist theories and formulations enunciated by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the dangerous slogans raised at their Twenty-Second Congress substituting the dictatorship of the proletariat with that of a State of the whole People and the Communist Party of the Working Class with that of a Party of the People have a direct bearing on the issues under dispute regarding the Czechoslovakian developments. To this day, they have not repudiated these formulations. Is it any wonder that their vociferous defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in it, in the midst of the Czech controversies, is not taken seriously? Can one believe that these leaders with their revisionist theories can really assist the Czech Communists in correcting their serious mistakes of departure from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism?

5. Further, one cannot miss another important aspect, namely, the existing state of relations between the different socialist states and their ruling Communist Parties, and in particular the relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states. One should not close one's eyes to the stark reality that these relations today are far from what they are expected to be.

The strained relations that were coming to be openly expressed from time to time, now between one socialist country

and the Soviet Union and at another time between another socialist state and the Soviet Union, during the last several years, is a phenomenon that cannot be either overlooked and brushed aside or treated as of no significance and relevance to the present Czech trouble. The domineering attitude displayed by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. demanding other fraternal Parties to uncritically ditto their ideological-political line from time to time and the mistakes committed both in course of developing economic relations between the socialist countries and in introducing division of labour among the COMECON countries have also their harmful role in the present developments. While not for a moment forgetting or ruling out the small-nation tendencies and feelings on the part of the other small socialist states and their ruling parties, we are of the opinion that the big-nation and big-power chauvinism of the Soviet leadership is an important element in the situation under our discussion. It is difficult for one to believe that a correct Marxist-Leninist solution of the present Czech developments can be had and dangers of counter-revolutionary attack on Czech socialist gains can be beaten back without a radical correction of the grave mistakes pointed above, the mistakes of Right revisionism, bureaucratic abuses and national chauvinism, particularly big-power chauvinism, that are at the root of the present trouble.

6. The meetings at Bratislava between the leaders of the Czech Communist Party and the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and other four fraternal parties, which had followed the meeting at Cierna between the Czech and Soviet leaders, which had taken place after a series of controversial exchanges between the Czechoslovak C.P. and the rest of the leaders of the participant countries, had concluded, and the conclusions of the same are incorporated in a Joint Communiqué. This Communiqué is full of general platitudes about Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the world socialist camp and the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, but it does neither pinpoint the key issues that had come up for conflict and controversy over the Czech developments

nor one can judge from it where the respective parties in the dispute exactly stand now on those issues. It is no secret that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. had publicly stated through their Press statements and other pronouncements that there has arisen a challenge not only to the concepts of dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism and socialism in Czechoslovakia, but also expressed the apprehension of the danger of restoration of capitalism in that country. But now, the Joint Communique, no doubt, speaks of the concepts of "the leading role of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties" and of "improving the style and method of the Party and Government work on the principles of democratic centralism", while scrupulously avoiding any mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in it—a concept that came under challenge in the new "Action Programme" of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party—and of the danger of restoration of capitalism. A careful reading of the Communique, in the absence of further details of the discussions at these meetings, indicates that what these two meetings had achieved is only a sort of 'truce' between the two strongly contending positions, rather than any principled solution of the issues under dispute. In fact, it is too naive on our part to expect any principled solution of the issues under dispute in such a gathering, because the revisionist distortions and bureaucratic abuses of proletarian authority are common mistakes of the several amongst them that had gathered in these meetings. The real and lasting corrections to the issue depend, primarily, on the Czechoslovakian working class and its socialist allies at home and the strength of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the Communist Party; and also the active political-ideological vigilance exercised and assistance rendered by the world socialist camp and Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to beat back the offensive against socialist gains of the Czechoslovakian people.

7. We cannot but take serious note of the fact that the developments in Czechoslovakia do not warrant any

complacency on the part of any honest Communist in the world. The anti-working class forces and trends that had emerged and shown their counter-revolutionary hand, do certainly stand as a serious challenge to socialism and the unity of the socialist camp. Subjective intentions apart, we are afraid that the present leaders of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party are succumbing under that pressure, a thing demonstrated in the contents of their "Action Programme" and other important pronouncements. We hope that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will see the enormity of the tasks before it in fighting the Right-opportunist menace and discharge its class duties for the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the cause of Marxism-Leninism and world socialism.

8. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) hopes that necessary correct lessons are drawn from these alarming developments in the socialist camp and world Communist movement by every class-conscious worker and Marxist-Leninist and that they would be stirred to action in fighting the menace of revisionism no matter what garb it wears. The Central Committee is also equally confident that the proletarian revolutionary forces in the world arena are strong enough to defeat the imperialist reaction and subversion, provided they exercise necessary vigilance and show decisive determination to defeat imperialism and the reaction that had gathered around it.

(c) On Vietnam

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) salutes the great people of Vietnam and acclaims the magnificent victories they have been scoring in their liberation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Central Committee extends its fullest support to the stand of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its current talks with the U.S. delegation in Paris.

The U.S. imperialists dealt mighty death-blows by the

Vietnam liberation forces, faced with growing isolation from world public opinion and a mighty anti-war movement in the USA itself, agreed to the Paris talks in a fresh manoeuvre to cheat world opinion and carry on with its aggression. The course of the Paris talks so far have more than confirmed this. Instead of meeting the just demand of the DRV delegation to stop bombing and all other acts of aggression against North Vietnam and then proceeding to talks for finding a settlement to the Vietnam problem, the U.S. imperialists have been raising all irrelevant issues to stall the talks. And under cover of these talks, they have been intensifying the fierce bombing of the limited area of the DRV and the brutal massacre, the inhuman chemical and biological warfare on the South Vietnam people.

The people of Vietnam have given a fitting reply to this latest U.S. perfidy. They have intensified their resistance and scored even mightier victories, seized the initiative in the military field and put the aggressors on the run. The broadest united front against the United States aggressors now taking shape as envisaged in the Political Programme of the NFL has thoroughly isolated the puppet regime in Saigon that exists only because it is propped up by U.S. arms and troops and even this existence is no longer guaranteed with the spectacular advance of the liberation forces. There is no longer any doubt that the U.S. imperialist adventure in Vietnam is doomed.

Now is the time to give all our support as never before to the Vietnamese people, to demand that the U.S. stop its war of aggression and get out of Vietnam. The movement in India for solidarity with Vietnam and support to the Vietnam liberation struggle is far from what it should be, is far from adequate, considering the urgency of the situation.

The Government of India goes on saying that the USA should stop bombing of the DRV but does not take a single step towards achieving this. It refuses to condemn the U.S. aggression and ask the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam. It does not declare its support to the Four-Point Stand of the

DRV and the Political Programme of the NFL which alone can form the basis for a settlement in Vietnam. It has, succumbing to U.S. pressure, stopped trade with North Vietnam while trading with South Vietnam in materials which serve the purpose of aggression. Indian people demonstrating their solidarity with Vietnam and wrath against the U.S. aggressors have been lathi-charged and arrested as in Delhi recently. And with its constant talk of fighting "internal subversion" in the countries of this region, the Government actually encourages the U.S. aggressors.

The Central Committee strongly condemns this policy of the Government and calls on the Indian people to unleash the strongest movement to compel the Government of India to change its Vietnam policy, to resume trade with the DRV, it calls on the people to express support to the stand of the DRV delegation in Paris and to rally in support of Vietnam whose people today are in the forefront fighting and making enormous sacrifices in the struggle for freedom in the world.

(d) On Mid-Term Election in West Bengal

The coming mid-term election in West Bengal in November 1968 has special significance not only for the democratic movement of West Bengal but for the country as a whole. West Bengal is an important base of foreign and Indian monopolists as well as of landlords and profiteers; it is at the same time a State where the democratic struggles are also comparatively stronger; hence the political battle between the ruling classes and the masses becomes very sharp and as such imparts great influence on developments in the whole country. A heavier defeat of the Congress at the polls will naturally help the democratic forces in the country as a whole.

The election is taking place at a time when the basic policies pursued by the Central Government during the last 21 years have plunged the whole country and its economy into the abyss of an ever-deepening crisis leading to intensified attacks

on the people on the one hand and to more dangerous surrenders to American imperialism on the other. The big bourgeoisie, the big landlords and profiteers have launched further attacks on the workers, peasants and other toiling people with a view to shifting the burdens of the crisis on to their shoulders and make profit at their expense. The whole state machinery is being more nakedly used against the people in the interests of the exploiting classes. The people, however, have not taken these attacks lying down, but are engaged in bitter and far more organized struggles against them.

The election is taking place in the midst of intensified class struggles in West Bengal. Since the last general elections the fighting people of West Bengal under the guidance of the United Front, of which our Party is the leading constituent, have defeated one after another the conspiracies and attacks of the Congress party, the Central Government and all reactionary forces. Notwithstanding the fact that there was no U.F., it is the people who defeated the Congress in the last general elections and helped the formation of the U.F. and U.F. Ministry.

In spite of the limitations under which the U.F. Ministry had to function and in spite of certain weaknesses of the Government, the formation of the U.F. Ministry created new opportunities for extending the democratic rights of the people, for giving some relief to them and particularly for advancing the organized democratic struggles of the masses. The people used the U.F. Ministry as an instrument of struggle and utilised the new opportunities to greatly strengthen the democratic forces. Consequently, the big bourgeoisie and other reactionary vested interests became furious, the Central Government and all reactionary forces organized one conspiracy after another against the U.F. Ministry, used the monopoly power of the Central Government against it and ultimately dismissed the Government unconstitutionally and hatched a conspiracy to foist a police raj on the people. The game of the Congress was to stage a come-back to the ministerial authority in the State working from behind the

puppet traitor ministry in the initial stage and then coming out openly and directly.

It is again the people of West Bengal who by their heroic struggles have defeated this attack on democracy and have compelled the Central Government to agree to the mid-term election. These struggles have not only defeated the conspiracy to impose a police raj on West Bengal, but have also strengthened the struggle for defence of democracy all over the country.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is glad to note that the people and the democratic forces of West Bengal are taking positive steps with a view to inflicting a heavier defeat on the Congress at the polls. The people with their heightened political consciousness have hitherto defeated the conspiracies of the reactionary forces to disrupt and weaken the U.F. and have helped the constituents of the U.F. to consolidate their unity on the basis of a common minimum programme and a rational allotment of seats. The reactionary conspiracy to isolate the CPI(M) has failed.

The C.C. endorses the policy pursued by the State unit of our Party to strengthen the U.F. by fighting against the conspiracies and various attempts to create disruption within the U.F. The intensified class struggles outside and the Congress conspiracies had their impact on the U.F. also; certain constituents of the U.F. at different stages tended to succumb to these disruptive conspiracies. It is our Party which took early note of the conspiracy and raised the slogan of mid-term election at the first sign of defections. Our Party pursued the correct method of educating and mobilising the people for maintaining the solidarity of the U.F. and thus played its role in consolidating the U.F. The C.C. also takes note of the fact that while the unity of the U.F. has been further consolidated, the defeats inflicted by the people on the Congress and their accomplices have intensified dissensions in the Congress party and have placed other disruptive forces in disarray. All these factors have created a situation where the possibility of ensuring a bigger majority for the U.F. can be translated into a reality.

Being frightened with this prospect and torn by internal dissensions, the Congress leaders, both Central and State, have been trying their utmost to postpone the elections to a later date. It exposes their anxiety to gain time to put their own house in order, to allow more time to the vested interests to mount attacks on the people and to see that the West Bengal election results do not have an adverse impact on their position in Bihar and U.P. mid-term elections. The C.C. warns the Government of India against any further attempt to postpone the election and continue autocratic President's rule for a longer period.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is fully conscious of both the limitations and importance of the mid-term election. There should be no illusion that the defeat of the Congress and the formation of a U.F. Ministry can either basically solve the crisis, or even check the deepening of the crisis, because it emanates from the basic class policies of the Central Government. But in spite of such limitations, it should be noted that the formation of a U.F. Ministry can and will greatly help in extending the democratic rights of the people, in providing some urgently-needed relief to them and in strengthening the democratic struggles of the people. All these have got great importance in the present situation.

The defeat of the Congress at the polls will not, however, bring an end to the conspiracies of the ruling classes. The vested interests will naturally intensify their sabotaging activities and the Central Government will utilise its monopoly powers to attack the U.F. Ministry in all possible ways. Hence the people and the U.F. will be required to wage a determined struggle with the active cooperation of the people against all such attacks and for more powers to the State Governments. All democratic forces are thus naturally expected to take note of the crucial importance of the active role of the masses and their struggles in all stages of the struggle against Congress misrule.

The coming mid-term election will assume the character of a far more bitter political battle. The ruling classes and all

reactionary vested interests cannot forget how during the period of the last U.F. Ministry the struggles and organizations of the workers, peasants and other toiling people acquired greater sweep and registered significant advance. Hence they will surely do all in their power to help the Congress and fight more bitterly against the victory of the U.F. Any complacency and under-estimation of the capacity of the reactionary forces and vested interests will be harmful. In such a situation, it is necessary that the people of West Bengal and all the constituents of the U.F. in particular take serious note of this fact, have no complacency and from now start a vigorous political campaign and build necessary organisation for inflicting heavier defeat on the Congress at the polls. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is confident that the fighting people of West Bengal will discharge their responsibility with greater success. It urges upon all its units to take up this task with the seriousness that it deserves.

The mid-term election in West Bengal is not a struggle of the West Bengal people alone. The defeat of the Congress will greatly help the democratic movement all over the country. The Central Congress leaders, all reactionary forces and the ruling classes in the country and even foreign imperialist powers will actively help the State Congress and other disruptive forces and work against the U.F. in all possible ways. Huge amounts of money will also be used for this purpose. In such a situation, the Central Committee feels that the people of other States also should come forward to help the people of West Bengal and extend all possible support to them in defeating the Congress. The Central Committee particularly appeals to the people as well as to all units of our Party in every State to collect election fund and thus concretely help the fighting people of West Bengal.

(e) On Kerala

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its concern at the continued failure of the Central Government in supplying its promised 75,000

tonnes of rice per month to Kerala to maintain a ration of 6 oz. per day per adult, in spite of the bumper harvest during 1967-68. The recent increase in rice ration in Kerala from 3 oz. to 6 oz. has been possible because the Kerala U.F. Government carefully built up reserves from the slightly increased supplies from the beginning of the year, and from the stocks procured within the State, to provide the people in the lean months of June-September. These reserves will be over within the next few days, and the ration will have once again to be cut, unless the people by their campaign and struggle force the Central Government to continue the supplies or allow the State Government to purchase the necessary quantities wherever available.

The Central Committee notes that in spite of repeated insistence of the Central Government which withdrew food subsidies and demanded the price of rice ration to be increased by 27 paise per kilo, the Kerala Government refused and bore the burden as long as the rice ration was 3 oz. only. But it was forced to raise the price to 103 paise per kilo when it restored the 6 oz. rice ration.

The Congress party in Kerala tried to kick up an agitation against the State Government for raising the price of rice ration, but the people rebuffed them. Their Anti-Price-Increase Day (July 14) was a dismal failure. The local jathas organised by the State Committee all over the State helped the people to see that the guilty men are those Congress leaders ruling at the Centre in Delhi and it is against them the people have to direct their indignation. The Central Committee desires to pay its tribute to all the State, district and local leaders of the Party in Kerala who made this programme an unprecedented success.

This, however, is only the beginning. The policy of the Central Government being still one of political discrimination against the Kerala State and of using food as a weapon to topple it, it is necessary that the people of Kerala are roused and mobilised against this policy of the Centre. The Central Committee notes that the State Committee has

already worked out plans to carry this campaign further forward. It hopes that in the further stages of the development of this campaign, the other constituents of the Seven-Party United Front and people who are not attached to any political party will join this campaign and launch an effective struggle against the Centre, to force it to concede the demands of the Kerala people.

The Central Committee notes that after the recent polemics among the partners of the U.F.—particularly between our Party and the Right Communists—the Co-ordination Committee had detailed discussions on these issues and came to certain broad conclusions for better and efficient functioning. It is of the utmost importance, that to strengthen the unity of the U.F. while preserving the right of each constituent of the U.F. to express its own independent point of view, to take the people into confidence on issues on which there are serious differences.

The Central Committee wants to make it clear that there are several issues connected with the functioning of the Ministry on which the Communist Party of India (Marxist) holds strong views but on some of which all the constituents of the United Front may have other views. For instance, our Party holds the view that a democratic Government like that of the Seven-Party United Front in Kerala cannot but come into conflict with the policies pursued by the Central Government on a number of issues. Struggle with the Centre is thus inherent in the situation. Secondly, there are differences among the various constituents of the U.F. on the details of food policy, land reform, industrialisation, workers' rights and so on. Our Party has come out and will have again to come out explaining what its policy is on such issues, as we had to do on food, industrial policy and so on. On some recent developments connected with the policy of the State Government, such as the Memorandum submitted to the National Labour Commission, the attitude to be adopted towards the agitations and struggles of the Government employees, etc., our Party considers that certain serious lapses

have occurred. The Central Committee notes that our State Committee has already made a statement, disapproving this Memorandum and has already taken steps in the U.F. Co-ordination Committee to remedy the mistakes. ••

The Party obviously has to play its role in rectifying the mistakes committed in all these respects. The Central Committee wants to make it clear that the Party will continue to play its role with a view to making the work of the Government conform to the role which a democratic non-Congress Government has to play. The Central Committee is confident that the State unit of the Party will be able to contribute to a further improvement in the work of the Ministry so that the Ministry can truly become an instrument of the people of Kerala in their struggle against the anti-people policies of the Central Congress Government.

(f) Repression in Andhra Pradesh

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its horror and indignation at the growing and continued repression and landlord-goonda attacks that are taking place in Andhra Pradesh, specially on the members and supporters of the CPI(M) in the Telangana districts and on the tribal people and their leaders in Srikakulam district.

Despite repeated representations and protests, the State Government has not only not withdrawn the fire-arms from the landlords, disbanded the goonda gangs and stopped their attacks on villages, but has intensified its own repression against harijans, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. The police camps and the armed police set up sent with the ostensible purpose of maintaining law and order actually join hands with the landlords and their goonda gangs to raid villages and attack the people.

The conscience of every decent person will be revolted by the rapings, murders, torture that are being committed by these landlord goondas. During the last two years alone 20 CPI(M) workers were murdered. Twentysix women were raped

in the one village of Maheshwaraparm in Warangal district in August 1965; ten women were raped during the raids after the Upparapalli incident in March 1967; 12 women were raped in the Lambadi hamlet in Illenda taluka of Khammam district in August 1967; 20 policemen raped two sixteen-year-old tribal girls in Dakshini village in Srikakulam district; four women were raped in Dandasura. These are only a few of the instances of brutal rapings of women in these districts.

A seven-year-old boy, the son of a Lambadi supporter of the CPI(M), was tied hand and foot and burnt alive in Chandragonda village in Warangal district in 1965.

Tadum Narayana, a CPI(M) worker, was brutally murdered in Akunur village in Nalgonda district—his ribs were first crushed between the hinges of a door in the landlord's house where he was taken bound hand and foot, he was dragged across the village tied to a rope, his hand and leg were axed, chest pierced with a spear and eyes gouged out.

Thousands and thousands of people, young and old, men and women, have been beaten, many of them tortured and maimed for life in the villages of these districts. Police camps have been established wherever the landlords require them and people are taken to the landlords' houses or to these camps to be tortured.

They are beaten with lathis, rifle-butts and bayonets, kicked with booted legs; neither food nor water was given. Knees, elbows, fingers were the special spots for beating and breaking as a form of torture. Men's organs were squeezed or pounded with lathis. Male organs were thrust into each other's mouth and pouring urine when water was asked, was a usual pastime of the police and landlord gangs.

Hundreds have been driven out of their villages, and the agricultural operations of many more forcibly stopped. While the perpetrators of these crimes go scot-free, or if they are prosecuted, they get acquitted because the police fails to establish the prosecution cases, cases foisted on the people

end in easy convictions and thousands of people who have been arrested and involved in cases are made to go round the courts for months and years just to harass them.

This reign of terror has been let loose by the landlords to take possession of the lands of the peasants, to suppress the demands of agricultural workers for better wages and conditions and to suppress the CPI(M) which has steadfastly stood at the head of the people in these areas from the days of the great Telangana struggle and defended them against landlord oppression and exploitation.

The tribal belt of Srikakulam district has been put under siege and converted into a police camp with new police stations which are just torture chambers. No one is allowed to go in or come out even for urgent medical attention; looting, molesting, beating, torture and other brutal crimes are too innumerable to list.

All this is being done to beat down the new awakening in the tribal people who have begun to fight and have scored some victories in the struggle against mediaeval exploitation.

The Congress regime has put the repressive police apparatus of the State at the disposal of the landlords and traders who are leaders and supporters of the Congress party.

The General Secretary of the CPI(M) had submitted memoranda both to the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on these atrocities. But, the partisanship of the Congress rulers for their landlord supporters outweighed all decent human values. No action has till now been taken to stop these atrocities and ensure normal peaceful life to the people of these areas.

The C.C. severely condemns the attitude of the State Government and appeals to all democratic-minded people and democratic parties to raise their voice of protest against these atrocities.

The C.C. demands that the State Government immediately withdraw the police camps in Telangana areas and armed police from Srikakulam district, withdraw all fire-arms from

the landlords and goondas and disband these gangs, withdraw all cases foisted on the people, release all those who are arrested from among the people and punish the landlords and goondas responsible for the inhuman atrocities and looting of people's property.

The C.C. calls on all Party units, Party members and friends of the Party to take the facts of these atrocities committed by the landlord-police-Congress combine to people of all States, rouse their conscience and build an irresistible movement demanding an immediate end to this repression.

The C.C. calls on all Party units to make collections to contribute to the Defence Fund for fighting the large number of cases that have been foisted on the people in these areas and to give aid to the victims of this repression.

(g) Repression on Peasant Struggles for Land

Struggles of poor peasants and agricultural workers for land are being suppressed with more and more police repression by the Governments in various States in the recent period.

In Champaran, in Bihar, where the poor peasants and agricultural workers demanded distribution of 10,000 acres of forest outskirt land and launched a struggle to win their demand, a reign of police terror was let loose and one person was shot dead on January 29, 1968. Prosecutions were launched against a number of people and even now about 200 people are involved in these cases, of whom eight are in jail without bail, and warrants are pending against a number of people. In Purnea, cases have been foisted on about 150 people in connection with the anti-eviction struggle on 3,600 acres of land. Similarly in North Bhagalpur, about 150 people have been involved in cases for the anti-eviction struggle on 400 acres of land and six warrants are pending. Police excesses have been committed in Gaya district in the name of realisation of loans and prosecutions have been launched against a hundred people.

In Uttar Pradesh, 106 people are being prosecuted in Ballia

and 370 people were arrested in Faizabad to suppress the land struggles there.

In Orissa, in Jaleswar, a demonstration of agricultural workers and poor peasants was fired upon and one person killed.

At present in many districts of West Bengal, like 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Midnapore, Cooch-Bihar, etc., the police is resorting to serious repressive measures against poor peasants to help landlords get land already duly allotted to the poor. Hundreds of peasants have been arrested and criminal cases instituted against them.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands an immediate end to this repression, withdrawal of all warrants and cases, and release of those who are in jail.

In Naxalbari, in West Bengal, savage sentences have been imposed on leaders of the peasant struggle for land who were being tried on charges of dacoity, etc. A number of cases are still pending and many persons are in jail. The Central Committee demands that the Government commute the sentences and free those who have been convicted and withdraw all cases and release all those who are in jail.

(h) On Andhra Defections

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), after hearing the reports on the anti-Party and disruptive activities of the Left adventurist group headed by Nagi Reddi and D. Venkateswara Rao in Andhra Pradesh and on the measures taken by the Polit Bureau and by the Andhra State Committee in pursuance of the directives given by the Central Committee at the Burdwan meeting, endorses all those measures, including the expulsions by the Polit Bureau of D. Venkateswara Rao, Nagi Reddi, Pulla Reddi and Kolla Venkaiah, who have been organising this anti-Party factional group activity from November 1967 onwards and who spurned every effort and step taken by the P.B. to help them to work within Party forms and Party discipline,

and who had openly revolted. The Central Committee also endorses the disciplinary actions taken by the State Committee and under its direction by various district committees and all the other steps of reorganization that have been taken.

It directs all State Committees to be constantly vigilant against such anti-Party disruptive elements either of sectarian or Right-revisionist anti-Marxist-Leninist trends and to fight them before they develop into organized anti-Party groupings.

(i) On Release of Detenus

The Congress administration of Tripura, contrary to the law on transfer of tribal lands, has been forcing them out of their traditional lands. Further, by declaring the vast areas of forest as reserved forest, vast numbers of tribal people have been deprived of lands in which they have been carrying on Joom cultivation for generations. On top of it, in the name of foodgrains levy, the administration has been forcing peasants with small acreages to part with their grains, while leaving the bigger landlords free to hoard and blackmarket their grains.

Against these unjust and anti-people policies of the Congress administration, the tribal and other people of Tripura have launched a big movement of resistance, which has been sought to be suppressed by lathi-charges, firings and arrests. Hundreds of tribal women have been beaten up and thrown in jail.

The Central Committee is proud that the CPI(M) has been in the forefront of this popular struggle.

Unable to suppress this mass resistance, the Government has decided to detain without trial over thirty leaders and workers of the CPI(M) including Comrade Dasarath Dev, a member of the Central Committee, under the P.D. Act.

In West Bengal, the Governor's regime is keeping in detention a large number of political workers including members of our Party, arrested during and after the mass struggle against the illegal P. C. Ghosh regime.

In Assam, a member of the State Committee of the CPI(M) is being detained without trial.

In Jammu and Kashmir, leaders of the State Government employees' organisation arrested during the strike of the employees are being still kept in detention.

The Central Committee demands immediate release of all those detained.

(j) On Newspaper Employees' Strike

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm greetings to the press workers of the Class I, II and III newspapers, who have been on strike for the past fortnight for the full implementation of the recommendations of the non-journalists and fully supports their demands.

The Government of India itself modified the majority recommendations of the Wage Board in favour of the big business interests who are owning the monopolist Press and published it in November 1967.

The Press barons refused to implement even these modified recommendations, and refused to even negotiate with press employees' federation.

Even the one-day protest strike in January 1968 did not move them from this adamant position.

It was only when the employees decided to go on an indefinite strike from April 23, 1968, that they agreed to negotiations. The representatives of the IENS agreed to implement 70 per cent of the recommendations as an interim measure, and undertook to immediately enter into negotiations for the implementation of the remaining 30 per cent, and complete the negotiations within one month.

However, before the ink on this agreement was dry, the employers repudiated it and proclaimed that it was only recommendatory and not binding on the members of the IENS. They further refused to enter into negotiations as laid down in the agreement.

In these circumstances, the employees were left with no other alternative than to go on prolonged strike.

The Central Committee congratulates them on the dogged and valiant struggle they have put up and calls on all democratic organisations to support their struggle. The Central Committee condemns the Central Government for not taking effective measures to get the recommendations implemented.

The Central Committee calls upon the Central Government to effectively intervene and compel the big Press barons to implement the recommendations of the Wage Board for the non-journalists in full.

(k) On Central Government Employees' Struggle

The Central Government, when it offered the scheme of Joint Consultative Machinery (JCM) to the Central Government employees with a view to weaning away the employees from the path of struggle, made all sorts of promises regarding the JCM and paraded it as an effective instrument for solving the problems of the Central Government employees through discussions.

After repeated discussions, however, the Government representatives on the JCM completely turned down the demand for a need-based minimum wage and for full neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living by way of DA and its merger with basic pay.

This together with the Government's declaration that these issues are not arbitrable clearly indicates the need for forging mass sanctions for the realisation of the just demands.

The Central Committee condemns the Central Government for this refusal, and lends its full support to the Protest Strike of the Central Government employees on September 15, called by the Confederation of Central Government employees and calls upon all trade unions and the democratic public to lend their support to the strike and demands of the Central Government employees.

(l) On State Government Employees' Struggle

The employees of several State Governments, such as those of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and U.P. have conducted their

of State Governments to take every measure necessary for immediate relief and for rehabilitating the millions uprooted by the floods.

These floods and the misery that they entail to the people have become an annual feature in our country. Only an integrated scheme for flood control, drainage and irrigation can save the country from these recurring floods and drought.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands that such an integrated scheme for flood control and irrigation be taken up as a priority and the Central Government give all necessary assistance to the State Governments to implement them.

What is Ailing Our Foreign Policy?*

Speech delivered by P. Ramamurti in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Indian Parliament) on July 22, 1968

"As far as my Party is concerned, we are opposed to any socialist country giving arms to any country except for the purpose of fighting imperialism"—said P. Ramamurti, MP, participating in the debate on selling of Soviet arms to Pakistan in the Lok Sabha on July 22, 1968. Following is the text of his speech.

This morning our Prime Minister told us that the entire foreign policy that has been pursued by the Government of India has been amply vindicated. I do not know on what she bases this statement. Has the fact that today the Soviet Union has decided to give arms to Pakistan vindicated the entire foreign policy?

I am really unable to understand on what it is that she bases this statement. On the other hand, it has been admitted by the Deputy Prime Minister that there has been a shift in the policy of the Soviet Union. It is not a question of giving arms. That is not the major thing. To my mind, the major thing is whether there has been a shift and whether this shift is only *now*. When our Government signed that agreement in Tashkent, did it not notice a shift in the policy of the Soviet Union?

The other day, for example, our Prime Minister told a group of Congress members to whom she talked—I am speaking from newspaper reports—that the Soviet Union's position with regard to Kashmir is that it is an issue to be

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settled between India and Pakistan. Was that the position of the Soviet Union in 1954, 1963 or 1964? Absolutely not. Their position at that time was that Kashmir was an irrevocable part of India. Today they say that it is a matter to be settled between the two.

What Happened to Foreign Policy?

Therefore, let us realize that what we are today discussing is not merely the question of giving some arms to Pakistan or anything like that. The fundamental question is what has happened to the entire foreign policy of the Government. Has it succeeded? That is the whole question.

Of course, my Swatantra Party friends this morning said that they wanted the Government of India to follow a policy of real non-alignment. I am glad that that they want 'real non-alignment', because their position, as evidenced by the utterances of Shri Rajagopalachariar, has been that India's security lies in our having a military pact with the U.S. and in handing over the defence of this country to the United States. This is what he had been writing day in and day out and Shri Minoo Masani had been stating. I am glad that they have changed that position. I am not certain that *they* have changed. That is a different matter.

Non-Alignment, Indeed!

But my point is: Has our policy been one of real non-alignment? The Deputy Prime Minister said today that we have not yielded to any pressure at all. It is good, if it were true. I suppose it was on our own volition that we accepted devaluation, not because there was any American pressure! I suppose it was on our own volition that we decided that we will not have trade with North Vietnam but we will have trade with South Vietnam! I suppose it was also on our own volition that we refused to allow, under the Sea Customs Act, books from North Vietnam while we allowed books from South Vietnam! This is wonderful non-alignment without any pressure.

My point is : After all, how can there be an independent foreign policy? An independent foreign policy follows from an independent economy. So long as our Government during the last 20 years has refused to adopt its policy of making this country economically independent and strong, all talk that we are following an independent foreign policy is just bunkum. You cannot do it. That is why we have been yielding to pressure from time to time. This is a basic fact of life that cannot be wished away. I am just talking about principles as the time at my disposal is very short.

Non-Independent Diplomacy

It has been said that Pakistan has been able to get, by its diplomacy, arms from China and it has been able to get arms from the USA and the Soviet Union. But why is it our diplomacy has failed? It is a very simple question. After all, diplomacy is not something which is exercised in the vacuum. Diplomacy must have a certain set of circumstances in which to operate. Diplomacy must have a certain fundamental backing of internal strength on which to operate. We do not have independent backing because our economy is dependent upon somebody else. In the absence of that independence, we have been trying to play between the two Power blocs. There a certain amount of independence is possible. But unfortunately, it has a certain limitation. Beyond that you cannot go.

We thought we would be able to get aid from the United States. Why? Because we told them that we consider China to be our main enemy.

They also considered they want to contain China. Therefore, there comes the help. Very good. Pakistan also said the same thing in the beginning. There has been absolute rigidity in our foreign policy. Anything might change, but not our enmity to China. But Pakistan is able to exploit that particular situation.

When the Soviet Union also ardently desires that China should be isolated, Pakistan utilizes that particular set of circumstances. She gets aid from the USA, from China and



from everywhere. This is a fundamental fact of life which cannot be wished away. However much you might do, whatever you might do, so long as your foreign policy is tied to this sheet-anchor, it will not be possible for us to have any manoeuvring capacity.

Independence— Swatantra Variety

The whole question, therefore, raised today is this. What is it we are going to do with regard to our foreign policy? Manoeuvrability we should certainly have. Apart from that, when we talk of independence of our foreign policy—my hon. friend Mr. Piloo Mody talks so much about it—at least he came to the question : Why don't you allow Americans to do off-shore drilling? That is the independence the Swatantra people want—why don't you hand over our oil resources to the Americans? That is the basic thing he was harping upon. It is a very regrettable thing the Soviet Union also is entering into the field of power politics in the Indian sub-continent.

Our diplomacy has been so wonderful that we could not get any of our friends, either the Soviet Union or the United States or Great Britain, accept our claims vis-a-vis China or vis-a-vis Pakistan. This is our wonderful position! He talked about the Soviet Union map. Even in 1967, they did not accept your claims vis-a-vis China. The United States also did not accept our claims. I do not know what the position of Britain is. It is, probably, the same. They do not accept your claim with regard to Kashmir also.

This is the wonderful position of our diplomacy! And yet they all want us to fight China! Why? They may have their own interest in that. But are we to pull the chestnut out of the fire for the Soviet Union or for America? My contention is that our policy during the last ten years has been a policy of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for other people. We thought that way the USA and the USSR would help us, give us massive aid. And we are in this situation. We have been forced willy-nilly to submit to pressures from those

people to whomsoever we are beholden for getting economic aid, financial aid and so on. This is the fundamental thing.

I feel that unless we are able to discuss the whole question thoroughly and come to some understanding, an adjournment motion is not going to help. People have got different understandings; Mr Pilloo Mody has got a certain understanding, Mr Vajpayee, in spite of his assertion of independence—I do not know how he is going to assert that—has got a certain understanding. Therefore, I say that if we are serious about it, let us sit down and discuss it.

Mrs. Tarkeswari Sinha was saying that the rigidity must go. Certainly, rigidity must go. How will that go unless in this country we are prepared to create an atmosphere for it? Certainly, this rigidity must go and we must be able to open the ways of settlement of disputes with other countries so that we need not depend on other people.

Treachery, Whose?

But how can you do it when all along you said that to talk of settlement with China is treacherous? A former Home Minister was saying that for just stating this we were betrayers of the country, we were the enemies of the country, we were traitors; in Parliament the statement was made. I am not angry with them for having said that. But realism will dawn on people, realism will dawn not only on the Congress party but also, I am sure, on even the Swatantra Party, on the Jana Sangh and on every party, that ultimately we have to be friends with our neighbours, we have to settle our problems with them... (Interruptions).

So, unless we are able to do something on that and on that basis think of an independent foreign policy based upon our own strength, nothing is going to happen. After all, we are toyed between this Power and that and ultimately we will be the butt of every nation...

Finally, I want to make one position clear and that is this. As far as my Party is concerned, we are opposed to any socialist country giving arms to any country except for the

purpose of fighting imperialism. Anything else is playing power politics; be it done by China, be it done by the Soviet Union, be it done by any country, we are opposed to that particular position. That is why we say that to so far as we are concerned, we must think of the seriousness of the situation and think of a realignment of our foreign policy.

Communique of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on holding Eighth Party Congress^{*}

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), in its meeting held on September 5 and 6, reviewed the progress of preparations for holding the Eighth Party Congress in December. It decided to include in its report a brief review of the developments in the world Communist movement.

Czechoslovak Developments

The Polit Bureau reviewed the latest developments following the Soviet and other Warsaw Pact Powers' intervention in Czechoslovakia and after the Moscow agreement that has been arrived at.

The Polit Bureau is confirmed of its view that it was the revisionist policies hitherto followed by the Soviet leaders and the leaders of Czechoslovakia which landed Czechoslovakia on the brink of a counter-revolution supported by imperialists from outside and their agents from inside, and led to the situation when the military intervention by the Soviet leaders was the only way left open to immediately ward off the counter-revolution. The Polit Bureau considers this extraordinary step as inevitable in the interests of defending the socialist gains in Czechoslovakia while fully aware of the fact that this step has created confusion among the democratic forces and has given a handle to the enemies to slander socialism.

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It is not a surprising development that most of the Communist Parties who have been enthusiastically supporting and have been following the Soviet Party's revisionist policies, departing a long way from Marxism-Leninism, are now opposing the Soviet intervention, clean ignoring the danger of counter-revolution. It is all the more shocking to see their continued justification of the so-called 'Czechoslovakian liberalization' programme which has brought about this counter-revolutionary situation. It also notes that the Communist Party of China has taken the very strange stand of denouncing Soviet intervention, as a socio-fascist act comparable to the Hitlerite action of 1938, thus totally failing to see the imminent menace of the American imperialist counter-revolutionary drive in Czechoslovakia.

The Polit Bureau notes with satisfaction that the Communist and Workers' Parties of Cuba, North Korea and North Vietnam have come out sharply against the counter-revolution and in support of the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The Polit Bureau is happy to note that its stand on this issue is welcomed by the Party ranks. Our Party ranks who are extremely critical of the revisionist policies of the Soviet leadership for the past decade have reacted healthily despite all their fears and reservations about the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union.

The Polit Bureau reiterates that this military intervention alone is not going to solve the Czechoslovakian crisis unless the revisionist policies of the Soviet leaders are repudiated and discarded and unless the healthy forces of Marxism-Leninism assert themselves and defeat the revisionist theories and practices as well as authoritarian abuses of the leaders of Czechoslovakia.

Mid-Term Elections

The Polit Bureau discussed the coming mid-term elections in the four States of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab.

Having discussed the situation in West Bengal the Polit

Bureau is of the firm opinion that there is absolutely no reason for postponing the mid-term elections in Bengal from November 1968 to February 1969 as the Congress party and certain other groups are demanding. It hopes that the Election Commission would not succumb to this pressure but keep its earlier promise and stick to the decision to hold them in November.

The mid-term elections in the other three States have been ordered when the Congress found that all its efforts to run these States with its puppet Ministries failed and it itself was miserably divided. As our Party has been warning the people that any U.F. Government with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh and other equally reactionary bourgeois-landlord groups would not be in a position to follow policies different than those of the Congress Governments in the past, and it is only the United Front of democratic parties, and their capacity to unleash mass struggles against the Central Governments policies, that will be able to get some relief to the people and further the democratic movement in the country. The opportunist alliances and adjustments with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties and other reactionary groups, indulged in by some of the Left and democratic parties, paralysed mass actions and enabled the Congress to push through its intrigues.

Taking into consideration the strong urge among the people to defeat the Congress and its anti-popular policies, the Polit Bureau appeals to the parties and democratic forces to form electoral agreements on the basis of a broad democratic programme. The Polit Bureau directs all Party units in these States to work for such an agreement to ensure Congress defeat and give democratic expression to popular discontent.

Why the Ultra-‘Left’ Deviation?*

**An Examination of the Basic Causes of
Left Defections in Special Reference to Andhra
(Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
in its meeting held in Calcutta, October 5-9, 1968)**

It was in April 1967 that our Central Committee reviewed the results of the fourth general elections in the country and worked out the resolution “New Situation and Party’s Tasks” to guide our activities in the present phase of our democratic movement. It is exactly during this period that a dangerous Left-adventurist line has emerged, challenging the entire political line of the party, and causing considerable damage to the party and the democratic movement in the country. In short the period under discussion was a most trying and testing one when the party had to stand up and fight back a three-pronged attack on it by the ruling Congress party and the revisionists from outside and the Left-adventurists from within.

There was not a day when one conspiracy or another was not hatched by the ruling Congress party and the central Government it controls to topple the U.F. governments in West Bengal and Kerala, to disrupt the U.F.s, and to slander, defame, disrupt and to even outlaw our Party, if possible.

There was not a single opportunity missed by the Right Communist Party to direct its venomous attack on our Party, to disrupt the united kisan and trade union organizations in the country, to discredit and isolate our Party and to undermine the U.F.s and their governments in West Bengal and Kerala. A careful scrutiny of their entire activity during the last fourteen months reveals the real face of the revisionists

*Published as a booklet in October, 1968

as the avowed agency of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement.

Is it then any wonder that some of the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties in the U.F.s were frequently found to join the anti-CPI(M) chorus and thus introduce in the functioning of the U.F.s and U.F. governments constant friction and conflict?

It is exactly under these circumstances that the Left-adventurists from within our Party opened a third front against the party, its political line and its organizational cohesion. These pseudo-revolutionaries by their irresponsible words and deeds provided ample grist to the mill of Congress reaction in its nefarious game of disrupting the unity of democratic forces; these "ultras", contrary to their boastful bragging of fighting revisionism and neo-revisionism, was in reality sidetracking the party's struggle against revisionism by their diversionary attacks on the party; and they did only assist reaction from their Left-opportunist end while the revisionists were doing the same from their Right-opportunist end. In short, in the crucial battle that was on in the country between the Congress party and its allies on one side of the barricade and the anti-Congress democratic forces on the other, the "ultras" did not range against the former and join with the latter in which the CPI(M) played the key role, but objectively abetted the Congress government and harmed the anti-Congress democratic front.

The strange and monstrous combination of Congress reaction and ultra-Leftism against the CPI(M) was glaringly revealed in the first half of the year 1967 itself, when the central Congress Government started attacking the CPI(M) to isolate it with a view to disrupting the U.F. and toppling the U.F. government in West Bengal and the Naxalites were exactly engaged in the same game of toppling the U.F. government since, according to them, it was more reactionary than the Congress government.

Thanks to the determined fight put up by the Central Committee and the loyalty and political vigilance of the

overwhelming majority of our Party members, the Left-adventurist challenge was met and defeated, as revealed in several states and finally at the Central Plenum at Burdwan. The Naxalites' conspiracy of subverting the party from within was scotched in time, despite initial damages suffered by the party. The party, on the whole, emerged from this struggle more united, ideologically, politically and organizationally, notwithstanding the serious dislocation and disruption caused by the Left defection in states like Andhra, U.P. and some other areas.

However, this phenomenon of Left-adventurist defection, coming as it did hardly within three years after our break-away from the revisionists, has, no doubt, sprung a sort of surprise on several amongst our Party and its following. Seriously concerned as they are about the unity of the Communist Party and the future of the revolutionary democratic movement, they are keenly interested in critically analysing this whole phenomenon, in examining the causes and sources that are at the root of this development and in drawing the correct lessons from our past history for proper guidance for the future.

The bourgeois press does not conceal its glee over this development and is busy mounting the propaganda that the communist movement in India is disintegrating under the impact of its internal splits and disruption and hence it has no future as far as India, let alone the world, is concerned. This, of course, is its deliberate class line and aims at discrediting and destroying the image of communism in the minds of the Indian toiling masses. While carrying out this general class task of anti-communism, it does not for a moment miss its job of making our Party the main target of attack and to tell the public, "after all, the leaders of the CPI(M) had sown the wind of split in 1963-64 and are now reaping the whirlwind".

The Right Communists, true to their class masters, join the chorus, shed crocodile tears over the 1963-64 split, denounce it as a "Peking-dictated affair", and curse the

Communist Party of China and its leader, Mao Tse-tung, to their heart's content, holding them responsible for all the ills in the world communist movement and the Indian communist movement in particular. They fondly hope, thereby, to bolster up the sagging morale of their ranks and destroy the CPI(M), branch and root, by exploiting the present Left defection from it. Finally, they address the Naxalites: "You have done well in revolting against the leaders who revolted against us"!

Thus, if the avowed anti-communist and reactionary forces in the country, in their utter stupidity, seek to draw comfort for themselves from the 'differences and divisions' in the communist movement, hoping that they would work for disintegration and destruction of communism, the Indian revisionists, too, from a different end of their own, are gloating over these differences and defection in our Party, while cursing us, all the time, for having broken away from them in 1964. These revisionist leaders under the signboard of the CPI, who parade as communists and even boast of being "creative Marxists" have totally abandoned the Marxist-Leninist method of analysing the phenomenon of differences and divisions inside the working class movement, in the same way as they have abandoned several fundamental concepts and precepts of Marxism and are indulging in all sorts of philistine banalities.

It is necessary that the Central Committee should go into the whole question deeply and thoroughly, review the entire course of our struggle against right-reformism since 1955, and also against Left-opportunism during the last one year, analyse the causes, in concrete, that gave birth to these two monsters in succession and draw correct lessons so that the party is armed well in facing the exacting tasks ahead.

But it is necessary, at the very outset, to make it absolutely clear that such a review of our entire past is a stupendous task which cannot be undertaken in such a short time and in haste, as it would be highly hazardous. For the present, the review is confined to examining the developments in

Andhra, since several comrades throughout the country are extremely anxious to know as to why such large-scale defections took place in Andhra which happens to be one of the oldest and strongest units of the party.

The Left defections that have taken place during the last one year and in particular, the large-scale defections in Andhra, and the necessity of continued struggle against this menace, both from within and outside the party, compel the party to probe into this phenomenon of Left-adventurism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism, analyse the causes, assess the entire struggle against it, and draw correct conclusions for our Party and the working class movement in the country. It is obvious that any such attempt at analysing the phenomenon of Left deviation in our Party in isolation from our struggle against the Right-revisionist disruption and its legacies would be highly defective and extremely shallow. Since both these Right and Left monsters, as Lenin puts it, are manifestations of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence over the working class movement and the two often complement each other, our examination of one in isolation from the other becomes faulty and the corrections are in danger of acquiring a superficial and stop-gap character. Confining this review to the present phase and immediate past, without going deep into the entire past, and confining it to Andhra would certainly impose serious limitations on the discussion and would not bring out the complete picture. And yet, placed as the party is, there is no escape from this, and comrades must appreciate the real difficulties at present and the limitations they impose on this effort.

Origin and Sources of Differences in the Communist Movement

Before proceeding to analyse the causes and reasons of defections in Andhra, and making some general observations on the conditions obtaining in our Party and the revolutionary movement in the country, it is necessary to reiterate the Marxist-Leninist methodology for analysing and

assessing the phenomenon of differences, deviations and splits in the modern working class movement. A tendency, often expressed in this connection, is to trace these differences and divisions to one or another leader's mistaken positions in the working class movement or one or another group of leaders' erroneous views, which may lead to either Right-reformism and revisionism, or Left-sectarianism and adventurism. But such a view in the first place is superficial and does not explain the essence of the phenomenon; and secondly, it does not arm the working class movement to understand the depth of this phenomenon, nor does it enable it to carry on a principled fight against this menace and guard the unity of the movement. Hence it is necessary that we are guided by the accepted Marxist-Leninist methodology in analysing this phenomenon of differences in the working class movement, as our differences are no exception to the general laws in operation.

All Marxist-Leninists admit that internal influence of the bourgeoisie and external pressure of the imperialists are at the root of this phenomenon of revisionism, whether it is Right-revisionism or revisionism from the Left. This truth is concretised by Lenin and his observations on the subject provide us with infallible guidelines.

The first important observation of Lenin on the subject, which we should note is that "Revisionism", or 'revision' of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers". Further he states, "Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working class movement. The two monsters complement each other". To put it in other words, both Right-revisionism and Left-opportunism are the reflection of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the working class movement and they are often twins, born of the same common origin, rather than antipodes.

The second pertinent observation of Lenin clearly points out that opportunism of both the Right and Left variety is

the social product of a whole historical epoch, and it is an international phenomenon. "That opportunism is not an accidental thing, not a sin, not a slip, not a treachery of individual, but the social product of a whole historical epoch. But not everybody ponders over the significance of this truth." "The inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is an international phenomenon." Commenting on the struggle of Marxists "against the two big trends that are departing from Marxism", Lenin asserts that "these two trends are revisionism (opportunism, reformism) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism). Both these departures from the Marxist theory that is dominant in the labour movement, and from Marxist tactics, have been observable in various forms and in various shades in all civilised countries throughout the more than half a century history of the mass labour movement".

The third point that cannot but interest us while discussing the deviations from Marxist theory and practice is Lenin's elucidation of some of the important factors that constitute the causes and sources of the differences in the proletarian movement, which he had dealt with in a short article captioned "Differences in the European Labour Movement". He mentions there six causes and reasons which are as follows: the growth of the labour movement and the attraction to it of ever new sections of the working class; the uneven growth of capitalism, its development in different countries and spheres of national economy; the tactics that the bourgeois class adopts towards the working class movement; the bourgeois world outlook and its influence; the dialectical nature of social development which misleads some people to constantly exaggerate one-sided theory and tactics, now one and now another feature of capitalist development; and the passing of certain individuals, groups and sections of the petty-bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat, which in turn gives rise to vacillation in theory and practice.

The fourth statement of Lenin that is particularly instructive to us, communists in India, concerns the concrete study

of the phenomenon in each country where the Right and Left opportunist monsters raise their head. He directs all Marxists that "it is now essential that communists of every country should quite consciously take into account both the fundamental objectives of the struggle against opportunism and Left-doctrinairism, and the *concrete features* which this struggle assumes and must inevitably assume in each country, in conformity with the specific character of its economics, politics, culture, national composition, its colonies, religious divisions, and so on and so forth".

Lastly, besides these above-narrated sources for the differences and divisions in the world working class and communist movement, there has arisen an additional source in the present-day international situation. The coming into existence of big socialist states and powerful ruling Communist Parties in them such as the Soviet Union and the CPSU and the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China has its big impact and influence on the rest of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the entire world, their policies and their theoretical-ideological standpoints, from time to time. If correct internal and external policies pursued by these big socialist states and their ruling parties have a salutary effect on the rest of the Communist Parties, and if correct Marxist-Leninist theoretical-ideological stands by them have a beneficial role in moulding the theoretical-ideological view of other fraternal parties, the differences and deviations in each of these big parties and between these parties cannot but reverberate in other fraternal parties. The intensity of these reverberations and the consequent results, of course, vary from party to party, depending upon a number of circumstances. As far as the Indian communist movement is concerned, it is no exaggeration to state that the serious Right-revisionist split in the year 1964, and the Left-adventurist defections in the year 1967-68 are in a big way influenced by the policies of the CPSU and the CPC respectively. To under-rate this truth in any manner is obviously wrong, and the struggle of each party against the adverse

impact of this factor and in defence of its correct and independent positions acquires added importance. The importance of this struggle is all the more underlined when these big parties not merely exercise their influence through their correct or incorrect policies but even crudely interfere in the internal affairs of brother parties—all in the name of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and their infallibility in understanding them and practising them. Otherwise, the unity of the communist movement is in danger of reducing itself to either an unrealizable concept or to the position of succumbing to the pressure of one or the other big party and blindly rallying behind them.

Some Basic Defects and their Impact on Differences inside the Communist Movement

Keeping the guidelines mentioned above, brief observations can be made regarding some of the basic defects, and their persistence since long, in the Indian communist movement.

The first important truth, however unpleasant it may be, is that the communist movement in our country, despite its forty years and more of existence and selfless struggle for the building of a democratic and socialist mass movement, is not yet firmly rooted either in the working class of the advanced industries or the multi-million rural proletariat and semi-proletariat in the countryside. Up to this day the majority of the industrial working class, even in the trade unions, is under the influence and domination of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, and the section under the Right Communist Party is, in no way, politically different from them. It is true that our movement in states like West Bengal and Madras differs somewhat with a comparatively large proletarian base. But taking the party's mass base as a whole in the country, the proletarian and semi-proletarian mass base of our Party was weak even when there was a united Communist Party, and this position has not changed for the better after the split.

Objective and subjective reasons for this state of affairs

apart, the weakness of the mass proletarian base of the communist movement has its immediate and direct effect on the Communist Party and its development. The proletarian aspirations, sentiments, urges, immediate and long-range interests and their class mood and temper do not get adequately reflected and influence the decisions of the party. Consequently, class and mass corrections to the deviations arising in the party are not there, either altogether or with enough impact. Thus, one of the important sources for the prevention of the growth of Right and Left-opportunist trends, and for assisting their speedy remedial when they crop up, remains extremely weak, with all the consequences that such a weakness implies. One of the aspects to be examined while analysing and assessing the latest Left defections is whether the presence or absence of an organised mass workers' and peasants' movement has any direct influence on the phenomenon, and whether it is a fact or not that wherever such a mass proletarian base is there, the Left disruption is either absent or insignificant.

The second point that deserves careful examination is the new growth of capitalism under the three five-year plans in post-independence India, and the influx of new entrants into the working class, i.e. the uprooted peasants and petty-bourgeois white collar workers, and its impact. It cannot be denied that the still-dominant bourgeois influence on the general working class movement of our country is further reinforced by these new entrants into the class, and it, in its turn, in no small way has contributed to the growth of Right-reformist and revisionist illusions in the trade union movement under the leadership of the once-united Communist Party. The fact that the bulk of cadre working on the trade union front opted out to the side of the revisionist leadership when the 1963-64 split took place, should not be dismissed as either accidental or simply because of their theoretical-ideological ill-equipment. The spurt in the industrial development, however limited or small compared to the possibilities and needs, and the big influx of new entrants to the ranks of the industrial

working class, certainly, had provided fertile soil for breeding reformist illusions, which were reflected in the communist movement during the 1955-62 period. The slowing down of the industrial development, the falling employment opportunities, the crisis that set in, the abandonment of the fourth plan, the growing disparity in real incomes, etc., accentuated since 1962, are causing disillusionment, particularly in the middle class employees, and this section is expressing its disillusionment in the form of petty-bourgeois revolutionism and Left-radicalism. Is it conceivable that this will not have its own share in influencing the rise of Leftism in the party?

The third important source that has its direct bearing on the differences and deviations inside the communist movement in our country is the character and weakness in our peasant movement. The growth of the revolutionary working class movement and the Communist Party in our country, a country in which eighty per cent of population is rural and mainly agricultural, is very much dependent upon, not merely how the industrial working class organises itself and fights in defence of its day-to-day interests, but the development of the revolutionary peasant movement and the political, ideological and organisational leadership it provides to the agrarian revolutionary movement. In this regard, apart from the achievements and shortcomings prior to the years 1954-55 in the building up of the agrarian movement, the signal failure on the part of the communists since 1954-55 is undeniable. The first serious attempt made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in the year 1954 to get the kisan movement out of the old rut and reorientate it to the developing new conditions and class relations on the agrarian front, was virtually sabotaged and abandoned in practice, on one pretext or the other. The sum total of this failure was the stagnation of the mass peasant movement, and whatever kisan movement was organised and led was mainly oriented to the middle and well-to-do peasant sector, instead of to the growing numbers of agricultural labour and

poor peasant sections. The relative new opportunities for well-being that presented themselves to the middle and rich peasant sections, in no small way, influenced the Communist Party in the rural areas, and in particular, a good chunk of the cadre of middle and rich peasant origin occupying leading positions in the rural party committees. In fact, the main contingents that came as a big prop to the Right Communist Party and its opportunist line from states like Andhra in its struggle against our Party, represent the above-mentioned sections. The weakness of the movement of agricultural labour and the poor peasantry, the devastating effects of government policies and economic crisis on the rural poor, their intensified class oppression and utilisation of government's repressive police machinery for the same—all this in turn is breeding extreme Leftism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism in certain cadres of the party as a way out of the predicament into which the agrarian movement is thrown. They fail to understand the importance of implementing the new agrarian policy enunciated by the party, show reluctance for patient and sustained work, and are becoming victims of some adventurist slogans and actions.

The fourth important aspect that should draw our utmost attention is the nature and character of the party, its class composition, its Marxist-Leninist education, its steeling and tempering in class and mass struggles, the degree of its class consciousness and political maturity and the manner it was functioned, built, disciplined, etc. Leaving the task of a fuller and comprehensive review to the future, it may be of use to highlight certain marked features that will enable us to have a realistic picture of the present.

The class composition of the once-United Communist Party as well as of our Party after its breaking away from the revisionists, is predominantly petty-bourgeois in character. Ninety per cent of the leading bodies and cadres comprise of middle and rich peasant sections. The fact that both in the general membership of the party and its committees from the village level to every higher committee up to the Central

Committee, elements of proletarian and semi-proletarian origin do not constitute a considerable force, let alone the majority, even after four decades in our country speaks volumes for the failure of the communist movement in our country. True, this state of affairs continues not because the leadership is either unaware of it or has not adopted some good resolutions from time to time stressing the need for increasing proletarianization of the party, but it is mainly and solely due to the serious defects in building the mass workers' and peasants' revolutionary movements, as already pointed out above. Unless a radical turn and reorientation is made in building the trade union and kisan movements, as indicated in our trade union and kisan documents, no amount of self-criticism regarding the defective class composition of our Party will improve matters and no pious resolutions and arbitrary steps can remedy this situation. Is it any wonder that such a party is extremely vulnerable to the frequent rise of Right and Left deviations, when no Communist Party in the world, even if it is sought to be built on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism, can escape facing Right and Left deviations and inner-party struggles?

Now examine the question of Marxist-Leninist education and schooling in the Indian communist movement. Almost all of our leaders and functionaries are quite conversant with the statements of Lenin on the importance of theoretical knowledge for the communists. Statements such as "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice"; "the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory"; "there can be no strong Socialist Party without a revolutionary theory, theory which unites all socialists, from which they draw all their convictions, and which they apply in their methods of struggle and means of action"; "to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen the bourgeois ideology;" etc., are remembered by many and even recited frequently. But, as the saying goes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, we

will have to judge our past performances in this regard from the struggle that has been waged and the results that have accrued on the theoretical-ideological front. It is an undeniable fact that the party, in its long past, had very much neglected the task of theoretical-ideological education of the party. Consequently what had happened was not simply a matter of 'belittling the socialist ideology in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree' against which Lenin had sternly warned, but we had belittled the socialist ideology in a big way and turned away from it to a dangerous degree.

How is the fact to be explained that for a greater part of the time during the last forty years the party got manoeuvred into the position of building a Communist Party and the revolutionary movement without a clear-cut party programme? Why was it shy of working out a new programme from 1955 to 1964, after the programme adopted in 1951-52 was found to be defective in some vital respects? What valid reasons were there to dodge, bypass and evade a serious inner-party discussion from 1955 to 1964, when a series of fundamental theoretical-ideological issues came up such as the precise class character of the state, the stage of our revolution, the principal contradiction in the stage, the class assessment of the internal and external policies of the Congress government, and the possibility or otherwise of conducting the industrial revolution along the bourgeois reformist path, etc.? And what was at the root of the phenomenon that an overwhelming majority in the leading committees of the united party at different levels opted out to the camp of Right-reformism and revisionism? Is it not a fact that the majority of the party membership responded to the call of the 32 National Council members in 1964 not so much because of the complete theoretical-ideological clarity they had over the issues under dispute, but because of their own practical experience of the increasing mass discontent and disillusionment with Congress policies on the one hand, and revulsion with the patently revisionist policy and class-

collaborationist practice of Dange's party and the revisionist policies of the Soviet Communist Party leadership and its government in international affairs, on the other?

The mere fact that our Party broke away from the revisionists should not obliterate the harsh reality that our Party was an integral part of the once-united party and has inherited all the legacies, good and bad, that its Marxist-Leninist theoretical-ideological level is extremely poor, that its rejection of Right-revisionism is no positive proof of its Marxism, that a good chunk of it rallied behind our Party due to its militant sentiments and petty-bourgeois radicalism and that a prolonged and arduous struggle is ahead of us to liquidate the evil legacies and to forge ahead in building a really revolutionary and genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

During the last three years, only preliminary steps could be taken in that direction, and even these, for the most part, remained on paper and are yet to be translated into action. It is in this process that the Party has met with the Left-adventurist challenge and defections.

Hence any analysis and self-critical examination of the Left-infantile phenomenon the party is facing cannot be correct if it is not assessed in relation to the nature of the working class and peasant movements, to the socio-economic conditions that prevail, to the party and its class composition we have inherited, to the growth or stagnation of the democratic movement that our Party is heading in different states, to the correctness or otherwise of the ideological-political struggle we have been waging for the last three years, and to the international factors that are influencing the phenomenon.

The Defections and the Special Features Behind Them

A general look at the Left defections and the relative scale of their disruption in different states and areas would reveal some specific common features that have to be noted, besides the general features on an all-India scale and the

particular features in each state. Stagnation in the mass movement, reverse in the electoral struggles and the pressure of the enemy on our Party and the movements under its leadership and the consequent frustration, all have their impact on this phenomenon.

There are serious defections in states and areas where the mass movement of workers and peasants is either stagnant or at a low ebb, when compared to the states and areas where the democratic movement, under the leadership of our Party, is registering some progress, and the party is in live touch with the masses. Andhra, U.P., Kashmir in the former category and Bengal, Kerala, Tamilnad, etc., in the latter, corroborate this.

In states and areas where our Party's estimation of the correlation of forces and its own strength went completely wrong, where it suffered severe electoral defeats in the fourth general elections, and where it failed to draw correct lessons from the election defeats and reorganise its work to forge ahead, there Leftism got a spurt, and the defections, too, have been serious.

In the states and regions where the struggle against the revisionists was fought more on the abstract ideological-political plane than in the concrete and on mass issues, where revisionist isolation was overestimated and where the dire necessity of forging united front and united mass struggles was underplayed or neglected, there Left infantilism erupted in bigger dimensions and caused greater disruption.

It is noticeable that whichever state unit implemented the party line, as elaborated by the Central Committee and P.B. from time to time, registered progress in the measure it was successful in implementing it, and this truth is more clearly seen during the post-election period, following the Central Committee's resolution "New Situation and Party's Tasks". Not only is there advance in these states—this advance itself differing from state to state, but it is also found that the Left disruption is either less or could be effectively checked when the monster raised its ugly head. Conversely, in the

states where the central party line and directives received either scant regard or could not be implemented for one reason or other, and where the C.C. and P.B. did not and could not intervene in time to get its line implemented, there greater stagnation has set in, providing fertile soil for Left-opportunism and revolutionary phrase-mongering.

Another thing that is strikingly revealed with almost all these groups and individuals that have defected is that none of them, during the last three years, raised any basic objection to any political or programmatic issue or expressed any differences with the party's political line. All of them, without exception, had welcomed the unanimously accepted C.C. resolution "New Situation and Party's Tasks", in the middle of April 1967. It was with the Naxalite infantilism in May-June 1967, which began receiving support as the beginning of an "armed revolution", "national liberation war", etc., from the Peking Radio and the Chinese press on the one hand, and, on the other, was used for systematic scare propaganda with highly exaggerated reports by the monopolist press in the country depicting the Naxalbari struggle as the beginning of an armed insurrection, etc., that the whole programme and political line began to be challenged. If Radio Peking and the press had wrongly seen rising flames of revolution in Naxalbari, the central Congress Government and reaction saw in Naxalbari a golden opportunity to slander the CPI(M), to disrupt the united front and topple the state Government in Bengal. In the confusion thus created, the Left-adventurist trend lost its bearings and steadily and rapidly drifted into a position of total opposition to the party and its political line. Their loyalty to the party, its programme and political line proved skin-deep and their blind faith in Radio Peking and the Chinese press, in the name of anti-revisionism and proletarian internationalism, swept them off their feet into a Left-infantile revolt against the party.

These people who supported the party programme and the political line of the party at the Seventh Congress and who pledged loyalty to the party organisation and its

constitution staged a revolt against it in the second half of 1967.

They demanded that the party accept the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch, and when the demand was rejected by the party's Central Plenum, they decided to go out of the party denouncing it as neo-revisionist.

Thus, a section of comrades in different states who were in no way conspicuous in their zeal and enthusiasm in fighting Right-reformism and revisionist inroads into party policy since 1955 and were even frequently lending support to the then wrong official line of the party and its dominant leadership, surprisingly enough are claiming now to be the sole repositories of Marxism-Leninism and its real revolutionary content. In the name of their adherence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they have come to uphold every pronouncement and statement from the Chinese communist press and radio as creative Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao as the last word on all matters connected with the entire present epoch—a stand that our Party does not and cannot accept as correct.

Andhra Defections and Underlying Causes

Several comrades from all over India, even those who quite well understand the meaning of the dangerous political-ideological line of the Left-adventurist trend and who are convinced that the documents put forth in the Central Plenum by the Andhra 'Lefts' are advocating a systematised Left-adventurist line, express doubts and seek answers as to why such large-scale defections took place and how several leading cadres of long standing, from taluk level to state level, fell victim to Left-infantilism. It is natural that such questions crop up because the Andhra state unit of our Party and the democratic revolutionary movement it was leading had come to occupy a proud and prominent place in the Indian communist movement for nearly a decade during 1946-55, and the party's organisational strength there was on par with

that in the West Bengal and Kerala states, till the Left split and disruption took place. Hence it may prove beneficial to attempt a review of the Andhra developments leading to the large-scale defections.

At the outset it should be made absolutely clear that the phenomenon of Right-reformism or Left-opportunism, as Lenin aptly pointed out, is a phenomenon of an entire historical epoch and of an international character. There is no, nor can there be, any Andhra exceptionalism in this regard. The Left-adventurist deviation in Andhra is an inseparable part of this phenomenon which is expressing itself on a national and international scale at present, as is the case with modern revisionism which stands as the main danger before the world communist movement.

Similarly, the common features of this phenomenon as narrated in this document earlier are fully applicable to and valid in the case of Andhra. In fact, it is in Andhra that they express themselves in a concentrated and concerted form.

In reviewing and analysing the phenomenon of extreme Leftism and large-scale defections in the state unit of Andhra, it is not possible to avoid going, even briefly, into the history of the Communist Party in Andhra, its origin and growth, the major struggles that it had led, the class movement and organizations it had built, the class composition of the party unit, the strong and weak points of the party and the mass movement under its leadership and the particular socio-economic background in which the communist movement in Andhra is being built.

In this connection, we recall how several foreign 'research scholars', particularly those employed by the U.S. and other imperialist agencies in anti-communist research institutions, were repeatedly raising the question, during the 1950-55 period, what the special, social peculiarities are that enabled the growth of the communist movement in Andhra, which is neither conspicuous in any way for its industrial growth nor marked for its feudal oppression and extreme poverty—keeping in mind, of course, the coastal districts of

Andhra where the party organisation was always stronger. These anti-communists had their own purpose for this enquiry and had their own answers. But it should also interest us so that the proper answers to them may help us to appreciate the strong and weak points of our Party and movement in Andhra.

The present Andhra Pradesh comprises three broad regions, which are popularly called the Circar districts, Rayalaseema and Telangana. These three regions, leaving aside how they came to be named so, are distinctly different from each other in their socio-economic development, in their level of education, in the average standard of life, in their relative contribution to the social, cultural and political movements during the last fifty years and more, and, in a way even in the growth and development of the Communist Party in the state.

It is an undeniable fact of history that it was the Circar districts, from the once united Vizag district to Nellore, specially the four delta districts of Guntur, Krishna, West and East Godavaries, that had been the hub of social and political activities. Whether it was the so-called non-brahmin movement in the early 20th century, or the language renaissance movement of *grandhic bhasha* versus *gramya bhasha*, or the movement for a separate Andhra province or for Visalaandhra, or the successive national movements of the 1920s, 30s and 40s, or the progressive student, youth and women's movement or in the spreading of the socialist and communist movement—it is from this central region that the major contingents came forth, the solitary exception being the Telangana peasant armed revolt during 1946-51, which, again, enjoyed solid sympathy and mass support from our Party and the people in the Circar districts. Telangana came into the picture later and is dealt with separately.

A few glaring facts go to corroborate the truth of this statement. During the national movement led by the Congress, in the twenties and thirties, of the three to four thousand persons who participated in the civil disobedience

movement and courted imprisonment in entire Andhra, the three districts of Guntur, West Godavary and Krishna alone contributed three-fourths of this contingent; more than three quarters of the strength of the Communist Party which has functioned in Andhra during the last thirtyfive years or so, comes from the central Circar districts, the region of Rayalseema remaining far behind with only some small and scattered pockets in different districts whose total strength never exceeded two thousand; the three hundred comrades who laid down their lives during the fascist repression of the Congress in 1948-51, except for six or seven, came from these central districts; of the fortyeight Legislative Assembly and 11 Parliament members, either party or party-supported, elected in the 1952 elections, 40 of the former and 10 of the latter were from these central districts; and the same holds good, even to this day, regarding development of class and mass movements as well as the Communist Party.

It is equally striking that out of the total voting strength in the eleven districts of the old Andhra province, as big a percentage as 55 of the average of votes are registered in the four districts of Guntur, Krishna, West Godavary and East Godavary. In the three successive elections held in 1946, 1952 and 1955, it is found that the percentage of the total votes secured for the Communist Party from these four districts alone are 95 in 1946, 85.5 in 1952 and 73 in 1955. Out of the total communist candidates contesting the three successive elections, as big a percentage as 89 in 1946, 72 in 1952 and 58 in 1955, came from these four delta districts alone.

This speciality of the area cannot be explained by anything other than its socio-economic basis and the consequent class pattern which is relatively advanced from the rest. The first point is that for long all these central districts have had the ryotwari system of land tenure, barring a few zamindari or inamdari pockets. The second important point is that big projects like the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar have been providing irrigation facilities for the last hundred

years and more to sizable tracts in these districts. Thirdly, the land is also more fertile in these districts. As a result of all this, and several other factors, capitalist relations in agriculture are far more developed here than in the rest of the regions, and the emergence of a good chunk of middle and rich peasants and sizable sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie are a pronounced character of this region.

This region, even today, after twenty years of national political independence, remains an industrially backward region, with hardly one urban centre which can be called the centre of the modern working class, though towns and the urban population constitute 15 to 20 per cent of the people in the area. In the agrarian sector, neither the time-old feudal and semi-feudal forms of exploitation and oppression prevails nor have fully developed capitalist relations and capitalist landlordism taken its place. Between the bulk of the agricultural labour and poor peasant on the one hand and five per cent of the different kinds of landlords on the other, there has emerged a sizable stratum of middle and rich peasants, which is not inspired by the slogan of land distribution, because they, as realists, well understand that there will be practically no land for them after the demand of the agricultural labour and poor peasants for land is satisfied. And more than that, this stratum, in general, is opposed to the wage demands of agricultural labour, as they, too, employ considerable numbers of agricultural labourers and indulge in different forms of exploitation of the rural proletarians and poor peasants. The Congress Government's agrarian policies are principally aimed at benefiting the big landlords and rich peasant sections. But these policies, in the long run, as the crisis deepens, will certainly hit even the rich peasants. Yet it is totally unrealistic to state that the rich peasants and the middle peasants in this deltaic region of Andhra are already affected seriously. It is also unreal to say that even sections of the middle peasants have not gained anything at all from the agrarian policies. Though this observation is surely not applicable to all parts of the country,

and for that matter even to all the regions of the state equally, and may appear even somewhat strange, it seems to be completely correct as far as this region is concerned, with its considerable tracts of land, moderate rainfall, extensive irrigation facilities, long-standing ryotwari system of land tenure, availability of cheap agricultural labour, and good marketing facilities. The worst hit under the Congress policies are the agricultural labourers, poor peasants, artisans and the urban consumers and middle classes, while the most benefited are the big landlords, rich peasants, big traders, the Congress-patronised contractors, etc.

Such in brief is the socio-economic background of the region in Andhra on which the first nucleus of the Communist Party in the state was formed, and to this day, after 35 years of its existence, the bulk of the party membership is recruited from this region, and the major class and mass movements under the party's leadership are more or less confined to this area, with the exception of the three districts of Telangana. Out of the 20 districts in the present Andhra Pradesh, the Communist Party stands as a mass force only in 6 districts, while in the rest it is either weak and nominal or non-existent. Neither a mass working class movement nor a widespread agrarian revolutionary movement constitutes the base and principal centre of party activity.

The question that remains to be explained now is how the Communist Party grew in strength and secured its wide democratic mass base in Andhra? First of all, it is necessary to state that it could attract to its fold a good chunk of the anti-imperialist youth in these central districts who were disillusioned with the Congress and its methods of struggle during the 1930-32 movement and were roused by radical and revolutionary ideas of socialism and communism. Secondly, it was this communist youth who had the fortune of doing pioneering work in trade unions in the working class, as well as organising agricultural labour associations and kisan sabhas of the peasantry, which conducted a number of working class economic struggles and a series of agricultural

labour struggles as well as local kisan struggles on their pressing day-to-day demands, over a period of a decade from 1935-36 to 1945-46. Thirdly, it was the commun-ists in Andhra who were the first to organise youth and student sections on a big scale, and attracted the most militant and advanced among them into the Communist Party. Fourthly, it was the communist unit in Andhra that extended its party organization and work to the Telangana region in the then state of Hyderabad, and this work in course of time provided real flesh and blood to the movement for the formation of the Visalaandhra state, the first of its kind in the history of the Telugu people. Fifthly, our Party in Andhra stood in the van during 1939-46, initiating and championing causes such as cultural and literary revival, women's uplift, end to social oppression of the scheduled castes, and all other progressive and democratic currents like the demand for separate Andhra state and Visalaandhra. It also led militant agricultural and urban labour struggles in the central districts of Andhra during 1946-48. Finally, the historic Telangana peasant armed revolt of 1946-51, boldly led by our Party, had helped the Andhra communist movement to gain new heights by 1951-52. The massive electoral victories scored in the first general elections, when as big a number as 85 MLAs and 19 MPs got elected on the party ticket or mainly on the party's support, prove this truth.

Telangana Peasant Struggles and the State Communist Party Unit

The Telangana region, as is well known, was a part of the Nizam's state of Hyderabad, which comprises 8 districts, with a population of around ten million. The state Communist Party unit, which was formed and was functioning in the Andhra area of the former Madras state since 1933-34, was able to set up its illegal communist nucleus in Hyderabad only in 1940 with a group of Left petty-bourgeois intellectuals and some radicals of liberal landlord origin who were connected with the states people's movement under the Andhra

Mahasabha and were inspired by the national liberation movement led by the Congress in British India. From 1940 to 1945, the party unit there was guided by organisers appointed by the Andhra state unit, and its activities, besides forming study groups and some stray contacts with the working class, were confined, in the main, to activities in the Andhra Mahasabha, an organization which began as a literary-cultural organisation and comprised of elements in its leadership from newly recruited communists to liberal landlords and enlightened gentry from the Telugu part of the state. The agrarian demands that the communist elements raised and succeeded in incorporating in the programme of the Andhra Mahasabha, the demand for no eviction of tenants, for no illegal exactions and forced labour and for no imposition of grain levy on the poor peasantry, secured a wide peasant mass base for it in the peasantry which was subjected to mediaeval exploitation and the most barbarous social oppression for centuries under the Muslim feudal rulers and their jagirdar and deshmukh landlord satraps. It must be admitted here that neither the agrarian programme that our Party advocated on the platform of the Andhra Mahasabha nor the political slogans raised from it were conspicuously radical and revolutionary in their nature, they were only general democratic and moderate in their nature. And yet, the sabha platform, being the sole mass platform of its kind, which came to exist in the region after centuries of denial of any civil liberties worth the name, secured spontaneous mass peasant support, and our Party's work among the peasantry, however modest and limited, paid big dividends.

The big mass peasant upheaval in Telangana, it should be realised, started in 1945-46 as an inseparable part of the post-second war upsurge in the country. The resolution of the party's Central Committee of August 1946, and the Andhra state unit's serious efforts to implement the same, both in the Andhra area and the Telangana region, found ready and spontaneous response in the Telangana peasantry, particularly in the districts adjoining the Circar districts of Guntur,

Krishna, West Godavary, where the general national movement as well as the Communist Party were strong and widespread.

The Telangana peasant struggle which was started as a movement against large-scale evictions, burdensome and oppressive grain levies and atrocious slave labour in 1946 gained rapid momentum. The peasantry with its long-accumulated revolutionary energy was in no mood to be cowed down by the combined oppression and violence let loose by the Nizam's police and military and the hired goonda gangs of the deshmukhs and big landlords. Not only did this mass peasant resistance to the armed attacks of the feudal ruling classes steadily acquire the character of armed resistance of the peasantry, however poorly equipped and ill-prepared it was, it also marched forward with radical agrarian demands, combined with the political demand for the overthrow of the Nizam's state power.

In this connection, it is instructive to note that our Party's attempt to organise and lead a wide mass movement as part of the general anti-imperialist national liberation struggle in the Andhra part of the former Madras state did not succeed as desired, but in the Telangana region it grew beyond expectation, and in a way, took the party unawares. Is it not also important to note that while in the Andhra area, where the organised peasant movement was far older with its organisation of Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labour Association, where the anti-imperialist national liberation movement was deep and widespread and where the Communist Party and its organizational strength was far superior, the revolutionary upsurge did not break out, whereas in the Telangana region, with a young and weak Communist Party, with no other class or mass organization in existence since time immemorial except the amorphous mass movement organised in the form of the Andhra Mahasabha, with no experience of any class and mass struggles with the exception of the State Congress satyagraha movement during 1938-40, and with comparatively less mass political awakening, it grew into the historic peasant armed struggle and continued

for more than five years, people displaying marvels of heroism and sacrifice, laying down their lives in thousands, facing mass-scale arrests, beatings and torture?

There are a number of socio-economic factors that alone can correctly explain this. The first and foremost factor was that the contradiction between the mass of the peasantry and feudal landlordism in Telangana had assumed the acutest and sharpest form reaching its bursting point, whereas in the agrarian class set-up in the Andhra area, that was not so, since the development of capitalism and capitalist relations, the class differentiation among the peasantry, were far advanced, mitigating some contradictions, while also introducing some new contradictions which had not yet matured.

The second important political point was that in the part of Andhra under direct British rule, the national liberation movement continued to be under the hegemony of the Congress party, as in the rest of British India, while the hegemony of the liberation struggle against the feudal autocracy of Hyderabad, in the Telangana region, was virtually snatched away from the liberal leadership of the Andhra Mahasabha by the democratic forces headed by the Communist Party, which secured the additional advantage of merging the agrarian revolutionary current with the national liberation current. Why our Party failed to secure such a leading position in the anti-imperialist national liberation movement in the Andhra part, what the shortcomings and errors were during the 1939-46 period of the second war in the struggle for such a hegemony, etc., of course are not the subject matter of the present document since these questions are connected with the policies of the CPI as a whole in that period and cover questions of party history, though it is very necessary to draw correct lessons from our past experiences.

The third significant factor was that the contradiction between the state ruler of Hyderabad and the new Indian state that had come into existence with the transfer of power in 1947, could not be resolved by a peaceful compromise, as in the case of the rest of the Indian native states, but con-

tinued and intensified till the 'police action' in September 1948. Thus the period between the establishment of the Interim government at the Centre in August 1946 and the so-called police action of 1948, had provided our Party with elbow room to manoeuvre, develop and expand the struggle in Telangana utilising this contradiction.

The fourth factor that worked in the party's favour was the complete social isolation of the Muslim autocratic ruler of Hyderabad state and the general moral sympathy for the struggle against this regime, coming not only from genuinely democratic and nationalist forces but also several Hindu-minded sections, who identified their Hinduism with Indian nationalism. This factor working in our favour in a more pronounced manner could be seen in the Andhra area where considerable sections of the local national bourgeoisie and even liberal-minded gentry were either sympathetic to the struggle or benevolently neutral despite their anti-communism, and this lasted till "the liberation of Hyderabad" by the big bourgeois-landlord government.

The last significant factor that, in no inconsiderable way, assisted the development of the Telangana struggle was the existence of a well-knit Communist Party in the adjoining Andhra area which had in its fold the revolutionary youth, inspired with revolutionary idealism and militancy and was able to supply political-ideological leadership and tender moral, material and organizational assistance to it, despite the leadership's theoretical-ideological limitations in the science of Marxism-Leninism, and the lack of adequate knowledge and experience to lead such a big peasant revolt.

The historic Telangana peasant struggle, which wrote a golden chapter in modern Indian revolutionary movement, not only gave the communist movement in Andhra a great moral and political boost, but it also immensely enhanced the political prestige of the Communist Party of India as a whole, put the party on the political map of India as a serious political force in the national arena. The great sacrifices made in the struggle, chiefly by the peasant masses

and their militant leadership in Telangana and also partly by the people and the Communist Party in Andhra, the big impetus it gave to the urges of the Andhra people for separate statehood and the fillip it gave to the movement for linguistic states in the Indian Union, the contribution it made in thrusting to the forefront the agrarian question as the foremost national question in India, the practical achievement it scored and the proud record of revolutionary traditions it created, and the big lessons that this heroic peasant armed struggle taught our Party are matters of recorded history which none can erase.

It is true that our Party, unfortunately, has not so far succeeded in methodically and systematically reviewing the whole struggle so that the rich and correct lessons from it are drawn and made the common consciousness of our entire Party members and all the democratic, revolutionary fighting people in the country. One of the principal reasons for this failure is to be directly traced to the rise of a big Right-opportunist trend which, cashing on some of the sectarian and adventurist mistakes of the party during 1949-51, had slowly and steadily gained ascendancy in the party leadership at the all-India level and in particular at the Andhra-Visalaandhra level of our Party. The lessons this Right-opportunist trend drew and was trying to impart from time to time, particularly in Andhra, when pieced together properly, bear similarity to the lessons the Mensheviks drew from the 1905 Russian Revolution. The comparison may look far-fetched and exaggerated, and yet the fact remains that horribly defeatist and thoroughly opportunist lessons were drawn by this trend.

To cite a few examples of the treacherous lessons, the attention of comrades may be drawn to some of the controversies raised by the Right-reformist trend during the 1951-52 period. The thesis that the continuation of the peasant armed resistance after 'police action' was adventurist and terroristic, and that the party should have welcomed the 'action' as liberation of the people of Hyderabad state from feudal

princely yoke; the open denunciation of the struggle through pamphlets and statements; the hideous propaganda let loose against the leadership of the struggling peasantry as people perpetrating arson, loot, murder and responsible for the deaths of thousands of Communist partisans; the splitting activities indulged in breaking the common communist organization of the Visalaandhra Committee into separate Telangana and Andhra Committees; the demand raised for the readmission of those who were expelled from the party for cowardice, giving undertakings to the enemy, betrayal of partisan leaders, and running away from underground shelters, on the specious plea that all these anti-party crimes took place because of the sectarian and terroristic policies of the party; the dogged and determined opposition to the inclusion of prominent partisan leaders in party committees on the bogus plea that it would create difficulties in the legal functioning of the party and that the partisan leaders are not politically mature; the reluctance and even resistance to assist in fighting the hundreds of cases foisted on the partisan leaders; the dogged attempt to function the People's Democratic Front as a sort of party while relegating the Communist Party to the background; the local and parochial feelings freely roused to drive a wedge between the people of the Telangana and Andhra regions, etc., all did immense damage both to the orderly withdrawal of the partisan struggle and to the defence and consolidation of the gains of the peasantry in the post-withdrawal period. The united party organization and the movement was split into separate Andhra and Telangana parts, and this continued for nearly five years from 1951 to 1956, and paralysed the strength of the party and the entire movement—a movement that had become what it was mainly due to this united strength and its striking force.

This separation of the two, i.e., Andhra with a more developed and organised Communist Party but without a solid mass working class and peasant revolutionary movement as its base, and Telangana with a powerful agrarian movement but with a weak Communist Party which lacked

the minimum required organizational experience, minimum necessary theoretical-ideological equipment and political maturity of the leading committees, harmed both, and opened the floodgates to the widespread growth of parliamentary illusions, and undue admiration of bourgeois democratic reforms and achievements. A marked growth of legalist illusions and conspicuous neglect of mass work on class lines in the workers and peasants on the one hand and, on the other, introduction of such alien concepts and ideas in the building up of the Communist Party as lowered its discipline, theoretical-ideological cohesion, membership standard, proletarian outlook, etc., became a pronounced feature. The launching of the second five-year plan with great fanfare, the new good friendly relations established by the Nehru government with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and the government's new stances against war and colonialism, the defeat in the mid-term elections of Andhra, and the Right-opportunist contributions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU—all this was taken advantage of in a big way by the Right-reformist trend in the leadership to mount its offensive and strengthen its position. The Andhra communist movement which had come to occupy the foremost place in the Indian communist movement and contributed in a considerable way to assist its growth, now became the major centre of all these differences and deviations, with all the consequences such disputes entail.

However, our analysis of these Andhra developments and assessment of our movement in the state should not blur our vision to one important aspect. Since these differences and deviations arose in the course of building and leading a powerful democratic revolutionary movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the prolonged inner-party struggle to settle these differences in terms of Marxism-Leninism and its outcome has a positive and beneficial effect on our Party as a whole. It was this strong movement, which reached the height of armed struggle and local agrarian insurrection against the feudal regime of Hyderabad and

its accomplices, that forced into the forefront several theoretical, ideological, and programmatic questions as questions arising out of the dire needs of the movement. One such important point was the discussion of the so-called Chinese path and Russian path and the concluding of that discussion by arriving at a broad, essentially correct understanding as incorporated in the Policy Statement of 1951. Similarly, the basic controversies raised by the then Andhra Secretariat of the party regarding the stage, strategy and programme of our Party, however defectively and imperfectly they were formulated, and correct solutions to which could not be found till 1964 were clear reflections of the movement in Andhra. And they had their positive contribution which cannot be ignored.

Not only did we fail to carry on a systematic struggle against these opportunist trends and the defeatist lessons drawn by them from the Telangana struggles carried on in the Andhra part during the 1947-51 period, thanks to the dominant all-India leadership and its Right-reformist political-organisational line, the erroneous lessons again drawn from the electoral defeat of 1955 in Andhra further assisted the growth of Right opportunism in the state unit of Andhra Pradesh.

Why Disunity, Disorganisation and Decline?

The question that arises is, why was the communist movement in Andhra which had reached such heights by 1951-52—and the process, in a way, seemed to be continuing till 1954-55—thrown on the defensive since then, and is now in 1967-68, in a sort of disunity, disorganisation and 'decline'? What are the objective conditions that had negative influence and what were the subjective errors of the communists for this course of development? These are questions that require a correct answer.

The communist movement in Andhra Pradesh, after initially securing its minimum independent mass base through its work in the urban working class and the rural poor, was

quick in correctly espousing and boldly giving leadership to a series of pressing bourgeois-democratic demands, such as the demand for separate Andhra, the demand for Visalaandhra and the breaking up of the feudal Hyderabad state, and the big electoral battle of 1951-52 both in the Andhra and the Telangana regions, the mass campaigns and huge mobilization for irrigation projects and other general political democratic issues. All these struggles, no doubt, paid big dividends to the Communist Party, and most of these bourgeois-democratic demands were won by the popular movements led by the party. But in course of leading these general democratic struggles, particularly during the period following 1951-52, a serious mistake crept in—the mistake of neglecting the independent mobilisation and consolidation of the working class base in the urban areas and the agricultural labour and poor peasant base in the rural areas, and also in building the Communist Party on correct theoretical, ideological and political lines. As a result of this grievous mistake, the big democratic victories scored by the breaking up of the former Madras state and the setting up of a separate Andhra state, and the breaking up of the feudal Nizam's state paving the way for the formation of Visalaandhra state could be more effectively utilised by the rural and urban bourgeois classes in the state for their class aggrandisement, while the working class and its Communist Party found themselves organisationally weak, politically backward and ideologically unprepared to meet the turn of events and go forward.

To put it sharply, when the party of the working class participates in the multi-class struggles for national independence and other general democratic demands, it has always to bear in mind that as a working class party it will have to frontally confront on a number of crucial issues its bourgeois and petty-bourgeois allies in such struggles on the morrow of partial or complete victory in these struggles, since common interests either completely recede into the background or get relegated to a secondary place while con-

flicting interests are thrust to the forefront. Our failure to correctly and concretely assess in class terms, in time, the real significance of the transfer of power to the hands of the bourgeois-landlord classes in 1947, and our failure to assess the class meaning of achieving Andhra and Visalaandhra states for the working class vis-a-vis its bourgeois-landlord opponents, and the consequent unpreparedness, politically, ideologically and organisationally, to face the new tasks in the new situation deprived us of the initiative, and threw us on the defensive from which we have not recovered and regained the initiative.

A glance into the history of inner-party controversies in Andhra since 1952, into several of the reports of extended meetings of the State Committee and State Conferences, into the self-critical reviews of elections of 1955, 1957, and 1967 would bring before us one salient truth, i.e., the open and frank admission that our party's links with the agricultural labourers and rural poor were getting weaker and weaker, that intensive work among them was neglected, and that there was persistent reluctance and hesitation in a greater part of the village level party leadership to go to the agricultural labourers poor peasants and take up their demands. This 'disease' could not be cured for years either when the party was united or to any appreciable degree even after the break from the revisionists. How does one explain this horrifying failure in a state party unit, whose pioneers in the 1930s and 40s were in the habit of going to the rural labourers and urban workers with missionary zeal, a state unit which during 1947-51 headed the Telangana peasant armed resistance and faced brutal violence and repression with death-defying courage and abandon?

A careful analysis reveals some of the grave defects that had crept in. The sweeping electoral victories both in the Andhra and the Telangana regions in 1952, in no small way, influenced the party leadership at different levels in their thinking and activity—thinking and activity permeated with parliamentary illusions, subordinating sustained work in the

basic classes and masses to different types of elections from village panchayats to the Assembly and Parliament. The issues that were chosen and on which attention was concentrated used to be such that they would not disturb the electoral alliances and fronts, or class peace in the village, in any serious manner. With the exception of the demand and struggle for the distribution of wastelands among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, which of course, does not frontally and directly conflict with the landlords in a big way, other issues that took priority were separate Andhra state, projects, location of capital, formation of Visalaandhra and the no-confidence motion in the Andhra Assembly—not so much class and mass issues but issues round which all sorts of odd interests rally. This continued till the 1955 mid-term elections, which again revealed all the basic weaknesses in the movement, particularly among the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat.

The lessons drawn from the Telangana struggle and the struggle against cruel repression unleashed in the Andhra region during the 1948-52 period, as well as the lessons drawn from the electoral victories of 1952 by the dominant section of the party leadership at different levels were extremely defective and even right-opportunist in character. Fear of alienating allies in the electoral and legislative fronts that had been forged if the class demands of the rural poor were taken seriously, the right-opportunist attitude to forming and building united fronts, the exaggerated and lopsided importance given to the work of petitions, representations and legislative measures to the point of neglecting independent class and mass mobilisation on issues and the tendency to take up “all-class” and non-controversial issues and problems which neither rouse the enthusiasm of the basic classes nor evoke serious antagonism from the landlord classes were some of the manifestations of the wrong lessons mentioned above besides the highly exaggerated and bloated opinion that had come to be held that our party had become a big party in the country and the second party, next only to the Congress.

The mid-term election battle, fought by the state unit in 1955, was really a big political struggle from the point of view of general bourgeois-democratic parliamentary forms of struggle waged under the leadership of the Communist Party. The votes secured, the huge mass mobilisation and the strenuous efforts made by the party were, certainly, praiseworthy, though the actual seats won and the consequent fiasco to the slogan of the formation of an alternative government came as a big defeat. This electoral battle, no doubt, revealed all the strong and weak points of our movement and party organisation in Andhra, and had many lessons for our party, which if correctly drawn could be utilised for the advancement of our party and democratic movement. But what were the main lessons drawn by the Central Committee as well as the state party leadership and to what purpose were they used subsequently?

The first lesson was that we failed to build a united front with non-Congress political parties and groups. Seizing upon the serious error of overestimating our independent strength and consequent slackening of concrete efforts to win as many allies as possible and neutralise all those who could be neutralised, a non-class united front concept was emphasised. The dominant group in the state leadership of our party, as was clearly seen in the subsequent two years of practice, was trying to put into practice its own totally erroneous lessons, the lessons of forging united front with one or the other factional groups in the Congress party. The bogus thesis that Sri Sanjiva Reddy's faction was the representative of small capitalist landlords and the rising bourgeoisie while Sri Gopala Reddy's group was the mouthpiece of big feudal landlords and the big bourgeoisie and advocating a united front with the former, the equally bankrupt thesis that the Rao group in Telangana represented the progressive liberal bourgeoisie and the Reddy group championed the worst feudal and semi-feudal landlord reaction and advocating electoral front and unity with the former in the period preceding the 1957 general elections, etc., stand as glaring examples of

the right-opportunist and class-collaborationist lessons that were drawn on united front. The total fiasco of this line, during the 1957 elections in Andhra, and the serious setbacks in Telangana, were such that the Secretary of the State Committee who was its main propounder went home to look after his farm and did not return to his Secretary's duties for nearly one year!

The second important lesson drawn was that our party did not appreciate the great progressive aspect of Nehru's foreign policy, and its attitude was negative instead of positively acclaiming it, and hence it lost the support of considerable sections of middle class voters in the mid-term elections! This, in other words, was accusing the party in Andhra for not circulating the Soviet government's good conduct certificate of Nehru's progressivism, which the Congress party was widely circulating during the Andhra elections in lakhs of printed copies! Not satisfied with that, a special directive was given to concentrate our work in the middle classes whereas the real malady was neglect of work among our basic classes and masses.

What was the practice resorted to following these lessons, particularly by the Secretary of the State Committee and his followers? Exploiting the sentiments of depression and demoralisation caused by the electoral defeats in the minds of the party cadre, which itself was a reflection of low political calibre, a systematic drive was unleashed for the so-called "rehabilitation" of party wholetimers by which a good number of wholetime functionaries in different mass fronts and party organisations were sent out to find different occupations in life and eke out their livelihood.

In the midst of drawing these and similar other totally defeatist and disruptive lessons, the single biggest, crucial and correct lesson, either half drawn or virtually not drawn, was the grievous loss of live links and touch of the village level party leadership with the agricultural labour and village poor, fatal weakness in our movement which came to be revealed in a good number of cases where our Party

candidates not merely got defeated but the defeat itself came as a surprise. In hundreds of villages, where our Party was supposed to be strong and even the leading political force, our local Party units were banking on the support of the agricultural labour sections, en masse, and their solidly voting for our candidates was taken for granted. But the results disclosed that sizable numbers among them did not vote for us, and were lured into voting for the Congress under the manipulations and machinations of local landlords, about which our village level Party leadership was not even aware of till the counting of votes took place! The absence of any planned and intensive work among them during the years 1952, 1953, 1954 and even during the election year of 1955, the deplorable lack of living day-to-day touch with these oppressed and down trodden sections, and the failure to consolidate their precious support which alone was responsible for the big electoral victories of 1952 and the voting strength in all the subsequent elections, were nakedly revealed. Neither was this costly lesson learnt nor a single effective step to remedy the malady taken, following the 1955 experience.

The election reviews of 1957, 1962 and 1967 formally drew this lesson, but without making any change in the actual practice. This grave defect in the movement, particularly in a region where fifty per cent of the agrarian population comprises of agricultural labour which has practically no other means of livelihood than selling its labour power, in a region where neither the old form of feudal set-up exists intact nor the building of an agrarian revolutionary movement of all-in kisan unity against feudal and semi-feudal land relations is anymore easy and feasible, has had devastating effects.

Then, coming to the working class movement its character, etc., in Andhra. As was mentioned already, Andhra is not an industrialised state, even by Indian standards. The communists worked hard among whatever working class was there in the state, and had acquired the leading position in

the trade union movement of the state. But the movement was mainly confined to economic activity and its level of political consciousness remained at a low level, and no serious party building activity among the workers was undertaken. At no stage of the development of the democratic revolutionary movement in Andhra under the leadership of our Party, including the days of the armed peasant struggle of Telangana, could the working class, as a class, be mobilised as a political vanguard to participate in these struggles. Economism, the low level of political consciousness, the neglect of party building among the working class, etc., provided ample opportunities for the revisionists to run away with the major organised trade union movement when the break with them came in 1963-64 and our Party found itself very weak in the trade union movement in the state. Another weakness is that the trade union or political work carried on in the working class is not concentrated in key industries such as railways, transport and other big industries, but is left to spontaneity, taking on hand whatever that comes easy. As a result of all this, the working class movement, as an organised mass movement, remained as one of the several currents of the democratic movement in the state, rather than playing a vanguard role in it. This serious defect, in its turn, reflects in the Communist Party its development and the policies it evolves and practises, from time to time. The healthy, revolutionary class instincts of the working class as a class did not and could not come into play in practice, either during the stage when Right-revisionist disruption was threatening the Communist Party in 1963-64 or Left-adventurist defection in 1967-68. These costly lessons should teach our Party to correct the mistakes and guide its activities in future, not only in Andhra, but in all the states in the country, wherever the grave defects, pointed out in our analysis, are discernible in one degree or another.

The third serious defect that could be clearly seen was that the party leadership at village and taluk level, which comprised mainly of personnel of middle and rich peasant

origin, and which also was the easy victim of the above line of thinking, systematically displayed its unwillingness to orient its work on correct class lines, with the result that several resolutions of the State and District Committees to this effect remained on paper, unimplemented. A common complaint from conscious elements among agricultural labour, that was repeatedly brought to the notice of the state party leadership, had been their critical remark, "you communists came to us during 1948-51 seeking shelter when the police was hunting you, and also come to us whenever there are elections, either to the village panchayat or the Legislative Assembly, and for the rest of the time you are not to be found". This single remark, heard repeatedly, speaks more eloquently of our malady than volumes of our self-critical reports. On looking back, we find that while a type of reformist work was carried on between 1942 and 1946 with the slogan of agricultural labour and peasant unity (*cooly-ryoty samarasyam*) and it was sought to be corrected during the 1947-51 period, despite some serious Leftist errors in executing it, in the long period since 1952, it is not the political line corrected by both these experiences that is implemented, but what has come to prevail is total neglect of the work on this front, and that, too, at a stage of socio-economic development when this front assumes added importance for the building up of the revolutionary movement. The predominance of the petty bourgeois element in the party and the leadership at local levels, in particular, and the theoretical ideological ill-equipment and the consequent rise of deviations, both Right-opportunistic in the past and Left-sectarian at present, cannot be dismissed as small factors in the present sad developments in the Andhra communist movement.

To put it sharply, the communist movement in Andhra still retains strong characteristics of a petty-bourgeois revolutionary democratic movement, and has not yet succeeded in acquiring a real proletarian character and content. The objective socio-economic reasons for this development apart, the absence of any other Left political party, worth the name,

in the state, several petty-bourgeois democratic elements rallying behind our Party as the only effective opposition party to the Congress in Andhra, the failure to put the movement on correct proletarian class lines and above all, the wrong lessons drawn from time to time of the struggles led by the party and the extremely inadequate attention paid to Marxist-Leninist theoretical ideological equipping of the Party are some of the factors to be taken into serious account, besides the developments on an all-India plane, the policies of the all-India party and their direct and indirect impact on the Andhra movement.

The mere fact that not only the biggest contingent championing Right-reformism and revisionism during the 1963-64 inner-party struggle came from the Andhra state unit of the Communist Party, but during the Left adventurist disruption of 1967-68 also, the Andhra state unit contributed the biggest quota of defections, highlights the weak ideological base of our Party, its predominant petty-bourgeois class composition and the weakness of its independent class base in the urban and rural proletariat. It can be easily seen that except Andhra, from no other traditional strongholds of the communist movement, such as Kerala, Bengal, Tamilnad and Punjab, such big chunks of the Party opted out to revisionism in 1963-64 and again to Left-opportunism and adventurism during 1967-68. This phenomenon cannot be brushed aside as either accidental or connected only with the behaviour of some individual leaders and groups.

Some leaders from Andhra, as the typical class representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie, were the first, since 1955, to come forth as the biggest eulogists and apologists of Congress five-year plans, the progress achieved under them, the benefits of community development schemes, the relative prosperity that people including agricultural labourers were supposed to be enjoying, etc. Thus, they were the first to be swept off their feet by the limited bourgeois-democratic achievements under the Congress regime, and to work out all sorts of Right-opportunist theories.

Then, again, when Congress policies have gone bankrupt and its path of capitalist development is caught in a crisis, causing disillusionment and disenchantment with the ruling Congress party, the same Andhra unit throws up another set of leaders who discover all-round disintegration of the Congress party and its bourgeois-landlord rule, discover that a revolutionary crisis is on and demand highest revolutionary forms of struggle, here and now.

These are, thus, two sides of the same medal—the petty-bourgeoisie which goes into ecstasies, at some bourgeois democratic progress, and runs into frenzied denunciation the moment they find some reverses in the same. A steadfast and sustained revolutionary stand is quite alien to this class.

Impact of the Differences in the International Communist Movement

However, tracing the Right-opportunist and Left-adventurist deviations and the disruption caused by them in the communist movement in Andhra to the socio-economic factors, the defects in the building of the worker's and peasants' revolutionary movement and the party organisation, its class composition and Marxist-Leninist education, etc., cannot be taken as a complete and exhaustive analysis of the reasons for either the large scale defections in Andhra or the spurt of this Left-adventurist trend inside our Party on a countrywide scale. There are other equally important reasons for the emergence of this phenomenon, and the magnitude in which it has emerged now.

One of the principal reasons is the undue, though unavoidable delay caused, in clinching the ideological questions that are under debate in the world communist movement. Since our Tenali Convention of July 1964 when our Programme draft was broadly endorsed, for full three years up to August 1967, our C.C.'s official stand on these ideological questions, more or less, stood in suspense, with the result that *the entire struggle against revisionism, as far as the ideological issues under debate in the world communist*

movement are concerned, was carried on solely relying on the contributions made by the Chinese Communist Party and reproducing them in our papers and pamphlets in different languages. In no other state party unit, probably except that of West Bengal, was this work carried on with such zeal, persistence and faith as in Andhra during the last three years and more. In the name of fighting modern revisionism and defending Marxism-Leninism, every syllable coming from the Chinese communist press has come to be swallowed as an infallible piece of Marxism-Leninism, as used to be the case with most of us in regard to the CPSU for a long time in the past. In a party unit like Andhra, which comprises of members and leaders mostly coming from the peasant strata and where the movement, during the 1947-52 period, reached the heights of the Telangana armed resistance, this has left its particularly strong and powerful impact. The broad acceptance of the Chinese Communist Party's General Line, propounded in the June 14 Letter, as the correct Marxist-Leninist line by the majority in the Central Committee, led to a stage where a good chunk of the cadres as well as ranks in Andhra came to be taken in by the Chinese thesis that the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung is the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch". The non-committal stand of the Central Committee on the ideological issues in the international dispute, until they were discussed and decided by the party, was in reality utilised by this section of comrades, more and more, to commit themselves to each and every Chinese position, leaving no open mind whatsoever on any issue that was yet to be discussed and decided through organised inner-party discussions and debate. Positions were taken, convictions were formed and confirmed—and what remained was to carry on the inner-party struggle for the victory of these positions!

The clear demarcation we made with Chinese communist positions in drafting our Programme, while breaking with the revisionists, was accepted formally or acquiesced in by many in our Party, but they neither understood its deeper

theoretical implications nor did the C.C. leadership realise the urgency or necessity of elaborating them and educating the entire party on them. The facile apprehension that any special emphasis on these Left errors in the Chinese communist understanding, as regards problems of our country, might divert our main fight against the menace of revisionism, and satisfying ourselves with positively correcting them and incorporating them in our Programme, has been proved by life and events to be totally wrong.

Some of the international developments and the Chinese communist stand on them, during the process of struggle against the modern revisionist theories of the CPSU leaders had begun causing concern and worry to several PBMs even while they were in jail in 1965. They were prompt in making known their sharp reactions to some of the Chinese communist political positions and practical steps to the Central Committee outside. Further, immediately after the release of our detenus in May 1966, the P.B. discussed these differences of ours with the CPC, and also initiated discussion on those issues in the C.C. meeting of June 1966 with a view to alerting our party against the Left errors from the side of the Chinese Communist Party, both in regard to some international issues as well as questions connected directly with the Indian situation. But after a round of discussions it was found that several amongst the C.C. were not inclined to clinch the issues and were even critical of the draft note submitted for discussion. The P.B., in the light of the C.C. discussions and in view of the impending countrywide electoral struggle, had to reconsider the issue and come forth with the proposal of deferring the issue until after the fourth general elections were over and the discussion on ideological questions was initiated as promised at the Seventh Congress.

But two points need special mention in this connection. One is that the volume of opposition that was being encountered until then on the concept of united action and electoral fronts with the revisionists on the ground that they were, in

principle, wrong and opportunist, was rejected by the C.C. and the resolution on electoral strategy and tactics was unanimously adopted.

The second point is that a special resolution was adopted which contained some definite directions to the party regarding certain key issues of political-ideological controversy. To quote the pertinent passages:

“Now, though the party leaders have been released, the party is faced with serious and pressing problems of the people like food, famine, high prices, etc. and the fourth general elections. A serious ideological discussion like the one proposed cannot be undertaken now.

“The Central Committee, therefore, resolves to defer the discussion. But while doing so, the Central Committee takes into consideration that in the eighteen months since our Party Congress adopted the Programme, divergent views have been expressed by some fraternal Communist Parties of various countries on the Indian situation and reiterates that what has been said in the Programme about the Indian situation has been amply proved to be correct and sound. The committee, therefore, directs that the party should be guided by the Programme as the only correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the Indian situation while rejecting all views expressed either divergent to or deviating from it”.

Further, the resolution directing the State Committees to ‘publish the authoritative pronouncements of fraternal parties’, instructed them that, “in making such material available to comrades it should be made clear that our Party is not committed to any of them. Care should be also taken to avoid as much as possible the publication of such material as undermine faith in the socialist system”.

From these, the C.C. drew the conclusion that a correction to the Left-sectarian thinking on the issue of united action had been made, and that the reiteration of the correct Marxist-Leninist position of the party programme had upheld it against the attacks of “some fraternal Communist Parties of various countries”. However, life and developments during

the subsequent period, particularly the Left-sectarian revolt and the large-scale defections in Andhra, showed that the Central Committee's assessment of the inner-party ideological-political situation suffered from a sort of complacency, and the C.C. was underestimating the danger of the Left-opportunist trend of thinking which had come to grip considerable sections of the cadre at different levels of our Party. The apologetic manner in which several of our cadres reacted to the infantile slogans and actions of the Naxalites after the May-June 1967 events in Bengal; the volume of opposition that emerged to the principle of united action against imperialism between the Soviet socialist state and the People's Republic of China; finally, this Left-adventurist trend pitting itself in total opposition to the Party programme and its political line, while welcoming the denunciations and attacks on them by Radio Peking and the Chinese press, etc., go to clearly demonstrate how our C.C. and leading cadres at different levels were totally underestimating the danger of Left deviation in our Party, and how in our struggle against Right-revisionism, we gave concessions to Left-opportunism for which history has forced us to pay the penalty.

In our Party, constituted with the class composition analysed earlier, if the powerful impact and influence of the revisionist C.P.S.U. leadership, leading the great Soviet Union, had resulted in a good chunk of leading cadres in the united C.P.I. deserting to the Dangeite revisionist camp in the past, we find today that an equally powerful influence and impact of the C.P.C. leading the strong People's Republic of China, whose prestige got further reinforced by its bold fight led against Soviet revisionism, has resulted in the present Left defections from our Party. The fact that our party is striving to independently apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions obtaining in our country, while steering clear of the modern revisionist theories of the C.P.S.U. leaders and also some of the grave Left errors of the Chinese communist leadership, and in the process is encountering enormous

difficulties, should not be lost sight of when analysing and reviewing our shortcomings in our struggle against revisionism as well as Left-sectarianism—the latter expressing itself in Andhra in large-scale defections.

However, it is now a proved fact that our Party leadership at the centre and states' level could neither assess in time the dangers of this Left deviation nor was it able to take necessary measures to fight it out before it assumed the disrupting proportions it did by the year 1967-68. It is a widely known phenomenon in the international communist movement that while combating one deviation, whether Right or Left, the irresistible tendency would be to slip into the deviation against which the party stops fighting. Hence, the correct concept of 'fight on two fronts' in defence of correct Marxist-Leninist positions should, in no case, be forgotten or ignored, a concept which we failed to keep constantly in view and practice.

The question naturally arises, why this failure on the part of the C.C. and particularly of the P.B. First of all, as is already made clear in the present note, there was not the necessary political awareness of this Left danger and its magnitude on the part of our C.C. and P.B. Entire attention was centred on the struggle against modern revisionism of the Dangeites in the country and the Soviet leaders in the international communist movement, with practically no serious attention being paid to the Left-opportunist trend inside our Party as well as in the world communist movement.

The second important reason, which cannot be brushed aside as of less or no significance, is the harsh reality that our P.B. which is expected to carry on the day-to-day work of our C.C., is virtually reduced to three or four members who have to carry on that work, while as many as five to six out of the nine members have had to sink themselves mainly in the work of the two states of West Bengal and Kerala, and the work of our central parliamentary fraction in Delhi. It was precisely under these circumstances that the utmost attention of the P.B. had to be given to the serious problems

of the West Bengal and Kerala state units, which happened to be the leading partners of the two U.F. state governments, as Right or Left mistakes in these states were sure to cause immense damage to our entire Party. In West Bengal, the Naxalite disruption and the Chinese backing of their political line started as early as May-June of 1967, apart from the other policy disputes on food and other issues with allies in the U.F. Government. In Kerala, two deviations came up—the Right-reformist trend in the work of the state leadership at the party and government levels and a Left-adventurist trend in several state, district and local cadres, which threatened to disrupt our Party and movement there. The P.B., i.e., three to four members, were left to grapple with these two states' problems, besides other routine work, and could not tackle Andhra, which too was in need of effective intervention and guidance immediately following the fourth general elections.

But, in this connection, it should be pointed out that the P.B. was quick in reacting sharply to the serious Left challenge that was growing inside our Party. The critical observations on some Chinese positions sent for the C.C. from jail, the note it submitted for discussion in the June 1966 C.C. meeting, the prompt dealing with the Naxalites, politically and organisationally, the open exposure of these elements and defence of the party line in our central organ, the resolutions on "Left Deviation" and "Divergent Views with C.P.C." and the firm stand it took on the ideological questions—against organised Left pressure—all these go to confirm the point. It needs also to be noted that all this had to be done in face of considerable resistance from a section of our leadership at different levels, which did not awaken in time to the Left danger.

Some Conclusions

The subject matter covered so far in the present report, it should be made clear, is neither exhaustive nor is it an attempt to analyse the phenomenon and its roots in our whole

party and in different states, it is mainly confined to Andhra. The analysis and assessment made regarding developments in the Andhra communist movement, if they are construed as some sort of a verdict on past happenings and the party rests content with that, would in no way help us in the struggle ahead to overcome the shortcomings and march forward. The State Committee leadership of Andhra, with the active assistance and guidance of the C.C. and P.B., should take upon itself as its foremost task to concretely study the specific socio-economic factors prevailing in Andhra, the state of different classes and the degree and maturity of different contradictions, and the level of political consciousness of the working class and its unity with the peasantry, particularly the toiling strata, since this alone will enable it to concretely apply Marxism-Leninism, and then work out corresponding concrete political organisational and tactical measures. This is not in the least to suggest that such a concrete study and working out of concrete tactics for Andhra is something completely separate and unrelated to the all-India economic-political situation and the party's strategy and tactics worked out on its basis, it should be done as an inseparable part of it and strictly subject to it. This alone would help us in learning from our past mistakes and achievements, and put the political-ideological discussions on a realistic basis, the basis of actual class realities, the concrete problems the movement is facing and the correct solutions for the same in terms of the science of Marxism-Leninism. No shortcuts are there nor can there be to overcome all the difficulties in the situation and a sober and realistic revolutionary approach is what is urgently demanded of us.

It is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to give any quarter to the utter defeatist lesson from the happenings in Andhra that due to the divisions and splits in the Communist Party and the consequent momentary disunity and disruption of the democratic revolutionary movement, the entire work of communists during the last three decades is

lost, and its future is bleak. Nothing is more erroneous and farther from the truth than such a disastrous lesson. It will not take long to recover lost ground, regroup the forces and regain the proud place it has held so far in the Indian communist movement. However, the hard reality remains that the democratic gains won by the revolutionary movement in Andhra, in which our Party played a worthy and proud part, are garnered more by the landlord-bourgeois classes in Andhra, and these exploiting classes, it is true, have been pressing hard against the working class party. The landlord-bourgeois classes, which, a decade ago, had neither a national state of their own nor political power over it were able to secure a big united Andhra state and governmental authority over it to utilise that state apparatus to their economic and political aggrandisement. A new united revolutionary movement, on a new class basis and with a correct class outlook, is required to meet this challenge and defeat it. The economic-political crisis of the Indian ruling classes that is deepening and its consequences cannot but offer our Party increasing opportunities to give a rebuff to the state government's offensive and regroup the revolutionary forces on a much wider and intense scale. Such confidence based on living and growing realities should guide our activities.

The second important conclusion that will have to be drawn is that it would be grievously wrong to think that the phenomenon of Right and Left deviations and consequent harmful effects is a special Andhra phenomenon, and other states are free from these dangers and their movements are placed on sound class and mass basis, and their party organisations comprise of correct class composition, etc. The truth seems to be otherwise, and the same grave defects and shortcomings pointed out in the case of Andhra, are found in almost all the states, though in varying degrees. The greater or lesser extent of the Right desertions in 1963-64 and the Left defections in 1967-68 should lead no one amongst our Party comrades to the facile conclusion that they provide the clue for the correct assessment and estimation of their

movements and party units. Every State Committee leadership, drawing on the lessons of Andhra, should review its work, assess its strong and weak points realistically and devise ways and means to overcome the shortcomings. Otherwise, similar sad experiences will have to be faced, now by one state unit now another at a later date. We should avoid this at all costs.

Thirdly, it would be totally erroneous on our part to entertain any illusion that the dangers for our Party from both Right-reformism and Left-opportunism are, in the main, overcome, and that our Party is now firmly placed on correct Marxist-Leninist foundations. The truth is far from it, and we have to go a long way to achieve that stage, and much hard and sustained work and trying times are ahead of us. With confidence in the gains so far secured and the lessons we have learnt, we should continue our struggle without any complacency whatsoever to build a Communist Party which will be able to lead the Indian revolution. Such a struggle demands of us, first and foremost, the genuine implementation of the three key C.C. resolutions, i.e., Tasks on the Kisan Front, Tasks on the Trade Union Front, and Tasks on Party Organisation. Either the party struggles and stakes its all to implement them and win successes in the measure they are implemented, or it drifts in this regard and damages the whole cause. The party should pledge to fight for the former and never allow the latter.

**Welcome Address delivered
by A. K. Gopalan at the Eighth
Congress of CPI(M) held in Cochin,
December 23–29, 1968***

Comrades,

I consider it a great privilege to welcome you, comrade delegates, to the Eighth Congress of our Party, on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Kerala State Committee of the Party.

Our Eighth Congress is meeting at a very important stage of our history. The bourgeois-landlord classes, sunk in a deep economic crisis and a growing political crisis created by their own policies, have launched a frenzied attack on the democratic movement, first and foremost on our Party. On top of the various draconian laws that are being enacted to suppress popular struggles and democratic rights there is a noisy clamour for illegalizing the Communist Party of India (Marxist). All sorts of reasons are put forward in support of this demand but none of those who raise this demand dare give the real reason. What is this real reason? They demand a ban on our Party for the one reason that our Party, the only genuine party of the Indian working class, alone is capable of and is giving a correct lead to build the unity of the toiling people of our country, build a People's Democratic Front, which will end the present exploiting class rule grinding down our people and take the country on to the path of People's Democracy and Socialism.

Not Accidental

It is not accidental that the gentry who demand that our Party

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be illegalized are also vociferous in their demand for the dismissal of the United Front Government of Kerala. Our Party happens to be not only the major partner in the United Front and its Government, it is also the leading force among the people of the State. This gives a character to the Kerala Government which is distinctly different from that of the other non-Congress Governments that exist in some of the States today. The only State Government which was pursuing a similar course was that of the United Front in West Bengal. This was the one reason for the Central Congress Government and the entire vested interests to direct their energies to get rid of that Government through means which will ever be a blot on democracy. After dismissing the West Bengal Government, the vested interests led by the Congress, are today making an all-sided attack on the Kerala Government.

Congress President Nijalingappa who called for the toppling of non-Congress Governments in the country from the rostrum of the All-India Congress Committee immediately after the formation of these Governments, is now asking the Central Government to dismiss the Kerala United Front Government and not take shelter behind technicalities. Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai has already threatened that such action will be taken whenever necessary. The Governor of the State, a trusted civilian of the Congress Centre, is continuously making provocative statements and is engaged in questionable activities with the sole purpose of giving encouragement to those who are asking for the overthrow of the U.F. Government. The monopolist-controlled Press is day in and day out raising the same demand.

The Congress Centre tried to starve the State by withholding rice supplies with the intention of rousing popular anger against the State Government. While the Congress ruling the Centre was itself responsible for the short supply of rice to the State, it blessed the agitation of the Congress in the State against the U.F. Government in the name of starving the people. The Congress soon found that this did not cut much ice with the people. On the other hand, the Government's

Agrarian Relations (Amendment) Bill, Universities Bill, Debt Relief Bill, etc., were rallying more popular support behind the Government. This has made the vested interests go all out in their efforts to subvert the Government by the most heinous methods. The agitation in regard to a so-called place of worship or the one regarding the purely administrative decision to form new districts are all the latest weapons drawn from the Congress armoury to create a situation to enable the Centre to intervene in the State.

Why this Ire?

What has created this tremendous ire against the Kerala Government, which, in fact, is an attack on our Party?

The Kerala U.F. Government has certainly given a lot of relief to the people. It has not added to the burdens of the people already suffering the hardships of the economic crisis; it has also prevented the attempt of the Congress Centre to penalize the people for the sins of their policies which have created the crisis.

I am not dilating on this part of the Kerala Government's achievements because this is not the main reason for the present attack of the vested interests on the Government.

The main reason why the vested interests cannot tolerate this Government even for a day is that this Government today has become in the eyes of the people all over the country, the centre of alternative policies—policies in defence of the people as against the anti-people policies of the Congress rulers.

Attitude to Toiling People

One aspect of this policy—the attitude of the U.F. Government to the working people—will suffice to illustrate this point. The Government has guaranteed the right of all working people including its own employees to organize and agitate for their demands. The Government has followed the practice of not taking any preventive action against any section of the working people going into action even when the demands

are unjustified and the action is clearly politically motivated, nor has it allowed continuation of any action taken against anybody during the course of any struggle. Those who are arrested during the struggles are released and cases instituted during the agitation withdrawn immediately after the struggles were called off. This is what happened during the agitation of State Government employees, engineers, etc. Not only towards the State Government employees, but to all trade union struggles, the Government has adopted the same approach. The number of labour disputes settled since the U.F. came to office is an index of the labour policy of the Government.

The State Government's handling of the Central Government employees' strike came as a high water-mark of this policy. The facts are well known. The Government did not make any preventive arrests as demanded by the Central Home Ministry. After the strike on September 19, the Government has now decided to withdraw all the prosecutions launched against the employees. In contrast, the Home Ministry not only asked the State Government not to withdraw the cases but has now asked Central officials to oppose all applications for withdrawal of cases in courts. On the eve of September 19, the Central Home Ministry even thought of dismissing the Kerala Government for "disobeying" its dictates.

Not only in relation to the strike of the Central Government employees, in relation to their demands also there is a marked contrast in the two approaches. The U.F. Government of Kerala is of the view that the demands raised by them are the demands of the entire working class such as the demand for need-based minimum wage and gave full support to their demands and agitation. The Central Congress Government, in contrast, refused to meet their demands and resorted to unheard-of repression to suppress their agitation.

The State Government has, at the same time, taken steps to tackle the problems of other sections of the people. The Agrarian Relations (Amendment) Bill, the Universities Bill,

the distribution of Government waste-land and forest land to the landless, etc., have all attacked the positions so far securely held by the vested interests under Congress patronage.

Part of the Confrontation .

All this is part of the confrontation with the Central Government's entire economic policies. The alternate proposals for the Fourth Plan put forward by Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad on the basis of the conclusions of a seminar of well-known economists from all over the country organized by the State Planning Board, have become a rallying point for all the progressive forces in the country.

In all this, the limitations of the State Government—the very limited powers which they have under the present set-up have been a limiting factor. The United Front is composed of a number of parties which have their own political positions and sometimes vacillate even in regard to implementation of the commonly agreed minimum programme. Additionally, there have also been lapses on the part of the Government as a whole and of individual Ministers too. But the main thing is that the Government has all along pursued a policy of defence of the working people as against the policy of the Congress Centre of throwing more burdens on the people and suppressing their protest. It is this that has led to the situation where democratic and progressive forces in the rest of the country have begun to look at the Kerala Government as a centre of alternate policies.

Naturally, this has created panic in the ruling classes.

In 1957, the Congress rulers became panicky when the Communist-led Government declared its new police policy and went ahead with the legislation of the Agrarian Relations Bill.

Today the way the Government is tackling multifarious problems of various sections of the working people, the way it has become the centre of alternate policies, have again panicked the Congress rulers. The West Bengal Government would have adopted the same course if it had been

allowed to continue. In the other States where non-Congress Governments were formed, except in Tamil Nadu, they were opportunist coalitions of some democratic parties with reactionary parties and there was never any question of these Governments following such policies as those pursued by the Kerala Government.

The limitations of the State Government under the present set-up, some mistakes committed by the Government, and, above all, serious mistakes in the initial stages made by our Party, did create some confusion and disarray in the democratic sections.

Party Ranks Enthused

But these mistakes of the Party were soon corrected by the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee. Only our Party can dare to make such open correction of mistakes of a leading unit of the Party like the Kerala State Committee. This correction enthused the comrade who had to an extent been confused earlier by some of the actions and stances of the Party. The result was seen when the Party as a whole went into action to mobilize the people against the Centre's discriminatory policies and to take them into confidence regarding the vacillations of some of the U.F. partners. Twice the entire State was covered by our jathas taking our slogans to the people when thousands of meetings were held, lakhs of people approached and Party literature worth over Rs. 15,000 was sold. As a culmination of this agitation came the successful action on October 23 organized by our Party, where more than 50,000 persons participated in picketing of Central Government offices. The other parties of the U.F. did not participate in this action directed against the Centre.

But the Congress conspiracy to sow disruption in the U.F. had already been foiled for the time being. Many attempts made by the Right Communists and some others in the U.F. to isolate the CPI(M) were defeated by the timely exposure of these attempts by our Party in full view of the public. Far from isolating our Party as they had hoped, our Party had

begun to advance with renewed vigour. The dream world of the Congress had collapsed.

Concèrted Actions

It is at this stage that the Union Law Minister, Sri P. Govinda Menon, came with his slogan of so-called "collective self-defence" which is nothing but incitement against the U.F. Government. It is at this stage that Nijalingappa, Morarji Desai *et al*, began speaking against the Kerala Government. It is at this stage that the vested interests began organizing clashes and murders of communists and sympathizers to give the pretext of breakdown of law and order to the Central Government to intervene in the State.

It is exactly at this stage that a new element entered the situation with the attempted attacks on two police stations at Tellicherry and Pulpalli. We have never held that all those who participated in these foolhardy attempts were paid agents of the CIA, but the antecedents of some of them are definitely questionable. The others, whatever be the ideology or politics that gave them inspiration, were in fact playing into the hands of the vested interests. These vested interests were wanting and were out to create precisely such a situation where they could tell the Centre that law and order had broken down in Kerala. We are sure that many of the comrades who were misled into this provocative action will see the consequences of the action they have taken and retrace their steps.

But what has been amazing is the stand taken by some of the parties of the U.F. like the KSSP and the Right Communists. Inside the Assembly, when the issue first came up, they all took the position that it was a Congress-inspired attempt against the U.F. Government. But soon they made a volte-faced and began echoing all the Congress slanders against our Party. The Right Communists, especially, are in the forefront in shouting that our Party's ideology and policies are responsible for the growth of the "ultras". This is Nanda's old slander in a new form, this is what Morarji & Company say today.

Revisionist Antics

Despite the fact that one of our first acts after walking out of the National Council in April 1964 was to appeal to the Right Communists for a united front to fight the approaching Kerala mid-term election in 1965 and despite the fact that the VIIth Congress of our Party laid down the line for our Party fighting the mid-term elections, Nanda in his notorious White Paper had said that our Party was against participation in elections and was preparing for guerrilla struggle. The Rightists then had given full support to Nanda's slander that we were "Chinese agents" and did not even protest against the large-scale arrests of our leaders. Those who echoed Nanda's slander then that we were "Chinese agents," today find agents provocateurs as good but misguided communists.

Now, as then, their only aim is to disrupt the communist movement. The essence of what the Rightists say today is the same though the phrases are different. It is true that while we firmly believe that parliament is one of the forums that has to be effectively utilized to advance the working people's movement, we are not prepared to cultivate the illusion among the people, as the Rightists do, that socialism can be brought about through parliamentary means. It is because we refuse to subscribe to this un-Marxian illusion and because we expose the bankrupt ideology of the Right Communists that they again and again slander us saying that we have given birth to the "ultras", that they again and again hatch conspiracies against our Party.

It is in such a complicated situation, when all the vested interests, led by the Congress and encouraged by the Central Government, are conspiring to attack our Party and the Kerala Government, that we are meeting here today.

Sanctified by Martyrs' Blood

Our comrades in Kerala are proud of our Party for the correct guidance it has given to us in Kerala during the last four years and the prompt correction the Party leadership made of our mistakes. They consider it a great privilege to

be able to host this Eighth Congress of our Party in Kerala. I need not remind you that Kerala is the land of Punnappra and Vayalar, Karoor and Karivalloor, and innumerable other spots sanctified by the blood of our martyrs. It is the sacrifices made by these comrades of ours that have helped to raise our Party to its present position in the State. And foremost among them is our respected and beloved Comrade P. Krishna Pillai, after whom we have named this hall.

Our comrades have sincerely made all efforts to make you comfortable during your stay here. At the same time, they are aware that there are many shortcomings in the arrangements that have been made and on behalf of all of them and the Reception Committee, I request you to kindly excuse us for all the difficulties that you may have to put up with.

Once again I extend a hearty welcome to you all.

Political Resolution Adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) Cochin, December 23–29, 1968

India, now, is passing through a deepening economic crisis, and a political crisis, too, is enveloping it. The utter bankruptcy of the capitalist path of development the ruling classes have embarked upon, a path of industrialising the country by reliance on imperialist aid and in alliance with feudal and semi-feudal landlordism, has been completely exposed. The much boosted foreign policy of non-alignment, independence and anti-colonialism, which got seriously undermined with the anti-China policy of the ruling classes, is coming under heavy pressure and fire from imperialists abroad and reaction at home. In short, the internal and external policies of the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress party are gripped in a crisis, and the bankruptcy and fiasco of these anti-people policies are getting rapidly exposed.

The days when Congress leaders indulged in the deceitful talk of building a 'welfare state' and 'socialistic pattern of society' are gone, and an unconcealed offensive of the bourgeois-landlord classes against the common people is on.

Acute food shortage and hunger, growing unemployment and misery, ever increasing inflation and indebtedness, soaring prices and fleecing taxes, industrial lockouts, lay-offs, and retrenchment, the ruination of the small-scale and handloom industries, the growing pauperisation of the toiling peasantry, and the virtual scuttling of Congress planning are the distressing phenomena that have come to prevail in the country.

The dependence on foreign imperialists has grown in an alarming manner, the imperialist pressure on the country's economic and political independence is on the increase, and the threat of U.S. neo-colonial domination faces our people in all its seriousness. This menace has to be fought and defeated to safeguard our independence and freedom.

Our country's economy and social order, being capitalist-landlord in character, forms an integral part of the world capitalist system and its exploiting social order. The decaying and dying world capitalist order, and its grave crisis and convulsions, cannot but have their direct impact on our country's economic and social life. Besides, our country is dependent on imperialist loans and 'aid' which fleece our people and form one of the basic causes of the crisis of our economy. The present crisis of ours and its causes cannot be fully grasped unless it is realised that it is an integral part of the world capitalist crisis. Hence it is imperative that the present international political-economic situation is examined so as to understand the national situation in a correct light.

I. THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE NEW FEATURES

The international communist movement, while making a fundamental class analysis and assessment of the post-second war years, observed that "our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolution and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."

Further, elaborating the victories of the national liberation movement and the disintegration of the imperialist system, it is stated that "the break-down of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system".

Advance of National Liberation Movement

Our Party fully stands by this analysis and assessment of the international situation. Rejecting the right-reformist and revisionist distortion which underplays the role of the national liberation movement at this stage, it has been emphasizing that the contradiction between the forces fighting for national liberation and imperialism has come to the forefront, acting as the focus of all the fundamental contradictions of our epoch at the *present stage* of international developments.

The heroic and death-defying struggle of the valiant people of Vietnam against U.S. imperialism for their national liberation and independence not only symbolises the characteristic feature of the national liberation wars of the present era standing in the van, but it also occupies the central scene of world politics and the focal point, of all world contradictions.

The utter fiasco of the most atrocious and barbarous war of U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam is the most outstanding development of the period that we are passing through, and it highlights the superiority of the forces of democracy, independence and socialism over imperialism and reaction on a world scale. Half a million of the American army, assisted by nearly another million puppet troops of satellite countries, are bogged down in Vietnam, courting defeat after defeat and awaiting final disaster. The vaunted might of American arms has been humbled and the myth of its military invincibility is being blown up.

Armed partisan resistance and guerrilla warfare are developing in a number of countries in the world. The examples of Columbia, Peru, Venezuela, etc., in Latin America, the

experiences of Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and South Korea in Asia, Vietnam standing in the forefront, and the armed struggles in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, in Zimbabwe and Leopoldville Congo, besides the big-scale resistance under way in the entire Arab world against imperialist-inspired aggression by Israel, go to fully corroborate this phenomenon.

Former colonial countries, which forced the hands of the imperialist powers to concede them political independence, are coming under the frenzied attacks of neo-colonialism led by U.S. imperialism—in the form of economic aggrandisement, political blackmailing and enmeshing them in military alliances—thus engendering and widening new conflicts, conflicts usually described as those between the underdeveloped countries and developed imperialist states. A cursory examination of the proceedings of the World Conference of Underdeveloped States held in Algeria in 1967 and the UNCTAD Conference held in Delhi during the first quarter of 1968 clearly reveal the contents of this conflict, despite the pathetic pleadings of several Governments of these countries with the imperialists.

In the ten-year period between 1955 and 1966, the external debts of the underdeveloped countries to the imperialist states have registered such a phenomenal growth, jumping from 7,500 crores in terms of Indian rupee to 30,000 crores; the annual repayment on these debts which stood at a total of 375 crores of rupees in 1955 has risen by eight times to 3,000 crores of rupees by 1966. Thus the so-called imperialist 'aid' to the underdeveloped countries has strikingly revealed the ferocious character of the imperialist drive for the export of capital and its plundering loot of the peoples of these countries.

The economic, political and military impact of the Vietnam liberation war and numerous other currents of the national liberation movement and working class struggles is so deep and far-reaching on an international plane that the other fundamental contradictions of the era, the contradiction

between the camps of socialism and imperialism, the contradiction amongst the imperialist states and the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, are getting accentuated and sharpened—all, in the final count, undermining the world capitalist order and driving the U.S. imperialists and their allies to desperate military gambles.

Growing Rivalries Among Imperialist Powers

Notwithstanding the monstrous military blocs of NATO, SEATO, CENTO and ANZUS built by the imperialists under the leadership of the U.S., furious trade rivalries, tariff quarrels, competition for markets are raging amongst them, and U.S. supremacy is being severely challenged.

The bitter quarrel between the countries of the European Common Market and Britain, the growing conflicts between the Common Market states of Europe and the USA, the contradictions between France and the USA and of late between West Germany and the USA and the increasing friction noticed in the trade relations between the U.S. and Japan are nothing but the grave symptoms of a regular trade war between different imperialist states. The decline in the annual growth rates of several major capitalist states during the last two to three years, the growing unemployment, the deficit balance of payments position of the USA and Britain, the precipitous fall in U.S. gold reserves, the devaluation of the pound sterling and virtual devaluation of the U.S. dollar, and the utter dislocation evident in the monetary system of these states—these are causing serious conflicts and are corroding the capitalist system.

The aggressive military alliances have already lost their former unity and cohesion and the U.S. is facing increasing isolation from its junior partners. Several of these allies resist and refuse to be drawn into the Vietnam war, and France, one of the chief partners, has come out openly against the U.S. war in Vietnam and the U.S. inspired aggression by Israel on the West Asian Arab countries. Pakistan, Turkey and Iran who are members of SEATO have refused to send

their troops to Vietnam, despite the continued pressure of the USA and willy-nilly even advocate the speedy ending of the Vietnam war. Thus not only the myth of invincibility of imperialist armed might is blown up, but also the illusion of imperialist unity fostered by them stands shattered:

Working Class Resistance in Capitalist Countries

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has been further sharpened. The mounting worldwide resistance to the loot of the colonial and dependent countries, the reckless military spending and the enormous profits earned by the monopolists, the ever-increasing burdens of taxation and the growing unemployment, and the consequent attacks of the capitalists on the living standards and liberties of the working people—these are all, in turn, inviting mounting resistance from the working class and other toiling masses.

The heavy burden which this military expenditure casts on the people can be judged from the fact that the USA is spending 60,000 crores of rupees on its global adventure, Vietnam alone consuming one-third of this total, which is roughly equal to the entire sum spent by India on her three five-year plans.

The heroic general strike of the ten million workers of France in May last which lasted for three weeks and was joined by government employees including the police, bringing the entire economic activity to a standstill, is a historic landmark in working class struggles in the capitalist countries during the post-war period. Notwithstanding the revisionist betrayal of this mighty mass struggle of the French working class and the reformist and constitutionalist channels into which it was sought to be diverted, it highlights the acute antagonism that is growing between the working class and the monopolists of the capitalist states. A series of economic and political struggles by the mass of students and youth witnessed in the recent period in capitalist Europe, Japan and the USA, the ever-increasing number of strike

struggles of the workers in these countries, the huge anti-draft and anti-war demonstrations in the USA, the upsurge of the Black people against racial discrimination and cruel exploitation by the U.S. monopolists—these are the new growing features of the recent past.

Sharpening of Conflict between Socialism and Imperialism

The central contradiction of the entire present epoch, the contradiction between the world camp of socialism and imperialism, is further deepening and sharpening.

The U.S. imperialism, for a decade and more in the immediate post-war period, concentrated its main fire against the Soviet Union, and built military blocs and bases with the slogan of containment of the Soviet Union, 'liberation' of East European socialist states, trade boycott, etc. The U.S. imperialists, while talking about 'detente' in Europe and 'agreements' with the Soviet Union are concentrating their fire against People's China, with the slogan of 'containment of China', depriving it of its rightful place in the U.N. and imposing on their allies ban on trade with China.

In Europe, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly arming the West German revanchists and fascists to use them as pawns for all the undermining activities in the east European socialist states, and are thus endangering security and peace in Europe and the world. The Bonn Government refuses to recognise the borders of states settled by post-war agreements, and poses a direct threat to the very existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic. The imperialists are thus feverishly attempting to undo the gains of socialism secured through the military defeat of the fascist powers in the second world war.

In socialist Czechoslovakia, their conspiracies for counter-revolution reached the point of near success though it was foiled by the direct military intervention of five Warsaw Pact socialist states led by the Soviet Union, at the eleventh hour. Things, as they stand today, do not warrant any 'com-

placency since the forces of counter-revolution are still' active. The Czech crisis reveals the new devious devices of imperialist aggression against the countries of the socialist camp. It also reveals how disastrous are the consequences of modern revisionism and how it undermines socialism.

Besides socialist North Vietnam being under direct attack by U.S. imperialism, the socialist Korean Democratic People's Republic is under constant threat of U.S. aggression. Concentrating a lakh of American armed personnel in South Korea, held under its puppet regime, the U.S. prevents by force the unification of the homeland of the Korean people and conspires with imperialist Japan to crush the Korean national liberation movement and to destroy the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Socialist Republic of Cuba, the lonely outpost of socialism in the far-off American continent, is under constant U.S. threat and several of the U.S. stooges in the Latin American states openly and unashamedly talk of military invasion of Cuba.

The People's Republic of China, surrounded by numerous U.S. military, naval and air bases, with part of its territory, Taiwan, kept under U.S. occupation, has become the special target of imperialist conspiracies.

To sum up the present international situation, the contradiction between the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and imperialism, chiefly, U.S. imperialism, continues to be in the forefront of the world contradictions, while sharpening and intensifying all the other fundamental contradictions of our epoch, particularly the central contradiction between the camp of socialism and imperialism.

The imperialists, chiefly the U.S., who are caught in a deepening economic, political and military crisis, despite all their talk of global strategies and slogans of containing Soviet communism and Chinese communism and the reckless military preparations for the same, first and foremost find as their easy targets the colonial, backward and dependent

countries of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for their expansionist aims and plundering objectives.

The drive for neo-colonialism on an intensified scale, the undermining activities extensively carried on in a whole number of newly liberated countries, the counter-revolutionary coups they are organising, and the wars of aggression they are carrying on and extending are inviting tremendous resistance.

These patently aggressive wars and activities of the imperialist camp, chiefly by the U.S. imperialists, are tremendously intensifying the contradictions between forces of reaction and counter-revolution on the one hand and the forces of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism on the other, on an international plane.

Life and objective realities are exploding all revisionist myths such as the so-called 'detente' in Europe, peaceful collaboration between the Soviet Union and the USA, and the imperialists reckoning with realities and restraining themselves from aggression, counter-revolution, war provocations, etc., allowing the security and peace of the countries and continents of the world.

Socialist Countries Take Rapid Strides

Despite all these conspiracies and the boastful U.S. imperialist talk of global strategy to liquidate the world socialist camp and the heralding of an 'American era', the socialist countries have been taking great strides in industrial advance, and scoring miraculous victories in science and technology.

The steady progress of the material wealth and industry of the socialist camp stands in sharp contrast to the crisis-ridden world capitalist camp. The countries of the socialist camp, free from the nightmare of hunger, poverty, unemployment and recurring recessions and crises in their industrial and agrarian sectors, now account for about 40 per cent of the total world industrial output. The combined military strength of the socialist countries has become formidable, and its defence capacity has registered rapid strides. Further, these countries have once and for all broken the

monopoly of the imperialist states over the supply of industrial equipment, technique and credits to backward peoples and states, inflicting no small damage to the blood-thirsty monopoly capitalists and their worldwide plunder.

The Soviet Union has come closer to the U.S. level of production in the major branches of industry and even surpassed it in certain items. Its share of the world industrial output has grown from less than 10 per cent in 1937 to nearly 20 per cent at present. Starting with a big breakthrough in atomic and space research in 1957, by sending the first Sputnik into space, the Soviet Union has by now asserted its complete superiority in this sphere, the latest feat of bringing back the Zond-5 after its trip round the moon being a striking example of this triumph.

Equally breath-taking has been the progress of the People's Republic of China and it is all the more spectacular since this progress is being registered under unusually difficult and trying circumstances. Despite inheriting an economy even more backward than that of pre-independence India, with one-fourth of the world population to feed, clothe and house, with the imperialist trade boycott and the Soviet revisionist betrayal of promised fraternal assistance, People's China has forged ahead, built her socialist industry, her agriculture and science in an amazingly short period. Even its avowed enemies admit that its steel production has exceeded 20 million tons, coal output 500 million tons, oil 15 million tons and foodgrains 190 million tons. Its production in light industry, clothing, paper and sugar is three times that in 1957.

China's advance in science and industry has amazed all. A number of brilliant victories have been scored in different branches—medicine, surgery, biology, physics and chemistry. Its major breakthrough in nuclear science was registered in the last quarter of 1964, and it is now on the threshold of experimenting its IRBMs and this all-round progress is sending shivers down the spine of its enemies all over the world.

In the midst of war and destruction, the people of North

Vietnam have secured great achievements. From 1955 to 1965, industrial production increased by 22, per cent every year and agricultural production by 4.5 per cent; the share of industrial and handicraft production in the nation's economy rose from 17 to 53 per cent.

Socialist Cuba, too, facing constant threats from the U.S. imperialists and the worst embargo imposed by them has registered tremendous progress.

All the other socialist states have also registered outstanding victories in the economic and social spheres, notwithstanding differing degrees of tempo and speed depending on a number of circumstances and several other problems of their own which they have to tackle and solve.

Disunity in Socialist Camp

No doubt, there would have been still greater and more outstanding successes for the socialist camp in the economic, political and military spheres but for the serious disunity, disruption and split imposed on the socialist camp and world communist movement during the last eight years by the modern revisionist theories and activities of the leaders of the Soviet Union.

Unless modern revisionist theories are defeated and discarded, neither can the unity of the world socialist camp and communist movement be ensured, nor the danger of further disruption and splits in it averted.

Add to it, the Communist Party of China which heads another big socialist state, in the course of its struggle against modern revisionism has erroneously come to consider the Soviet Union as an ally of U.S. imperialism for world domination, puts it outside the pale of the world socialist camp, and rejects in principle united action with it against imperialism. Our Party is of the considered opinion that its erroneous stand neither helps the cause of principled struggle against revisionism and of restoration of unity in the world socialist camp nor is it effective in fighting and defeating imperialist machinations and aggression.

It will be nothing but suicidal complacency if the dangers created by modern revisionism, by the split in the world communist movement and the socialist camp, are underestimated. The disarray in the world communist movement and the socialist camp was demonstrated on the vital question of Czechoslovakia when the majority of the Communist Parties in Europe failed to see the danger of counter-revolution and attacked the Soviet initiative and when the CPC also denounced it as a social-imperialist action.

The disunity of the socialist camp is impairing its rate of economic advance, emboldening the imperialist enemies for different aggressive wars and activities, and preventing the forces struggling for national liberation, democracy and socialism from fully utilising the opportunities opened up by the New Epoch.

The disunity and division in the socialist camp and the world communist movement is also in a big way responsible for some of the serious reverses to the anti-imperialist forces in the recent period. Besides the audacity with which the U.S. imperialists are conducting the aerial bombardment and war on socialist North Vietnam over the last three years, they, together with their reactionary stooges, have succeeded in toppling Dr. Sukarno's Government in Indonesia and in carrying out mass-scale butchery of five lakh communists and their supporters; they organised a reactionary coup in Ghana and overthrew the Nkrumah Government; they egged on and backed Israel to launch a surprise military attack on the Arab states and are deliberately encouraging it to refuse to vacate the aggression.

The present disunity and division in the world socialist camp, if it is not overcome and a principled struggle to achieve it is not conducted by all the Communist Parties and socialist states, a great danger faces the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. It becomes imperative that all the socialist states, despite the existing serious ideological-political differences, devise ways and means of achieving unity in action against imperialist aggressors, which plays a vital

part in facilitating the process of ideological-political unity of the camp.

It is again in this background of world capitalist crisis and the desperate drive of the U.S. imperialists to shift the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of other weaker countries and peoples, that the economic-political developments in India, and the dangers of neo-colonialism, the threat to the national independence of our country, etc., have to be examined.

II. THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ITS CAUSES

The colossal backwardness and poverty of the Indian people are an evil legacy left behind by the plunderous exploitation of foreign capital and its feudal accomplices under the two hundred years' rule of the British imperialists. During the last two decades after the attainment of political independence, the Congress rulers are neither prepared to do away with the exploiting foreign capital, nor are they interested in liquidating the feudal and semi-feudal landlordism and its oppressive loot of the peasantry. On the contrary, they embarked upon a suicidal path, the path of continued collaboration with imperialist capital and active alliance with landlordism, after effecting some pitiful agrarian reforms. They, further, energetically assisted the growth of the Indian monopolists and their collaboration deals with foreign capitalists.

Thus, the country, under the 'benign' rule of the Congress party, is placed at the mercy of the Indian monopolists, foreign imperialists and feudal and semi-feudal landlords who pillage and plunder and amass wealth at the expense of the toiling people. The present economic crisis is nothing but the cumulative effect of this triple exploitation, and no lasting solution of this crisis can be had except through the determined dissolution and destruction of this trinity. Its manifestations may be many, but the basic causes remain the same trio.

This triple loot of the Indian people has, in the recent period, aggravated and sharpened the contradiction between the people and the Government, the Government of the bourgeoisie and landlords which is collaborating and compromising with imperialist capital.

Thanks to the reactionary policies of the Government, the external debts of the country have piled up to Rs. 6225 crores as the budget figures of 1968-69 reveal. The annual debt repayment alone amounted in 1967 to Rs. 242 crores. The volume of foreign loans had to be written up by 57.5 per cent, following the devaluation of the rupee.

Since a greater part of this foreign aid is coming in the form of tied loans, the imperialists are dictating their own high prices for the commodities supplied, imposing their own rates of shipping freight for carrying them to our country, thereby looting as big a slice of the debt amount as 40 to 50 per cent in the very process of debt transaction.

The constantly rising burdens of external debt repayments and heavy food imports are consuming nearly half of the hard-earned foreign exchange through exports, and all chances of buying vital imports for industry including machinery are drastically reduced. On top of it, the Government has to pay for these imports at uncompetitive monopolist prices, dictated by the terms of aid-giving imperialists.

The imperialist loot of the country does not stop with the loans and debts they are giving and the penal extortions made out of them. Foreign private capital which stood around Rs. 250 crores in the year 1948, has by now risen to one thousand crores of rupees. The foreign private capital not only increased but also penetrated into vital sectors such as engineering, petro-chemical, etc., and the share of the USA rapidly increased in foreign private capital. A statement made by the Government on August 20, 1968, before Parliament admits that as big an amount as Rs. 600 crores, in round figures, was remitted abroad during the years 1957-67. These remittances, it is stated, are on account of current profits, accumulated profits and dividends, and on account of

royalties, technicians, technical know-how and other professional services. This figure is obviously an understatement, as everybody is aware of the foreign exchange swindle in which several of the foreign-oriented companies are involved. The steep rise of foreign private capital by four times during 1948-68 is due not so much to real and fresh investments but mainly due to the ploughing back of a part of the profits earned in the country.

British capital continues its exploitation of the country, and simultaneously U.S. capital, both private and government, has made serious inroads into our economic and social life. The U.S. loans and credits, to both government and private agencies, have stupendously grown, and the Government's dependence on U.S. aid for food under PL-480, for maintenance imports, for capital requirements, and for defence needs has grown in an alarming manner. Not a month passes when one central Congress Minister or another does not lead a begging mission to the U.S. and other imperialist states on bended knees, and on their promises and performances our industrial planning and economic development has come to depend. It is to these pressures that the Government succumbs and cuts off trade relations with North Vietnam and Cuba, and starts exporting to the puppet regimes of South Vietnam and South Korea. It is under this imperialist pressure that the Government shows reluctance to fully utilise the opportunities afforded by the socialist world and the offers of aid and trade with the socialist countries. A striking example of this is the Government of India's persistent refusal to grant diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic. The huge amounts of Soviet aid and increased trade with the USSR do not stem the deterioration of the economic situation. It is well-known that the ruling classes use this aid to bargain with the imperialists. As the world capitalist crisis is deepening, the imperialist offensive to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the weak and dependent countries is growing and under these attacks the Government of India is yielding position after position to the imperialists, chiefly the U.S.

The virtual scuttling of the fourth five-year plan and its declared aims, the devaluation of the rupee, the fertiliser deal and similar other steps are links in the chain of surrenders. The U.S. imperialists are taking full advantage of this situation with intensification of the activities of their agencies like CIA to buy over sections of the press and politicians and influence our economic, social and cultural life. All this poses a big threat to our future.

Feudal and Semi-Feudal Fetters on the Economy and their Role in the Crisis

The pitiful agrarian reforms, carried out by the Government under pressure of the mounting agrarian upsurge and guided by the pressing economic needs and political expediency of the big bourgeoisie, have neither altered the basic land relations nor loosened the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on the economy, let alone smashing them. The land concentration continues, feudal and semi-feudal exploitation is perpetuated though in slightly changed and modified forms, and the pauperisation of the lower rung of the peasantry grows apace, while simultaneously capitalism with its market laws is making heavy inroads into the agrarian economy and causing all the depredations, characteristic of the stunted, distorted and crisis-ridden capitalist development in India under the rule of the bourgeois-landlord classes in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital.

Forty per cent of the total cultivated land remains in the hands of landlords who constitute 5 to 6 per cent of the landholders while at the other end nearly forty per cent of the agrarian population remain as landless peasants and agricultural labourers whose livelihood in the main is derived by hiring out their labour to the landlords and the rich peasants.

The heavy and exacting tribute this five to six per cent of the rural households, the landlords, are imposing on the social economy runs into hundreds of crores of rupees annually. It is estimated that the different forms of land rent

extraction alone amounts to one thousand crores of rupees a year, let alone what they gather from the exploitation of cheap labour. Another three hundred crores of rupees a year, on the average, are garnered by them in the way of different forms of usury from the indebted peasantry. Thirdly, it is this stratum, with the greater part of the surpluses in foodgrains and other agrarian commodities in its hands, which benefits from the food scarcity and fluctuating high prices in the market. Finally, it is this section which is the principal beneficiary of the several government schemes, grants and loans—all under the cover of agricultural development of the country.

The feudal and semi-feudal exploitation accompanied by the monopolist manipulations of the price mechanism of agrarian commodities is hitting heavily the toiling peasants aggravating the chronic food crisis, retarding the formation of capital for the country's development, narrowing the home market for industrial goods, hindering industrial progress and perpetuating poverty, misery and unemployment in the country.

The reactionary agrarian policies are hitting hard, first and foremost, the agricultural labourers, poor peasants, and rural artisans. Rural unemployment, evictions of tenants from land, utter neglect of ensuring minimum wages and social rights to these doubly oppressed millions, recurring famines and starvation deaths, and the mounting oppression of the landlords are now a common phenomenon throughout the country. In the backward states and areas, in the tribal belts and agency tracts, and in places where the democratic movement and organised kisan activities are either absent or extremely weak, this oppression is assuming more barbarous and cruel forms and provoking spontaneous resistance and struggles.

Government's policies are adversely affecting sections of the middle peasantry who are also fleeced through high prices, unequal exchange and high taxation.

Even sections of rich peasants are affected by the pricing

policy of the Government from time to time, and by the heavy taxation of goods they require for production.

The price fluctuations of some agricultural commodities like jute, sugarcane, chillies, groundnut, raw-rubber, coconut and certain other items are such as to completely dislocate the economies of the small and medium producers and cause serious losses to them. The bulk of the peasantry which produces foodgrains is compelled to part with its surpluses at cheaper rates in the market, while the landlords, hoarders and grain speculators are exacting high prices, ranging anywhere between 25 and 50 per cent or even more than what the ordinary peasants are able to get. Added to it, monopolist prices for industrial goods are imposed on them. The artificially kept up high prices of cloth, kerosene, medicine and the ever-growing cost of education for the children of the peasantry are causing serious hardships to them. The direct and indirect taxes coupled with inflationary devices constitute such a burden that it undermines their economy and endangers their livelihood, though most of it remains imperceptible to the naked eye, while all the same it does its mischief.

Peasant indebtedness is growing, a very meagre percentage of their credit requirements are met by the Government, and they are thrown at the mercy of usurious landlords and moneylending merchants in the rural areas.

Growth of Indian Monopolies

One of the distinct features of Indian economic and social life in the post-independence period is the monstrous rise and growth of Indian monopolies.

Indian monopolists operating in a semi-feudal and industrially backward country like India prove doubly oppressive when compared with their counterparts in the developed capitalist countries. In their attempt to reap a high rate of profits in conditions of low industrial development, they hinder rapid industrial progress in order to ensure against competition and to draw monopoly profits. Price manipulations,

tax evasions, hoarding and blackmarketing are some of the malpractices they freely indulge in so that they might get rich quick. As a result of their exorbitant tribute on the country's economy, the purchasing power of the people falls rapidly. It drastically narrows down the home market and leads to a crisis.

Interested as they are in a cheap and abundant labour force, they are against all radical agrarian reforms and flourish on the pauperised and unemployed millions of people, readily available in the labour market. Their schemes of rationalisation, automation, their arbitrary imposition of industrial lock-outs, lay-off, closures of factories and mills, their banking operations, price manipulations, and tax evasions are all hitting the country's economy and inflicting miseries on the people. The prolonged crisis in the textile industry, throwing out lakhs of workers in the handlooms and textile mills, the months-long lock-outs and strikes in the engineering industry, and the mounting attacks on the employees' rights logically follow from the capitalist path with its growing domination of the monopolies over our economy.

The Indian big bourgeoisie in their ambition to have vast areas of the Indian Union as their monopolised market are extremely hostile to the democratic and autonomous rights of different nationalities and states, and their drive is towards a unitary and dictatorial centre, to serve as their tool in exploitation and plunder.

The monopolists, who have no greater value in life than that of profit-making, are the chief source of all anti-national deals in the country, and the increasing collaboration with foreign monopoly capital is already reaching menacing proportions.

The unrestricted growth of monopolists and their foreign collaboration deals is in a big way responsible for the present plight of our economy.

The unresolved conflicts of the Indian Government with neighbouring countries of Pakistan and People's China, the continuation of a state of undeclared war between these

countries and India, and the chauvinist positions taken by the ruling classes that crippled the initiative to end this deadlock, are imposing a heavy defence expenditure on the country, consuming a third of the annual budget. This is further intensifying and deepening the economic crisis in the country.

Thus the three-fold exploitation and oppression is manifesting in different forms and expressing in different ways the accentuating economic crisis. Contracting of huge foreign debts and mortgaging the country's economy, the big public borrowing and piling up of public debts, the resorting to inflation as one of the most important devices to fleece the public, the price manipulation, the tremendous increase of excise duties and indirect taxation, the pegging of the wages of the industrial working class and government employees, the deliberate encouragement of collaboration deals with foreign monopoly capital, the working of the factories and industrial establishments much below their capacity, artificial creation of scarcity of goods by hoarding and withholding full production, the monopoly control on the major banking and credit system to squeeze out the small and medium producers, the opposition to the setting up and expansion of basic industries while driving in the direction of quick-profit making consumer industries, the industrial lock-outs, automation, lay-offs, retrenchment and periodical closures of mills and the increasing use of the state police machinery to beat down people's resistance are the methods and forms by which the Government wants to resolve the economic crisis. In fact, these are the very bankrupt methods that are responsible for aggravating the crisis, inflicting miseries on the people, endangering economic advance and threatening the country's political independence.

In view of these basic causes of the crisis of the Indian economy, Indian planning had virtually collapsed before the onset of the recession. The third plan had ended in disgraceful failure. The fourth plan was virtually still-born. The capitalist path had imposed a stagnant growth on the Indian

economy. The annual growth rate has been slowing down and the per capita income had declined in 1965-66 and 1966-67. The compound rate of growth in foodgrains has been only 0.67 per cent.

In the industrial sector also the rate of growth declined between 1965 and 1967.

This slow growth of national and per capita income inhibits continued progress as it comes against the expansion of the home market, on which Indian capitalist development must more or less solely rely under the present conditions of capitalism and international competition.

The recent industrial setback has taken place under conditions of chronic stagnation.

Official figures showed last year a large accumulation of stocks. A large number of textile mills have been closed. Several engineering units had considerable unused capacity, even before the onset of the recession. The crisis has ruined the handloom industry and thrown thousands of handloom workers out of employment. Large stocks of handloom cloth have accumulated.

Among the industrial employers, smaller industrialists have to bear the brunt of the crisis. The smaller employer is unable to continue production with accumulated stocks which lock up his capital. Many small engineering and other concerns are irretrievably ruined and a large number is threatened with extinction.

The continued inflation and deficit financing play a role in deepening the crisis. Inflation which perpetuates increasing prices is a weapon to transfer value from the toilers to the capitalists and their brethren.

All the efforts of the bourgeoisie to overcome the crisis are meeting with failure. They are leading to more dependence on imperialism.

The various economic measures taken by the Government are only intended to ease directly or indirectly the burdens and difficulties of the capitalist class which passes on the burdens of the crisis to the toilers.

Under stress of the crisis, private sector capitalists are being given more and more freedom, delicensing is introduced, planning is being reduced to announcing of general targets and the role of the state sector is being reduced. Simultaneously greater and greater pressure is being exercised to give more facilities to private foreign capital, to relaxation of controls over collaboration agreements.

Under stress of the crisis there is strong pressure to yield to the demands of the imperialists and strike an anti-national deal. But the crisis at the same time sharpens the conflict of sections of the bourgeoisie with imperialism which threatens to take a large part of the loot from the exploitation of the people by intruding into the domestic market.

Thus in the background of basic causes, the immediate reasons for the present economic crisis can be seen in the following :

1. The Indian economy is tied to the world-capitalist market and is therefore subject to the crisis of that economy;
2. India as a weaker trading partner of the big capitalist countries continually loses through unequal trade terms;
3. The policy of the imperialists to shift the burdens of their crisis on to the under developed countries intensifies the crisis in India;
4. The extortionate price of foreign loans and investment have saddled the economy with an unbearable burden of repayments imposing starvation wages, limiting the home market and accentuating the crisis. These loans and the terms under which they are secured obstruct the Indian capitalists from capturing the home-market (import substitution) and force them to share it with the foreign capitalists;
5. The failure to liquidate feudal land relations which hampers agricultural production, produces scarcity and imposes high food costs, limiting the market for industrial goods; and the crisis of small production which shows its inefficiency and vulnerability with the least adverse change in the season;
6. The growing concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few who levy high prices on society;

7. Official policy of inflation which is a method of forcibly transferring value from the labouring masses to the capitalists;

8. The Government's price policy in favour of big capitalists and the tremendous waste due to inefficiency in running the public sector because of which the public sector contributes very little to capital formation from the huge investment.

This is sharpening the contradiction between the bourgeois-landlord regime and the Indian people and leads to the upsurge in fighting against the present policies of the Government.

The present economic crisis, its nature and character can be correctly appreciated only when it is realised that it is developing in the background of the third stage of the general crisis of world capitalism, that it is centred round the chronic agrarian crisis of our country, and that it is also a part of the world capitalist cyclic crisis that is on at the present stage. There is no wonder that such an economic crisis is somewhat prolonged. It has projected itself into a political crisis, following the fourth general elections which seriously shook the stability of the ruling bourgeois-landlord classes.

III. THE DEVELOPING POLITICAL CRISIS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The economic crisis and the efforts of the Congress Government to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the people had generated deep discontent among different classes of the affected people. The country witnessed a wave of mass struggles on a series of issues affecting the life of the people. These widespread mass economic struggles, which swept the country over a period of a year and more, prior to the fourth general elections, had seriously undermined the political prestige of the Congress among the masses. The fourth general elections provided the people with an opportunity to give clear political expression to their growing

discontent, and they pronounced their verdict against Congress misrule.'

This political consciousness, though, was elementary and in the orbit of a purely constitutional form, but, all the same, it was clearly political in character and content. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) stood in the van in giving conscious expression to the growing mass discontent, and the political line it pursued with vigour to isolate the Congress party and build an anti-Congress democratic front of parties and groups played no small role in bringing about the necessary political climate for the defeat of the Congress party. Because of the weakness of our Party and the democratic movement and the elementary stage of the political consciousness of the people, reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc., gained in certain states.

The devastating defeats suffered by the ruling Congress party in the general elections, its loss of control over seven to eight state Governments, covering half the country's population, and the drastic reduction of its former big majority in the Lok Sabha forced the political crisis into the forefront. A new stage was ushered in the Indian political scene, a stage of intensified class struggle between the bourgeois-landlord classes and its premier political party, the Indian National Congress, on the one hand, and the anti-Congress democratic forces in the country on the other.

The political crisis manifests, *firstly*, in the growing anti-Congress discontent of the masses, the fast-losing political hold of the Congress party over the people, the political and organisational disintegration and decay of this premier political party of the bourgeois-landlord classes.

Secondly, the problem of nationalities has become extremely aggravated. The loss of the Congress party's control over several state Governments has brought to the surface the Centre-State conflicts and contradictions, exposing the unitary character of the Constitution, tearing away the mask of federalism and the sham content of states' autonomy. In short, Centre-States relations have entered a phase of serious

crisis, and the problem of nationalities has been accentuated.

Thirdly, the politically weakened and economically crisis-ridden ruling classes, finding it extremely difficult to adhere to the rules of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, started attacking the democratic rights and liberties of the people provided under the present Constitution. The facade of democracy is being torn to pieces and the face of the ferocious class dictatorship of the capitalists and landlords is revealing itself more and more strikingly.

Fourthly, the mass of the people, unable to put up with the oppressive effects of the economic crisis on them and awakening politically to the dangers posed by the bourgeois-landlord rule, are increasingly drawn into political battles, and every serious mass struggle on economic demands is rapidly acquiring a political character.

Disintegration of the Congress and Crisis of the Ruling Class Parties

The process of Congress disintegration, despite all its hectic efforts to regain its lost positions and reconsolidate itself during the last eighteen months, continues. It has miserably failed in its endeavours to arrest it. The reasons for this disintegration and decay are deeper and more fundamental, and it is a clear reflection of the deep crisis of their class policies. Both the internal and external policies that the bourgeois-landlord classes embarked upon, have landed them in the present crisis, neither allowing them to pursue the same any longer nor providing any scope to alter them because of the narrow class limitations imposed on them.

The Congress Government dares not touch the imperialist capital, is not interested in curbing the Indian monopoly capital, and is mortally afraid of any radical agrarian reforms. On the other hand, serious pressures develop from the U.S. imperialists and concessions are made. It is natural that such a political party or parties have to survive drawing on their past and depending mainly upon the repressive state machinery

in their hands while coming into head-on clash with the broad masses of the people. This is exactly what is taking place, and it is beyond their capacity to reverse this process, and this process leads only to further disintegration and decay.

On the issue of foreign policy which, of course, is the projection of internal class policy, the ruling Congress party finds itself in the same dilemma. In face of the sharpening antagonism between the two world camps and in the conditions of intensifying class contradictions at home, the policy of non-alignment is under severe trial and test. With the increasing and heavy dependence on imperialist 'aid', and with continued hostility to the People's Republic of China, its non-alignment is seriously undermined, its manoeuvrability and bargaining capacity between the two camps is heavily curtailed. Instead of the 'happy' conditions in which the Indian big bourgeoisie could utilise all the world contradictions to its class advantage, bitter contradictions developed with socialist People's China and the imperialists have not been a whit late in utilising this contradiction to their advantage. With this big shift away from the policy of non-alignment it is coming under serious pressure by the imperialists abroad and anti-communist reaction at home, who are demanding further concessions in their favour. Dictated by its own class needs, and still left with room to manoeuvre, its play between the two camps continues, despite the fact that the foreign policy of non-alignment as it stands today is very much emasculated and is in a state of crisis.

Thus the Congress party, with its internal and external policies in crisis, with its ever-diminishing political hold over the masses, and with its increasing attacks on the lives and liberties of the people, is disintegrating both politically and organisationally. There is not a single state where one faction or another has not rebelled and set up its own sign-board. The existing party in every state and Union territory is a house factionally divided against itself, with two or more warring camps in each under the leadership of several opportunist office-hunting leaders. Corruption, nepotism and

political horse-trading have become rampant. Its decadence and disintegration have gone so far that nobody can redeem it anymore.

The hectic efforts it has made and the abuses of central authority that it has resorted to for regaining its lost image and consolidation, following the defeats in the fourth general elections, have not paid any dividends and the process of disintegration and decay continues.

While the Congress party, the premier bourgeois-landlord political party, is faced with this disruption, several other parties and groups with the same class origin and policies who pretend to be a little to the right or left of the Congress, are faring no better and the crisis in these parties, too, is not concealed.

Centre-State Conflicts

The Centre-State conflict and the consequent crisis that has been reflected in the functioning of the federal structure of the Indian Union following the loss of Congress control over several state Governments has been further intensified. The Programme of our Party had correctly stated that behind this conflict lay the deeper contradiction between the big bourgeoisie and the people including the bourgeoisie of the constituent states. This deeper contradiction gets constantly accentuated by the economic crisis and the unevenness of development of different regions.

These conflicts and contradictions between the Centre and States today no longer remain confined to and manifest themselves in the dispute over the official language issue and the questions of equitable distribution of central resources, regional imbalances in industrial and agricultural development and so on. Not only have these issues become additionally emphasised, but still more basic questions, questions of the very nature and character of states' autonomy and the democratic rights of different nationalities, have been thrust to the forefront.

The high-handed manner in which several non-Congress

Governments were dismissed and Governor's rule was imposed, the crude and blatant manner in which central grain supplies to deficit states like Kerala and West Bengal were utilised for the partisan political interests of the ruling Congress party, the gross interference of the Centre even in the smallest issues connected with the states, the judicial directives to the states' police that it need not be guided by the elected state Governments as to where, when and in what measure the repressive police machine should be deployed, the constitutional deadlock created in West Bengal and Punjab over the Speakers' rulings, the conflicting judgments by High Courts and the Supreme Court over the interpretation of Speakers' rights which have been written into the constitution, etc.—have demonstrated the utter hollowness of states' autonomy and the rights of elected representatives under the rule of the Congress party.

The most glaring and striking example of this is the deliberate discrimination against the Kerala non-Congress U.F. Government by cutting its rice supplies to half and withdrawing the food subsidy the state has been receiving over years. The latest central directive to the Kerala Government in the matter of dealing with the central government employees' one-day protest strike, when the state Government was told that it had no independent discretion, no right to interpret and implement the central orders except obeying the Home Ministry's diktats as to who should or should not be arrested and detained, and the deployment of the Central Reserve Police even without the knowledge of the duly elected and functioning state Government are typical of the high-handed manner in which central powers are being abused.

The Congress leaders and Government have developed a scornful and contemptuous attitude to the vital question of nationalities in the Indian Union. They are vainly trying to satisfy themselves by brushing this question aside as an evil, dubbing it as 'linguism', 'parochialism' and 'regionalism'. It is because of this attitude that no democratic solution is found to the problems posed by Kashmir, Nagaland and Mizoland;

several questions of border nationalities remain deadlocked creating an explosive situation; full rights are denied to the legislatures in Manipur, Tripura, Himachal and other Union territories. Quite oblivious of the Indian realities they persist in their fanatic attempt to impose Hindi as the sole official language of the country. The economic and political crisis that is deepening is bound to aggravate this problem and will compel the Congress overlords to realise that they are sitting on the top of a volcano. In short, they are playing with fire when they frontally challenge the democratic and autonomous rights of nationalities and states in the Indian Union. Unless the revolutionary proletariat and other democratic forces unite and rise to fight and defeat this policy, it would immensely damage the unity of the country and the united revolutionary movement of our people.

Drive Against Democracy and for a Police State

Caught in the clutches of the economic-political crisis, and unwilling to and incapable of finding democratic solutions, the Congress Government is resorting to repressive methods.

For full five years between 1962 and 1967, they imposed the draconic DIR on the country, besides the obnoxious Preventive Detention Act already written into the Constitution and they have perpetuated the age-old Criminal Procedure Code that the hated British rulers introduced in the country. Not content with these, a so-called 'Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act' has been enacted with diabolical powers to suppress and outlaw any organisation they want and exclude it from the purview of the country's judiciary. Subsequently Parliament has enacted several anti-working class legislations such as the 'Banking Companies Act', 'Central Industrial Security Forces Act', 'Indian Railways Act' and the 'Essential Services Act'. Unending stories of police repression from different parts of the country have become a regular phenomenon, and lathi-charges, tear-gas shelling, and rifle firings on the people are daily occurrences.

Unable to meet the urgent and just demands of the struggling workers and government employees, afraid of the growing political isolation from the masses, and caught in the desperate economic and political crisis, the Congress Government is frequently resorting to rule by ordinances. Losing faith in the democratic rights and liberties they themselves have proclaimed under the Constitution, they are making deep inroads into the very system of parliamentary democracy about which they have been boasting. Popularly elected legislatures are dissolved with the stroke of a pen; Governor's rule is declared so that the Congress may rule from behind; no corrupt practice is taboo for them for buying legislators and organising defections from opposition parties.

With the growing loss of their hold over the masses, the ruling classes use every weapon to disrupt the unity and solidarity of the people and undermine the democratic rights of minorities, terrorise them and sap the foundations of democracy. In the last two or three years India has seen the most gruesome communal riots in which the Muslim minority was hunted down while the police of the Congress Governments silently watched the massacre of the innocents. These anti-Muslim riots constitute a direct attack on the solidarity of the working class and the democratic movement and reveal the political bankruptcy of the ruling classes. The main agency of the riots, the RSS, is openly patronised by some Congress leaders. Simultaneously, they encourage a number of chauvinistic organisations like the Shiva Sena, Lachit Sena, etc., to drive a wedge between people belonging to different nationalities, to break their class solidarity and disrupt the common struggle.

Some of these reactionary forces are aided by a number of United States agencies and foundations—first and foremost, the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA.

Mortal fear of the growing mass discontent and the defiant manner in which people are demonstrating their dislike of the bourgeois-landlord rule is driving the Congress leaders to desperation.

Some reactionary bourgeois politicians are asking what guarantee there is that Congress would be returned to power in the mid-term poll in West Bengal, U.P., Bihar and Punjab, and why the 'hated' elections with adult franchise should not be dispensed with. Thus the Congress party with people losing confidence in it, is fast losing confidence in parliamentary democracy, elections and the parliamentary system. The danger to democracy and the fundamental rights and liberties of the people is real and on the increase, and the drive towards a police state is on.

The reactionary classes and forces seek to exploit the very same crisis to disrupt the growing mass movement by diversionist slogans, chauvinism and jingoism, to disrupt and divide the democratic unity of parties and forces, to do away with democracy and perpetuate their exploiting class rule by a police-military dictatorship. Unless this is countered by vigilant, militant and united mass resistance, the crisis will not automatically end the hated class rule of the exploiters. The biggest weakness in the situation is the subjective factor, the level of consciousness and organisation of the working class and its party, and the absence of unity among the democratic parties. The economic-political crisis does not automatically mean that the masses are breaking away from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political-ideological influence and coming under the influence of the revolutionary working class. It is through painstaking and sustained work that this gap can be, and shall be filled, and the objective conditions today greatly facilitate that process. Otherwise, it will be naive to think that the ruling classes have no way of their own out of any crisis.

IV. THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND CONGRESS CONSPIRACIES TO DISRUPT IT

The essence of the political history of our country during the last eighteen months since the fourth general elections is nothing but a nationwide class struggle between the reac-

tionary forces, headed by the Congress party and the democratic forces among whom the Communist Party of India (Marxist) stands in the forefront. The former has been striving its utmost to resolve the economic-political crisis in its favour and against the people, while the latter has been engaged in advancing the democratic revolutionary movement in the background of the crisis of the ruling classes.

It is a history of Congress conspiracies and attacks against the anti-Congress democratic forces and the united fronts that they have forged and the UF state Governments they have set up, on the one hand, and the counter-attacks of the democratic forces on the ruling Congress party in defence of the political victories gained during the fourth general elections and for carrying them forward.

The Congress party, utilising the state power at the Centre in its hands, relying upon its class-reserves among the other right reactionary opposition parties, and also cleverly drawing on the political vacillations and anti-Communist prejudices of some democratic parties, is directing its main fire against the CPI(M) because of its decisive role in the U.F.s and the state Governments of West Bengal and Kerala.

The CPI(M) basing itself on the united democratic fronts, forged during and after the general elections, taking into account the growing anti-Congress discontent, and firmly adhering to its political line of isolating the ruling Congress has been mobilising the people to beat back the Congress attacks and defending the U.F.s and united struggles of the masses.

A careful examination of the balance-sheet of this political struggle, and a concrete appraisal of the role played by different political parties in it alone can guide the people in evolving the future line of action, both for defending their immediate day-to-day interests as well as for their struggle for a democratic and progressive future for our people.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), quite aware of the extreme limitations of the powers that the state Governments possess under the present Constitution and clearly

conscious of the level of the political consciousness of the people and the degree of their unity and organisation at the present stage, decided to participate in the United Front Governments of West Bengal and Kerala. This decision was guided by the prime consideration that these two UFs comprised essentially democratic parties and groups, that the CPI(M) was the decisive force in the UFs, and that these state Governments had to be utilised as instruments in the service of the people and in their struggle against the oppressive policies of the central Government so as to assist in raising the political consciousness of the people and the united struggles.

The Congress party and its central Government is dead opposed to this prospect, and launched its counter-offensive, concentrating first and foremost, on the UF Governments of West Bengal and Kerala. Exploiting the political and organizational weaknesses of certain parties and groups in the UF state Government in West Bengal, the central Congress Government made systematic attempts to reduce it to a docile instrument to merely carry out its orders, written and unwritten—all under the pretext of maintaining “law and order”. But the Communist Party of India (Marxist), opposed to allowing the UF state Government becoming such a pawn in the hands of the central Congress Government, started mobilizing as many allied parties and groups against such vile attempts and together with them, also, mobilised the people in their millions to fight back the machinations of the central Government.

The working class, taking advantage of the presence of the UF Government, launched a series of struggles to get some of their long-standing grievances redressed and secure their demands. This movement assumed primarily the form of ‘gheraos’. The peasantry in several pockets and districts was able to resist the eviction offensive of the landlords and also took possession of two-and-a-half-lakh acres of ‘surplus’ and wastelands from the illegal occupation of big landlords. Hundreds of state Government employees, victimised

during the last several years of Congress rule, were reinstated. The state Government employees could secure their civil liberties and rights to organise their trade union activities, denied by the Congress Government for years, and also win partial relief through increase of their emoluments. This, in the short time of a few months and with the limited resources at the disposal of the West Bengal UF state Government, and the state unit of the CPI(M) mobilising the people, a new mass enthusiasm among workers, peasants, middle classes, students and youth was unleashed.

The central Congress Government, panicky at this process of mass awakening, resorted to every foul means at its disposal and dismissed the UF Government. By purchasing some of the traitorous elements from the Bangla Congress and inveigling its leader, Ajoy Mukherjee, in its machinations the Congress came very near to success in disrupting the United Front and installing its puppet regime. But the CPI(M) took the timely initiative to mobilise the people and other democratic parties to fight back the Congress machinations. Thanks to the vigilance and response of the people of Bengal, the Congress game of UF disruption was foiled and the United Front was defended. Not only could the UF be defended, but through a big and powerful mass resistance movement under its aegis, the puppet P. C. Ghosh Ministry was overthrown, and mid-term poll was forced on the unwilling leaders of the central Congress Government. The Congress party which took some comfort when it was faced with two parallel democratic anti-Congress fronts during the fourth general elections, is now confronted by a single united front of democratic opposition in West Bengal, enjoying the widest support and sympathy of the people.

The Kerala UF and its state Government are another important target of Congress attack. Here, the utter rout the Congress party as well as the dissident Kerala Congress suffered in the fourth general elections did not provide that manoeuvring room for the Congress for its toppling operation, and it is resorting to other methods. The chief method

the central Congress is pursuing there is to starve the state through reducing rice supplies to half of its commitment, and then try to discredit the UF Government, and in particular the CPI(M) which happens to be the single biggest force both among the people and in the state legislature, for the failure to provide minimum food rations to the people. The central Government takes neither the responsibility of grain supplies to the state, nor permits it to go for its purchase wherever supplies are available. Over and above this, it stopped the long-established system of central subsidy to that state which is deficit in food to the extent of fifty per cent of its minimum requirements. And then it put the local Congress party and other agencies in the field to constantly malign and attack the UF Government, with special concentration on the CPI(M) and the Chief Minister and the Food Minister who are its nominees in the UF Cabinet, for starving the people and raising the prices of rationed foodgrains—a thing which the Congress party itself has forced on the state Government and the people.

This offensive of the Congress against Kerala was for some time assisted and abetted by the opportunist policies of the Right Communists and also by the political vacillations and compromising policies of certain constituents of the UF. A stage had been reached when the talk of setting up a so-called non-Congress, non-CPI(M) Government was in the air, and the Congress party was becoming jubilant over this development. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) had awakened to this conspiracy, though a little late, and started independently mobilising the people against the central Government policies of discrimination against the Kerala Government and undermining its political image. It exposed the opportunist moves of the Right Communists and fought the vacillations of other parties, thus defeating the Congress game.

Besides a number of relief measures the UF Government of Kerala has provided despite the severe limitations imposed upon it, the Agrarian Reform bill, the Debt Relief bill on the

anvil, and above all, the bold and democratic stand it has taken on the issue of central Government employees' strike, have helped the good image of the UF and its Government to grow and the danger of disruption of the UF has been warded off. The unity of the Front has been saved and the Congress and its allies have been politically isolated.

Though this cannot be taken as the first or last game of the Congress party in Kerala, and things as they stand today do not permit any complacency on our part and one cannot take for granted the unity of the parties in the present UF, it will not be an exaggeration to state that it is not so easy for the Congress party to succeed in its conspiracies to undermine the UF and topple the UF Government, nor will it be smooth sailing for any political party or group in the UF to disregard the popular mood and to opportunistically play into the hands of the Congress party. Such are the alignment of class and political forces in the state of Kerala, and our Party will have to confidently base itself on them, in its struggle for further advance and progress.

Such is the balance-sheet of struggle between the Congress and the democratic forces as far as West Bengal and Kerala are concerned, and some of the striking lessons for the democratic parties and groups in the country. It is the people, their political awareness, their mobilisation and united action, that can successfully defeat the Congress conspiracies.

The Anti-Congress Fronts in Some Other States and Their Present Condition

The Congress conspiracies against the Fronts and their non-Congress state Governments in Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab, the manner in which these conspiracies were fought back by different fronts and parties, and the balance-sheet of these struggles, present a totally different picture.

The first thing that should be noted is that the non-Congress fronts in these states were blown to pieces under the attacks and undermining activities of the Congress party and when these front Governments were toppled one after

another, there was no mass protest as in West Bengal. The opportunist manner in which most of these parties and groups behaved while in office in spite of certain relief given to the people as in the case of Punjab, came very handy for the Congress party to discredit the concept of the alliances and fronts of political parties, and pose falsely before the people that its one-party Congress rule was more stable and competent than this 'hotch-potch' alliance. Thus the growing anti-Congress democratic sentiments and moods of the people, when sought to be led by parties and groups which are in no way fundamentally different, ideologically and politically, from the bourgeois-landlord Congress party, are getting distorted and the mass political enthusiasm for the removal of the hated Congress Government is getting dissipated. The alternative present before the people of these states is to choose one set of opportunist combination under the sign-board of the Congress party or another set of combination called the "non-Congress fronts", neither of them really democratic nor loyal to the common people and their democratic aspirations.

The second important point that emerges from the experience of these fronts and their state Governments is their signal failure to draw the masses into political activity, their failure to harness the growing anti-Congress mass discontent for the democratic movement, and the contempt and ridicule they evoked in the masses by unseemly and disgusting floor crossings in which several amongst these parties indulged with no other aim than to get into ministerial offices. The marked difference with West Bengal is easily seen where our Party together with other allied parties took the people into confidence, exposed before the people every treachery from whichever quarter it came, mobilised them in millions on a series of occasions against the Congress conspiracies, and foiled by mass struggle and action the game of the Congress to perpetuate the puppet regime of P.C. Ghosh. This is conspicuously absent with these fronts and Governments. The utter incapacity demonstrated in Punjab

by the main political parties of the front to fight back with mass mobilisation when the puppet Gill Ministry was installed and it functioned for more than six months, the manner in which the front Ministry in Bihar was allowed to be toppled, the Paswan Ministry was installed, and the opportunist rallying of parties again around it without bringing the masses into the field for effective mass intervention, speak eloquently for the fiasco of these parties and fronts in this crucial regard. The whole drama was enacted by parties and their leaders behind the scenes and not before the people and on the open political stage, with issues sharply posed before the people. The contemptuous bourgeois concept of these parties that people are to be called into action when their votes are to be cast, and after that, political parties and their leaders are free for their opportunist political games, unconcerned with the people, has played havoc with the democratic movement, its progress and consolidation in these states.

However, a cursory examination of the mass ferment and struggles in all these three states would reveal that the anti-Congress discontent of the people is steadily growing, and the Congress is unable to reverse this process, in spite of its disruption of the anti-Congress fronts and the toppling of these non-Congress state Governments. Its experiment of setting up puppet regimes has not succeeded nor is it able to escape the political ordeal of seeking the verdict of the electorate once again, within twelve to fourteen months after the general election.

To conclude, the two different types of united fronts and non-Congress Governments in states, demonstrate two totally different political results, during the last eighteen months, the fronts preponderantly democratic are able to withstand the Congress attacks and progress, while the fronts with reactionary parties dominating and democratic parties allying with them opportunistically, are disintegrating and playing a diversionary role.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), therefore, urges all the democratic parties of our country to seriously note

the alternative our people are faced with: either the democratic parties, groups and individuals forge a really united, powerful democratic front, or allow the essentially reactionary opposition parties to play their opportunist game with anti-Congress fronts and in the bargain disrupt the democratic anti-Congress upsurge and enable the bourgeois-landlord classes to continue their rule, condemning the masses to untold sufferings and poverty.

The DMK Government of Tamil Nadu

The DMK Government stands on a different footing from other non-Congress Governments in the country and the attitude that the central Congress Government adopts towards it also is different.

The DMK is a bourgeois-democratic party in the state of Tamil Nadu and the Government it has set up is a one-party Government, though electoral alliance and unity were forged by it during the elections and they continue even at present. The political conflicts and contradictions between the Congress and the DMK continue, and the state Congress efforts to attack and isolate the DMK from the people have not met with any success so far, as shown by the by-elections in which the Congress constantly is losing in some degree or the other. The central Congress Government is trying to coax the DMK into softening its opposition and the DMK leadership is trying tight-rope walking, responding to the wooing of the central Government on the one hand and frontal conflict with the state Congress party on the other. As the crisis is deepening and mass struggles of the workers, peasants and other middle classes are bursting out, the DMK Government is also tending to use the state's repressive machinery, though till now its main weapon to meet them remains the using of its political influence, either to pacify or disorganise them. The independent democratic movement of the workers and peasants is registering advance in the measure the obtaining situation is dexterously utilised. But the prospect of the Congress regaining its lost ground in

Tamil Nadu is not bright and there is big scope to advance the democratic and united struggles of the people.

V. POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ROLE

The political parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra which too were out to capitalise on the growing anti-Congress mood of the people, lost no time in plumbing for all sorts of alliances and fronts to form non-Congress state Governments, following the defeat of the Congress in several states at the polls. They did not hesitate to form fronts and state Governments which included the Right Communist Party, and even invited the CPI(M) to join them.

A few months' functioning of these fronts and Governments exposed the sham character of the anti-Congressism of these parties, and brought into the forefront their downright reactionary and counter-revolutionary character. Since national chauvinism, jingoism, dominant Hindu communalism and anti-communism are the sheet anchor of these parties and their programmes, they miserably failed to keep up their anti-Congress, democratic pretences. With anti-Pakistan and anti-China policies as the bed-rock of their foreign policy, and with avowedly pro-feudal, pro-imperialist and pro-monopolist orientation in their internal policy, they found themselves in irreconcilable conflicts with the democratic urges and demands of the people, and also with the democratic parties and groups in those fronts and state Governments. By abusing the prestige of their presence in these Governments, the Jana Sangh fanned the flames of communalism and was responsible for organising a number of communal riots against the minorities.

The Swatantra, Jana Sangh and other akin-minded groups in these non-Congress state Governments are mainly responsible for the disruption of these anti-Congress fronts and in fact these parties played the role of reliable class reserves of the Congress party inside the anti-Congress opposition. Unless these parties are totally excluded from the anti-Congress democratic fronts, and the people are rescued from their

pernicious political influence, the danger of disruption of the democratic upsurge, and distortion and diversion of the economic political crisis for reactionary ends cannot be averted.

Some of the democratic opposition parties which, because of opportunist considerations and some erroneous political leanings, have been allying with these reactionary parties, should draw lessons from the experience of the last eighteen months and extricate themselves from these opportunist alliances and fronts.

The PSP takes a rabidly anti-Communist stand, refuses to participate in united actions with the CPI(M) on mass issues and rejects united fronts with our Party. In West Bengal, at first it came to electoral agreements with the United Front for adjustment of seats but later rejected the agreement. The SSP is prepared to have united fronts and electoral agreements with our Party and joins united actions with the CPI(M) on mass issues.

The democratic political parties like the PSP and SSP, notwithstanding some vital political and tactical differences between the two, are the principal political parties in the fronts and Governments with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party. It is disturbing to find these parties pursuing the same even after the bitter experience of the last eighteen months, and the harmful effects these alliances had on the democratic movement of the concerned states.

This policy of the PSP and SSP of alliances with the anti-Congress reactionary parties cannot be treated as fortuitous. The attitude of the PSP and SSP leaderships to India Government's disputes with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and People's China, and their deep anti-Communist prejudices bring them very close to the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, in matters of foreign policy. It is therefore not surprising to find the PSP and SSP leaders busily engaging themselves in organising movements such as those over the Kutch settlement, the anti-Soviet demonstrations before the Soviet embassy over the issues of Soviet arms aid to Pakistan and the Czech crisis, and a countrywide campaign against the

CPI(M) and its state unit in the West Bengal UF Government—all at a stage when the central Congress Government was actively engaged in disrupting the UFs and toppling the non-Congress democratic state Governments, one by one.

The programmes of PSP and SSP with democratic socialist demands and aims on the economic front stand in total conflict with their political and ideological convictions. It is quite understandable that such self-conflicting and contradictory programmes and policies are pulling them in two diametrically opposite directions and breeding crisis in these parties. The proceedings of the meets of these two parties, one in Bombay and the other in Allahabad, reveal the nature of the crisis and convulsions to which they are subjected today. As the economic and political crisis deepens in the country, these policies of the PSP and SSP are bound to face still graver tests and trials.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) which is vitally interested in building the united front of different democratic parties and groups including the SSP, PSP and others, cannot but take this development into serious account. Prompted by the desire to consolidate the existing UF with them in states where it has materialised, and eager to extend it to other states and areas, it will have to offer its fraternal and constructive criticism of policies of these democratic parties and groups. It is incumbent on its part to sharply point out to other democratic parties and their following, the dangers posed to democratic unity and struggles of the people by the opportunist alliances with reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, on the plea that they are anti-Congress. The experiences in UP, Bihar, Punjab, etc., clearly demonstrate how these alliances with reactionary parties and groups have not helped in building real democratic unity against the ruling Congress party, but, on the contrary, disrupt such unity and objectively facilitate the strengthening of the Congress and other reactionary forces.

The Right Communist Party with its class collaborationist and revisionist theories and actions, had contributed its worst

to disrupt and disorganise the anti-Congress unity of the democratic parties and groups in the country. It was after a bitter and prolonged struggle and a head-on clash with the Right Communists that their thesis of rallying behind the Congress party and Government and building a united front with the Congress party was defeated. They now profess to fight the Congress and advocate the building of a united front of political parties against the Congress. But, here again, typical of their opportunist character, they have fallen for any and every front and alliance with avowed reactionary parties such as the Jana Sangh and Swatantra; they had joined them in forming and functioning the non-Congress state Governments of Bihar, UP, and Punjab and, even today, after the sad experience of eighteen months and the disastrous role played by the Jana Sangh in organizing communal riots, the Right Communists shamelessly hobnob with them.

The attitude of the Right Communists to democratic parties like the PSP and SSP which fervently advocate and forge alliances with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra is also opportunistic. They have not a word of criticism of the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist positions of the PSP and SSP leaders, and they, in fact, compete with them in anti-Pakistan and anti-China tirades, which only add grist to the mill of reaction and counter-revolution in our country. They feel flattered and not ashamed, when PSP and SSP leaders pat them on their backs saying they are national Communists and they prefer their company to that of the CPI(M), though in reality it is their actual preference to the Jana Sangh and Swatantra that is strikingly demonstrated.

The Right Communists, of late, have been indulging in the glib talk of "Left unity", as distinct from democratic unity against the Congress, and it is anybody's guess as to what they actually want. While vociferous in raising the slogans of Left unity, united fronts, united action, in practice, they are resorting to the disruption of TUs, splitting of AIKS and undermining activities in the AITUC and to underhand deals with some parties and groups in the United

Fronts of Kerala and West Bengal. Thus, the revisionist party and its right opportunist policies constitute a constant menace to the building up of united mass activity and a democratic united front against the ruling Congress regime. Since these right revisionist policies and activities are being conducted under the signboard of a "Communist Party" and under the banner of "Marxism", the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will have to be constantly vigilant and carry on a principled fight exposing their ideological political bankruptcy and opportunist disruption of the unity of the revolutionary working class. The correct slogans of advocating unity of action and united front with the revisionist party against the bourgeois-landlord Congress party and its Government should not blind the CPI(M) to the reality that the revisionist party constitutes a major disruptive force undermining the communist movement in India.

Equally harmful are the political and ideological policies that have come to be advocated by the ultra-Left groups that have recently defected from the Communist Party of India (Marxist). These groups in different states, assuming an ultra-revolutionary and pseudo-Left posture, and claiming originality in applying Marxism to the present New Epoch, are actually out to revise Marxism from a Left and adventurist direction. They oppose unity of action with democratic parties and groups on the holy plea that these parties are either revisionist or reactionary; they are hostile to the concept of united fronts with all the anti-Congress democratic parties and groups since according to them, all these parties are essentially reactionary; they advocate the boycott of all elections as they are conducted under bourgeois hegemony; they glorify the role of the peasantry and peasant partisan war and denigrate the revolutionary role of the working class; and they advocate adventurist slogans of action and forms of struggle completely unmindful of the level of people's political consciousness and their state of organisation and thus disrupt and disorganise the incipient revolutionary movements of workers, peasants and militant youth and student

sections. Hence, these groups represent dangerous 'Left adventurist' policies and theories, which need to be ruthlessly combated and defeated.

Such a correct and concrete assessment of different political parties and their policies is necessary for the proper conduct and success of the struggle to build united fronts, united class and mass organisations, and to lead united actions.

VI. THE RISING WAVE OF MASS STRUGGLES AND THE TASKS BEFORE OUR PARTY

The deepening economic crisis and the increasing offensive of the bourgeois-landlord classes to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the common people, is inviting resistance and leading to countrywide mass struggles. This process which was set in motion long before the fourth general elections received an additional impetus following the results of the elections and the defeats inflicted on the ruling Congress party.

The formation of the two Left-oriented United Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal provided additional opportunities to the people to carry on their struggle.

The two United Front Governments took a number of measures to give relief to the people. Under their example, and impelled by the growing mass discontent, non-Congress Governments in a number of states also took steps to meet some of the urgent demands of the people. The non-Congress Government of Punjab, for instance, had conceded the state Government employees' demands within a couple of months after it took office. Some others, too, had to partially concede their demands.

But the acute food shortages, rising prices, crisis in several branches of industries like cotton textiles, engineering, etc., resulting in lay-offs, retrenchment, unemployment, and attack on their wages, and the growing unemployment among the educated, let alone the chronic unemployment the country suffers from, made it inevitable that the mass struggles continue to grow much faster in the post-election period.

A series of workers' gheraos and strike-struggles in West Bengal and in several other states to redress their long-standing grievances, the unprecedented wave of demonstrations and strikes organised by middle class employees like teachers, employees in government and semi-government institutions, various forms of militant direct actions into which the students and urban youth were drawn on a number of issues, and the widespread struggles of the agricultural labourers and other toiling peasantry in several states—all these mark a distinguishing feature of the last one and a half years. Several month-long strikes involving thousands of workers in a number of engineering units and concerns of West Bengal, repeated strike struggles of the Coimbatore textile workers, a series of strikes and other actions of the working class of Kerala, a fortnight-long strike of the firemen on the Southern Railway and South Central Railway, the two-months-long strike of the newspaper employees, the September 19 token strike of the central Government employees, etc., are some of the big actions in the of these struggles. It is thus once again assuming the sweep and tempo which marked the pre-election period, and is also forcing most of the opposition parties, irrespective of their Right or Left political colours, either to take an openly sympathetic and supporting attitude or to remain neutral in spite of their basic anti-working class leanings.

The big agricultural labour and poor peasant struggles of Andhra Pradesh and Tanjore district, the landless peasant struggle for the occupation of forest outskirts lands in Champaran district, the widespread and prolonged struggle of the tribal peasantry of Tripura against evictions and usurpation of the land by Government-inspired 'refugees', the 'surplus land' occupation and cultivation movement led by the Bengal Kisan Sabha, the struggles to get permanent pattas on thousands of acres of land in various districts in Andhra Pradesh, the stopping of smuggling of rice and its distribution to the needy, resistance to armed landlords' goondas and their oppression in Andhra Pradesh, and several land struggles

of the tribal peoples in different states and regions constitute some of the outstanding events of the peasant front.

The continuous countrywide wave of student struggles on a number of issues and the ferment in the youth, particularly the educated unemployed, have to be organised and led so as to prevent reactionary and chauvinistic forces from exploiting them.

The marked feature of these working class and peasant struggles is the tenacity with which they are being fought, sometimes strikes lasting for months, and the growing unity among their different sections, owing political loyalty to different political parties. The second feature is that they are often spontaneous and purely economic in character, the participants unable to appreciate the political background in which these struggles are taking place. The third feature is that the Congress Government and the ruling classes, unlike in the past period, are unwilling to give any concessions and are out to disrupt and suppress them ruthlessly. Thus, the mass struggles are becoming widespread, embracing different classes and sections of people, but the degree of political consciousness and the state of the unity and mass organisations of the people are at a deplorably low level.

While this shows the strength of the mass movement, whose growth and development cannot be prevented by the ruling classes, it contains within itself the basic elements of its weakness. The economic protests are not developed into a conscious movement which will transform the electoral defeat inflicted on the Congress party in the fourth general elections into a political defeat for the ruling classes, as a whole. In the absence of conscious political leadership, provided by the vanguard of the working class basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the spontaneous discontent felt by the mass of the people cannot be directed towards a well-organised assault on the socio-economic and political policies of the ruling classes; the vaguely felt aspirations of the people cannot be transformed into a positive programme of transformation of society.

It is against this background that the CPI(M) should examine its work of building the united people's movement, united front of democratic parties and groups, the building of the united class and mass organisations and the building of a strong party capable of successfully discharging these tasks. Experience shows that unless and until the CPI(M) works hard, mobilizes and organises the people independently, acquires an independent mass base, all its slogans of building unity and united fronts and its aspirations of leading the united assault on the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress party are in danger of remaining pious wishes and pompous declarations. Of course it goes without saying that the independent growth of the CPI(M) and its mass political influence is again dependent on how it works out its mass line of working for the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, for the united actions of the democratic classes and masses, and for the front of political parties and groups that represent the democratic classes and strata of our people.

It is, therefore, obvious that if the wave of mass struggles is to be consciously led and directed towards a political struggle against the regime, the CPI(M) will have to undertake the work of extensive and systematic ideological-political education of the entire people. Every issue around which any section of the people are fighting for any partial demand, every incident in the course of the struggle, every success or failure or compromise resulting from these struggles—all this is to be related to the character of the regime, to the policies pursued by the ruling classes and its various sections and strata and so on. The class character of the regime, the bankruptcy of the capitalist path pursued by the ruling classes, the hollowness of the "parliamentary democratic" claims and pretensions made by the ruling classes, the fiasco of everyone of the policies pursued by the ruling party and the basic alternatives placed before the people by the Party in its programme of People's Democracy—all this has to be prominently brought before the people in relation

to current policies around which partial struggles are fought and differences on tactics arise within the ruling circles. Such a concrete education of the entire people on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete conditions of the economy and politics of our country is the only way in which the wave of mass struggles can be raised to the level of a conscious political movement of the working people led by the working class.

Here again, West Bengal provides a good example as to how when there is a strong Party with independent mass base, it can succeed in channelising the ferment caused by economic distress into a political battle. The electoral victories scored against the Congress and the work in the UF Government had in their turn unleashed several spontaneous mass economic struggles. But when the Congress Government dismissed the UF Government and set up its puppet Ghosh Ministry, a good part of this economic discontent of the masses could be directed into the direct political struggle to dismiss the Ghosh Ministry and force a mid-term poll on the resisting and unwilling ruling Congress party.

To sum up, the ruling classes are mounting attacks on the lives and liberties of the people with a view to passing on the burdens of the crisis to them, and the people's resistance and struggle are becoming widespread and intense.

The dependence on imperialism is growing, the U.S. imperialist pressure on Government's internal and external policies is on the increase, and the danger of neo-colonial domination and threat to national independence cannot be underestimated.

The long-established ruling political party, the National Congress, is fast disintegrating politically and organisationally, the ruling classes are found in utter disarray and disorganisation, while big opportunities for the rapid advance of the working class and the democratic forces are opened up.

The democratic parties are disunited, the level of political consciousness of the people is still in an elementary stage, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has yet to develop

enough strength to reach its revolutionary objectives. On the growth and development of the Party and on its success of building democratic unity and united front depends the further advance of the revolutionary movement in India, and also the lasting solution of the economic-political crisis.

The developments of the last four years of struggle, since the Seventh Congress of the Party, make it abundantly clear that the Party's political line worked out on the basis of the Party Programme, is a sound and correct class line, that the ideological-political struggle conducted against revisionism and subsequently 'Left' adventurism in defence of Marxism-Leninism has scored victory and that drawing on these lessons and the confidence they inspire, the Party is called upon to take effective steps to fully translate its correct political line into action with tenacity, energy and zeal.

The struggle for building the democratic front against Congress misrule bears fruit only when it is conducted on a principled basis, discarding all opportunist alliances; the successes scored both in West Bengal and Kerala go to corroborate it. In contrast, the opportunist alliances that the revisionists and some other democratic parties have entered into in several states, and the manner in which they have been collapsing in face of the Congress offensive also prove the same.

There are serious weaknesses on the trade union and kisan fronts, and serious shortcomings in the Party organisational front. It is evident that a major turn in the situation is inconceivable until the weaknesses on these fronts are overcome.

At the present stage of development of the democratic movement and the alignment of class forces in the country, utmost stress is to be laid on independently and boldly giving leadership to the growing mass struggles while making every effort to preserve, strengthen and expand the democratic fronts in which the Party holds a responsible position.

However, both in the matter of independently leading the mass struggles and striving to build the united democratic front, the correct slogan of unity in action and its concrete

implementation will have to be sharply emphasized, since that alone paves the way for a really effective united mass action as well as the realisation of the united democratic front.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls for intense agitation and campaigns for united actions and struggles of the broadest sections of the Indian people in the coming period.

The main tasks and slogans around which such united actions and struggles should be conducted are the following :

1. A national food policy as enunciated by our Party providing for monopoly procurement of the surpluses of big landholders, state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains, dehoarding and equitable distribution of foodgrains through people's committees. Such a policy alone will end the humiliating dependence on PL-480 food imports;

2. Stopping all evictions of peasants; breaking of land concentration; distribution free of cost to landless labourers and poor peasants of all cultivable wastelands and wasteland in government and private forests and of all surplus land of landlords and land in illegal possession of landlords by benami and mala fide transfers; adequate wages to agricultural labourers and debt relief to them and poor peasants; facilities to peasants to increase food production;

3. Full employment, no retrenchment, no automation, need-based wage and full neutralisation of the cost of living for the working class and employees; central assistance to states to take over and run industrial units in crisis and give relief to unemployed workers; for full freedom of organisation of the trade union movement, right to strike, trade union recognition, withdrawal of all anti-strike legislation;

4. The demands of the central and state government employees, and repeal of the Essential Services Act and other anti-strike laws and of the law penalising the railway workers for strikes ;

5. End of police terror against the fighting people, expan-

sion of democratic rights and civil liberties and repeal of all repressive and anti-democratic laws;

6. Full guarantee of the democratic rights of the national and religious minorities, harijans and tribal people;

7. Demands of the students, democratic management of the universities with voice for the students, legal prohibition against the entry of police into educational institutions, complete overhauling of the education system, economic help to poor students, guarantee of employment; fair deal to teachers;

8. Firm measures against the ever-rising prices by taking steps to end deficit financing, and for ceiling on income and corporate profits;

9. Drastic reduction in the defence expenditure and in the heavy tax burdens of the people;

10. Widest autonomy for the states of the Indian Union. To begin with (a) 75 per cent share of all the centrally collected taxes to go to the states, (b) most of the subjects in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution to be transferred to the states, and (c) all officials belonging to the all-India service like IAS, IPS, etc., to be completely under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Governments of the states in which they serve;

11. A just and democratic solution of the problem of the border nationalities and the tribal people;

12. Nationalization of foreign monopoly capital; nationalization of banks and foreign trade and monopolist industries;

13. Moratorium on all foreign debts and service charges and on repatriation of foreign capital;

14. Fight against the growing U.S. penetration into our economy and social and cultural life; fight and defeat the U.S. neo-colonialist threat to our country;

15. To resist growing U.S. pressure on our country's foreign policy; demand that the Government give up its anti-China policy and take immediate steps for settlement with China; for strengthening friendly relations with all socialist countries; and for full support to Vietnam and all national liberation struggles;

16. For friendly relations and peaceful settlement of disputes with Pakistan;

17. For abolition of princely privy purses and privileges immediately.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), true to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, considers itself an integral part of the international communist movement, and firmly believes that the balance of class forces in the world has shifted in favour of the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism, and against imperialism.

This opens great opportunities to the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces for rapid advance, despite the difficulties and temporary setbacks in the unity of the world communist movement.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls on its members to unleash a powerful movement against imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of all peoples, by mobilising all the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces, in the country. Prime importance in this is to be given to the building of a powerful solidarity campaign in support of the heroic Vietnam liberation forces and in defence of socialist North Vietnam. Movements of solidarity have also to be organised with people fighting against imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) pledges itself to the struggle for the principled unity and defence of the world socialist camp, for the principled unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Party will seize every opportunity to encourage, support and realise unity of action against imperialism by all the socialist states, Communist Parties and other anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces.

To be capable of fulfilling all these urgent tasks successfully the Party will devote the greatest attention to strengthening itself, its political, ideological and organizational unity, defeating all attacks from both the right revisionists and Left adventurists.

Other Resolutions Adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) Cochin, December 23–29, 1968

(A) ON MARTYRS

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the brave martyrs who gave their lives to the Communist movement in the last four years.

Their blood was shed by the bourgeois-landlord regime because they stood in the forefront of the battle against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

The Party will ever remember and revere these martyrs and pledges to carry on their unfinished work till victory.

(B) CONDOLENCE

I

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its deep homage to the memory of Comrades S.V. Parulekar, Abdul Halim, and Bhag Singh, members of the Central Committee of the Party. By their steadfast loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, devotion to the working class movement and simple living and habits these comrades had become exemplary leaders of the Party.

The Congress expresses its deep sorrow at the deaths of Comrades D. V. Subba Rao, K. L. Narasimham (Andhra), Mohit Moitra (West Bengal), Sher Singh (U.P.), A. S. Manikpuri (Punjab) and B. D. Parab (Maharashtra), members of the State Committees of our Party, and Comrade P. Ramachandra Reddy, a staunch Marxist-Leninist and devoted member of the Party and Ch. Lakshmayya, leader of the elementary teachers' movement and the founder of their Federation in Andhra.

The Congress mourns the deaths of all other comrades in the period since the last Party Congress. They died at their posts fighting in the ranks of the Communist movement.

The Congress dips the Party's Red Banner in homage to these.

II

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the deaths of Comrade William Gallacher, leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain and Comrade Georgiu Dej, leader of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

The Congress pays its homage to Comrades D. N. Aidit and Lukman, leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia who were brutally murdered by the fascist military junta.

The Congress pays homage to Che Guevara, great internationalist and anti-imperialist fighter and leader of the Cuban Communist Party who died while leading the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia.

(C) BABA SOHAN SINGH BAKHNA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Baba Sohan Singh Bakhna. Baba Bakhna was one of the earliest Punjab revolutionaries and was the founder-president of the Gadar Party. On his return to India, he was tried in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and sentenced to life imprisonment. After his release he began working in the kisan and Communist movements. He was the President of the All-India Kisan Sabha in 1940.

Baba Bakhna was in his hundredth year when he passed away.

(D) COMRADE KARYANAND SHARMA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Karyanand Sharma. Comrade Karyanand Sharma was a leader of Bihar peasantry and President of the All-India Kisan Sabha and was a loved and respected figure in the kisan movement.

(E) ON KERALA

Having considered the recent political developments in Kerala and the relations between the Kerala and Central Governments, the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has come to the conclusion that the Central Government's efforts at discrediting and attacking the U.F. Government in general, and its CPI(M) constituent in particular, have reached a new, dangerous stage. The efforts now being made by the Central Government and the Congress organization constitute a serious danger not only to the people of Kerala but to the cause of democracy in the entire country. The new stage is marked by the following features :

Firstly, the efforts to misuse the authority of the Central Government and its creatures like the Governor and the all-India Services continue.

Secondly, the Central authorities are thinking of arming themselves with more and more powers, thus making further inroads into the powers of State Governments under the existing federal Constitution.

Thirdly, the Congress leaders including Central Ministers are trying to create disorder in the State, as evidenced by the notorious call given by the Union Law Minister for "collective resistance".

Fourthly, the Congress leaders are trying to canvass the support of the Jana Sangh and other elements of Hindu communalism. In this State which has been relatively free from the virus of Hindu communalism passions on issues like cow slaughter, music before mosques and so on are whipped up not only by Hindu communalists but also by those who call themselves loyal followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Alliance with Hindu communalism and fanaticism, hostility to non-Hindu religious groups in general and to Muslims in particular, is intended to be a substitute for the support of a section of the people whom the Congress had mobilized in the earlier (1959) "liberation struggle" but whom they cannot mobilize any more.

The Congress mourns the deaths of all other comrades in the period since the last Party Congress. They died at their posts fighting in the ranks of the Communist movement.

The Congress dips the Party's Red Banner in homage to these.

II

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the deaths of Comrade William Gallacher, leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain and Comrade Georgiu Dej, leader of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

The Congress pays its homage to Comrades D. N. Aidit and Lukman, leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia who were brutally murdered by the fascist military junta.

The Congress pays homage to Che Guevara, great internationalist and anti-imperialist fighter and leader of the Cuban Communist Party who died while leading the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia.

(C) BABA SOHAN SINGH BAKHNA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Baba Sohan Singh Bakhna. Baba Bakhna was one of the earliest Punjab revolutionaries and was the founder-president of the Gadar Party. On his return to India, he was tried in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and sentenced to life imprisonment. After his release he began working in the kisan and Communist movements. He was the President of the All-India Kisan Sabha in 1940.

Baba Bakhna was in his hundredth year when he passed away.

(D) COMRADE KARYANAND SHARMA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Karyanand Sharma. Comrade Karyanand Sharma was a leader of Bihar peasantry and President of the All-India Kisan Sabha and was a loved and respected figure in the kisan movement.

(E) ON KERALA

Having considered the recent political developments in Kerala and the relations between the Kerala and Central Governments, the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has come to the conclusion that the Central Government's efforts at discrediting and attacking the U.F. Government in general, and its CPI(M) constituent in particular, have reached a new, dangerous stage. The efforts now being made by the Central Government and the Congress organization constitute a serious danger not only to the people of Kerala but to the cause of democracy in the entire country. The new stage is marked by the following features :

Firstly, the efforts to misuse the authority of the Central Government and its creatures like the Governor and the all-India Services continue.

Secondly, the Central authorities are thinking of arming themselves with more and more powers, thus making further inroads into the powers of State Governments under the existing federal Constitution.

Thirdly, the Congress leaders including Central Ministers are trying to create disorder in the State, as evidenced by the notorious call given by the Union Law Minister for "collective resistance".

Fourthly, the Congress leaders are trying to canvass the support of the Jana Sangh and other elements of Hindu communalism. In this State which has been relatively free from the virus of Hindu communalism passions on issues like cow slaughter, music before mosques and so on are whipped up not only by Hindu communalists but also by those who call themselves loyal followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Alliance with Hindu communalism and fanaticism, hostility to non-Hindu religious groups in general and to Muslims in particular, is intended to be a substitute for the support of a section of the people whom the Congress had mobilized in the earlier (1959) "liberation struggle" but whom they cannot mobilize any more.

Fifthly, the Congress leaders in Kerala as well as Central Ministers are making clever use of the activities of the so-called "extremists" who were expelled from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and who have been indulging in the wild talk of organizing armed struggle in the name of "thought of Mao Tse-tung".

While trying to popularize adventurist actions like the attempted attack on Tellicherry-Pulpalli police stations as "revolution", the Congress leaders in Kerala as well as Central Ministers like Chavan and Morarji Desai are trying to foist the responsibility for these adventurist actions on the Government of Kerala and particularly on its CPI (M) constituent.

The U.F. Government, despite the limitations in the present set-up and shortcomings and even mistakes of the Government itself, has been able to give a certain amount of relief and benefits to the working class and State Government employees, teachers and so on. Increase in dearness allowance to Government employees and others, benefits to last-grade employees and other low-paid staff to the tune of Rs. 13.5 crores benefitting 4.75 lakhs* employees; Rs. 9 lakhs in increased dearness allowance, etc., to State Transport employees; enhanced emoluments to non-Muster Roll employees in the Electricity Department varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 and in the P.W.D. from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 per month; a one-rupee increase in daily wage of workers in Government-owned plantations over the minimum wage recommended by the Plantation Wage Board; bonus above the minimum stipulated by the Bonus Act to workers in Government establishments—these are some of the gains made by Government employees.

Workers and employees in the private sector, too, have won major gains because of the U.F. Government. The increase in emoluments varying from Rs. 60 to Rs. 110 by workers of Birlas' Mavoor Factory after a strike; the increase

*This figure includes teachers in private schools, village staff and sub-clerical staff.

of Rs.1½ in the daily wage of 2½ lakh plantation workers by amending the Minimum Wages Act in the plantation after a struggle of the workers; enhancement of the minimum wages of municipal, shop and hotel employees; implementation of the Central Bidi-Cigar Act, amendment of the Plantation Labour Act and enactment of the Toddy-Tappers' Welfare Act; relief given to unemployed bidi, coir, cashew and handloom workers and the revision of the minimum wages of agricultural workers—however meagre they are compared to the needs have been of relief to the working people.

This, of course, is meagre in view of the growing crisis of the economy resulting in large-scale unemployment, high prices of necessities of life, etc. There were also the many obstacles placed on the path of the U.F. Government by the Congress party, the Congress Central Government and other reactionary forces. It is heartening that despite all this, the U.F. Government has been able to give relief to the extent it has done.

More significant than these monetary gains, the working people including Government employees have been guaranteed the right to organize and agitate. Unlike in States ruled by the Congress or other non-Congress Governments, during labour disputes it is not the police but the Labour Department that comes into the picture helping the employees to win substantial gains. This approach of the State Government towards the struggles of the working people was highlighted during the September 19 strike of the Central Government employees when it gave support to the demands of the employees, discarded the Union Home Ministry's instructions to make preventive arrests and decided to withdraw the prosecutions which were launched after the strike.

What has roused the ire of the vested interests most is that the Government has embarked upon distribution of Government waste and forest lands amending the Agrarian Relations Act in favour of the cultivating peasant, exempting owners below two acres from land revenue and levy procurement, legislating the Universities Bill to benefit

students and teachers in private colleges, the Panchayati Raj Bill, Debt Relief Bill, etc.

With this record of service to the working people and the U.F. Government becoming the rallying point for all democratic forces in the country; it was bound to become the target of attack of all reactionaries led by the Congress party and encouraged by the Central Government.

What is reprehensible is that some of the parties of the United Front which are signatories to the common programme of the Front have become accomplices of the Congress and reactionaries. The Kerala SSP and the Right Communists have very often joined the chorus of Congress propaganda against the U.F. Government as on the food question when the Right Communists, instead of joining a common movement against the Centre for Kerala's food, started accusing the CPI(M) Chief Minister and the Food Minister. The Right Communists have joined hands with the Congress on many occasions in provoking unjustified struggles against the U.F. Government, the latest being the strike of a section of State Transport workers. They specially concentrate on slandering our Ministers who hold portfolios like police, food, revenue, transport, forest, etc. The Right Communists as well as the KSSP are echoing the Congress slander that the CPI(M)'s ideology and policies are responsible for the emergence of the "extremists". This is not the only occasion when the Kerala SSP and the Right Communists have acted as the agents of the Congress within the United Front.

This Party Congress appeals to both the leaders and rank-and-file members of the Kerala SSP and the Right Communist Party to consider whether the public campaign launched by them against the CPI(M) will help the cause of democracy or whether their stand is not of direct assistance to the Congress Government at the Centre which is furiously engaged in its conspiracy against the Kerala Government. The Party Congress appeals to all constituents of the United Front to rally to the struggle against the Centre's conspiracy.

The all-sided attack is today concentrated against the United

Front Government of Kerala not because the Central Government or the Congress leadership has any soft corner for the other non-Congress Governments. They are, in fact, impatient of, and intolerant towards, any non-Congress party forming a Government in any State. They consider it more prudent at present to concentrate their fire on the Kerala U.F. Government which is more complete and more thorough-going in its opposition to Congress policies. Once this Government is removed, the turn of the others will undoubtedly come.

This Party Congress, therefore, appeals to all those parties, groups, organizations and individuals who are interested in preserving the norms of democratic practice to realize that the present attack on the Government of Kerala is a part of the attack on democracy itself. Unless the efforts of the Central Government to discredit and overthrow the Government of Kerala are beaten back by the united action of all the democratic elements in the country, no non-Congress Government likely to be formed in any of the four States where mid-term elections are to take place in February, will be safe. That is why this Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers that the present attack on the Kerala Government constitutes a danger not only to the people of Kerala but to the entire democratic movement in the country. The Eighth Congress specially calls on the workers, peasants, students and other toiling masses to rise to the danger and defeat the game of the reactionaries.

(F) ON UNITED ACTION

The effort of the Congress Government to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the people has generated deep indignation among them. Today the workers, poor peasants, agricultural labourers, students, teachers and all sections of employees including Central and State Government employees are fighting long-drawn-out battles against official policies. The September 19 strike of the Central

employees was a symbol of this growing resistance and the victimization drive of the Government, attended by repression and police measures, constituted the Government's barbarous reply to it. The automation drive against LIC and other employees heralds the coming offensive against middle class employees. Retrenchment, lay-off, attacks on wages, mass unemployment and direct wage-cuts or cuts in dearness allowance—these are the ways in which the big capitalists are attacking the working class and employees. Simultaneously, a ruthless offensive in the shape of eviction is launched against poor peasants, agricultural labourers are subjected to the most savage exploitation. The landlords supported by the goondas and the Congress police indulge in the most brutal atrocities against the agricultural workers as in Tanjore, Andhra and several other States.

The strikes of working class, students and teachers, of Government employees—all are being suppressed with the utmost ferocity.

New laws are being enacted to deprive the workers of the right to strike, to attack the liberties of the people and impose the dictatorial rule of the Centre over the States. There is a definite drive for suppression of democracy, towards a police state. The dismissal of the West Bengal United Front Ministry, the toppling of the non-Congress Ministries in Bihar, Punjab and U.P. and the continued conspiracies against the Kerala Ministry expose how the ruling classes are preparing to pull down the facade of parliamentary democracy.

The attack against popular liberties increases with the growing pressure of the USA on our economy, and on the policies of the Government. The CIA and its agents often intervene directly against the democratic masses helping extreme reaction.

Thus the living conditions of the masses, as well as their liberty and independence are being threatened by the present policies of the Congress Government.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns the

democratic forces against the anti-Communist hysteria that is being raised by the ruling classes. This is a device to undermine the joint front of the people which is inevitably developing to challenge the Congress drive towards a police state.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all democratic parties and organizations to take serious note of these developments and forge a front for common action, despite differences in political outlook and ideology. Only the united action of the masses belonging to different political parties and organizations can be an effective reply to the growing assaults of the Government on the people. Only such actions can defend the living conditions of the people and stem the tide towards a police state and frustrate all attempts to compromise national independence.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the fighting masses of our country for their courageous and heroic struggles in defence of their interests. It congratulates the working class for its prolonged heroic strikes, it hails the struggles of the agricultural workers, poor peasants, of employees, of students and teachers.

It calls upon all organizations of the masses, of students, teachers and employees to come together for common action and offer joint resistance to the capitalist drive against them and the Government's plans for burying democracy. Only the united might of the popular forces can hurl back the Government's offensive and defeat its plans for a police state and its policies which create the danger of neo-colonialism.

(G) ON MID-TERM ELECTIONS

The mid-term elections coming up in February 1969 in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab are yet another opportunity to the people of these States to give a crushing rebuff to the Congress regime of the bourgeois landlord classes and its anti-people anti-democratic policies. Taking place as they do in States with a population totalling more than

20 crores, these elections are not of mere regional importance. They have special significance to the entire democratic movement in India.

The general elections of 1967 registered an important victory for the democratic forces against the Congress. Though in certain States, where the democratic movement was weak, the anti-Congress discontent helped the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party to rally electoral support, in other States, people rallied round the democratic parties—the most outstanding results were registered in Kerala and West Bengal, where our Party played the leading role in the United Front.

The formation of democratic U.F. Ministries in Kerala and West Bengal in which our Party was the leading force became a rallying point in the advancing struggles of the people. Despite the tremendous limitations, the advocacy of alternative policies by these Ministries inspired the people not only in these States but all over India in their struggle against the policies of the Central Congress Government.

But, the Congress party did not accept the verdict of the people. The Congress party engaged itself in an open and shameless programme of toppling non-Congress Governments and if possible crawl into ministerial chairs through the backdoor through bribery and corruption, through abuse of their power at the Centre, through subversive interventions in State administrations, through making Governors agents of their party and such other like trickeries.

It resorted to every manoeuvre to sabotage the verdict of the people. It concentrated its fire against the U. F. Ministry in West Bengal where our Party played a leading role. It got the West Bengal Ministry disbanded and toppled a number of other Ministries. The people of West Bengal fought against this treacherous attack. The gathering discontent forced the Congress to accept mid-term elections.

Congress policies have run into stiff resistance from the people everywhere. The new taxation measures, and the attacks on jobs and standard of living of the masses by the capitalists, the drive against the working peasantry by the landlords,

the huge increase in the country of the retrenched and unemployed—all these have met with stout resistance by our people. Prolonged and bitter battles are being fought by the masses and a new upsurge is developing all round. And the Congress rulers are trying to meet the worsening situation by unleashing terrific repression against the people and by forging new weapons of repression—their various new penal statutes.

It is in this background that the mid-term elections are coming. A resounding defeat on the Congress inflicted once again by the people in these mid-term elections will greatly inspire the people and strengthen their struggles against the policies of the Congress Government.

Experience of the last twenty months, since the Fourth General Elections, has clearly demonstrated that any kind of opportunist alliance and unprincipled coalition with reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra and the BKD in U.P. do not really help but gradually yield ground before the treacheries of the Congress party and lead to frustration of the democratic aspirations of the masses.

The Congress party is seeking to utilize the failure of these unprincipled coalitions by raising the slogan of “stable government” in these elections. However, the state of affairs inside the Congress party, the defections that have become a feature of the Congress party in every State, the fall of the Congress Ministries in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and Haryana, and the extreme instability of the newly formed Congress Ministry of Haryana, all clearly demonstrate that the Congress party cannot give a stable government.

Experience has also demonstrated that only the unity of the democratic mass parties around a radical programme of immediate relief to the masses, relying upon and sustained by the united action of the masses is capable of withstanding the onslaught of the Congress party and its drive towards anti-democracy and a police state.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) congratulates the people

and political parties of West Bengal for successfully defeating the Congress attempt to disrupt the U.F. The U.F. has increased its strength and is now directly supporting struggles and stand out as a firm challenge to the Congress party.

The Eighth Congress calls upon the people of West Bengal to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress party and bring victory to the United Front.

The Congress calls upon the democratic parties in the other three States to forge necessary unity among themselves. It calls upon the people to take lessons from their own recent experience and inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress party as well as on reactionary parties and return the candidates of democratic parties in large numbers.

(H) ON VIETNAM

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the fighting people of Vietnam, to the Workers' Party of Vietnam and to the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and to the beloved leader of the Vietnamese people, Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

In the period since our Seventh Congress, Vietnam's national liberation struggle has continued to be the most outstanding event in the world arena. Fighting against half a million U.S. aggressor troops and over a million troops from U.S. satellite countries, Vietnam's heroic people have been scoring successes after successes inspiring freedom-loving forces the world over. The Vietnam struggle has become the focal point of the international class struggle that is being fought between the forces of socialism and national liberation on the one side and imperialism on the other.

The Vietnam struggle has very rich and valuable lessons for the entire working class and revolutionary movement of the world.

Vietnam has shown that the national liberation forces aided by the socialist camp have today become powerful enough to resist and defeat the forces of imperialism, it demonstrates the radical changes in the alignment of class

forces on a world scale. Military and other assistance from the countries of the socialist camp to the Vietnam liberation struggle has made an invaluable contribution to the struggle of the Vietnam people.

Vietnam's liberation struggle has marched from success to success because it is based on a correct analysis of the international and national situations, on correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and policies and a correct Marxist-Leninist outlook towards the unity of the world socialist camp and a principled struggle against Right revisionism and Left dogmatism in the world Communist movement. The leaders of Vietnam have correctly held their liberation struggle to be a part of the world socialist revolution. They have welcomed help from all socialist countries as invaluable for the struggle they are conducting without allowing their judgment to be clouded by prejudices against any member of the camp. But for these correct positions which the leaders of Vietnam have taken, their struggle would have been immensely harmed.

Standing in the forefront of the battle against imperialism, Vietnam's national liberation struggle has demolished all the revisionist concepts prevalent in the international Communist movement and the socialist camp regarding national liberation struggles. The Vietnamese people have defeated the revisionist line of disentanglement from liberation struggles. Without being cowed down by the prophets of doom who prophesied that any small liberation war would expand into world conflagrations, and hence, no armed liberation wars should be fought, they have continued their just war of freedom and forced the acceptance of the Four-Point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Political Programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation by those earlier unwilling to accept them. They have also defeated all attempts to hold talks on Vietnam peace with the U.S. imperialists over the heads of the Vietnamese leaders. Vietnam's victories have thus been crushing defeats for revisionist theories.

While fighting the people's war on the military front and

winning great victories, the leaders of Vietnam have not neglected the political and diplomatic fronts. Every offensive of the imperialists on every front was met and defeated and Vietnam seized the initiative on all these fronts and firmly holds this initiative today. They have proved the erroneousness of the theory of fighting on the military front alone to the exclusion of diplomacy and politics just as they have shown the erroneousness of abandoning the people's war in favour of diplomacy and negotiations.

It is a correct combination of activities on all these fronts that forced the U.S. imperialists to stage a retreat, order the bombing halt and agree to hold the talks in Paris. Vietnam's victories had already forced a major crisis in the imperialist camp and the successful meeting of the imperialist challenge on the diplomatic front has even more isolated the U.S. imperialist aggressors from world public opinion.

The U.S. imperialists were forced to retreat by the hammer blows struck by the Vietnamese people and the mounting pressure of the anti-war movement all over the world, including the USA, but they have not given up their plans of aggression in Vietnam and are making hectic efforts to retrieve their position. They are stalling the beginning of the four-sided talks with the participation of the NFL, and are, in the meantime, continuing and even stepping up their aggression both against North and South Vietnam.

Vietnam has not been caught unawares by this perfidious act of the U.S. imperialists, again because of their eternal vigilance and the correct combination of military and diplomatic activities. They are effectively meeting the new military challenge and inflicting even heavier defeats on the aggressors. Agreeing to participate in the Paris talks had never meant for them the abandonment of the people's war. Again and again they have made it clear that the struggle of the Vietnamese people will end only when the last U.S. soldier and the last U.S. war base are out of the soil of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are able to choose their future in freedom and independence.

The U.S. imperialists have not given up their aggression and the struggle continues in Vietnam. It is not a struggle for the freedom of Vietnam alone, it is the vanguard of the national liberation movement, the battle in defence of freedom everywhere. And the people of the world owe it to Vietnam to continue to mobilize all their strength to help the Vietnamese people to win victory as quickly as possible so that there is an early end to their sufferings and sacrifices.

For us in India, a newly-independent country threatened by U.S. neo-colonialism, rallying in support of the Vietnamese people fighting against imperialism means rallying to defeat the U.S. attempts at domination over India and the policies of the Government of India which facilitate it. The Congress rulers have refused to take an unequivocal stand on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. As Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, it failed to do its duty of preventing the U.S. war build-up in South Vietnam. More, it joined with the Canadian member of the Commission against its third member, Poland, to brand North Vietnam an aggressor in the South to provide an alibi to the U.S. imperialists to continue with their aggression. Under pressure from the U.S. imperialists and in its own narrow class interests, the Government of India has stopped trade with North Vietnam. What is even more shameful is that the Government under the same pressure has increased its trade with the puppet regime in Saigon sending it Bhilai steel, Tata trucks and other strategic material which can be used by the U.S. aggressor for the massacre of the Vietnamese people and pillage of the Vietnamese land. On more than one occasion, the Congress Government's police have shed the blood of our students and youth demonstrating support to the Vietnamese people. It is only natural that the Congress rulers play this shameful role considering their own humiliating dependence on the U.S. imperialists. To rally in defence of Vietnam thus is part of our own struggle against the growing stranglehold of the U.S. imperialists over our country and the Government policies which facilitate it.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI (M) calls on the people to rally in ever larger numbers in solidarity with and support of Vietnam's struggle demanding that the U.S. imperialists quit Vietnam and to defeat the American efforts to sabotage the peace talks. A powerful movement should rise demanding that the Government of India change its present Vietnam policies, unequivocally condemn the U.S. aggression there, stop trade with the puppets in Saigon and re-establish trade relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Let us all rise and pay our tribute to the Workers' Party of Vietnam and to South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to the fighting men and women of Vietnam and to the great leader Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

(I) ON REPRESSION AND ATTACK ON CPI(M)

After the defeat of the Congress party in a number of States in 1967 general elections and reduction of its majority at the Centre, the Congress rulers, afraid of their growing isolation from the masses and caught in a desperate economic and political crisis, are resorting to more and more repressive measures to maintain their shaky rule. Unending stories of police atrocities are coming from different parts of the country and lathi-charges, tear-gas shellings and police firings on the struggling masses have become almost a daily phenomena.

Struggles of poor peasants and agricultural workers in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu are being suppressed by means of police terror and hundreds of prosecutions launched against peasants for either resisting evictions or for tilling forest plots or waste lands. The widespread struggles of the workers, of students and teachers are being suppressed with unprecedented ferocity. During the recent one-day strike of the Central Government employees, the Central Government unleashed heavy repression, shooting down workers in Pathankot, Bikaner, Mariani, Bongaigaon (Assam), terror in the Indraprastha Estate in New Delhi; victimization, prosecution and other types of repressive actions are continuing against the employees.

The Central Government is not satisfied with this enacting of new draconian laws such as the Essential Services Act, Railway Amendment Act which take away workers' right to strike and right to organize picketing, rights which the working class had won through immense sacrifices and struggles during the last several years.

The unspeakable atrocities perpetrated against the peasantry in the Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh by landlord goondas with police help and against the tribal people of Srikakulam are a deliberate attempt on the part of the Congress rulers to smash the strong bases of our movement by naked and brutal terror.

Twenty five Communists and Communist supporters have been murdered in Andhra Pradesh in the last four years. Four thousand persons have been involved in various security cases and are being harassed. Police and goondas raids, raping of women, indiscriminate beatings have taken place in innumerable villages. The Congressmen have been organizing political murders in West Bengal and Kerala in which the victims are members and supporters of the CPI(M).

In Tripura also in order to suppress the resistance of the tribal peasantry who have been deprived of their land which they cultivated for generations the Congress Government unleashed widespread police terror on the people.

Not content with repeated extension and use of the obnoxious Preventive Detention Act the Congress Government has enacted the so-called Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, enabling the Government to ban any organization—a measure which is mainly directed against our Party under the deceptive talk of suppressing 'communal' and 'so-called 'divisive' forces to cover up its real purpose.

Recently Congress party leaders like Sri Morarji Desai and Nijalingappa and others have started a campaign against the Kerala Government and our Party in order to prepare the ground for the suppression of our Party. Avowedly reactionary parties like the Swatantra and Jana Sangh have openly demanded a ban on our Party. There is a systematic

build-up in the kept Press of the bourgeoisie against our Party and by cooking up lurid stories of alleged secret plans, an atmosphere is being created for launching another attack on our Party.

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) takes serious note of these developments and calls upon all Party units to forge stronger and deeper links with our basic masses and all other democratic forces so that these conspiracies against the Party are defeated by the united might of our people.

This Party Congress warns the people against the anti-Communist hysteria that is being built up in the country to divide and disperse the anti-Congress democratic united front that is gathering momentum through the united struggles of our people in various States.

This Party Congress also appeals to all democratic parties and the people to realize that an attack on our Party will be the beginning of a general attack on all democratic rights and parties and as such, be resisted by all.

(J) ON HARIJANS

The inhuman oppression of harijans continues in our country after 20 years of independence and enactment of anti-untouchability legislation. The burning alive of a harijan boy in open daylight in an Andhra village and the reports of similar atrocities against harijans in the daily Press are shocking reminders of the depth to which this evil has sunk in the body politic of our society.

The overwhelming majority of the harijans are either agricultural labourers and other rural labourers in our countryside. These sections are subjected to inhuman exploitation and oppression by the landlords, money-lenders and traders. The atrocious conditions to which they are subjected today are the direct result of the deadly grip of feudal and semi-feudal system of landlordism which is still prevalent in our countryside despite the so-called agrarian reforms of the Congress Governments. These reforms instead of ame-

liorating the conditions of the rural poor have strengthened the domination of the new type of landlords on the village life, turning the rural state machinery into a handmaid of these vested interests and resulting in brutalization of the village life negating all human values and decencies.

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is firmly of the opinion that the fight against untouchability and all its attendant evils is a part of the class struggle of the toilers in the country against feudal and semi-feudal conditions of exploitation and for democratic re-organization of the society and calls upon all Party members and Party units to come forward to champion the cause of the untouchable masses for the amelioration of their living conditions and for the complete eradication of social oppression and discrimination to which these masses are subjected.

This Congress also calls upon the democratic opinion and forces in the country to assert and force the Congress Government to give up its present policy of supporting the rural oppressors against the rural poor, against the harijans and backward communities. This Congress also appeals to the scheduled caste masses and their leaders to join hands with the democratic forces in the country against the Congress regime. The unity of all democratic forces alone can ensure the liquidation of the semi-feudal set-up in rural areas and the complete eradication of the evil of untouchability.

(K) ON MINORITIES

Faced with growing resistance of the people to their bankrupt and reactionary policies and unable to arrest the growing loss of their hold over the people, the Congress rulers are using every means at their disposal to disrupt unity and solidarity of the people. Notwithstanding their loud professions about secularism and anti-communalism, there have been a spate of communal riots in a number of States resulting in massacre of hundreds of Muslims under the Congress Raj. While reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh openly

incite violence against the Muslims and their RSS volunteers take direct part in organizing the riots, the police and bureaucracy of the Congress Government not only do not give any protection to the minorities but often abet and incite the rioters.

Similarly in urban and industrial centres, attempts are being made to disrupt and divide the working people by setting one national group against another through such organizations as Shiva Sena, Lachit Sena, etc. which are blessed and encouraged by Congress leaders. Regional feelings are also roused to divide the toilers.

With the fast deepening of the economic and political crisis and the consequent misery, unemployment and frustration among the people, the bourgeois-landlord Government is likely to make more and more desperate attempts to divert and disrupt the working class and democratic movements by fostering communalism, casteism and provincialism.

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at these developments and calls upon all working people and the democratic forces to fight back and defeat these disruptive attempts of the ruling classes and parties like the Jana Sangh. The defence of and protection of religious, linguistic or socially-oppressed minorities is one of the basic tests of democracy and our struggle for real democracy will always remain incomplete unless these minorities are assured of full protection.

(L) ON STRUGGLES OF THE TRIBAL PEOPLE

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the tribal people's struggles, which have attained greater sweep in course of last few years, for democratic rights, against social inequalities from which they still suffer and ruthless exploitation by the landlords and capitalists.

The Party Congress notes with deep resentment that the Congress Governments, far from rendering help and aid to the tribals to enable them to take their rightful place in our

multi-national country, have increasingly been using repressive methods, including military measures, to suppress these struggles; such brutal methods as burning down villages, raping women, killing the innocent by strafing from air, and forcible uprooting of population from their own villages for confinement in so-called protected villages, etc., have been used by the Government in different parts of the country for this purpose.

The Party Congress condemns these acts of violence and terrorization and demands that the repressive measures and military actions be given up in dealing with the tribal problems such as that of the Nagas and the Mizos, and democratic solution to these problems must be found out.

The Party expresses its solidarity with the tribal peoples in their struggle for emancipation. It has always been upholding their just aspirations for widest possible autonomy, either in the existing States or as a separate State in the Indian Union.

It is the considered opinion of the Party that, once the reactionary, anti-tribal policy of the Congress Government in the interest of the landlords and capitalists is reversed, a just basis for solution of this problem would be obtained. The Party, with the above in view, lends support to the demands of the tribals for: Recognition of tribal languages and facilities for education, and employment of tribal officials for administration of tribal areas; readjustment of boundaries, in mixed areas having tribal population, for administrative units, Panchayats and assembly constituencies in such a manner as may create tribal majority units wherever feasible; reservation of tribal lands and forests and annulment of all encroachments made by non-tribal landlords, money-lenders, etc., and distribution of waste and fallow lands in such areas, to the tribal landless.

The Party Congress urges upon the democratic forces of the country to stand in support of the just and democratic struggles of the tribal peoples and defeat the reactionary, anti-tribal policy of the Congress Government.

(M) ON STUDENTS' UPSURGE

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) takes particular note of the great students' upsurge sweeping the country in the recent period. They are no longer confined to individual States or areas, but are bursting forth in quick succession in almost all the States and universities drawing in hundreds of thousands of students. In a word, the entire student community is astir.

This development is taking place at a time when a mighty students' upsurge is sweeping various countries of the world. The USA, France, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan, Egypt, Pakistan and other countries witnessed in 1967 and 1968 powerful student struggles shaking whole countries. The struggles in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America need to be particularly noted. Never before during the last two decades were there such student struggles in these countries. These struggles often started on issues of education and academic problems but soon took a political character and at times developed into a frontal protest against the entire capitalist system. They are an expression of the deep-seated economic and political discontent, frustration and anger generated by the rule of the monopolists, under the conditions of the growing crisis of the fast-decaying capitalist system. The deepening capitalist crisis and the fiasco of imperialist war adventures gave added impetus to them. The heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam has inspired the students in all countries.

In this background, the student struggles in India have acquired a special significance. In pre-independent India, the students played a glorious role in the freedom movement. Now in a different context, the student community which has grown in numbers has come forward on an all-India scale as a very powerful contingent of the army of the fighting people against the bourgeois-landlord Congress Government. The policies pursued by the Congress Government, the fiasco of the capitalist path of development, the deepening economic and growing political crisis have cre-

ated serious problems for the students. The chaotic condition in the field of education, the ever-rising cost of education, the growing bureaucratization of the educational system, the frightening spectre of unemployment and the growing economic hardship of the families of the students have all combined to create rapid disillusionment among the students and have generated among them deep discontent, resentment and revolt against the prevailing order of things.

These struggles are taking place not only on academic issues or on the question of fees and admission, but also on the problem of employment and other general democratic issues. The Government is meeting these just struggles with the heavy hand of repression violating even the sanctity of educational institutions. But the students are bravely fighting against these attacks. They are also taking part in greater numbers and with more courage and determination in the general democratic struggles.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) condemns the Government policy of repression and congratulates the students for their courage, determination, solidarity and democratic consciousness in all these struggles.

The bourgeois-landlord Government is not only resorting to the brutal method of repression and turning the universities into virtual police camps but is also slandering the fighting students as being indisciplined and showering on them the advice to refrain from politics. All the reactionary forces and the whole bourgeois propaganda machinery have joined this chorus. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is of the firm opinion that it is the Government policies that have driven the student community to this path. They not only create a crisis for their present education, but also make their future dark. The students cannot remain passive spectators when the policies of the ruling classes are bringing disaster to the entire people of our country including the students. The CPI(M) further draws the attention of the students to the fact that the problems with which they are haunted

cannot be solved within the framework of the present big bourgeois-landlord social-political order. Only by abolishing this system and bringing about a radical democratic transformation of the country can their problems be solved. The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the students to make themselves conscious of this reality and join more vigorously the common democratic struggle as one of its worthy contingents.

The CPI(M) also takes note of the disquieting phenomenon that various reactionary forces including the agents of the CIA are trying their best to divert the student discontent into narrow nationalist, provincial, communal or caste channels and in some cases they have succeeded in it. Anti-communism is being used as a weapon by them. History shows that generally the students have played a glorious role in various countries in the struggle for democracy, freedom and socialism—particularly in the colonial and newly-independent countries. But it should not also be forgotten that in some cases where the democratic forces failed to mobilize the students, the imperialists and their local agents have been successful in misleading them to act as their henchmen, as in Indonesia.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the students to be on guard against this danger and defeat the foul game of the dark forces of communalism, provincialism and anti-communism and all reactionary forces. The CPI(M) further calls upon them to be on guard also against the danger of adventurist slogans and actions which find scope for growth in the soil of deepening crisis and resultant frustration. Adventurism only helps to isolate them from the main current of democratic movement and strengthen the ruling classes to weaken and crush them. The Eighth Congress urges upon the students to strengthen their unity and organization, conduct unitedly and more vigorously their just struggles for education and employment, run powerful campaigns in support of workers and peasants of our country and in support of the fighting Vietnamese people, all anti-imperialist

struggles and play their due role in the common democratic struggles.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) draws the attention of all democratic forces to the importance of helping the students to develop as a worthy contingent of the democratic forces. It calls upon them to support and strengthen the students' democratic struggles in all possible ways.

(N) ON FLOODS AND DROUGHT

In the recent period vast areas in different States of India were devastated by serious floods and landslides causing death to a large number of people and heavy destruction to houses, crops, cattle and properties. West Bengal, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bihar and Orissa are the worst victims. At the same time vast areas have been affected by severe drought causing extensive damage to crops, destruction of cattle and serious hardship to millions of people. Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh have been the worst victims of this calamity. In Rajasthan about 90 per cent of the total area is seriously affected; not only crops have been totally destroyed, but drinking water also is not readily available. Lakhs of cattle and goats, sheep, etc. have already died due to floods or want of fodder in drought-affected areas. Eastern U.P., parts of Assam and Srikakulam district of Andhra were also affected by either floods, cyclone or drought.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses deep sorrow and conveys its sympathy to the families of the dead and those seriously affected. The Eighth Congress condemns the utterly irresponsible anti-people attitude of the Government regarding prior warning to the people, precautionary measures, or rescue operations as crudely exhibited in the case of the North Bengal floods or Rajasthan drought.

The Eighth Congress notes with anxiety that floods and drought have become regular phenomena causing serious damages almost every year. They expose the hollowness of the Government claims regarding flood prevention and irrigation measures.

The Eighth Congress also notes that the relief measures in flood-devastated or drought-affected areas are not only not timely, but are also very meagre and even such relief measures are stopped after a few weeks. The devastation and distress caused by floods and drought are of such a nature that adequate relief is necessary for a very long period,—at least up to the period of the next harvest. But the Government is refusing to undertake this responsibility.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) demands that :

1. Necessary flood-prevention measures and extension of irrigation facilities be undertaken on an urgent basis.
2. Adequate house-building and rehabilitation grants and loan be immediately given to all flood-affected people.
3. Adequate relief in the form of food and money be given to all flood and drought-affected people up to the time of the next harvest.
4. Necessary quantity of foodgrains from the Central stock be rushed to drought-affected areas and the poorer sections of the people be supplied with food free of cost.
5. Urgent measures be undertaken to supply drinking water in the affected areas.
6. Long-term loans be given to peasants and cattle be supplied to all those who have lost their cattle.
7. Rents and revenues be remitted and moratorium on all arrear rents and debts be declared.
8. The Central Government allocate necessary funds immediately to the affected States, as the resources of the States are quite inadequate.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the people to build a strong broad-based movement on these demands.

(O) RELEASE DETAINED LEADERS OF TRIPURA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) severely condemns the Congress Government of Tripura as well as the Government of India for the continued detention of and persistent refusal to release Comrade Dasarath Deb,

a member of our Central Committee, Comrades Biren Dutt, Nripen Chakrabarti and other leaders of our Tripura unit, who have been leading the struggles of the people of Tripura against the reactionary anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

The Government of Tripura imposed an oppressive levy system on the peasants which was nothing but an instrument to rob them. It has been persistently trying in all possible ways to dispossess the tribal peasants of their land and their right to *zoom* cultivation and has been resorting to brutal terror to suppress the tribal people's legitimate movements. The Government of Tripura is encouraging the forces of disruption by creating dissensions between the tribal and Bengali people. Our Party has been consistently fighting against these dangerous policies and organizing and leading the mass struggles of the tribal people. The Government of Tripura has resorted to brutal repression, firings, etc., but has failed to suppress the people.

The Eighth Congress of the CPI (M) demands the immediate release of the detained leaders and withdrawal of repressive measures.

The Eighth Congress congratulates our comrades and the fighting people of Tripura for the courageous struggle that they are conducting in a very difficult situation. It sends its greetings to the comrades in jail. It urges upon all the people of our country to raise their voices for the release of our Tripura comrades.

(P) ON MASS MURDER OF TANJORE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS*

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) learns with great shock and indignation the news of the gruesome murder through burning by landlord goondas of fortysix women and children of the agricultural labourers of

*The Party Congress after adopting the resolution directed Comrades P Ramamurti, MP, Gnanasambandam, M.L.A. and Meenakshisundaram to proceed to the village immediately.

Kilavenmani village, Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu. The goondas came armed and after opening fire, set fire to the hut in which the women and children had taken shelter. Eight persons with gun-shot injuries are in hospital.

The Party Congress expresses its sense of profound sorrow and sends its deepest condolences to the relatives of the murdered innocents.

The Party Congress condemns this brutal and inhuman act of vandalism of the landlord goondas and calls upon the State Government of Tamil Nadu to take severe and prompt action against the murderers immediately and to give relief at once to the families of the killed. The Party Congress appeals to all Party units to protest against this dastardly atrocity and demand redress.

The Party Congress demands of the State Government to take effective action against the landlords who have abetted and plotted this brutality from behind the scenes. It appeals to all democratic parties and individuals to raise their voice in support of this demand.

(Q) GREETINGS TO THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF PAKISTAN

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the people of Pakistan for the heroic struggle which they have started against the reactionary, anti-people policies of the Ayub regime on the demands of the democratic rights of the masses, the introduction of parliamentary system in place of so-called "basic democracy" and the right of full autonomy for East Pakistan. It is not only the students who came forward in thousands but also the people in millions from all walks of life including the working class and the peasantry joined the struggle through demonstrations, hartals and general strikes.

In order to suppress this mighty struggle a reign of terror has been let loose by the Pakistan Government. A large number of people have been arrested, meetings and demonstrations have been banned, lathi-charges and even firings have been

resorted to injuring a large number of people and killing seven persons. But this policy of repression is failing to curb the sweep of the movement.

The struggle of the democratic forces in Pakistan strengthens the progressive forces in our country to isolate the forces of communal reaction and the chauvinists and to defeat the game of the imperialists to disrupt the united struggles of the democratic people of India by fomenting India-Pakistan conflict and communal riots.

This Congress pays homage to the martyrs of Pakistan who have sacrificed their lives for the democratic rights and expresses our fraternal solidarity with the just struggles of the people of Pakistan. This Congress demands the immediate release of the political prisoners.

(R) GREETINGS TO CUBA

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest greetings to the Cuban Socialist Republic, the Cuban people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba and Comrade Fidel Castro on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic on January 1, 1969.

Cuba, the first country in Latin America to have its revolution and take to the socialist path, stands today as the beacon-light for all Latin American revolutions.

When the Cuban people through their armed struggle overthrew the Batista dictatorship they at the same time threw out the U.S. imperialists who were till then the overlords in Cuba. And from the first day the U.S. imperialists have been out to throttle the Cuban Revolution. And as the Cuban Revolution inspired more and more Latin American people suffering under U.S.-backed fascist military dictatorships in the various countries to take to the path of armed struggle, the U.S. imperialists intensified their attacks on the Cuban Socialist Republic. The election as U.S. President of Nixon, a personal friend of the overthrown dictator Batista, portends that the U.S. Government will make even more

serious attempts on Cuba. A Cuban ship on the high seas has already been taken by the U.S. imperialists and more and more such provocations will take place in the coming days. This Party Congress is confident that the vigilant Cuban people who have beaten back all these U.S. attempts in the past will defeat the U.S. imperialists in the future, too.

Cuba has had to build an independent and prosperous economy in face of this U.S. imperialist menace. The many successes in economic construction which have enabled Cuba to lay the basis to take the road of socialism become all the more remarkable in this situation. This Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) wishes Cuba still more and rapid success in the building of socialism.

(S) GREETINGS TO TRICONTINENTAL

The whole of Latin America is astir.

In Colombia, in Peru, in Venezuela, Bolivia, Guatemala, armed struggles have been going on for the last two or three years and in Nicaragua, in Haiti, the people faced with the task of organizing revolutionary resistance are going over to armed struggles, student unrest etc., are growing and the people are more and more realizing that the only course open to them is armed resistance.

Rich in natural resources, these countries have been for decades held under the iron heel of naked dictatorships bolstered by the U.S. imperialists so as to enable the foreign monopolists to exploit the land and loot the people.

The successful Cuban revolution has given them new inspiration and shown them the path they have to follow to throw off U.S. imperialism and the dictators who are its creatures.

Armed struggles are also raging in Thailand, Malaya and Burma in Asia and in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, Mozambique and Angola, in Congo (Leopoldville) and in Zimbabwe in Africa.

The First Tricontinental Conference in January 1966 and the setting up of the Organization for Latin American Solidarity

three years ago gave a great fillip to these struggles and brought together these isolated struggles into a common stream.

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its solidarity to the fighting Latin American people and warmly greets the third anniversary of the Tricontinental.

(T) ON PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN AFRICA

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the heroic people of Africa in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Cabo Verde and other Portuguese colonies in Africa who are today waging an armed struggle against the Portuguese military fascist rule which has imposed the worst form of colonial oppression and slavery on the people of these territories. Portugal is armed by NATO Powers with modern weapons to suppress the freedom struggle of the people of the Portuguese colonies.

The people's liberation forces led by MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola), FRELIMO (Frente Revolucionaria de Libertacao de Mozambique) and PAIGO (Partido de Independencia de Guinea Caba Verde) are waging a grim struggle against the Portuguese military to liberate their country from the oldest colonial Power of Europe and they are today in the forefront of the struggle for liberation from imperialism in Africa.

The liberation of Goa from Portuguese imperialism after long struggle culminating in the armed intervention of the Government of India which liberated the territory in 1961 was the first of the Portuguese colonies to be freed from colonialism. This places a special responsibility on the people and Government of India to render every assistance to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in Africa who are in the midst of an anti-colonial war. The Congress sends its greetings to Sri Mohan Ranade and Sri Telo Mescerhanas who continue to be detained by the Portuguese imperialists.

The close links forged during the freedom struggle of the Goan people with freedom struggle in the Portuguese colonies

in Africa has to be carried forward and given real expression.

This Eighth Party Congress of the CPI (M) calls upon the people to rally to the cause of the liberation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa who are today in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom in Africa, for the release of Sri Mohan Ranade and Sri Telo Mescerhanas. The Government of India should demand a stop to the supply of arms to Portugal by the U.S. imperialists which are being used to massacre the people of these territories. The Government of India should fulfil the pledge given to the people of the Portuguese African colonies during the Goa action and render more positive help to the peoples' struggle in these colonies.

(U) ON RECOGNITION OF THE G.D.R.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the policy of the Government of India of refusing to give recognition to the German Democratic Republic while giving recognition to the Federal German Republic in West Germany.

The West German rulers, partners in NATO, act at the behest of U.S. imperialism in its plans of world domination. They are the main source of tension in Europe and are bent on undoing the gains of socialism in post-war Europe. The complicity of the West German ruling classes in the abortive counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia shows the danger which West Germany poses.

In contrast, the GDR which is a socialist state honours all the post-war agreements and has liquidated all the remnants of Nazism. The GDR gives India and other developing countries aid which is beneficial for their economy as against the "aid" from West Germany which like all imperialist "aid" is for the exploitation of our people and our land. But lured by the prospect of West German "aid" the Congress Government refuses to recognize the GDR.

This Party Congress demands that the Government of India change this policy and give immediate recognition to

the German Democratic Republic. It calls on the Party units to campaign for this demand.

(V) ON INDONESIA

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to leaders, namely Aidit, Lukman, Njoto, Njojo and Sudisman, members and supporters of the Communist Party of Indonesia who fell victims to the butcheries of the Indonesian fascists.

The U.S. imperialist-backed fascist military junta which came to power through the CIA-organized counter-revolution in 1965 massacred over half a million Communists and Communist supporters. The reactionary junta handed back to the foreign monopolists all the nationalized concerns. The Indonesian events have taught once more and in a brutal fashion that imperialism, though weakened considerably in the present-day world, is still capable of exporting counter-revolution.

This Party Congress is confident that the Communist Party of Indonesia will, in a short period, reorganize its forces and emerge again as the leader of the Indonesian people.

(W) ON 32 PATRIOTS CONDEMNED TO DEATH IN RHODESIA

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) vehemently condemns the heinous crimes and murders in Rhodesia. Recently the appeal court in Rhodesia rejected the appeal made on behalf of the 32 freedom fighters condemned to death in Rhodesia. Once again the British Government failed to take resolute steps to stop the massacre of freedom fighters by the racialist and illegal Ian Smith regime.

This Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) while condemning the series of crimes perpetrated against the freedom fighters of Rhodesia call upon the British Government to urgently and effectively intervene to save the lives of the condemned prisoners and calls upon all democratic

forces in India to raise their voice of indignation and protest and demand the immediate release of these freedom fighters and all others still languishing in Ian Smith's fascist concentration camps.

(X) RELEASE NEPAL COMMUNIST DETENUS

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) takes note of the fact that the Government of Nepal has recently freed the Nepali Congress leaders from jail after their detention for more than 8 years, but it has refused to release the Communist leaders like Manmohan Adhikari, Sambhuram and others who have also been detained in Nepal jail for the last 8/9 years.

The Government has banned the Communist Party of Nepal and other democratic parties, thus exposing the anti-popular character of the so-called Panchayat Raj. This Congress protests against the prolonged detention of the leaders of the Communist Party, demands their release and full liberty for the Communist Party and other democratic organizations.

Constitution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

**Adopted by the Eighth Congress
held at Cochin, December 23–29, 1968**

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of the Party shall be Communist Party of India (Marxist).

ARTICLE II

AIM

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of India. Its aim is socialism and communism through the establishment of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat. In all its activities the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone shows to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of man by man, their complete emancipation. The Party keeps high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

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 person residing in India, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the

Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organizations, to pay regularly the Party membership dues (fee and levy as may be prescribed) and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

2(a). New members are admitted to the Party through individual application on the recommendation of two party members. Party members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party Branch or the unit concerned, full information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility. The Party Branch shall make recommendation to the next higher committee, if the applicant is to be admitted to the Party. The next higher committee takes a decision on all recommendations.

(b) All Party committees higher to the Party Branch and upto the Central Committee level have the power to directly admit new members to the Party.

3(a) All applications for Party membership must be placed before the appropriate committee within a month of their presentation and recommendation.

(b) If the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a candidate member for a period of one year 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 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 re-admitted 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 recommending 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 full membership. If a candidate member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee shall cancel his or her candidate membership. A report on admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the Branch or the Party Committee concerned to the next higher 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 Committee 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 committee in this respect.

10. A party member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another, with the approval of his or her unit and by sending his or her application through his or her unit to the higher unit under whose jurisdiction the concerned units function.

ARTICLE V

PARTY PLEDGE

Every person joining the Party 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 RECORDS

All membership records shall be kept under the supervision of the District Committee.

ARTICLE VII
CHECK-UP OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

1. There shall be annual check-up of Party membership by the Party organization to which the Party member belongs. Any Party member who for a continuous period and without proper reason has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party dues shall be dropped from Party membership.

2. A report on check-up of Party membership by a Branch or a Party Committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.

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 or to the Party unit to which he or she belongs. The unit concerned may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee. If the resignation is on political grounds the unit may refuse to accept the resignation and may expel him.

2. 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 expulsion and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

3. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsion shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party Committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

ARTICLE IX
MEMBERSHIP FEE

1. All Party members as well as candidates shall pay a Party

membership fee of one rupee per year. This annual Party fee shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party and by January end of each year to the Branch or Unit Secretary by the member concerned. If he or she does not clear the fee due by March end, his or her name shall be removed from the Party rolls.

2. All Party fees collected from party members by Party Branches or units will be deposited with the Central Committee through appropriate Party Committees.

ARTICLE X PARTY LEVY

Every Party member must pay a monthly levy as laid down by the Central Committee. Those whose incomes are of annual or of seasonal character have to pay their levy at the beginning of the season or at the beginning of every quarter on the same percentage basis. If a member has failed to deposit his levy within three months after it is due, then his name is to be removed from the Party rolls.

ARTICLE XI DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

1. The duties of the Party members are as follows :
 - (a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organization to which they belong and to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party;
 - (b) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding;
 - (c) To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications;
 - (d) 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;
 - (e) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests;

- (f) 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 organization, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party;
- (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 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.

2. It shall be the task of the Party organization to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by Party members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

ARTICLE XII

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 in discussion in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;
 - (c) To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party;
 - (d) To make criticism about Party Committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;
 - (e) To be heard in person in his or her unit when a Party unit discusses disciplinary action against him or her;

- (f) When any Party member disagrees with any decision of a Party Committee on organization he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the next higher committee. In case of political difference a member has the right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee upto the Central Committee. 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 organization up to and including the Central Committee.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organizations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

ARTICLE XIII

PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

1. The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by, the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means centralized leadership based on inner-Party democracy and democracy under the guidance of the centralized leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) All Party organs from top to bottom shall be elected;
- (b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority; the lower Party organizations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs, the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organizations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the Central Committee.
- (c) All Party Committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organization 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 organizations 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 organizations. All questions of a State or district character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organizations. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organization. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major State importance, it shall do so normally after consultation with the State Party organization concerned. The State organization 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 activize the Party members in popularizing 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 postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement;
 - (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 XIV

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 Central Committee ordinarily once every three years.
 - (b) An Extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the Central Committee at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State Party organizations 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 Central Committee at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

- (d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the State Conference as well as by Conferences of Party units directly under the all-India Party Centre.
- (e) The basis of representation at a regular Party Congress and the basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the Central Committee on the basis of total Party membership, strength of the mass movements led by the Party, strength of the Party in the respective States.
- (f) The members of the Central Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary.

2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organizational report of the Central Committee;
- (b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;
- (c) To determine the Party line on current situation;
- (d) To elect the Central Committee by secret ballot.

3. It elects a Credentials Committee which goes into the credentials of all the delegates and submits a report to the Congress.

4. The Congress shall elect a Presidium for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XV

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

- 1.(a) The Central Committee shall be elected at the Party Congress, the number being decided by the Party Congress.
- (b) The outgoing Central Committee shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates.
- (c) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a capable leadership, closely linked

with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism.

- (d) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names, but the prior approval of the member whose name is proposed is necessary.
- (e) Any one whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.
- (f) The panel proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote. In case there is no additional nomination, approval of the delegates will be taken by show of hands.

2. The Central Committee shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congresses.

3. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.

4. The Central Committee shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The Central Committee shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.

5. The Central Committee shall elect from among its members a Polit Bureau including the General Secretary. The number of members in the Polit Bureau shall be decided by the Central Committee. The Polit Bureau carries on the work of the Central Committee between its two sessions and has the right to take political and organisational decisions in between two meetings of the Central Committee.

6. The election of the secretaries of the State Committees and of editors of State Party organs shall require the approval of the Central Committee.

- 7.(a) The Central Committee shall remove any member from itself for gross breach of discipline, misconduct

or for anti-Party activity by two-thirds of the members present and voting and in any case by more than half the total strength of the Central Committee voting for such removal.

- (b) It can fill up any vacancy occurring in its composition by simple majority of its total members.
- (c) In case a member or members of the Central Committee are arrested the remaining members can co-opt substitute member or members and they shall have full right as the original members but should vacate their places as the arrested members get released and assume their duties.

8. The time between two meetings of the Central Committee shall not normally exceed three months and it shall meet whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.

9. The Central Committee shall discuss and decide political and organizational issues and problems of mass movement and guide the State Committees and all-India Party fractions in mass organizations.

10. The Central Committee is responsible for the Party finances and adopts the statement of accounts submitted to it by the Polit Bureau once a year.

11. The Central Committee shall submit its political and organizational report before the Party Congress, whenever it is convened.

12. With the aim of strengthening the revolutionary leadership of the Party and ensuring a check-up over the State and District organizations, the Central Committee sends representatives and organisers who must work on the basis of special instructions laid down every time by the Central Committee or Polit Bureau.

13. The Central Committee may when it deems necessary convene an extended session of the Central Committee, or Plenum or Conference. The Central Committee shall decide the basis of attendance and method of election of delegates for such bodies.

14. In case of emergency or in case of large-scale arrests, the Central Committee, the State Committees and the District Committees shall be reorganised into smaller compact bodies. The names for such reorganization of Central Committee are prepared by the remaining members of the P. B. and should be approved by the members of the Central Committee inside and outside. The names for the reorganization of State and District Committees are prepared by the remaining members of the respective Committees and are to be approved by their next higher Committee. They can form sub-committees, as they deem it necessary, to discharge their function and responsibilities. The reconstituted Central Committee is empowered to frame new rules for safeguarding the Party organization. But when the situation normalises the elected Committees are restored.

ARTICLE XVI

STATE AND DISTRICT PARTY ORGANS

1. The highest organ in the State or District shall be the State or District Conference which elects a State or District Committee.
- 2.(a) The organizational structure, the rights and functions of the State or district Party organs are similar to those enumerated in the articles concerning the Party structure and functions at the all-India level, their functions being confined to the State or district issues and their decisions being within the limit of the decisions taken by the next higher Party organ.
- (b) The State or District Committee shall elect a Secretariat including the Secretary. But the State or District Committee may not have a Secretariat if permitted by the next higher committee.
- (c) The State or District Committee shall remove any member from itself for gross breach of discipline, misconduct or for anti-Party activity by a decision of majority of the total members of the State Committee or District Committee.

- 3.(a) The State Committee shall decide on the area of the District Committee taking into account the needs of the movement. It may not necessarily be confined to administrative division.
- (b) The State Committee shall decide on the various Party organs to be set up between the primary unit (the Branch) and the District or the region and shall make necessary provisions relating to their composition and functioning. This will be done in accordance with the rules laid down by the Central Committee.

ARTICLE XVII

PRIMARY UNIT

- 1.(a) The Primary unit of the Party is the Party Branch organized on the basis of profession or territory;
 - (b) Party members are to be organized on the basis of their occupation or vocation, when they are working in a factory or an institute or any industry. When such Branches are organized the members of such Branches shall be associate members of the Party Branches in place of their residence or organised as auxiliary Branches there. The work to be allotted in their place of residence shall not be detrimental to the work allotted to them by their basic units in the factory or institute or occupation;
 - (c) The number of members in a Branch shall not be more than nine. The functions and other matters related to the Branch will be determined by the State Committee.
2. The Branch is the living link between the masses of workers, peasants and other sections of the people within its area or sphere and the leading committee of the Party. Its tasks are:
- (a) To carry out the directives of the higher committee;
 - (b) Win the masses in its factory or locality for the political and organizational decisions of the Party;

- (c) Draw in militants and sympathisers into activity to enrol them as new members and educate them politically;
 - (d) Help the District, Local or Town Committee in its everyday organizational and agitational work.
3. To carry out the current work, the Branch elects its Secretary who is confirmed by the next higher committee.

ARTICLE XVIII

CENTRAL AND STATE CONTROL COMMISSION

1. The Central Committee shall elect a Control Commission from amongst its members to go into cases of disciplinary action.

2. The Control Commission shall take up:

- (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Committee or Polit Bureau;
- (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State Committees;
- (c) Cases involving expulsion against which an appeal has been made to the State Committee and rejected.

3. All the decisions of the Control Commission shall be approved by the Central Committee.

4. The detailed rules for the functioning of the Control Commission shall be framed by the Central Committee.

5. The State Committee may elect a Control Commission from amongst its members to go into the cases of disciplinary action. In whichever State such State Control Commission is set up the functions and authority will be similar to that of the Central Control Commission but within its own State.

ARTICLE XIX

PARTY DISCIPLINE

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, of 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 struggles 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 organization or in public life.

3. Violation of the 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 is liable to disciplinary action.

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) 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 measure has been taken, the effort to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In case 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. Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgement.

7. No disciplinary measure involving expulsion of a Party member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of expulsion, the penalised Party member shall be removed from all Party activities pending confirmation.

8. 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 to which he or she belongs and shall have the right to submit his or her explanation to any other unit which takes action against him or her.

9. When a member is simultaneously a member of two Party units, the lower unit can recommend disciplinary action against him or her but it shall not come into operation unless accepted by his or her higher unit.

10. Party members found to be strike-breakers, drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of grave financial corruption can be summarily suspended from Party membership and removed from all responsible positions in the Party by the Party unit to which he belongs or by a higher Party body, pending the issue of the charge-sheet to him and getting his explanation.

11. There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

12. The Central, State or District Committee has the right to dissolve and appoint new committees or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decisions and policy, serious factionalism, or a breach of Party discipline is involved. But the State and District Committees will immediately report such action to the next higher committee for whatever action it deems necessary.

13. In exceptional circumstances Party Committees in their discretion may resort to summary procedure in expelling members for grave anti-Party activities.

ARTICLE XX

PARTY MEMBERS IN ELECTED PUBLIC BODIES

1. Party members elected to Parliament, State Legislature or Administrative Council 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 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. Salaries and allowances drawn by communist legislators and local body members are considered to be Party money. The Party Committee concerned shall fix up the wages and allowances of the members.

6. Party members elected to local bodies such as corporations, municipalities, town or area committees, zilla parishads, block samitis, 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, Legislatures or Councils or Centrally Administered areas shall be subject to approval by the Central Committee.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by State Committees.

ARTICLE XXI

INNER-PARTY DISCUSSIONS

1. To unify the Party, free and businesslike discussions of Party policy in the various organizations of the Party as a whole are useful and necessary. This is the inalienable right of Party members arising from inner-Party democracy. But interminable discussions on issues of Party policy which paralyse the unity and will of action of the Party would be a gross misuse of inner-Party democracy.

2. Inner-Party discussion shall be organized on all-India scale by the Central Committee:

- (a) Whenever it considers necessary;
- (b) Whenever over an important question of Party policy there is not sufficient firm majority inside the Central Committee;
- (c) When an inner-Party discussion on all-India scale is demanded by State Committees representing one-third of total Party membership.

3. A State Committee can initiate inner-Party discussion on an important question of Party Policy concerning that particular State, either on its own, or on a demand of District Committees representing one-third of Party membership in the State, with the approval of the Central Committee.

4. Inner-Party discussion shall be conducted under the guidance of the Central Committee which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Central Committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

When the State Committee initiates the discussion, it can formulate the issues under discussion and the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted, with the approval of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE XXII

DISCUSSION PREPARATORY TO PARTY CONGRESS AND CONFERENCES

1. Two months before the Party Congress, the Central Com-

mittee will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions will be sent directly to the Central Committee which will place its report on them before the Party Congress.

2. At each level, the Conference shall take place on the basis of reports and resolutions submitted by the respective Committees.

ARTICLE XXIII

PARTY MEMBERS WORKING IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Party members working in mass organizations and their executives shall organise themselves into fractions or fraction committees and function under the guidance of the appropriate Party Committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass basis and fighting capacity of the mass organizations concerned.

ARTICLE XXIV

BYE-LAWS

The Central Committee 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 Committees subject to confirmation by the Central Committee.

ARTICLE XXV

AMENDMENT

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress. The notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress.

Political-Organizational Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the Eighth Congress, Cochin, December 23–29, 1968

Resolution of the Eighth Congress

This Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) endorses the policies, decisions and activities of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau since the Seventh Congress in 1964, set out in the Political-Organizational Report.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) marked a turning point in the history of the communist movement in the country. It adopted a new *Party Programme* and a *Resolution On Tasks* in which the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution were enunciated and elaborated. It entrusted the newly elected Central Committee with the job of working out tasks on the agrarian and trade union fronts and also the conducting and conclusion of the unfinished inner-party discussion on the ideological issues under international debate.

Our Central Committee, during these four years, has engaged itself in the struggle to faithfully implement the political line decided on by the Seventh Congress, and to discharge the other key tasks entrusted to it.

The Central Committee in its meeting held in the middle of April 1967 adopted a political report, titled *New Situation and Tasks*. It was widely discussed and debated at different levels inside the Party. In the Political Report, the political-economic developments in the country during the thirty months between the Seventh Congress and the April 1967 Central Committee meeting were assessed and reviewed, and on that basis, new tasks were worked out.

When our Party decided to convene its Seventh Congress and break away from the revisionist leaders of the then united Communist Party of India, it was guided by the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the international situation and the revolutionary principles embodied in the two documents of the world communist movement, namely the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Eightyone Parties Statement of 1960. Basing itself on the understanding of these documents of the new epoch, the Congress proceeded to work out the *Party Programme* and the political line to carry on the current work of the Party. Our Party came to the conclusion that modern revisionism was the main danger and settled accounts with the revisionists so far as the Indian question was concerned, but the Party Congress was not oblivious of the Left danger and its manifestations on certain questions connected with the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution.

The Party's struggle during the half decade we have left behind has to be characterized as a struggle for the correct Marxist-Leninist political line, a struggle against the main menace of modern revisionism and also the threats of Left sectarianism, a struggle to defend the *Party Programme* and the political line adopted at the Seventh Congress, and a struggle to faithfully and loyally implement the decisions of the Party Congress.

Formidable forces were arrayed against the Party when it was engaged in the struggle for a correct Marxist-Leninist line. The Government was busy maligning our Party, attempting to stifle its voice, suppress it by force and uproot it if it could. Our Party leaders, then members of the united Party, were arrested in 1962 and kept in detention for a long period. Once again, in the year 1964, hardly six weeks after the Party Congress, the Government attacked the Party on all-India scale, and detained under the DIR more than a thousand of its leaders at different levels. The Government, using all its media of propaganda and communication, and pressing into service the so-called free press under the

monopoly control of big business, let loose a most vicious slander campaign against our Party, and even its leaders by name. They were maligned as "Peaking agents", as "fifth columnists of Pakistan" as "terrorists conspiring to organize armed revolts", and as "anti-national, anti-patriotic and subversive forces out to disrupt Indian unity and destroy Indian independence"—all with the sole object of discrediting and isolating our Party and getting popular sanctions to suppress us by force. Our Party has earned the hatred of the Congress Government, and is singled out as the target of its attacks. Of course, there is no reason why we should feel sorry over it, since it is our consistent class policies, consciously pursued, that are earning this hatred and enmity from the bourgeois-landlord Government.

The slanderous campaign of the bourgeois-landlord Government was helped by the foul attacks of the right opportunists and revisionists of our country, fully backed and supported by their chief international patrons of modern revisionism, the leadership of the CPSU. They repeated every lie and slander against us, invented by the Congress leaders and other reactionaries in the country, with the only difference that they did it more subtly and couched in cunning and deceptive class terms and phrases. These Indian revisionists, dubbing us as splitters and pretending to be unifiers of the communist movement, depicting us as dogmatists and adventurists while masquerading themselves as creative Marxists, and tom-toming to the world that they alone represented communism in India, have been busy contesting every basic proposition and formulation of our *Party Programme* and challenging every syllable of our political-tactical line. The revisionists had held their Seventh Congress in Bombay, and produced a programme and evolved a political-tactical line of their own. During the last four years of furious battles between the two rival programmes and political lines, the revisionist programme and political line have been reduced to shambles. Every thinking person understands this, and even the bourgeois patrons of the revisionists have to admit it.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China also have been directing their fire against us. Our Party, locked in the grim and bitter life and death struggle with the modern revisionists at home and abroad, had looked on the Communist Party of China with high hopes and great admiration, when it boldly unleashed the struggle against the modern revisionism of the CPSU leaders. Many among our Party members could summon courage to accept the revisionist challenge, because of the added self-confidence they acquired from the great anti-revisionist struggle that the Chinese comrades had unfolded on an international scale. But during the last eighteen months, the Chinese communist leadership, through its press, radio and other means at its disposal, had mounted a full-scale offensive against our Party, its *Programme* and political line. There is no abuse, no epithet left unused to decry our leaders and denounce our Party. Our Party is fully aware that all this unbecoming wrath against us is let loose on us because we differ with them on the concrete assessment of the class relations in our country and the political line that follows from it, and we do not subscribe to some of their new theories, new world assessments, and wrong tactics of fighting modern revisionism.

Such are the adverse currents and conditions under which our Party is called upon to discharge its duties towards the revolutionary movement in our country and to the cause of socialism and communism on a world scale. Our Party will have to face this reality squarely, and every party member must understand it. The Eighth Congress of our Party which is meeting in the midst of these realities is duty bound to take stock of them while self-critically reviewing its work and chalking out its future tasks.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Crisis of World Capitalist Economy

Our *Programme* had noted that the capitalist economy in the midst of the third stage of its general crisis was experiencing a further accentuation of the crisis. *New Situation and*

Tasks also had pointed to the deep-seated crisis of the economy.

The last four years have rapidly led to a tremendous accentuation of the situation bringing forward all the familiar symptoms of a world crisis and repudiating the apologists of the capitalist order who claimed that capitalism has made a new turn eliminating crises and ensuring a regular and even advance of the productive forces of society.

The devaluation of the sterling followed by the devaluation of not less than 24 other currencies mainly in the sterling area leading to the unprecedented gold rush and the virtual devaluation of the dollar showed that the crisis of the capitalist system was manifesting itself in the familiar form and had started affecting the citadel of capitalism, the USA, in the most violent manner.

The sterling crisis was followed a year later by the currency crisis in France, threatening the devaluation of the franc. Only a huge credit of 2,000 million dollars from the Group of Ten, the world's leading industrialist nations, halted the massive speculation against the franc and enabled de Gaulle to declare: "The present parity of the French franc will be maintained."

The devaluation of the sterling which threw the monetary system of the capitalist world into confusion was a manifestation of the crisis of Britain's imperialist system. Britain, in spite of her balance of payments deficit, was exporting capital on a vast scale, mainly for investment in the sterling area countries. In 1964, it exported £302 million; in 1965, £326 million; in 1966, £329 million. To continue this export and gather the loot arising from it, it had to spend huge sums in military expenditure alone. All this went beyond its capacity, since it had a continued deficit in balance of payments due to its inability to capture the world markets. It had to devalue to improve its positions at the expense of the British working class and its trade rivals on the world market. The devaluation thus only sharpened the conflict for markets and intensified imperialist rivalries.

The balance of payments difficulties were not faced by Britain alone. They are being faced by the USA whose deficit is reaching colossal proportions. They epitomise the fact that the mechanism of economic domination of the world, of looting and policing the capitalist world, of subjugating the industries of developed and underdeveloped countries alike is facing a breakdown, is coming into conflict with its inner contradictions. They only show that the inherent laws of capitalist production are asserting themselves. A look at the world capitalist economy reveals its present plight.

It should be remembered that during the last twenty years capitalism has gone through three stretches of crises and slumps. The first period was in 1948-52; the second in 1957-58; the third stretch started in 1964-65 and by 1967 had spread to all capitalist countries. The present phase is another cycle being worked in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

Apart from the general laws of capitalist society, the accentuation of the crisis is determined by the following: the formation and development of the socialist camp and its economy; the disintegration of the colonial system; the struggle of the developing countries for economic independence; the growing concentration and monopolisation of the economic life of the developed countries; the burdens of state monopoly capitalism and imperialism which lead to militarisation of the economy and huge unproductive spending on defence which continually upset the balance of payments position. The aftermath of the last war, the new technological developments and their uneven spread in the various countries accentuate the depth of the crisis. The malady this time is therefore not of a weak capitalist country or a few countries but extends to all developed countries. The manifestations of crisis appear principally in the main centres of imperialism. They are seen in the United States, France, Great Britain, West Germany, above all in the USA, the main force of imperialism, and in France.

Capitalist production was rising between 1963 and 1966

but its rate of growth has started declining since 1967. This can be seen from the following table:

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (1958 =100)

	USA	Canada	Britain	FRG	France	Belgium	Italy	Japan
1963	133	133	119	137	129	135	166	212
1964	141	145	128	149	158	145	169	248
1965	153	156	132	157	141	148	177	260
1966	167	169	133	160	150	150	197	290
1967	168.5	173	132	155	154	150	215	348
1966 (per cent of 1963)	225.5	130	112.6	177	116.2	111.1	120.4	136.7
1967 (per cent of 1966)	100.9	102.3	99.2	96.2	102.6	100	109.1	120

Source MONTHLY BULLETIN OF STATISTICS Data for 1967 are preliminary

This expansion of industrial production in a number of capitalist countries was spurred by the increase in military spending, the arms race, military adventures and, above all, the war in Vietnam. In recent years it is the escalation of the war in Vietnam and attendant increase of military spending and war orders that formed the basis of the higher growth of productive rates and the rise of employment in the United States. And this rise in employment mostly meant employment in military service or military production. Between the fourth quarter of 1965 and the second quarter of 1967 the number of persons in military service in the USA rose by 7 lakhs, those in military production by 13 lakhs. Nothing more need be said about an economy where workers' jobs depend on the mass massacre of another people.

This dastardly war buoyed up not only the U.S. economy but also that of Japan, Canada and Australia who received big war orders from the USA.

But the war could not sustain the advance for a longer period. By the end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967, the factors that brought out the temporary advance began to

wane. The United States which had achieved a large increase in industrial production (9.2 per cent) in 1966 began to stagnate in 1967, registering only a small improvement in November. In 1967, industrial output increased by less than one per cent, steel production dropped by seven million tons, the turnover of cars slumped by a million and production of household appliances declined. Capital investments for the building of new industrial enterprises and for the purchase of equipment declined in real terms. Gross private capital investment in 1967 was 8 per cent less than in 1966. This led to a tremendous increase in the balance of payments deficit. It was 1,300 million dollars in 1965; 1,400 million in 1966 and rose to 3,600 million dollars in 1967. The balance of payments cost of the Vietnam war accounted for half the payments deficit in 1967.

It was clear that the production spurt based on war activity was being financed through growing indebtedness, inflation and balance of payments deficits.

Britain, whose production has been stagnating, saw a decline in production in 1967 compared with 1966. Coal and steel output went down by 3 per cent, cars by 6 per cent and textile clothing and footwear by 4 to 5 per cent. Capitalist investments were shrinking in 1967. Investments in the manufacturing industry fell by about 8 per cent. The British balance of payment position went beyond control, making it plain that Britain had overstretched itself in its imperialist ambitions, that it was outstripped by its rivals on the world market.

The Federal Republic of Germany, the western miracle, saw a 10 per cent decrease in coal output and a 11 per cent fall-off in engineering production. In 1967, the volume of industrial production was lower by 2.5 per cent compared to 1966. There was recession in all branches of production and the West German press dubbed the year as "black year". No country in Western Europe had seen a crisis of this depth since the end of the last year.

De Gaulle's France with all its gold reserves and leadership

of the Common Market showed instability. In 1967, for the major part of the year, industrial production either declined or remained at the previous year's level. Only towards the third quarter of the year, the index began to rise under the incentive measures taken by the state. The total increase in industrial production was only 3 per cent. The precarious position of the economy, the hardships which it inflicted on the working class, were seen this year in the historic general strike of the French working class in June when ten million workers occupied factories for three weeks till they were let down by their leaders.

At the same time the unevenness of capitalist development is seen in the fact that Italy and Japan forged ahead in the year, thus exacerbating the contradictions among capitalist states and monopolist groupings. Industrial output in Japan grew by 20 per cent and in Italy by 9 per cent. This is due to the fact that these two countries were the first to emerge from their difficult period.

Japan, the new miracle of the capitalist world, showed an annual average increase of 14.1 per cent in industrial production for 1955-66 when the capitalist world could show only a rate of 5.4 per cent. It has outdistanced Italy, France and Britain. It will be beating West Germany in gross national product and rising to second place in the capitalist world, next to the United States. It ranks first in the output of shipping tonnage and is second only to the USA in steel, electricity, automobiles, cement, etc.—its output of steel (62.2 million tons) nearly equals, or exceeds, that of Britain, France and Italy put together.

The advance was achieved on the basis of development of monopoly collaboration agreements with foreign firms for importing the technological revolution, combined with joint ventures with U.S. monopoly capital and orders for supplying the needs of the war in Vietnam. At the same time Japanese products are invading the American market and leading to the demand for protection and import quota restrictions. Japan's rise accentuates the crisis of the U.S.

economy. With all its advance, the number of unemployed in Japan went up by 43.2 per cent reaching the figure of 630,000; 4.3 million persons or about 12 per cent of the labour force in industry, service branches and construction were semi-employed working part-time. The secret of Japanese success is to be seen in the following: the Tokyo *Economist* estimates that whole labour productivity in Japanese manufacturing industry has been 97.3 per cent above the British, 87.5 above West Germany's, 59.6 above the French, wage levels have been 20 per cent below the British, 11.2 below the West German, 33.4 below the French. Comparison with the USA shows Japanese labour productivity only 20 per cent lower, Japanese wages 73.3 per cent lower.

Automation, low wages, unemployment—it is with these weapons that Japan has produced its miracle outbidding its imperialist rivals and sharpening the economic conflicts. The slowing down of production led to a slowing down of the growth rates in international trade intensifying the situation still further. United States exports increased in value by 10.4 per cent in 1966 (as compared with the preceding year) while for 1967 the increase was only 4.8 per cent; for Britain the figures were 6.7 and 4.8 per cent respectively; for the Federal Republic of Germany, 12.5 and 7.0 per cent; for France, 8.3 and 3.1 per cent.

The growth of retail trade in several countries also shrank. In the United States and Canada retail trade increased by 6-7 per cent in 1966 and by about only 2 per cent in 1967. In Britain this remained approximately at the 1966 level while in West Germany and Italy they showed a tendency to decline.

Capitalist production was meeting with a saturated demand in the internal and external markets, thanks to the monstrous profits of the monopolists and the huge military expenditures. The profits of American corporations (before tax reduction) grew from 59,400 million dollars in 1963 to 83,000 million dollars in 1966. In the first quarter of 1968, profits before tax reached a record annual rate of 88,800 million dollars, 12.4 per cent above the preceding year.

The inflationary rise in prices, the growth of unproductive expenditure, the growing degree of automation and the slow-down in production all led to increased exploitation of the working class, to a lowering of the standard of living and increased unemployment. The Wilson Government of Britain openly embarked upon a policy of wage-freeze to protect the profits of the monopolists. The wage struggles in European countries reached new heights. In France the discontent burst out into general strike.

Unemployment grew by leaps and bounds. In 1965, the capitalist countries of Western Europe had an industrial reserve army of 1.8 million people. In 1967, it grew to three million. In West Germany, the crisis and the build-up of monopolistic dictatorship led to mass unemployment for the first time in the post-war period. The growing unemployment is seen in the following figures which underestimate the actual unemployment :

NUMBER OF FULLY UNEMPLOYED
(Thousands)

	USA	Canada	Britain	France	FRG	Belgium	Japan
1963	4,070	374	612	97	174	59	400
1964	3,786	324	413	97	157	50	370
1965	3,366	280	360	141	139	55	390
1966	2,875	267	391	147	154	61	440
1967	2,975	315	599	196	451	65	464

Source . Monthly Bulletin of Statistics

It should be realised that all the countries primarily affected are countries where monopolies rule and state monopoly capitalism exists. And in almost all of them militarisation of economy is proceeding apace and a large part of the budget and the national income is spent on "defence", thus distorting the economy completely and making the crisis inevitable. In fiscal year 1967-68 the United States allocated 76,500 million dollars or more than two-fifths of the budget for defence purposes. Of this 30,000 million were

spent on the war in Vietnam. West Germany spent nearly one-third of its budget for military needs. Military spendings of Britain and France swallowed about a fifth of their budgets and in the case of Italy a sixth of the budget. The total military expenditure of the North Atlantic bloc now amounts to 98,800 million dollars.

Thus the economic crisis is directly connected with the war spending and monopolization of the economy. After temporarily buoying up the economy and creating a false sense of prosperity, the war spending and monopoly rule have accentuated all the contradictions of the system, deepening its crisis. It has put an end to the glib talk about full employment and the great society. And it has exacerbated all the conflicts of the rival contenders.

Each power or group of powers tries to get out of its difficulties at the expense of the other thereby intensifying the conflicts among the powers.

It is in this background that the monetary convulsions of 1967, the devaluation of the sterling and the crisis of the French franc are to be understood. The devaluation of the sterling was forced on Britain by the economic crisis. Britain's trade together with the loot from its investments were not enough to meet its continued obligations of export of capital and military protection of its imperialist interests abroad. Devaluation was an attempt to improve its position at the expense of its trading partners in world trade. But it meant also damage to the prestige of the sterling as a reserve currency—a means by which Britain has been able to reap big financial advantages besides huge profits. How much Britain depends on sterling as a reserve can be seen from the fact that in July this year foreigners held 13.5 billion dollars in sterling while Britain had only 2.7 billion dollars and gold reserves to redeem the pound in foreign hands. But the crisis was so deep that the latter advantage had to be sacrificed. The continental bankers agreed to help it only on condition that it devalued the sterling and damaged the prestige of its currency. Thus we find that devaluation arising

out of Britain's crisis was the result of sharp conflict of rivalries among the capitalist powers. It enabled the British capitalists to throw fresh burdens on the working class but the crisis is deep-seated and Britain is far from having overcome the balance of payments crisis.

But the devaluation of the pound led to a chain reaction leading to an enormous gold rush, to the sale of pound and dollar for gold, threatening the prestige of the dollar and creating the danger of the collapse of the major currency of the capitalist world. The dollar is the major reserve currency of the countries of the capitalist world. If its value becomes unstable then the entire capitalist world will be thrown into chaos and that would result in the near-collapse of capitalist production itself. That is why the USA got panicky with the gold rush which was not simply due to a lack of confidence in the pound but also in the dollar. So undermined was the confidence that nothing would appear to restore it. The run on gold, which meant a flight from the dollar, shook the financial markets of the capitalist world. Panic ensued. At the request of Lyndon Johnson, London closed its gold market for three days. The U.S. Senate voted the unprecedented proposal to drop the gold coverage of American bank notes in circulation which is supposed to free about 10 billion dollars to maintain the gold price of 35 dollars an ounce. In its efforts to maintain the parity of dollar the USA lost \$2,500 million between November 1967 and March 1968. The Federal Reserve System of the United States raised the discount rate to 5 per cent (to attract foreign funds), the highest level since Black Monday of 1929, of the Great Crisis. And with all these desperate measures the Federal Bank had to announce that it would release gold only to the central banks to support the dollar; that it would not protect the dollar in the few private markets. This was nothing but partial devaluation of the dollar affecting its stability and its role as a reserve currency. The crisis has thus already shaken the financial system of the USA to its foundations. The monstrous expenditure for the war against Vietnam, and the huge

balance of payments deficits have undermined the faith in the dollar and even the desperate measures of Johnson could not restore it. Another push and the dollar will topple down like the pound.

The run on the French franc which was considered one of the safest currencies was yet another manifestation of the instability and critical condition of the capitalist order. De Gaulle had enjoyed the plight of the sterling and the dollar a year back and had demanded a re-organization of the world monetary system, dethroning the dollar and sterling from their status as reserve currencies. Little did he realise that he himself was sitting on a volcano and would be soon running to his rivals to save the franc.

Exactly a year after the devaluation of the sterling, the franc threatened to tumble down and join the ranks of devalued currencies. The keen competition between West Germany and France inside the Common Market, the shrinkage of the world market, and the concessions extorted by the French working class during the glorious general strike of May 1968, hastened the crisis of French capitalism and the result was the massive run on the franc. The French franc could escape the fate of the sterling only with the help of France's rivals, the USA, Britain and West Germany.

The crisis of the capitalist world's three biggest currencies only means the depth of the crisis of their economy. In 1968 once again propaganda is afoot that the American economy has turned the corner and that the Gross National Product is increasing at a rapid rate. But while inflationary conditions appear to give a temporary boost to production experts expect a recession or a shock at any time. In fact, stagnation and slow-down in production continue even now when talk about a new upsurge is being spread. A business forecast, published in July says, "Most probably we are in for a mini-recession. There is the possibility of a mini-recession. And as an outside possibility, I don't exclude a maxi-recession".

In the first two quarters of 1968, American economy

showed a super-heated ten per cent growth—6 per cent of it real growth and 4 per cent caused by inflation. It however became clear that everyone was expecting a setback from the heated performance. As a matter of fact, the USA in this period was unable to push its exports ahead, the trade surplus dwindling to a mere 13 million dollars. The large drop in the balance of payments deficit was due to the entry of foreign money—hot money—into the USA, a feature which may upset the economy any day.

In spite of the figures about increased production in 1968 the situation in the USA seems to be precarious. In August 1968, the U.S. steel industry had a massive build-up of 33 million tons of inventory. The auto industry had enough steel on hand to meet its needs for an estimated three months and it is opined that the period of inventory reduction could last as much as two years. Steel production was falling faster than expected. The American Iron and Steel Institute announced that output had dropped to 2,235,000 net tons in the week ended August 4, down 12.7 per cent from the week before and 23.5 per cent from the peak production in the week ended April 28. The spectre of mass lay-offs has begun to take shape. The U.S. *Steel* says its lay-off amounts to 5 to 6 per cent. *Steel* magazine estimates that before the year is over the industry will have laid off more than 100,000 men, one out of every six men employed by the steel companies as recently as June.

The truth is that the inflated war-ridden economy of the USA is unable to compete with its rivals and even finds the home market inundated with foreign—Japanese—goods. Protectionist voices are being raised; demand for import quota restrictions is being voiced. All this shows the cut-throat character of the competition. Each one for himself is the slogan now. The *Federal Reserve Bulletin* in April stated, "A considerable range of goods may have become less competitive since 1965 than they were before. ..if this hypothesis about a deterioration in competitiveness is correct, some part of the rapid rise in merchandise imports since 1965 should be

thought of not as a temporary aberration but as a new trend that can be changed only slowly with difficulty". The fact is that the USA is being outpriced in its own market in certain goods. In 1967, there were deep foreign inroads into the auto industry and steel. Imports of autos were valued at 877 million dollars while exports were at 294 million dollars. Imports of steel reached 1.4 billion dollars—nearly all from Western Europe and Japan and they exceeded the exports by more than 720 million dollars. The steel industry demands restrictions on imports through quotas.

That is where the U.S. economy stands. And in Britain also, in spite of some improvement in trade figures following devaluation and international loans, the crisis atmosphere continues and further trouble is apprehended. The burdens of the crisis are being thrown on the common man. Output per man has risen at the rate of 3.8 per cent per man in the last quarter of 1967 while wages are frozen under the Government's 3½ per cent formula. The retail sales index has dropped by 6 per cent. Any passing economic shift in another important country may smash the superficial evidence of economic comeback. Devaluation of the franc, slow-down in the West German economy or imposition of import controls in the USA or a decline in world trade may bring the British economy to its knees. And there are signs that in the background of fierce competition among the capitalist states any one of these, including imposition of American tariffs, may take place setting a chain reaction in the capitalist economy.

An essential feature of the present crisis is that it is increasingly shaped by both cyclical and non-cyclical factors; it is, especially in the USA, directly related to the military-political crisis of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The crisis takes place when the new technological revolution has not evenly spread over all capitalist countries; when the USA still leads in this field. This time it has spread to almost all the capitalist countries including the USA and has for the first time since the end of the war, drawn West Germany also into its vortex.

The direct relation of the crisis with state monopoly capitalism, with the system of imperialist aggression, its system of export of capital is now easily seen. It has however been accentuated by the defeats and debacle of imperialist policy, its failure to subdue under-developed countries through neo-colonialism or sheer aggressive conquests, its increasing failure due to the existence of the socialist world to solve it at the expense of the masses in developed as well as under-developed countries.

The character of the present crisis makes it abundantly clear that the temporary make-shifts, the attempts to pass on the burdens to the masses, or the manoeuvres to pass them to their allies will not offer a solution or the way out; and that temporary lifting of the economic situation in this or that country will not end the aggravation of the economic situation in the capitalist world.

The growing weakness of the United States—the strongest of the capitalist countries—illustrates the point.

The expansionism of U.S. imperialism has given rise to the dollar crisis. The U.S. has already lost 60 per cent of its gold reserves; they are smaller in relation to its international trade than any time in recent years. Monstrous military spending has led to domestic inflation. The “gold pool” which enabled the U.S. to secure the collaboration of other powers to hold the price of the inflated dollar has collapsed. It has become increasingly difficult for the USA to pass on its burdens to them through the currency mechanism.

The measures which the Johnson administration took to rectify the situation have failed. Restraints on capital exports were turned down by the monopolists who thrive on such exports. The requests to allies for sharing the huge costs of military bases all over the world came up against the prevailing mood of the allies to disentangle themselves from American adventurism. Attempts to rectify the balance of payments position by reducing imports and increasing exports failed because American monopolists who have invested abroad insist on supplying foreign markets through

their products produced abroad and also are intent on sending their goods to the USA.

At present the USA is having a kind of "boom" but everyone is afraid that a crash may come any time. It is feared that the dollar may not be able to stand this strain and may be devalued, which will lead to a crisis all over the capitalist world.

All this leads to frontal attacks against the workers, the attempts to make them the scapegoats of the capitalist crisis. High taxation and high prices defraud them. Calculations for manufacturing industries show a decline in real take-home pay per unit of production amounting to 5 per cent since 1964, and 15 per cent in the past decade. Official figures show the following average annual inroads in real take-home pay of U.S. factory workers—1939-47, 3.0 per cent, 1947-57, 2.2 per cent, 1957-67, 1.4 per cent. The rising strike-wave, according to the U.S. Department of Labour, involved 1.8 million workers in 1966 and 2.9 million workers in 1967. The government agency for settling strikes complained that it was becoming harder to avert strikes because rank and file rejection of settlement terms brought to them ran higher and higher. In 1966, the rejection rate ran at 11.7 per cent of the agreement negotiated by labour leaders and companies. In 1967, the rejection rate rose to 14.7 per cent for the first six months. Strikes run for months, negotiations get prolonged, workers offer determined resistance.

Official unemployment statistics in the USA grossly underestimate the number of unemployed. In 1966, in addition to the 3 million admitted fully unemployed, the Labour Department counted 1.6 million men of working age as "not in the labour force". Another 2 million were counted as working part-time. Actual unemployment may be twice as much as officially admitted.

The 1967 figures show a fall because of official falsification. The 1964 figures themselves showed that 14 million workers suffered from unemployment among whom 10 million were out of work for more than a month and six million for more than three months.

In Britain, devaluation, and the reactionary income policy which is but another name for wage-freeze, are the methods which Prime Minister Wilson uses to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the workers.

In France, again, the ruling classes attempt to transfer the burdens of the crisis to the working class and conspire to attack the civil and democratic rights of the toilers. While announcing that the parity of the franc will be maintained, de Gaulle blamed the working class struggles for the plight of the French economy, announced wage-freeze while formally assuring that the previous gains will not be attacked and threatened action against the movement of workers, students and toilers. Broadcasting on November 24, 1968, de Gaulle said:

“When, in the midst of world competition, a country—I speak of ours—which was in a state of growing prosperity and which had one of the strongest currencies in the world, stopped working for weeks and weeks, when it was long deprived of trains, ships, public transport, mining output, postal communications, radio, petrol, electricity, when, to escape death by suffocation, it had in one blow to impose on its economy huge wage burdens, to overburden its budget with suddenly increased spending, exhaust its credit with aid precipitously lavished on foundering concerns—nothing can enable that country to find its equilibrium again at once, even if it has been able to pull up at the edge of the precipice.” (*Commerce*, November 30, 1968, p. 1143)

“From the economic point of view, this means that, without giving up the increase in pay as agreed upon last spring, we refuse to impose burdens on our economy for this purpose, because they would prevent it becoming vigorous and competitive again.” (*Ibid*)

“As regards public order—because the crisis arose from the moment when order was disturbed and will not come to an end if there is doubt as to whether it will be maintained henceforth—the required measures must be taken so that from now on, in our faculties and schools, in the streets of our

cities and on the roads of our countryside, there is no more agitation and exhibitionism, tumults and processions that stop work and scandalise sensible people: and let everyone who has a duty to perform, a position to hold, a function to perform do it conscientiously." (*Ibid*, pp. 1143-44)

The Impact on Underdeveloped Countries

The crisis has affected the economies of the underdeveloped countries, of the newly liberated countries who have strong trade ties with the imperialist countries and have been receiving "aid" from them for their economic development. The economic slack reduced the terms of trade and the total exports, throwing the economy of these countries out of gear. Due to reduced prices for exports, the burden of servicing foreign debts became extremely heavy. What the imperialists earned through unfair terms of trade exceeded what they lent to these countries through economic aid. A number of these countries were forced to take severe measures to restrict their own standard of living and export more. India was compelled to devalue its currency so that it could export more at lower prices; devaluation raised the burden of servicing its debts by nearly 50 per cent and was intended to check imports of capital broods for new industries.

Simultaneously, because of the crisis there was curtailment of "aid"—stiffer terms of foreign "aid"—more stringent demand that loans should be paid back in foreign currency—all of which not only accentuated the economic crisis in these countries but made their economies more dependent on western loans. The only stabilising and counter acting element was the aid and trade arrangements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but these in the very nature of things could not halt the process of economic deterioration and crisis.

Foreign aid every where has forced a costly economy on the recipient countries. As the *United Nations Report on Ecafe*, 1966, states, differences exist between "the real value or purchasing power of assistance and of free export revenue.

The difference is due to the ties which increasingly restrict the use of bilateral assistance to purchases or more strictly to purchase of specified commodities from the donor countries. Supplies of American surplus agricultural commodities are the limiting case, both in the sense of a rigidly defined commodity content of assistance and also in the sense of assistance that would simply not be forthcoming if it were not so embodied...In the wake of numerous civil servants and publicly accountable politicians in the donor countries, there operates at times industrial collusion and price discrimination, which raises the prices of aid-tied supplies to developing countries...A recent quantitative study of the purchase power of assistance to Pakistan estimated that the operation of ties causes the nominal value of assistance to exceed its real resources content at world market prices by 12-13.5 per cent". The weighted average price for a sample of 20 development projects in Pakistan was found to be 51 per cent higher in the lowest quotation from the tied sources than in the lowest quotation obtainable through international bidding. In the case of non-project assistance it was found that prices of supplies from the United States were 40-50 per cent above international levels. The same phenomenon occurs when shipments must be made by donor's flagships. "The Pakistan study found that the prices of tied assistance supplies from Japan, France, Italy and the Netherlands were significantly higher than international prices...For United States non-project assistance, the lowest American quotations were consistently above international levels."

Tied to costly western aid, burdened with old production relations, these countries have been always in difficulties, their good or bad years depending for the most part on the agricultural season. By 1966 itself, the growth rate of industrial production in the ECAFE region had fallen to half of the 1965 rate. Adverse agricultural season was mainly responsible for this falling rate. In 1967 because of the good agricultural year growth rate of this region doubled as compared with 1966 (from 4 to 8 per cent).

Thanks to the slow growth and repeated setbacks the gap between the backward and developed countries is growing—while in the advanced countries the annual per capita increase in the national income amounted to 60 dollars in the last few years, in the underdeveloped countries it was only 2.5 dollars.

And in recent years the export of capital to these countries from the imperialist countries at extortionate rates, the manipulating of the prices of raw materials, the adverse terms of trade—all designed to pass on the burdens of the crisis to them, have created a grave situation drawing these economies into the vortex of the crisis, India being one of them.

The share of the underdeveloped countries in world exports dropped from 27 per cent in 1953 to 19.3 per cent in 1966. The process of exploitation entailed in their trade with the West can be gauged from the fact that their loss from unequal trade grew and reached a colossal sum—about 2,500 million dollars a year or almost half the total sum of receipts from abroad. The UNCTAD Secretary-General's report for the Delhi session in February 1968 revealed that the relation between import and export prices was almost 13 per cent more than in 1954 while their losses from unequal trade in 1961-64 amounted to the colossal sum of 13,400 million dollars. This is how the burdens of the crisis and exploitation were being passed on to them. What chance had their economy to recover or progress? To protect their own markets, in the increasing world competition, the imperialist countries formed closed groups like the Common Market, European Free Trade Association, GATT agreements, all of which led to discrimination against the backward countries.

The external debt of the underdeveloped countries has grown rapidly between 1955 and 1966. During this period it increased from 10,000 to 40,000 million dollars. Payments on these debts, which amounted to 500 million dollars in the mid-fifties, have now reached an annual total of 4,000 million dollars. At this rate, all the finances received by the underdeveloped countries will have to be used by the end of

the decade to meet the repayment of loans and interest on them. As a writer in an American magazine puts it, "The U.N. Decade of Development has been an unmitigated disaster so far. There is growing frustration, growing hunger and growing violence. Everything appears rigged against the have-nots, from the technology of the more developed countries (whose increasingly sophisticated synthetics reduce the demand for primary products, and whose new production methods cut down on raw materials consumption) to patterns of trade and lending habits."

The crisis of the world capitalist economy thus sharpens the contradictions between the developed and backward countries, leading to greater exploitation by the former, and imposes on the latter economic deterioration or conditions of stagnation. Even sections of the industrial bourgeoisie from these countries are forced to fight against the growing subjugation to imperialism. On the one hand the imperialists try to impose further burdens; on the other hand the people of these countries are forced to fight them and liberate their economies from the growing burdens of the crisis of the capitalist economy.

The desire of the backward countries to advance their economies, the rise of industry in these countries, leads to resistance on their part to accept the burdens of the capitalist crisis. There is growing resistance to the loot through monopoly profits in these countries and the imperialists find themselves face to face with opposition from the entire people. It is no longer easy for the imperialists to solve their crisis at the expense of the former colonies. The "aid" to these countries from the socialist world strengthens their resistance. All this intensifies and prolongs the crisis of the capitalist economy.

The existence of the socialist camp with its powerful rapid economic growth constitutes a major factor in the growth and accentuation of the crisis of the capitalist economy. Socialism has spread beyond the boundaries of a single country and comprises one-third of the world. This itself was a powerful

blow to the capitalist system contributing to its permanent instability. The emergence of the socialist world has taken one-third of the world out of the orbit of capitalist exploitation thereby tremendously intensifying the inner contradictions of capitalism and its struggle for markets.

Today the world capitalist economic system is confronted with backward countries. The economic activities of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp on a global scale, the numerous trade pacts and trade deals they offer, and their direct help to build new industries in the backward countries sharpen the economic competition between the two camps, obstruct the imperialist attempts to dominate the markets and economies of backward countries, and thereby prolong and intensify the crisis of capitalist economy. The activities of the socialist camp offer a big obstacle to the imperialist attempts to solve the crisis at the expense of the underdeveloped nations though the actual results of the activities of the socialist camp depend to what extent the Governments of the backward countries pursue progressive, anti-imperialist policies. These activities of the socialist camp add to the intensity of the rivalry among the imperialist powers themselves.

The Socialist Camp

The steady progress of the socialist camp stands out in sharp contrast to the crisis of the capitalist society. Notwithstanding the material incentive schemes and other erroneous policies, and other revisionist economic policies which create danger to the socialist states as in Czechoslovakia, the socialist countries show continuous progress.

The socialist countries contribute about two-fifths of the world industrial output. In the immediate future, judging by the economic growth rates of various groups of countries, the share of socialist production is bound to rise further. It is estimated that the socialist countries will be leading in this sphere by the end of 1970.

The share of the countries of the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance—which does not include People's China, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba—constitute one-third of the total industrial production. Their share is more than twice that of the Common Market countries, some of the economically most developed states. Per capita industrial output in the CMEA countries is more than three times the average world figure.

The following table illustrates the rapid rates of industrial growth in these countries:

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF CMEA COUNTRIES				
(per cent)				
	Average annual growth rates 1961-65	Average annual growth rates 1966-70 (plan)	1966	1967
Bulgaria	11.7	11.2	12.0	13.4
Czechoslovakia	5.2	5.1-5.4	7.2	7.1
German Democratic Republic	6.0	6.5-7.0	6.1	6.8
Hungary	7.5	5.0-6.0	6.6	9.1
Poland	8.5	7.5	7.3	7.5
Mongolia	10.5	11.2-12.5	7.2	7.7
Romania	13.8	10.6-11.6	11.0	13.5
U.S.S.R.	8.6	8.9	8.6	10.0

“Between 1950 and 1968, the overall national income of CMEA countries has increased, according to the preliminary data for 1968, by more than four times; the gross industrial output of these countries in the same period grew by 5.9 times, including a growth of 9.8 times in Bulgaria, 4.7 times in Hungary, 4.7 times in the GDR, 6.1 times in Mongolia, 6.4 times in Poland, 9.1 times in Romania, 5.9 times in the USSR and 4.4 times in Czechoslovakia.” (*Communique* of the 22nd Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, January 1969.)

In 1968, industrial production in the USSR increased by 8.1 per cent. The output of power industry increased by 9 per cent, chemical and petro-chemical by 12 per cent, machine-building and metal-working by 12 per cent, light industry by 9 per cent and food industry by 5 per cent.

Yearly average for cereals production for 1961-65 was 130.3 million tons; it was 171.2 million in 1966, 147.9 in 1967 and 169.2 in 1968. Raw cotton increased from an average of 5 million tons in 1960-65 to 6 million tons in 1968; and sugar-beet for refineries from 59.2 million tons (1961-65 average) to 93.6 million in 1968.

The Soviet Union in recent years has registered tremendous scientific and technological advance. It has retained its initiative and lead in the conquest of space, in the development of space science and since the putting into the orbit of the first Sputnik it has piled up one victory after another outdistancing the USA in the race for outer space. Its latest feat of bringing back the Zond-5 after its trip near the moon has again asserted her complete superiority over the USA.

Equally breath-taking has been the progress of the People's Republic of China and it is all the more spectacular since it is being registered under unusually difficult and trying circumstances. Despite inheriting an economy even more backward than that of pre-independence India, with one-fourth of the world's population to feed, clothe and house, with the imperialist trade boycott and the Soviet revisionist refusal to give promised fraternal assistance, People's China has forged ahead, built its socialist industry, its agriculture and science in an amazingly short period. By 1965 its steel production had exceeded 20 million tons. Coal output reached 425 million tons a few years back and has now exceeded the 500 million mark. Oil production exceeds 15 million tons and foodgrains is 190 million tons; oil seeds production 20 million tons. Its production in light industry, clothing, paper and sugar is three times that in 1957. The full import of this advance will be clear if we remember that twenty years ago,

the Chinese economy was backward compared with the Indian economy. Today, China's food production is more than double that of India and her steel production is nearly four times that of her neighbour.

China's advance in science and industry has amazed all. A number of brilliant victories have been scored in different branches, medicine, surgery, biology, physics and chemistry. Its major breakthrough in nuclear science was registered in the last quarter of 1964, and it is now on the threshold of experimenting its IRBMs and this all-round progress is sending shivers down the spine of its enemies all over the world.

Not only the Soviet Union and People's China but all the socialist states have registered outstanding victories in the economic and social spheres, notwithstanding the different degrees of tempo and speed depending on a number of circumstances and several other different problems of their own which they have to tackle and resolve.

In the midst of war and destruction, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has secured great achievements. From 1955 to 1965, industrial production increased by 22 per cent every year and agricultural production by 4.5 per cent; the share of industrial and handicraft production in the nation's economy rose from 17 to 53 per cent.

Socialist Cuba, too, facing constant threats from the U.S. imperialists and the worst embargo imposed by them, has registered tremendous progress and has been able to fix impressive targets for the Year of Decisive Endeavour (1969-70). The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has registered big advances. In Albania, the Fourth Plan is being successfully implemented.

During the period from 1958 to 1966, the average annual increase in industrial production in Bulgaria was 13.7 per cent, in Hungary 8.3 per cent, in the GDR 6.8 per cent, in Poland 8.8 per cent, in Romania 13.6 per cent and in Czechoslovakia 7.1 per cent. During the same period in the capitalist world, the Federal Republic of Germany showed a rate of 6.1 per cent, France of 5.2 per cent and Britain of only 3.6

per cent. Growth between 1965-68 was 42 per cent for Bulgaria, 23 per cent for Hungary, 20 per cent for the GDR, 23 per cent for Mongolia, 26 per cent for Poland, 40 per cent for Rumania, 29 per cent for the USSR and 23 per cent for Czechoslovakia.

In 1966-67, as compared with the five-year period of 1961-65, national income grew in Bulgaria by 11 per cent, in Hungary 8.4 per cent, in the GDR 4.4 per cent, in Poland 6.5 per cent, in Romania 9.8 per cent, in the USSR 7.5 per cent, in Mongolia 3.5 per cent, in Czechoslovakia 10 per cent. During the same period in the capitalist world, the increase in the USA was 5.5 per cent, in Britain 1.5 per cent, in FRG 2.4 per cent, France 5.0, in Italy 5.5 per cent. In 1968, aggregate national income was greater than in 1965 by 29 per cent for Bulgaria, 24 per cent for Hungary, 17 per cent for the GDR, 29 per cent for Mongolia, 19 per cent for Poland, 26 per cent for Romania, 24 per cent for the USSR, and 26 per cent for Czechoslovakia.

The rapid progress of the socialist states asserts the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The triumphs of the socialist system would have been still more outstanding if disunity had not undermined the fraternal relations between the constituent countries and hampered their mutual trade and further economic development.

It is because of this disunity that the volume of Soviet-Chinese trade has shrunk by 90 per cent since 1959 and has now dwindled to a negligible size.

Our Party has criticized the wrong conception of division of labour on which the relations between the countries belonging to the CMEA are based. In the present context such wrong notions may actually lead to freezing of unequal conditions as between advanced and less advanced socialist countries. The correct notion of socialist division of labour thus gets distorted in practice, leading to big-nation domination.

The present disunity in the socialist camp, its incapacity to act in unison in face of the attack of the enemy, and to deal with the conditions created by the capitalist crisis, hamper

its development and undermine its capacity to act as the base of the developing world revolution.

Despite the present differences, the socialist system has proved its superiority over the capitalist system. It has displayed to the world that it can get rid of crisis, unemployment, poverty and exploitation. The socialist relations of production constitute the only guarantee of all-round progress of humanity.

New Features in International Situation

The period that has elapsed between the Seventh Congress of our Party and the present Eighth Congress, vividly confirms the correct class analysis of the world made in the two documents of the international communist movement, namely, the Declaration of 1957 and the Eightyone Parties' Statement of 1960, at Moscow. The sharp division of the world into socialist and imperialist camps, the altered balance of class forces in favour of the socialist camp, the crisis of imperialism and its colonial system, the four fundamental contradictions around which the entire struggle in our era is centered, the chief characteristic of our times defined as the transition to socialism and the collapse of capitalism on a world scale, the emergence of U.S. imperialism as the most aggressive enemy of peace and mankind and acting as the world gendarme, and the shifting of the world balance of forces increasingly in favour of peace, democracy and socialism, etc.,—all this analysis is amply borne out as the correct Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of the new epoch, through which we are passing.

The Global Fiasco of Imperialism

The revisionists have been complacently assuring the world that imperialism has been rendered harmless and that its final elimination can be achieved through peaceful negotiations and co-existence. This outlook only emasculates the revolutionary movement by dulling its vigilance and belittling the need for a grim struggle against imperialism.

Equally erroneous is the outlook which for all practical purposes liquidates the existence of the socialist camp, the powerful base of world revolution. Objectively it only helps in disorganising the forces of revolution and under-estimating the need for a united struggle against the common enemy.

The fact is that the shift of the balance of forces in the world, the shift in favour of the socialist camp, of the liberation movements and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, remains and, despite the blunders, errors of some of the leaders of the socialist camp and of the major Communist Parties of the world, the forces of socialism, freedom, peace and democracy are able to counter the imperialist attacks and inflict reverses on the U.S. imperialists. While the danger from imperialism should not be underestimated, the strength of the revolutionary forces and the superiority of the socialist camp should not also be underestimated.

The American fiasco in the war of aggression against Vietnam is the most outstanding development of the recent period, putting in proper perspective the strength of the forces of socialism, of the national liberation movement. Half a million U.S. troops are bogged down in Vietnam and though helped by another million troops from the satellite countries and the mercenaries of the puppet South Vietnam Government, its vaunted might has been humbled and its global ambitions turned into a fiasco. There is no parallel in world history to this struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam and it shows how mighty are the present-day forces of liberation and socialism when they are correctly guided by the unerring light of Marxism-Leninism. To Ho Chi Minh, to the Workers' Party of Vietnam, to the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam, goes the credit of achieving a turning point in present-day history by inflicting defeat after defeat on the U.S. army. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, the series of defeats inflicted on the U.S. aggressors and the rising indignation in the world and among the people

of the USA forced Lyndon Johnson to open talks and negotiate. This was a signal triumph for the Vietnamese fighters and a big defeat for the USA.

Comrades, let us all rise and pay our tribute to the Workers' Party of Vietnam, to the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to the fighting men and women of Vietnam, and to the great leader, Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

The military defeats of the USA in Vietnam have produced worldwide reactions. It has now become clear that this big power can never win this war. This has caused deep cracks within the imperialist system of pacts.

Brave Vietnam has demonstrated that imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger. The peoples and Governments of those states which belong to NATO, SEATO and other imperialist pacts could not remain unaffected.

The dangerous character of the U.S. war escalation is being seen by the USA's NATO partners and France expressed itself strongly against American adventures in Vietnam and the Israeli aggression against UAR and other Arab countries. France withdrew from the integrated NATO military command and asked its headquarters to be shifted elsewhere. Small countries like Denmark and Norway are offering resistance to the stationing of NATO rocket weapons on their territories. At the end of 1966 (December) Couve deMurville, French Foreign Minister, stated at the NATO General Session, "Maintenance of tension corresponds to the assumption that by military strength the West can force the Soviet Union to adopt the western point of view. France does not agree with such an idea. That is why she is pursuing the policy of easing tension between East and West and began developing relations with the USSR." Attempts to create a NATO multilateral nuclear force aggravated the NATO crisis and led to deadlock. The aggressive U.S. war in Vietnam accelerated the crisis. The majority of the West European states did not approve of the U.S. adventure because they feared that a widening of the aggression would involve NATO members in a military conflict against their will. No European

Government dares send its troops openly to help the Americans in Vietnam and they have to rely on their close satellites for supplies of cannon-fodder.

The other war alliances have met with the same fiasco. Turkey and Iran who are members of the U.S. military blocs of NATO and CENTO refused to send troops to Vietnam despite continued pressure. The Pentagon and Washington are irritated that SEATO has failed to fulfil the assigned role. Even among countries which largely depend on the dollar, the number of those who are prepared to pull the American chestnuts out of the fire is decreasing. Pakistan, a member of SEATO and one of the largest states of Asia, has not only refused formal support to the U.S. Vietnam policy, but has also condemned it.

“The U.S. attempt to contain People’s China”, “cut off all trade relations with it”, and “encircle it by every means, economic, political and military” has also met with the same fiasco. One after another Britain and France, West Germany, Japan and Italy devised ways and means to develop trade relations with People’s China, bypassing and leaving the U.S. monopolists to look on helplessly. Now many in the U.S. monopolist circles often ask, “why not we too have our trade with People’s China”.

The victories of the people of Vietnam have undermined U.S. prestige and it has reached an all-time low. It has shaken the imperialist alliances and pacts and undermined the allies’ faith in American leadership. Above all, it has given a new inspiration to the liberation struggles all over the world.

The Sharpening of Contradictions

The last four years have seen a further tremendous accentuation of all the contradictions of the present era. In the Party’s *Ideological Resolution* it was stated that while the central contradiction of our time is that between imperialism and the camp of socialism, the contradictions between imperialism and the national liberation movement, “between the oppressor states and oppressed countries, at this stage of

development of world history, has become the focal point of all contradictions of our times". At the same time all other contradictions of the era were accentuated.

The last four years have demonstrated that while the central contradiction is getting sharper, while the national liberation struggle continues to be in the forefront of the world contradictions, there is an accentuation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the developed countries and also of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and between the monopoly groups. All this has intensified the revolutionary resistance and makes it difficult for the imperialist camp to impose its will on the people when they are properly guided by the tested revolutionary theory.

Aggravation of the Contradiction Between Imperialism and the National Liberation Struggle

In the preceding part itself it has been shown how the Vietnam struggle, which is an integral part of the resistance struggle against U.S. imperialist plans for global domination, has reached unheard-of intensity, inflicting defeats on the U.S. imperialists. Today it overshadows every other struggle. And yet the liberation struggles elsewhere also are rising sharply in their intensity and entering the stage of armed struggles in several countries.

Cuba, the revolutionary outpost in Latin America, is another monument to the invincibility of a united people fighting a big imperialist power. "The example of revolutionary Cuba, the heroic struggle of the Dominican people, students' unrest, the national liberation forces' activities and peasant demonstrations are proof of the Latin American people's intense desire to throw off the shackles of poverty, backwardness, latifundism and imperialist exploitation", declared the Secretariat of the Congress of Trade Union Unity of the Latin American Working People in May 1965. Since then the revolutionary movement despite setbacks, vacillations and revisionist betrayals and sectarian mistakes is forging

ahead. In Nicaragua, in Haiti, the people are confronted with the direct task of organising revolutionary resistance and going over to armed struggle. In Columbia, the present stage of guerrilla struggle is in its third year; the revolutionary armed action movement which has adopted tactics based on mobile guerrilla operations is an invincible movement capable of standing up to the far superior forces of the enemy. In Peru also the armed struggle of the guerrillas began in 1965; in Venezuela it continues. In face of the growing liberation movement the American imperialists with the help of their puppets have established naked military dictatorships in a number of countries.

Not all the repression by imperialism has succeeded in lessening the sweep of the national liberation movements. Practice has proved that the revisionists are underestimating the revolutionary potentialities of the movement. Simultaneously the national liberation struggles have demonstrated their unconquerable character in the last four years following the great struggle of the Vietnamese people.

“At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas of revolutionary tidal waves, areas where operate all the contradictions existing in the world; the weakest link of the world imperialist system. The urgent requirements of production and the earnest aspirations of the people in these areas call for national liberation and the emancipation of productive forces. The formation and development of the socialist camp, including former colonial countries, greatly inspire the oppressed peoples, the workers and peasants above all. They have risen up with an extraordinary revolutionary mettle, demanding not only national liberation, democratic reforms but also the emancipation of labour and the march towards socialism.”

Africa saw a number of reverses, betrayal by some old nationalist leaders and the harm done by reformist and revisionist illusions. Nevertheless, Africa is resisting and fighting back, sometimes by means of concerted actions by progressive African Governments aimed at strengthening the

independence attained, and at other times by means of revolutionary armed struggle. The latter method continues to give the anti-colonial anti-neo-colonialist struggles an authoritative basis. The decisions adopted by the revolutionary organisations to go into the interior of the country to step up the process of armed struggle, the growing volume and magnitude of guerrilla actions in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, Angola and Mozambique and the advances secured by the guerrillas are shaking the foundations of Portuguese colonialism. The armed revolutionary struggle waged by the Congo (Kinshasa) fighters, and the increase of guerrilla operations elsewhere, rouse many more to join the fight for national liberation. This has encouraged the resumption of armed revolutionary actions in Zimbabwe aimed at the very heart of South Africa and its sphere of influence. While the imperialist camp openly supports the racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the people of these states have entered a period of revolutionary struggle with the help and support of the other African peoples and the democratic forces of the world. In Nigeria, the attempts of the American, British, and West German imperialists to put this land so rich in raw materials back under colonial rule are meeting with strong resistance.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Japanese monopolists to carry on their treacherous compromise with the USA, a wave of anti-U.S. anger is sweeping Japan. The mass movement against U.S. imperialism launched by Japanese workers, students and people from other social strata is gaining greater momentum each day. The tidal wave of the anti-U.S. struggle is moving ahead powerfully from Japan proper to Okinawa which is under occupation by U.S. troops. The mass struggle which has broken out time and again in various parts of Japan is spearheaded mainly against U.S. military bases in Japan and the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty".

The American provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic have been beaten back by the people of Korea led by the Korean Workers' Party. The "Pueblo"

affair has boomeranged on the U.S. imperialists and ended in their discomfiture. The liberation struggle against U.S. domination in South Korea and against the puppet regime forges ahead despite the unspeakable barbarities of the imperialists. The liberation struggle in Laos against armed intervention is scoring new victories. The U.S. conspiracies in Cambodia have been rebuffed. The great struggle of the people of Vietnam sets the pace and inspires the liberation fighters the world over. Everyone is realising the truth that U.S. imperialism cannot stand another Vietnam—it must perish before the common onslaught of the liberation struggles and the world working class movement led by the socialist camp.

In the Arab world, the Israeli aggression continues but the Mediterranean is no longer an American lake. The final defeat of the Israeli aggressors depends on the internal strengthening of the Arab world, on the strengthening of the democratic and working class forces in each country, freedom for the party of the working class and the help they get from the world working class movement and the socialist camp. Despite all difficulties of the present period, the Palestine guerrillas continue their armed fight giving no peace to the Israeli aggressors, the stooge of American imperialism.

Bourgeoisie Vs. Proletariat

But simultaneously with this contradiction there has been rapid development of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the capitalist countries. So far as the USA is concerned, the monstrous defence expenditure which reached 72,500 million dollars this year, with the expenditure on Vietnam war alone costing 30,000 million dollars, the terrible burdens on the working class cast by the rapid militarisation of the economy and the super-profits of the monopolies have been directly responsible for the accentuation of this contradiction. The anger of the American people is roused by the brutalities of the Vietnam war, by the draft for military service, by the burdens of the war. There is a mighty wave of sympathy for the Vietnam

fighters and there is readiness to face American prisons rather than join the band of mercenary murderers of the Vietnam people. Students, intellectuals, professors, teachers, all have led mighty protest demonstrations and a large number of them have refused to accept draft cards for military service. The anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in the USA constitute a powerful anti-imperialist force in the metropolitan state and announce the growing isolation of the U.S. monopolists in their own country. They announce that the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists and the working class is sharpening.

Last year the number of strikers in the USA rose to 2.9 million, the greatest number in 15 years, entailing a loss of 41 million working hours. A seven-week strike was carried out by 160,000 workers, employees and engineers of the Ford factory; a three-month strike was led by 35,000 rubber workers; a two-month strike by 20,000 steel workers and a three-week strike by 50,000 teachers in New York. In 1968, the strike of copper workers went on for nearly eight months. The growth of the strike movement points to the mounting militancy of the workers. Lyndon Johnson's appeals to the labour movement for restraints on wages and sacrifice for the war effort are as unpopular as the military draft in the colleges.

And dominating all this is the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the USA, a struggle which has opened a second front against the U.S. imperialist in America itself. The massacres in Vietnam are now being accompanied by the bloody repression of Negro toilers, American citizens.

In the first seven months of 1968, more than 130 battles took place between the fighting Negroes and the forces of the oppressing Government. The end of July and the beginning of August were marked by fresh outbursts. At Cleveland, the battling Negroes turned their dwelling houses into pockets of resistance and kept up fire at the punitive detachments of the Government. Armoured cars were used by the American white authorities against the anti-racial fighters; the city was

virtually placed under a martial law, exposing the utterly hypocritical character of American democracy. But the monstrous measures of repression could not quench the fire for freedom and equality kindled among the Negroes. Militant resistance broke out in the Negro ghettos in Detroit, Seattle, Pittsburg, Chicago and several other cities.

The revolutionary emancipatory movement of the Negroes can no longer be deluded by sham concessions or bourgeois reforms. It continues to march from one resistance battle to another despite the most brutal repression that the American racists can unleash.

The strike wave had started rising throughout the capitalist world since 1965. In that year the number of strikers in the industrial countries of the West approached the 20 million mark, climbing to 28 million the following year. For the capitalist world as a whole the respective figures were 37 million and 45 million, the upward trend continuing in 1967. Last year labour conflicts in Italy caused a loss of 100 million man-hours and in France of 4 million man-days as compared with 2.5 million the year before. Britain saw not less than 1500 strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers. The "spring offensive" in Japan in which workers of different industries struck jointly, involved 7.5 million strikers as against 7 million in 1966.

No doubt the strikes were mainly the result of the high cost regulations in the interest of the monopolists; no doubt the monopolists accepted some of the economic demands but even at the level of economic resistance, they revealed rising intensity of class conflicts.

The intensity of the economic struggle was seen in the fact that the 1967 struggles showed a trend towards concerted action of all industrial workers in defence of common demands. The three general actions in France in 1967, the spring offensive in Japan and the mass strikes in Italy demonstrated this trend.

At the same time it is true that by 1967 itself the working class actions were leaving the framework of economic demands

and raising general political demands. *Some of the strikes in* Italy, France, Britain, Japan and the Latin American countries raised demands that were political as well as economic. In Japan large sections of the working class participated in the struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" of domination, against the use of Japanese soil for aggression against Vietnam. In mid-1968, the railway workers compelled the authorities to stop the speeding of oil supplies for American jets and won a big victory. Three lakh and forty thousand workers resorted to work-to-rule tactics which resulted in a slow-down and compelled the authorities to accede to the demand.

Even in fascist Spain where the working class movement is illegal, a powerful strike wave rolled in April 1967 involving thousands of workers with demands against the Franco regime. On October 27, again, there were widespread strikes and demonstrations against the Franco regime.

In November and December this year Italy again saw a huge strike wave with workers occupying factories and enterprises to fight dismissals and victimisation by employers and police. On November 14, 1968, more than 12 million workers took part in a strike called by Italy's three leading trade union federations.

Again on December 5, Rome and the surrounding provinces were paralysed by a strike in which more than 1.5 million workers participated. The strike was over wage claims and came in the wake of the bitter protest struggle against the death of two Sicilian demonstrators in police firing.

The great strike of November brought forth the resignation of the Government and the continuing strike wave is leading to important political developments.

The great mass strikes in Western Europe united the workers and employees with technicians, engineers, research workers, physicians, teachers, students, professors, and even state employees. No country in the capitalist world seems to be escaping the new struggle. The strike wave extended from Europe to Japan and Latin America. Mass strikes are also flaring up in those countries in which the organisations of

the working class are illegal or semilegal—Spain, Argentina, Peru, Columbia and Panama.

The rising strikes in Western Europe once more showed the utter bankruptcy of the monopoly combination called the European Common Market knocked together by de Gaulle. The intense exploitation of the monopolist combines roused the working class of all the Western European countries.

Despite treachery by the reformists and revisionists, the strikes and students' protests assumed unheard-of political dimensions. In France, following the students' revolt, and barricade fighting, the working class went into a general strike—ten million of them occupying factories for three weeks. The civil servants of the Government including sections of the police joined them. The television staff and others threw in their lot with the workers. The peasants started fraternising with them. The regular army itself was considered to be unreliable and de Gaulle sought the help of the reactionary generals and mercenary troops. The workers on their part raised the slogan of a change in the Government and refused to be tempted by petty economic concessions. Never in recent years did the working class of a big capitalist country reach that revolutionary stage of resistance. But the revisionist leaders, the sponsors of the peaceful parliamentary path, misled the workers into an election fight and sabotaged the revolutionary struggle.

The mighty and historic struggle of the French proletariat showed the extreme aggravation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It gave the lie to the revisionist theory about the peaceful path; it has also disproved the concept that metropolitan areas will have to be surrounded by the world rural areas and that the proletariat in advanced countries has to play only a passive role.

Students' Struggles

One of the most outstanding events of the past year-and-a-half in the capitalist world is the widespread students' struggles and risings extending from Europe, the USA to Mexico and

other Latin American countries. Never before was there such a big and huge upsurge of university students in the advanced capitalist countries. India is very familiar with mighty student movements in which the Congress uses brutal police methods to suppress the young undergraduates and graduates. All these years the student movement was specifically associated with the national liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But the years 1967 and 1968 witnessed throughout the advanced capitalist world a mighty wave of student protests and actions in which the young students occupied universities, raised barricades and replied to the monopolist state violence by violence. The revolutionary significance of these student risings lies in the fact that they announced the growing disillusionment of this important detachment with the capitalist world, and their willingness to join in revolutionary resistance to the rule of the monopolists. They showed the depth and intensity of the contradictions between the monopolists who control the state and this section of the population which mostly comes from the non-proletarian strata.

These struggles arose out of the deep-seated economic and political discontent, frustration and anger generated by the rule of the monopolists, under the conditions of the growing crisis of the capitalist system. The prevailing economic recession gave an added impetus to these.

They often started with academic and cultural demands. The archaic character of university education, the lack of facilities, high tuition fees, the difficulties experienced by students coming from the proletarian and other poor families—all these often served as the starting point. But the struggle reached new heights in its course or from the beginning took a political character and often developed into a frontal protest against the entire capitalist system.

In the United States the struggle of university students for freedom and democracy in the campus had started in 1965 and these were followed by big agitations and sit-ins on the question of the Vietnam war. The struggle simultaneously

developed in many places into protests against the handling of research work by the universities for purposes of war under grants from the CIA. In recent months young men and women, white and coloured, have joined in demonstrations against the dirty war in Vietnam. Thousands of young Americans from the universities are taking part in the Negro people's struggles for civil rights, in demonstrations for freedom of speech and democracy. Many have refused to accept draft cards and braved barbarous sentences from the courts.

In West Germany and West Berlin, students demonstrated against the growth of neo-nazism, against chauvinistic and revenge-seeking propaganda spread by the Springer publishing concern, against the emergency legislation and police brutality.

In Italy, along with their specific demand, the young students raised slogans against American aggression in Vietnam. Italian students began paralysing universities with sit-ins and demonstrations for educational and social reforms long before the French explosion. The wave of students' struggles continued into December, the students joining hands with the striking workers. Thousands of students struck and demonstrated on December 5, when Rome's workers went on a protest strike for the day. University faculties in at least ten Italian towns and cities were occupied by students, demanding more power in running their courses and the right to assemble. In Naples and Florence, thousands of students joined in solidarity demonstrations with workers denouncing the police assassins. In fascist Spain, students joined hands with the working class on May Day and organized powerful anti-Franco demonstrations. In October, they again announced a programme of common struggle against the Franco regime, against American imperialism and for democracy. In December, students in Barcelona clashed with the police and tried to set up barricades. The historic fight of the French students, the occupation of the university for weeks, the barricades leading to the great general strike of the French working class sent shivers down the spine of the French monopolists

and General de Gaulle. And last but not least, the students of Mexico have written yet another glorious page by their prolonged fight against the repressive regime in support of their rights—for freedom and democracy.

In Japan also the student struggles have been mounting. The students of Japan have been playing a notable role in the fight against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty". There have been widespread actions in several universities for freedom in the campus, against the introduction of police in the campus, against acceptance of American money and grants, against corruption in the administration. In June, students of the University of Tokyo, the biggest state-run University in Japan, staged an all-campus strike in protest against the introduction of riot police into a campus earlier in the week. This was the first time in sixteen years that policemen entered the campus of the University of Tokyo. In October, again the students of the Tokyo University clashed with the police.

How is it that suddenly all the capitalist countries witnessed this phenomenon of student agitation and unrest. A considerable portion of the students come from middle class and petty-bourgeois families and find themselves in conflict with the present monopoly-dominated society. The capitalist society under the demands of the scientific and technical revolution is confronted with the task of developing higher education. That is why the number of university students in the advanced capitalist countries has been increasing by leaps and bounds. But at the same time state-monopoly capitalism cannot satisfy the aspirations of the newly trained intelligentsia whom it wants only to exploit, to use as its paid slaves in the process of production. The monstrous disparity between the promise of science and the reality of the capitalist world, the tearing to shreds of all claims to intellectual independence, the relations of complete dependence on the bosses—all create frustration and indignation. Simultaneously unemployment increases rapidly; all that the society offers them is the prospect of unemployment upon graduation, the impossibility of the finding a home when they get married,

the prospect of living in a society which sacrifices all social and cultural amenities to murderous atom bombs.

The students also see that the places of learning are turned into factories and barrack rooms for producing obedient slaves to serve the monopolists or their war machine. In the USA they have seen that most of the universities are financed by the CIA.

High tuition fees, hard living and academic conditions, the fact that many (as many as 44 per cent in France) have to work for their living to be able to carry on their studies—all these have often given the initial push to the movement.

The entire student movement is thus a terrific protest of the students—mostly coming from the middle and petty-bourgeois sections—against capitalist society itself, it is the direct result of the capitalist crisis, a sign that this section has now awakened and is refusing to bear the burdens of the capitalist crisis. It is a sign of the tremendous accentuation of the contradictions of the capitalist society.

It is inevitable that in this spontaneous movement against the ruinous results of state monopoly capitalism the movement may often show waywardness and be exploited by opportunist elements. This is bound to happen when the proletarian vanguard fails to play its leading role and inspire the non-proletarian strata with confidence and capacity to lead. It is not surprising that complaints about anarchist elements exploiting the situation arise in some countries of Western Europe when the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party give up the leading role of the working class.

Face to face with this movement whose serious impact can no longer be ignored, the monopolists are doing their best to keep it isolated from the working class movement. Their agents, exploiting the treacherous behaviour of the revisionists, are telling the students that the working class cannot lead them, that Marxism-Leninism is outdated and that they as intellectuals should lead the society. Those who only denounce the movement as anarchist, play the game of the big bourgeoisie.

At the same time it should be noted that the ruling classes, the CIA and other agencies also try to exploit the student discontent by deliberately misguiding it into adventurist and sectarian channels. Disruption by using left phrases when the masses are in a militant mood accompanied by slandering of the proletarian party is a favourite weapon of the imperialists and their agencies. It was used in the course of the students' struggles in Western Europe but it failed to impress the main mass of students.

The significance of the wave of student struggles can be understood only if we remember the following from Lenin: "Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* be able to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is. The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot be* anything other than an outburst of mass struggles on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation *mass struggle is impossible*, without it *no* revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital...*" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, page 356)

Contradictions Amongst Imperialist Powers Sharpen

The hegemonistic ambitions of U.S. imperialism, the ambition to dominate the capitalist world in order to secure global domination are now obstructed by the rapidly developing contradictions among imperialist powers. After 1960, exploiting its capital power and its advantage in the scientific technical field, U.S. monopoly capital launched a big offensive in Western Europe, Canada, Latin America, Japan, etc. In 1967, U.S. capital exports to Europe amounted to 17,500 million dollars of which 4,500 million dollars went to England, 3,400 million to West Germany and 2,800 million to France. The U.S. firms in Western Europe control 95

per cent of the market and the turnover in integrated cycles, 80 per cent of the manufacture of computers, 50 per cent of the fabrication of transistors, and 50 per cent of car manufacture. The U.S. monopolies control 40 per cent of automobile manufacture, 40 per cent of technical glass production and 35 per cent of the mineral oil production in West Germany.

In Japan, according to the political and theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Japan, after 1961 foreign investments made a spectacular rise. The previous annual average was 300 to 400 million dollars; now they are 500 to 600 million dollars. By the end of March 1968, the total foreign investments in Japan amounted to 5,596 million dollars. Of these, the United States accounted for nearly 70 per cent in stock (resulting in participation in management), about 64 per cent of outstanding loans and almost 60 per cent of technology inducted. The U.S. monopoly capital is trying hard to infiltrate and rule the fastest developing sections of industry—the sections that promise the highest rate of profit—which are described as “new emerging industries”, “growth industries”. Seventythree out of the top 200 American mining and manufacturing companies have subsidiaries, joint ventures or “capital participation” firms in Japan. And 41 of such companies belong to the eight big monopoly groupings of the U.S.

The American monopolies, in search of profits and faced by a shrinking internal market, have been intensely pressurizing Japan to admit American goods without restriction into the Japanese markets. In recent months, the auto corporations in particular have been active. Chrysler, Henry Ford and General Motors monopolies have been making desperate efforts to capture the growing auto market in Japan, and the U.S. Government is exerting pressure in this direction. The U.S. Government demands a definite date for the liberalisation of imports of auto engines and other auto parts and of capital for auto production. The Japanese Government is hedging and it has made a proposal to increase the import of auto engine parts from the present 1000 units a year to 70,000 units in 1971.

At the same time exports of certain industries like steel and textiles are so much dependent on the American market that the monopolists in these industries are pressing the Government to concede to American pressure lest the U.S. Government retaliate by putting curbs on the entry of Japanese goods.

In Italy also foreign investments in industry run to the huge total of 2150 million dollars of which 46 cent is accounted for by U.S. capital.

Huge exports of American capital to advanced countries, the capture of industries requiring the most modern know-how are a specific feature of the present situation. It is to be noted that capital exports to Europe in 1967 alone exceeded American investments in Latin America, the main theatre of direct American colonial exploitation.

This feature sharpens the contradictions between the monopolists of different countries, the conflict of economic interests between the USA and the other imperialist countries. It introduces a contradiction in the U.S. policy of global domination. In pursuit of its objectives, the USA seeks to rely on the help especially of the West German and Japanese monopolists; and yet it comes directly into conflict with their economic interests, by its invasion of their home market.

Now the conflict is intense and is seen in a furious struggle for the world market, a furious attempt to invade each other's home preserves and new combinations for trade and economy, combinations of rival trade groups to create spheres of influence—an attempt to divide the world for purposes of trade.

This is seen in the intense competition between the USA and others, in the first place France, for the West European market. It is also seen in the conflict between Japan and the USA and the pressure of the latter to get free access to the Japanese market. It is demonstrated in the penetration of the U.S. market by West Germany and Japan and further seen in the desperate efforts of Britain to get into the Common Market to have access to the six West European countries.

The growing contradiction between French and U.S. interests can be seen from the following statement of a French official: the threat of "dollar colonisation hanging over France, and, you might say, over the whole of Europe, is a real one, and it does not come from the East." In the last few years the clash of interests between France and the USA on the world market has so much increased, that the former finds its basic economic and foreign trade position threatened. It was therefore inevitable that the French monopolists should turn first to the protection of the home market and then to their export market—the market of the West European Six. Here again the French monopolists are divided, one section of the French bourgeoisie closely connected with U.S. capital seeking more cooperation with the U.S. partners within the framework of European and Atlantic integration.

The European Common Market represented the reply of France to U.S. dreams of complete economic domination of Europe. Since its formation the USA has been attempting to blow it up from within and of late with the help of Britain who for its own purposes wanted an entry into the market. Its bloc of seven European Free Trade Association countries did not provide it with an alternative to the West European market of the six countries.

The need of every rival is very intense. The USA wants to expand its market and the export of capital to Europe. Britain whose sheltered markets had shrunk rapidly with the disintegration of the Commonwealth, who had lost economic control over Canada, Australia and New Zealand to the USA was in urgent need of West European markets, especially in view of its balance of payments difficulties.

The sharpening of contradictions, of the economic rivalries for markets is seen in the counter-measures that each adopts against the other despite talk about liberalization of trade and lowering and abolition of tariffs. The United States, threatened with a diminishing trade balance and growing competition from Western European countries, especially from West Germany in its domestic market, threatened this year

to take protective measures, to force the Western European Common Market countries to agree to an early implementation of the "Kennedy round of talks".

Inside the Common Market also the struggle for markets is bursting out with the abolition of tariffs, placing the more organized and developed monopolist sections in a favourable position to fight their other monopolist rivals.

The French monopolists who are weaker in competition in relation to the West German monopolists and who had hitherto protected themselves by high tariff walls, find themselves threatened with the abolition of tariffs and a new struggle has started in the Common Market itself.

While the French monopolists had to agree to the abolition of tariffs to maintain their economic and political position in Europe, the upsurge of the French working class resulting in wage and other concessions, has further impaired the competitive capacity of the French monopolist industry in the Common Market. To meet this situation the French monopolists undertook measures to restrict their imports and promote French exports, and decided to introduce a system of import quotas for several commodities. This led to loud protests from their rivals in international trade, both Britain and the USA threatening counter-measures.

The intensity of the conflict for markets is such that the USA is facing competition from West Germany and Japan in her own market. That is why she is applying more and more pressure against her partners to get easy access to their home markets. For months this year the American monopolists have been pressurising the Japanese for liberalization of imports of auto engines and other parts and of auto capital and to fix a date for the introduction of such liberalisation. The pressure has been so intense that some Japanese journals have described it as "transition from cooperation to confrontation in Japan-U.S. relations".

The Japanese Government has refused to fix any date for general liberalization though it made a counter-proposal to increase the import of auto-engine parts from the USA from

1000 units to 30,000 units in 1969 and 70,000 units in 1971.

The Kennedy round of negotiations showed that the USA, shedding its dreams of absolute control over the capitalist world, was prepared to have spheres of interest within the capitalist world market between itself and the Common Market. Besides, America's global dreams and her military adventures in Vietnam in pursuance of them led to a huge deficit in trade balance of payments every year. In 1967 alone it amounted to 3500 million dollars. Its gold reserves reached 10,300 million dollars, the lowest limit in 32 years. The domination of monopolies, the militarisation of the economy and the huge war expenditure followed by balance of payments deficit forced the USA to seek aid from its junior allies in one form or another.

The sharpened conflict was also seen in the struggle over currency. The French have been demanding a world monetary reform, for dethroning the dollar and sterling from the status of reserve currencies—a status which facilitates American export of capital and domination of the international market. The status of the dollar and sterling reflected the financial hegemony of these two powers. At the same time it enabled them to consolidate this hegemony. Feeling the pinch of competition, France, having secured itself behind the European Common Market, started challenging the power of the USA. It demanded devaluation of the dollar stating correctly that it was overvalued. Possessing a sufficient stock of gold it demanded return to the gold standard or raising the price of gold both of which would have devalued the dollar, ended its status as a reserve currency and enabled France to forge ahead.

The currency conflict is one of the sharpest forms of economic conflicts among imperialist powers and it has started.

The devaluation of the sterling, with the consequent gold rush which threatened the dollar also, gave further occasion to de Gaulle to attack both.

De Gaulle in his speech attacked the supremacy of the dollar and said dollar inflation had been exported to Europe.

He said that the deficit in U.S. balance of payments for the past eight years corresponded to American investments in Western Europe.

On November 30, 1967, France and the USA clashed openly at the Ministerial Conference for Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development over the international monetary system and the price of gold. The French Finance Minister, Michael Debre, said that the present international monetary system based on the dollar and sterling as reserve currencies was holding back world economic development. This "disorder system" allowed the USA and Britain to run massive debts on easy terms, unavailable to other non-reserve currency nations.

The American demands on her partners are increasing. Faced with growing balance of payments deficits, Washington has been demanding that others should share her burden of policing the world. She has been insisting that West Germany which has become prosperous because of American help should share the expenditure of American military forces on her soil. She has also been asking her partners to spare more for capital exports to under-developed countries and that, too, under American auspices in competition with the help given by the socialist world.

The conflict has reached the sphere of foreign policy leading to the undermining of political and military pacts and sharpening the contradictions among imperialist powers. Again France shows how the neatly prepared plans of American imperialism—the plan to form a permanent united front of the imperialist powers against the socialist camp,—are disintegrating. The strength of the socialist camp, its military preparedness, its economic strength and the opportunities of profitable exchange of goods it offers—all act as a disintegrating force undermining the imperialist pacts already under pressure from the growing economic conflict among the capitalist nations.

France realised that NATO was an American instrument of domination; that it created risks of military conflict with

the powerful USSR; and that it demanded a growing erosion of French sovereignty and subordination to American will and policy.

In 1966, France formally withdrew from the NATO's military organisation and asked that NATO forces evacuate her territory. This was a big blow to the NATO alliance, and underlined the developing tensions inside the imperialist camp.

It is known that the USA failed to mobilize her NATO allies military for helping her in the Vietnam war.

Further, both on the question of Israeli aggression and the Vietnam war France expressed its strong disapproval of the USA. De Gaulle said that Israel had become a "warlike state determined to expand." Therefore the Gaullist Fifth Republic has withdrawn from the special and very close relations which the previous French Government had established with Israel. He did not add that this was done because Israel had become the stooge of American imperialism whose strength French imperialists sought to curb. He further said that a solution of the West Asia crisis must include the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied territories, a solution unacceptable to the British and American imperialists. And to leave nothing unsaid, he added with reference to the Vietnam war, "It is difficult to see how any kind of arrangement can be made (between Israel and the Arab world) as long as one of the big powers has not extricated itself from the odious war it is waging elsewhere. Without the Vietnam war, the Israel-Arab conflict would not have been what it has become."

The intensity of the conflict between France and the USA is also due to strong suspicions about West Germany and the USA's open preference for the latter. The United States has been building a special alliance with West Germany to continue its political and military hegemony over Western Europe. The build-up of West Germany's military potential, the proposed atomic partnership between it and the latter, created suspicious about West German intentions and added to the contradictions.

In view of the dangerously developing military strength (of the West German monopolists) de Gaulle has taken of the West German monopolists, of his ally and has publicly proclaimed the recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier of Germany and established friendly relations with the Soviet Union. De Gaulle also keeps friendly relations with People's China.

France has organized the group of six as a means of resisting American domination. West Germany, however, stands by NATO while France withdrew from NATO and compelled NATO troops to leave her soil.

Stalin had correctly foreseen this process. As early as 1952, he had stated that these countries would soon endeavour "to tear loose from American bondage" and will be "compelled to break from the embrace of the USA and enter into conflicts with it in order to secure an independent position and of course, high profits".

The threatened collapse of the French franc in November this year once more brought into focus the acceleration of the contradictions and rivalries among the imperialist powers. It showed that during the period of the crisis among the rival powers alignments change quickly and are replaced by new ones—all betokening the sharpening of contradictions.

We have noted how France, while in rivalry with West Germany, continued to have her as an economic partner in the European Common Market and stood out against U.S. domination of Europe and opposed Britain's entry in the Common Market. We have also noted how the USA had developed closer ties with West Germany and how the USA and West Germany were interested in pushing Britain into the Common Market to end French domination over it. We have also noted how de Gaulle welcomed the run on the pound and the dollar hoping to free the French franc and world trade and world monetary system from the domination of the dollar and the pound. The November events turned the imperialist world topsy-turvy, with Britain and the USA

supporting de Gaulle and the franc and adopting an intimidatory tone towards West Germany for not toeing the line, for attempting to force devaluation on France and profit herself at the expense of France. One reason for this was of course the fear of the French proletariat which may have been driven to accept the capitalist challenge had the franc been devalued and wage-cuts been launched.

The fight for the parity of the franc was in reality a fight for the status of Paris as the de facto political capital of the Common Market. It was the sharpest expression of French-German rivalries, which were rapidly developing behind the screen of the Common Market. The economic and political power of the French Government had suffered a setback when France increased her bank rate to six per cent following the outflow of funds, so much so that the *Times*, London, came out with the observation: "The primacy of power in Western Europe has moved from Paris to Bonn."

And in fact the German monopolists and their ministerial representatives began to throw their weight about and pressurise France to devalue her currency. Germany's Finance Minister Strauss was the first to announce that the franc was likely to be devalued.

But the Germans had counted without the rivalries engendered by their surplus balance of payments, by their growing economic power. They counted without the threat of imbalance and political turmoil that would engulf France and Europe if the franc were devalued. Britain, whom West Germany was grooming as her new ally in the Common Market, joined with France to curb the German ambition to dominate Europe. They jointly pressurised Germany to revalue the mark and Wilson summoned the German Ambassador in London at midnight to administer a threat saying, either you revalue or we withdraw the Rhine army. The USA which was for some time watching the drama enjoying de Gaulle's plight, realised the dangers involved if Germany were allowed to play its game, and joined hands with Britain and France to demand revaluation of the mark.

The combination that emerged to arrest the crisis of the franc, revealed the rivals' fears of German economic domination over Europe. The West German monopolists, seeking to bypass the formal restrictions on their military power, are building themselves into a giant economic power dominating Europe. The undervalued mark is an instrument of securing this hegemony. Devaluation of the franc would have tremendously accelerated the process by paralysing the strength of France, the main rival of West Germany in the Common Market. That is why all the rival powers became concerned and demanded a revalued mark instead of a devalued franc.

As the *Commerce* (November 30, 1968) puts it :

"The currency crisis has brought to the surface the very developments which the establishment of the Common Market sought to bury. The long-standing Franco-German rivalry has now emerged as the principal problem of the Common Market. The Angle-German friction is now a new factor in the Atlantic Alliance. The United States seems to have realised the significance of these developments. The U.S. Secretary of Treasury, Mr. Henry Fowler, indirectly rebuked the irresponsible German Finance Minister, Mr. Strauss, when he said that questions such as whether or not France would devalue her currency were not the concern of a foreign government. These decisions, Mr. Fowler said, were the responsibility only of those who made them. Was this sudden American concern over German political supremacy responsible for President Johnson's surprising telegram to President de Gaulle wishing success to his no devaluation policy and, more importantly, pledging complete American cooperation? It is noteworthy that de Gaulle received Johnson's message before he took the historic decision not to devalue the franc."

It must be realised that the USA itself is plagued by the strength of the mark, the German surpluses, and seeks to pass some of her burdens to West Germany. Revaluation of the mark helps the process. Besides as we have noted, there is keen competition from West Germany in the American market.

Under the stress of their rivalries the imperialist countries align and realign among themselves. It will be wrong to interpret the recent developments as a permanent shift towards one or the other nations. They only show that the antagonism and contradictions among the imperialist powers are intensifying and leading to new temporary combinations.

Sharpening of Conflict between Socialism and Imperialism

The central contradiction of the entire present epoch, the contradiction between the world camp of socialism and imperialism, is further deepening and sharpening.

The U.S. imperialism, for a decade and more in the immediate post-war period, concentrated its main fire against the Soviet Union, and built military blocs and bases with the slogan of containment of the Soviet Union, 'liberation' of East European socialist states, trade boycott, etc. The U.S. imperialists, while talking about 'detente' in Europe and 'agreements' with the Soviet Union are now concentrating their fire against People's China, with the slogan of 'containment of China', depriving it of its rightful place in the U.N., and imposing on its allies ban on trade with China.

In Europe, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly arming the West German revanchists and fascists to use them as pawns for all the undermining activities in the East European socialist states, and are thus endangering security and peace in Europe, and the world. The Bonn Government refuses to recognise the borders of states settled by post-war agreements, and poses a direct threat to the very existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic. The imperialists are thus feverishly attempting to undo the gains of socialism secured through the military defeat of the fascist powers in the second world war.

In socialist Czechoslovakia, their conspiracies for a counter-revolution reached the point of near-success though it was foiled by the direct military intervention of the five Warsaw

Pact socialist states led by the Soviet Union, at the eleventh hour. Things, as they stand today, do not warrant any complacency since the forces of counter-revolution are still active. The Czech crisis reveals the new devious devices of imperialist aggression against the countries of the socialist camp. It also reveals how disastrous are the consequences of modern revisionism and how it undermines socialism.

Besides socialist North Vietnam being under direct attack by U.S. imperialism, the socialist Korean People's Democratic Republic is under constant threat of U.S. aggression. Concentrating a lakh of American armed personnel in South Korea, held under its puppet regime, the U.S. prevents by force the unification of the homeland of the Korean people and conspires with imperialist Japan to crush the Korean national liberation movement and to destroy the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

The Socialist Republic of Cuba, the lonely outpost of socialism in the far off American continent, is under constant U.S. threat and several of the U.S. stooges in the Latin American states openly and unashamedly talk of military invasion of Cuba.

The People's Republic of China, surrounded by numerous U.S. military, naval and air bases, with part of its territory, Taiwan, kept under U.S. occupation, has become the special target of imperialist conspiracies.

Thus we see all the contradictions of the present epoch are getting intensified. The contradiction between the camp of socialism and the imperialist camp is epitomised on the one hand in the brutal warfare against North Vietnam and on the other in the attempt to launch a direct assault on Czechoslovakia. The unprecedented sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movement is once more epitomised by the aggression against South Vietnam and North Vietnam, the developing armed struggles in other parts; it also forms an integral part of the intensification of the decisive struggles between socialism and imperialism. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the

proletariat of developed countries has now again emerged in a very sharp form and the conflicts between imperialist powers are also increasing with the development of the revolutionary struggles and intensifying all the other contradictions.

The forces representing socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy are rebuffing the imperialists and barring at each stage its attempts to turn back the wheels of history.

But at the same time one cannot ignore the dangerous development of the last four years—the widened split in the socialist camp and the division in the world communist movement which impair the capacity of the revolutionary forces to seize the initiative and lead a united battle against the moribund forces of imperialism. The continued American aggression in Vietnam, the disaster in Indonesia, the reverses in Egypt and the Arab world, the near-disaster in Czechoslovakia—these constitute some of the dire results flowing from the revisionist outlook, from the disarray of the socialist camp and of the world communist movement.

The Soviet leaders spread the poison of revisionism across the world, disrupted the unity of the socialist camp, emasculated the revolutionary consciousness of the Communist Parties and collaborated with American imperialism sowing illusions about peaceful competition and peaceful transformation. Their actions went to the extent of tearing up solemn agreements made with socialist China in order to enter into a partial test ban treaty with the USA. This policy led to the virtual betrayal, in the beginning, of North Vietnam when it was attacked by the USA. The revisionist leaders were compelled to change their policy in relation to Vietnam and render valuable military aid to it. The great harm done to the socialist camp and the world proletarian movement by this policy has been detailed in the Party's *Ideological Resolution* adopted by the Party Plenum held in Burdwan in April 1968.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China and the people of China solidly stood behind the Vietnamese struggle and rendered every help to North Vietnam. They performed

their revolutionary duty in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and helped the cause of revolution. But their opposition to entertain any proposal for joint action of the socialist camp for the defence of Vietnam is theoretically incorrect and only disorganizes the common fight against American imperialism. This failure to form a joint front to defend a member of the socialist camp is an extremely harmful development.

The disruption of the camp and the world communist movement was further seen in relation to Czechoslovakia—another socialist state attacked by imperialist subversion. Our Party which correctly analysed the rise of Czech revisionism and the subsequent events in Czechoslovakia which created a threat of counter-revolution, understood that in the given circumstances the Warsaw Pact intervention was the only way to prevent the success of imperialist conspiracies and counter-revolution. The leadership of the Communist Party of China, however, failed to see the danger of counter-revolution and described it as a mere quarrel between two imperialists, and compared it with Hitler's march into Sudetanland. The revisionist leaderships of the major parties of Europe also virtually opposed Soviet intervention and failed to see the imperialist danger. The Indian revisionists also toed the line.

This is how the camp that is declared to be the deciding factor in the history of social development is acting today. Its present disarray does not mean, however, that the relation between the basic forces, between imperialism and socialism, has undergone a change. It only means that because of wrong policies pursued by leaders of some big countries, the camp is not able to assert its full revolutionary strength and initiative, opening the door to dangerous possibilities.

Imperialist Camp Aggressive

The last four years have exposed the revisionist propaganda which circulated the myth about peaceful competition between

the two social systems as the main lever of social transformation. This outlook which virtually accepted imperialist pretences about peaceful intentions, which presented a picture as if imperialism was more or less dead, has been blown up. This erroneous outlook made Khrushchov go into demagogic descriptions of imperialism as "a button fastened on a coat" and "a wolf to encounter and render harmless easier." As the *Ideological Resolution* adopted by the Party Plenum states: "The fact that imperialism, despite its immense weakening on a world scale, remains a formidable force to be reckoned with, that monopoly capitalist rule continues to exist in almost all traditionally developed capitalist states of the world such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, that colossal and unheard-of militarisation of social life is taking place and the fact that imperialism is waging its desperate, last-ditch battles to escape its destined doom, is deliberately underplayed by them."

While the revisionists were singing praises to the peaceful era, the imperialists were launching aggression—open or covert, and have also been able to secure a few successes giving a setback to the forces of revolution—setbacks which could have been easily warded off had the socialist camp and the world communist movement not been disunited.

Thanks to this, U.S. imperialism still continues to wage its brutal war against Vietnam, against South and North Vietnam. There is no limit to its brutalities, savagery and mass killings. It has poured into Vietnam more than half a million troops; it has knocked together troops numbering tens of thousands of its satellites—South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Philippines, aided and supported by New Zealand and Australia; its hordes of bombers daily rain fire and murder on the people of Vietnam; it has dropped more bombs on Vietnam than the Anglo-Americans did on Hitler Germany during the course of four years of war; its latest bombers and weapons of mass destruction—napalm bombs, bacterial warfare, chemical gas warfare—all are at the disposal of the aggressors to carry on their campaign of extermination of

the Vietnamese people. And not satisfied with this, it massacres from the air the civilian population in cities still under the control of the puppet Government whenever it becomes restless.

Such vile misdeeds have very rarely been perpetrated in history. An attempt is being made to destroy a member of the socialist camp whose military might and strength was supposed to guard not only the security of the camp but the peace and freedom of the entire world.

The American aggressors have been able to carry on this aggression supremely confident that the united power of the socialist camp will not be thrown against it. On the contrary, representatives of the Soviet Union have been assuring the imperialists that American aggression against Vietnam need not come in the way of discussing and negotiating peace in the world; in the way of growing friendship between the USA and the Soviet Union.

The American imperialists have directed their fire against the national liberation movement in South Vietnam and following it North Vietnam has been their immediate victim. This of course is part of the plan of containment of China, of stifling the revolutionary movements in Asia before launching a final assault on the main seats of the socialist camp itself, from inside and outside. The dirty war in Vietnam is an integral part of the American policy of world domination, of first pushing itself as the supreme ruler of Asia, a policy enunciated in the name of filling the power vacuum in Asia. The global importance of the war in Vietnam is thus obvious.

There is no doubt that individual socialist countries have rendered valuable aid to the struggle in Vietnam; that the world movement has from time to time rallied the working class and people of different countries in support of the mighty struggle; that entire progressive humanity, people from all walks of life, in all countries, growingly support the cause of Vietnam and that the aggressors are getting isolated. All this however does not do away with the basic fact—the failure of the socialist camp to act together and

galvanise the entire world. Because of this, a cruel and heavy toll in blood and lives is being extracted by the Americans from the people of Vietnam, and the struggle gets prolonged.

While the aggression in Vietnam continues, the American imperialists and their lackeys have succeeded in organizing a counter-revolutionary coup in Indonesia where half a million communists and their supporters have been murdered and a fascist dictatorship has been established. One of the first measures this dictatorship took was to release the nationalised companies and concerns and hand them back to foreign exploiters. It is known that the coup in Indonesia was master-minded by the CIA and one of the biggest Communist Parties of the world was crushed.

It is now accepted in Indonesia, as well as outside, that both revisionist and Left-adventurist mistakes contributed to the success of the counter-revolutionary coup. American imperialism, though weakened and hemmed in from all sides, is still in a position to exploit the mistakes and weaknesses of the revolutionary movement and mount an offensive. The facile picture that it was dead, presented by the revisionists, has been blown up. Such illusions only throw the people off guard. The disastrous setback only shows how treacherous the policy of revisionism is and how costly Left-sectarianism proves, converting a favourable situation into a big disaster.

There have been reverses in Latin America also. In Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia, the reactionaries backed by the American imperialists temporarily succeeded in striking frontal blows at the revolutionary and democratic movement. In some others, reformists and revisionists succeeded in undermining the revolutionary movement. When in April 1965 the people of the Dominican Republic rose in revolt against the military dictatorship, Washington shamelessly intervened with 40,000 troops and drowned in blood the people's movement to establish democracy. The Latin American countries whose people are mercilessly exploited by the USA are under constant American threat. The American interest in strengthening its grip over Latin America can be understood from the

fact that its investments total 15,000 million dollars and control half of the continent's exports. In the period between 1946 and 1960, the profits of the U.S. imperialists from direct capital investments alone in Latin America amounted to the huge figure of 11,207 million dollars. In the 1958-60 period, the profits the U.S. imperialists took out of Latin America were already three times greater than the American direct investment in that area. The USA declares this area to be the most strategic area and shamelessly intervenes against the democratic movement. The modern revisionists who drew fanciful pictures about peaceful economic competition with American imperialism were just cheating the people.

The American imperialists try to overthrow democratic regimes and establish reactionary dictatorships. To achieve their aim they are attempting to militarise these countries and bring about their economic "integration." Economic "integration", development of militarism, attempt to mould a multi-national force which can be used against the people, direct control of the organs of repression—these are some of the weapons which American imperialism uses to crush the popular movement. Its aim simultaneously is to build the support of the reactionary regimes against Cuba whose influence among the people is growing.

It is against this imperialist intervention in support of dictatorial regimes that armed guerilla struggles have broken out in a number of countries.

There have been serious reverses in Africa also, the most serious among them being the coup in Ghana, toppling the progressive and democratic regime of N'Krumah. Only congenial revisionists will ignore the great setback given by the overthrow of N'Krumah. Besides, there have been a number of coups in the neighbouring countries of the Congo, Upper Volta, Central African Republic, Domany, Nigeria. These latter coups did not change the nature of the regimes which were already hostile to African Revolution. They were intended to tighten the grip on these countries through 624

military regimes, rendering them relatively powerful bases for attacks against progressive regimes. And again, there was the coup this year in Congo.

The Ghana coup occurred within three months of the shameless usurpation of power in Rhodesia by the white racist fascists backed by the imperialists. Some of the independent African states had threatened to collectively resist the Rhodesian racists but nothing was done. They also broke their promise to sever relations with Britain if it did not take steps against the Rhodesian regime, and they did not move into action when N'Krumah was overthrown.

The realities of the situation in Africa must be faced. As a UAR writer puts it, "We will be deceiving ourselves first and foremost if we believed the bright picture manifested in the map of our continent today, flying the flag of thirtynine independent countries ... objective realities are such, however, that apart from less than 10 countries which have been able in varying degrees to attain true independence through the emancipation of their economies and development, the remaining countries, the overwhelming majority, have attained no more than formal independence, and still suffer under the strain of military bases. Their economies are still fettered and subordinated to foreign monopolists and consequently fall mainly in the sphere of neo-colonialism." The USA has now the largest number of naval and air bases in Africa, such as bases in Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia and Ethiopia.

The revisionist propaganda concealed this reality when it doled out certificates of independence, democracy and even non-capitalist path and socialism to some. The illusions about a non-class non-capitalist path are helping the neo-colonialists to get several Governments under their grip with the aid of reactionary bourgeois and other elements. The covering up of social contradictions in the name of non-capitalist path, the rejection of the role of the working class, the rejection of the role of the working class party—these have led a number of countries into debacle. The danger of neo-colonialism will not be eliminated unless the toiling people of

Africa, led by the working class and its party, organize their independent activities and defeat the compromising elements from the ruling classes and establish their economic independence.

The American imperialists unleashed Israeli aggression against the Arab world. Israel, openly backed by the Americans and the British, continues to occupy Arab soil and refuses to leave it. Israel's treacherous attack fully prepared with the help of the USA, the swift collapse of Arab resistance and the stalemate following it, all point to the great danger arising from underestimating the aggressive and desperate character of imperialist machinations and plotings. Only the most blind could fail to see the deeply laid plot of the imperialists. How is it that a well-equipped army, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, crumbled like a bowl of dust, before Israel's attack while heroic Vietnam continues to resist for years against a foe many times more formidable? The reason is that Vietnam has been relying on its people and is being led by the Communist Party. It has proved invincible under the banner of Marxism-Leninism which continues to guide the liberation struggle. In Egypt the reliance was mainly on generals from the upper classes. The Communist Party was banned; people's liberties have been far and few. Their initiative was not tolerated. It was this system that was falsely praised by the Soviet revisionists as socialism, as national democracy and what not. Only after the defeat and rout did the Soviet press begin to whisper about lack of liberties, etc., and that too half-heartedly. The result was that imperialism could score an easy victory inflicting national humiliation on a brave, courageous and freedom-loving people. To cover their discomfiture the revisionists and their lackeys paraded the Egyptian developments as a great defeat of the imperialists. They said the U.S. imperialists wanted to overthrow Nasser but did not succeed. The fact remains that because of the weakness created by the revisionist outlook, the American imperialists could give one more setback to the world movement. But once

more the setback was due to the failure to rely on the invincible might of a people enjoying full freedom and liberty and conscious guidance by a Marxist-Leninist party.

Israeli occupation of Arab land still continues. Israel further continues to launch attacks on the territory of Jordan.

On the continent of Europe, the American imperialists recently succeeded in organizing a fascist coup in Greece, and in West Germany they are encouraging the forces of revanchism and fascism in preparation for their attack on the socialist camp, as part of their war preparations. Militarization in one form or another is going on and West German forces are being supplied with the latest arms. Steps are being taken to convert West Germany into a fascist military state. The emergency laws recently passed by the West German Bundestag are almost a replica of the laws adopted by Germany on the eve of World War II. In the last year or two, the so-called "National Democratic Party" and other nazi forces have become more and more blatant in their operations and the officials encourage them by saying that everything is taking place within the "framework of legality".

The demand for living space for Germans was recently raised in the Bundestag. The borders settled by the second world war are being challenged.

Anyone who underestimates the dangerous course of German revanchism supported by the imperialist camp led by the USA only plays the game of imperialism.

When the Americans were egging on the West Germans and preparing them for their revanchist role, the Soviet leaders, true to their revisionist outlook, were indulging in illusions about detente in Europe and advertising pacts and treaties for nuclear disarmament, test-ban treaty, etc.

The West German imperialists, the CIA and other agents of American imperialism brought Czechoslovakia to the verge of a counter-revolution, relying on the counter-revolutionary forces, the agents of the capitalists, the vested interests and Social-Democrats inside Czechoslovakia. Arms were smuggled inside the country to organize insurrection and take over the

state apparatus. Secret radio stations, transmitters and other means of communications were put at the disposal of these elements which were fully used when the Soviet troops marched into the country.

The Sudeten Germans held rallies across the border ready to march into the country. The Bundeswehr held its manoeuvres on the borders waiting for a call from their agents inside Czechoslovakia. It was a question of touch and go and the imperialists thought they could easily swallow a socialist state.

It is necessary to remember that once more the near-triumph of imperialism arose on the ground cleared and softened by modern revisionists and their Czech followers. The leadership of the Czech Party under Dubcek had openly embarked upon a programme of dismantling one defence after another of the socialist state. The Novotny group had already loosened the foundation of the socialist state with its reactionary economic reforms and other revisionist heresies borrowed from the Soviet leaders. It added to these bureaucratic abuses and inequality in the relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Utilising these, the Dubcek group in the name of removing the bureaucratic abuses, startled liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and leading role of the Party, and began merging of the Party in the united front and introduction of 'full' democracy—meaning thereby complete freedom for counter-revolution to restore capitalism.

During the course of several months the counter-revolutionary elements captured the press and the radio and established liaison with the imperialist agents in Germany. Open propaganda was carried on to change the foreign policy of the country and develop connections with the West, i.e., join the western camp. During these months, the entire revisionist crowd, the revisionist leaders of almost all Communist Parties, including the Indian revisionists, were singing praises to Dubcek's liberalization as creative Marxism. The Soviet leaders themselves praised the *Action Programme* of the Czech leaders.

American imperialism was basing itself on the capitalist elements and their hangers-on, the reactionary brood of writers and intelligentsia who were thriving under revisionism. It was utilizing every soft spot in the socialist camp—the bureaucratic mistakes, the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet leaders, the emasculation of proletarian ideology thanks to revisionism, the illusions about the peace intentions of the imperialists and peaceful competition—all to undermine the socialist camp.

Czechoslovakia was on the brink of a disaster, disaster faced the entire socialist camp. The Soviet and allied intervention at the eleventh hour seized the lost initiative and defeated the West German-American plot. And yet it was a narrow escape with imperialism nearly getting away with it. Face to face with this direct attack on a socialist state, the socialist camp and the world communist movement stood divided and in disarray as never before. The Communist Party of China denounced the Soviet intervention comparing it with Hitler's march into Sudetanland and described the Soviet Union as social-fascist; the leadership of the revisionist parties the world over protested against the Soviet action and supported the Czech revisionists; the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions openly denounced the Soviet action comparing it indirectly with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

It will be seen that the near-success was achieved once more because of revisionism; that imperialism on its last legs still gets sustenance from every wrong move and policy of the camp of socialism, democracy and peace; that it is still strong enough to exploit the mistakes of the world proletariat and the socialist camp.

The imperialist camp led by the U.S. imperialists is active everywhere to undermine the democratic regimes in its bid for world domination and neo-colonialism. While American imperialism continues to advance in the developed countries of Europe by extending its economic grip over the industries of these countries, it is ferociously striving to bring under its domination the newly liberated countries by means of its

“economic aid”. In Africa as well as Asia, it relies on the reactionary vested interests to advance its neo-colonial ambitions. In Pakistan, India and several other countries, it makes a desperate bid to subjugate the economies of these countries with the aid of the World Bank consortium of creditors. It uses the tribal and national rivalries and jealousies among the newly liberated countries to engage them in fratricidal fights and weaken them. The Indo-Pakistan war is a typical instance of how the vested interests in the newly liberated countries play the game of imperialist powers in the name of defending national interests.

In a number of countries it sets up puppet governments whose only strength is the American army. In South-East Asia, finding that it must have partners to carry on its aggressive policy of colonial conquest and domination, it is knocking together an alliance with the Japanese monopolists to keep the region safe against the dangers of ‘subversion’, and for the containment of China. The rise of West German revanchists in Europe and the emergence of Japanese imperialists in South-East Asia—these are the portentous developments following the U.S. imperialist struggle for world domination, for its war and assault against the socialist camp.

It will be seen that American imperialism has not given up its strivings for world domination; its conspiracies to attack the socialist camp; its drive for a world war. Its recent attacks and partial advances once more address a stern warning to the socialist camp to beware of the common enemy of all mankind. They reveal the treacherous character of the illusions sown by the modern revisionists who are now explaining American activity and partial successes as the inevitable zig-zags of the movement.

While conspiring against the socialist camp, while utilizing the divisions inside the socialist camp, playing the Soviet Union against China and China against the Soviet Union, American imperialism did its best to pander to the illusion that it was for a detente, for a limitation of armaments. While increasing continuously its stock-pile of armaments,

while perfecting its nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the American imperialists glibly indulge in talks about non-proliferation; and the Soviet leaders by praising the one-sided provisions of the treaty cover up American intentions and designs. The partial test ban treaty, the non-proliferation treaty are nothing but weapons of mass deception which only create illusions about American imperialism and lull the vigilance against the war-mongering foe of all mankind.

The experience of the last four years also shows that imperialism will continue its drive for war unless at each stage it is prevented by the forces of the revolutionary movement, that war will be finally abolished only when the peoples of the world led by the working class and the socialist camp are able to destroy and vanquish imperialism finally. The fatuous idea that the peace movement alone, divorced from its anti-imperialist content, will avoid the danger of war has led to harmful results. In the last four years imperialism has launched a number of local wars, and is conducting the most brutal and aggressive war in Vietnam. It has not also halted its preparations for a world nuclear war. In fact at each step it attempts to bring war on the doorsteps of the socialist camp.

As early as in 1967, both the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the United States spoke of the close prospect of a third world war. On May 11, U Thant said: "I may be wrong but I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of world war three." On the same day that this report was published, the United Press reported President Johnson as having said to his daughter, "your daddy may go down in history as having started world war three".

It is only the revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation movement supported by the socialist forces that stand for peace, that can halt a march to war.

The Crisis of the Indian Economy

The *Programme* of our Party adopted by the Seventh Congress states, "Experience of the three plans demonstrates

beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered an acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to develop along the capitalist path. The possibilities of such development are extremely limited. It cannot solve our basic problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty and unemployment. It gives rise to ever-growing contradictions and is beset with imbalance and crisis; while it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people. It gives them no hope of a better future and brings them into inevitable conflict with the capitalist path of development”.

Three years ago India saw planning virtually scuttled and the Fourth Five-Year Plan is yet to take shape. The Third Plan ended in disgrace ending the myth of continued orderly development on the basis of mixed economy—official euphemism for capitalism. The people have more and more seen and experienced the effects of recession, of crisis with industries closing and throwing thousands on the streets; with mass retrenchment against which the workers have to fight heroically for weeks and months; with a callous offensive of the employers and the Government against every demand of the workers and employees. The apologists of the present order argue as if the crisis was solely due to the successive bad agricultural seasons. This year’s bumper crop, they say, is already altering the situation and industrial production is picking up. While a sudden drop in agricultural production due to a bad season does accentuate the crisis, while a prosperous year does give a push to industrial production, these causes are operating on the base of a crisis-ridden economy. The basic causes of the deep-going crisis have to be understood while paying attention to immediate ups and downs of the economic situation.

India’s economic crisis born out of semi-feudal agrarian relations and the contradictions of the capitalist path manifests itself in an accentuated form because of the following: (1) the Indian economy is tied to the world-capitalist market

and is therefore subject to the crisis of that economy; (2) in the push and pull for the world market—India must export to and import from the capitalist countries—India as the weaker trading partner of the big capitalist countries continually loses through unequal trade terms, discrimination, etc; (3) in the background of the crisis of the world capitalist system there is a definite policy to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the developing countries which intensifies the crisis in India; (4) the extortionate price of foreign loans and investments has saddled the economy with an unbearable burden of repayments imposing starvation wages, limiting the home market and accentuating the crisis. These loans and the terms under which they are secured obstruct the Indian capitalists from capturing the home market (import substitution) and force them to share it with the foreign capitalists; (5) under the limitations of the capitalist path, the building and expansion of the home market is being narrowed day by day resulting in stagnation, lower rates of growth and recession; (6) the failure to liquidate feudal land relations which hampers agricultural production, produces scarcity and imposes high food costs limiting the markets for industrial goods and the crisis of small production which shows its inefficiency and vulnerability with the least adverse change in the season; (7) the growing concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few who levy high prices on society; (8) official policy of inflation which is a method of forcibly transferring value from the labouring masses to the capitalists; (9) the Government's price policy in favour of big capitalists and the tremendous waste due to inefficiency in running the public sector because of which it contributes very little for **capital** formation from the huge investment. These are the **basic factors** that have been contributing to the crisis of the **economy**.

Stagnant Indian Economy

Official figures reveal that the capitalist path has imposed a

condition of stagnation—stagnant growth—on the Indian economy.

A country which had been held in poverty for more than a century by the British, whose needs therefore were many—what progress was it offered under the capitalist path? The basic relations established under it, the balance-sheet of agrarian reforms, the growing concentration of wealth and capital—these aspects have been laid bare in our Party *Programme*. The actual results reveal the following tale:

According to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of India for 1967-68, during the First Plan the annual growth rate of net national production at 1948-49 prices was 3.5 per cent; in the Second Plan, it was 4.0 per cent (actually if adjustments are made for statistical changes the annual increase works out at only 3.8 per cent); for the Third Plan the annual rate works out at only 2.9 per cent.

The story of rise in per capita national income at constant prices is still worse. The rate during the First Plan was only 1.6; during the Second 1.8 per cent (adjusted rate being 1.7) and during the Third Plan it fell to as low as 0.4 per cent. With all the efforts of the Government this was all that it could produce while boasting of one success after another for its plans.

The situation is still more revealing if we look at recent figures.

Index number of net national production at 1960-61 prices

1960-61	100.0	
1961-62	104.3	
1962-63	106.5	
1963-64	112.2	
1964-65	120.6	
1965-66	114.8	
1966-67	116.7	
1967-68	127.8	(rise of 9.3 per cent over 1966-67)

Index number of per capita income at 1960-61 prices

1960-61	100 0
1961-62	101 9
1962-63	101.4
1963-64	104 3
1964-65	109 4
1965-66	101 7
1966-67	101.0

In four out of six years the index has not reached 102; ranges between 101 and 102. At 1960 prices the per capita net income moved as follows:

1960-61	Rs 310
1961-62	316
1962-63	314.2
1963-64	323.4
1964-65	339 2
1965-66	315.3
1966-67	313 1

It will be seen that while the per capita income continued to be stagnant even before the crisis years, it actually declined by nearly 7 per cent in 1965-66 and a further 0.7 per cent in 1966-67.

This slow growth of national and per capita income inhibits continued progress, as it comes up against the expansion of the home market, on which Indian capitalist development must more or less solely rely under the present conditions of capitalism and international competition. With the purchasing power strictly limited in this fashion, industrial production must meet repeated bottlenecks and crisis and even minimal development must tend to outstrip buying capacity of the people.

The distribution of the national income among various classes, a distribution pre-determined by the existing relations of production, itself lays the basis of a growing crisis, and intensifies the contradiction between the need to develop

production and the limitations imposed by the purchasing power of the people. How poor the addition was to the purchasing power of the people can be seen from the following:

“The total additional income earned during the ten-year period (1951-52 to 1960-61) was Rs. 190 abja (billion) of which a part, Rs. 25.8 abja (billion) was used in increasing government expenditure over the whole decade. Another part Rs. 25.2 abja (billion) represented the additional domestic savings for ten years. These two parts taken together, namely, Rs. 50.7 abja (billion) may be considered to have been used for purposes of development and expansion of investment to penetrate future growth.

“The balance available for increase in private consumption was Rs. 139.3 abja (billion) for the whole of the ten-year period ... A good part of the additional income had to be used to provide for these new additions to the population with the same per capita consumption as in 1950-51, at the beginning of the ten-year period. Simple calculations show that Rs. 85.6 abja (billion) was absorbed to provide the new entrants into the population during the decade with a per capita consumer expenditure at the rate of 1950-51 for an appropriate number of years. Finally, the balance of Rs. 53.7 abja (billion) was the net amount available to increase the average per capita consumption of the whole population. Distributing this amount over the average number of persons over the decade, we get Rs. 2.5 as the share of each person per year in the increase in consumer expenditure. With Rs. 219 as the consumer expenditure per person in the base period (1950-51), the rate of increase was about 1.1 per cent per person per year”. (*Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living*, pp. 7-8.)

Increase of Rs. 2.5 per person in private consumption—that is the limit of the expansion of the market. This small imperceptible increase gives a distorted circulation to the economy. This means that the overwhelming mass of the people will be spending the dominant part of the income on consumption of immediate necessities like food and will

have very little to spend on manufactured goods. This distortion gets all the more emphasized when it is remembered that even the figure of Rs. 2.5 per person of additional consumer's expenditure is an average figure secured by clubbing the incomes of divergent classes and strata of the population. In reality the lower classes get much less than the average reducing their purchasing capacity still further.

It is because of this that industrial production was slowing down in India even before the setting in of the recent recession.

In 1961, the index of industrial production moved further by 8.4 per cent; in 1962 by 8.4 per cent; in 1963 by 9.4 per cent. By 1964 the slow down starts. In that year the growth rate dropped to 6.3 per cent; in 1965 it was 5.6 per cent; in 1966 it was 2.6 per cent and 1967-68 (three quarters) it was only 1.4 per cent.

The slow-down had started before the setting in of recession and before the onset of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The latter accentuated the slow-down and turned it into a crisis. It should be seen that the years of the world capitalist recession are the worst years of recession in India.

The Agrarian Basis

The *Programme* of the Party states: "It is common knowledge that the break-up of the land monopoly and the distribution of land gratis to the agricultural labour and poor peasants and abolition of their heavy debt burdens are the prerequisites for releasing the creative energy and labour enthusiasm of millions of peasants. This alone can form the foundation of a tremendous expansion in agricultural production—we cannot develop agriculture to a considerable extent and provide the country with adequate food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and necessary fertilisers in order to improve its farming."

The years since the Party Congress have underlined land relations as a basic cause of the chronic crisis. Bourgeois apologists themselves have to admit this in an indirect way

when they have to refer repeatedly to the unfavourable agricultural seasons as causing upsets in the economy.

The slow growth of agricultural production attended by sudden fall in production is seen from official figures.

*Index of foodgrains Production--base 1949-50=100--
from 1960-61 onwards*

1960-61	137 1
1961-62	140 3
1962-63	133 6
1963-64	136 5
1964-65	150 2
1965-66	120 9
1966-67	124 6

The 1967-68 crop is estimated to be 27 per cent higher than that of 1966-67. The increase in foodgrains production has been partly due to increase in productivity per acre. Partly it is due to the increase in area under cultivation.

The index of area, yield per acre and agricultural production (base 1950-51=100) showed the following movement since 1960-61:

Year	Area	Yield per acre	Production
1960-61	121 2	117 5	142 4
1961-62	122 4	119 0	145 5
1962-63	123 4	118 2	145 2
1963-64	123 7	121 7	150 6
1964-65	122 4	121 0	148 6
1965-66	122 0	118 3	144 5

The effect of this stagnation with repeated setbacks has been disastrous for the country's economy and industrial development creating conditions of a chronic slow-down. It increased the dependence on foreign imports of food added to the difficulties of the exchange situation, created unstable conditions for the country's agricultural exports which are an important source of foreign exchange earnings, raised the price of foodgrains and, besides imposing starvation on the people,

diverted a larger part of the purchasing power to purchase of food thus narrowing the market for industrial goods.

Between 1960 and 1968 the dependence on foreign food imports increased.

*Percentage of imports to net availability of
foodgrains in the country*

1960	7.2
1961	4.6
1962	4.8
1963	6.1
1964	8.0
1965	8.8
1966	14.1
1967	11.7 (provisional)

Per capita availability of foodgrains was 16.48 ounces in 1959 and since then it has been continuously below the figure except in 1965, in spite of heavy imports. In 1966 and 1967, it fell to 14.17 and 14.14 ounces respectively—a figure less than in 1953.

The heavy imports of food to stave off starvation diverted foreign exchange and deprived the industry of their intermediates and components. This accounted for the slow-down in industrial growth.

The huge imports of food and other commodities under the American PL-480/665 also help to strengthen American grip over our economy. "Assistance" under PL-480/665 amounted to Rs. 544.81 crores during the period of the Second Plan; the total during the Third Plan was Rs. 853.22 crores. The total up to September 1967 amounts to the huge figure of Rs. 1,719.83 crores.

This places a colossal amount of rupee currency in the hands of the USA to manipulate our economy adding to its difficulties, to pressurize the Government and to dictate its will to India on economic matters. It also supplies the CIA with readymade funds to carry on its espionage activities, to organise anti-national groups and riots in the country.

The unsettling effect of a precipitous fall in agricultural income (16 per cent in 1965-66) is obvious. This drastic reduction in the purchasing power of the peasant creates an unstable market leading to ruination.

The shortage and scarcity arising from these, the low per capita availability, lead to a tremendous rise in the prices of foodgrains—leading to a fall in the market for products of industry. All these effects are in evidence. It is quite clear that unless agriculture is relieved of its present land relations, land is distributed and production is reorganised on a cooperative basis enabling science and capital to be applied to land, steady development of industry is impossible. The startling results of the high-yielding varieties demonstrate what can be done if the burden of the present land relations is removed and peasants' enthusiasm is drawn for production.

The economic crisis is interwoven with the agrarian crisis—the crisis of agrarian land relations. The Party *Programme* declared the agrarian revolution to be the 'axis' of the democratic revolution. The agrarian crisis engendered by these relations has merged with the general crisis of the economy and accentuated it.

The basic characteristics of the agrarian relations and the crisis created by them have been enumerated in the Party *Programme*. Growing concentration of land monopoly intensifying semi-feudal exploitation along with a certain growth of capitalist relations, superimposed on the former and adding to the exploitation. It is estimated that 47 per cent households in rural India own no land or less than one acre of land each and their share of total land is 1 per cent only; 74 per cent households in rural India own no land or less than five acres of land each and have 16 per cent of the total area under their ownership; the share of 2.5 per cent households each owning 30 acres of land or more amount to 28 per cent of the total landed area; about one per cent of households owning more than 40 acres each hold 20 per cent of the total area.

This is the net result of the Congress land reforms. This

result was achieved by mass eviction of peasants to evade the provisions regarding ceilings on holdings, or abolition of zamindari. It will be seen that in the last few years concentration has grown.

How the old relations continue despite ceiling legislations and land reforms is seen from the following: "The main object of ceilings which is to re-distribute land to the landless at a reasonable price on a planned basis has thus been largely defeated. In the absence of any reliable data, it would also be difficult to say that as a result of transfers much land has passed into the hands of agricultural labourers or small farmers". (*Draft Outline of Fourth Plan.*)

And the following from Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama* confirms what the Party has been saying—leasing and other forms of feudal relations continue to be strong. "Whether the rearrangement in the agrarian structure generated by the eviction of tenants by landowners attempting to evade ceiling legislation will have favourable effects on output is still more problematical. Cases in which larger landholders have changed their traditional behaviour pattern by taking a direct interest in farming and introducing technical improvements are not unknown—particularly in Punjab, Andhra, Gujarat and Mysore—but they are not common. Not only does abstinence from work, even of a supervisory character, remain attractive for reasons of status, but the economic returns obtainable from expenditures on agricultural improvements may not be sufficient to compete with those obtainable from more passive activities such as money-lending and trading. The result has been a substitution of sharecroppers for tenants who enjoyed a more secure position". (p.1320.)

Feudal exploitation is more profitable than profit-earning through capitalist methods or direct participation in farming improvements. The replacing of tenants with some security by sharecroppers is nothing but clamping the old relations in a vigorous manner and to that extent depriving the capitalist market of its customers.

Thanks to this the process of feudal exploitation through

usury has grown apace and is seen in the enormous increase of the peasants' indebtedness, which has increased from Rs 900 crores to Rs. 2,489.10 crores by 1961-62. Since then the debts must have piled up rapidly in the last six years. It was estimated by a Reserve Bank survey (dealing with 1961-62) that the total rural indebtedness amounted to Rs. 2,489.10 crores while every year the peasant had to foot the bill of Rs. 299.83 crores by way of interest charges which come to 4.3 per cent of the total production under agriculture for that year.

It is true that this figure includes the loans borrowed by the landlords, rich peasants and capitalist elements to earn profits out of agriculture by applying modern methods and capital to land. But the major part represents the indebtedness of the peasantry and its growing impoverishment. It represents the deficit economy of the small peasant, the tenant and the poor peasant owner—whose petty production cannot be continued without continuous resort to loans to meet his daily needs. As big a percentage as 51.3 (Rs. 1,430.63 crores) of the outstanding loans were taken to meet household expenditure and only 23.9 per cent of the loans were borrowed for the purpose of capital expenditure.

It is obvious that borrowing for household needs was done by the lower strata, mainly that stratum which constitutes 77 per cent of the households and owns less than 16 per cent of the land. This is the measure of the crisis of the small producer under feudal exploitation overlaid with a layer of capitalist exploitation. Permanent poverty and indebtedness with growing inefficiency in production is his lot under the present regime.

It is this mass that is subjected to the most horrible usurious exploitation. Despite official claims about the advance of the cooperative credit movement, as much as 45.9 per cent of the loans were given by rural moneylenders according to the survey quoted above. The professional moneylenders supplied 14.9 per cent of the loans and the traders and commission agents 7.7 per cent. The Government and the cooperative

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societies supplied only 5.3 per cent and 9.1 per cent respectively of the total outstanding loans. These usurious agencies—the moneylenders—charged the most exorbitant rates of interest ranging from $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and above. The burden of this fell only on the lower strata as the upper strata got a major part of the loans from the cooperatives with their comparatively low rates of interest. The top-most strata got 20 per cent of the loans from the cooperatives, 47 per cent of the total loans were secured at exorbitant rates of interest ranging from $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and the burden of this usury fell upon the lower strata.

The agricultural labourers, poor peasants, artisans and tribals are heavily indebted. The fleecing by the moneylenders of the propertyless semi-proletarian strata knows no bounds. Not being “credit worthy” they have to borrow money at extortionate rates which range from 100 per cent to 300 per cent a year.

Thus through interest and land rent the feudal and semi-feudal exploiters claim an enormous tribute from the mass of peasantry reducing its purchasing power to buy industrial goods.

The mounting indebtedness is an evidence of the growing bankruptcy of the small producer under present conditions of exploitation, the growing truth that he cannot become the basis of a steady industrial advance.

The crisis engendered by these relations is seen in the increasing stagnation in the growth of Indian agriculture, its inability to meet the food demands of the country and the growing dependence on foreign imports. Figures about these are already given.

But this very shortage created by the land relations enables the feudal and semi-feudal elements to levy a special tribute on society, by withholding stocks and forcing higher prices on the people—thus defrauding the industrialists of part of their market, of capital, and forcing the cost of production high. “Investigations made by experienced political workers in Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala bring one inevitably to the conclusion that the present hyperinflation is essentially

the result of the grip on food supplies of the large landholders and the bigger wholesale traders, who often enough is simply the same janus-headed individual or are pretty close relatives. These gentry have the ability to secure adequate credit both from the scheduled banks and the cooperative credit institutions which have, in most places, come completely under their control. In addition, of course, they are themselves either moneylenders or, again, are closely related to moneylenders. Finally, there is the black money about which the Finance Minister has been so eloquent but also about which he has been so eloquently inactive." (*Economic Weekly*, July 1964.)

These people monopolise the benefits of cooperative credit, government loans, community projects, fertilizers and every other device to increase production. Along with land, the money capital in the rural area gets concentrated in their hands while only a small part of this capital is utilised for capitalist methods. The major part becomes an instrument for further semi-feudal exploitation creating new barriers to quick industrial progress.

The inflationary rise in prices together with increased exploitation enables them to evict peasants from the land and turn them into agricultural labourers. Four years ago agricultural labourers formed nearly 35 per cent of the rural population in India. Recently, with the process of eviction of the peasants from the land, their ranks have been swollen and their numbers now are much higher. The ruin of rural handicrafts and other occupations following the introduction of labour-saving devices, the ruin of cottage industry, and the unemployment in the handlooms industry, have added to their numbers. Having nowhere to go, the cities being already full of unemployed, the large number of landless leads a life of destitution and pauperisation, unbearable intensification of feudal exploitation and a miserable pittance of a wage as remuneration. That is why debt slavery still continues in some parts of the country.

The agricultural labourers in a large measure represent

the mass of unemployed in the rural areas. Even those who get work are idle for at least four months in the year. The total number of unemployed and underemployed was estimated at 18 million in the rural areas a few years ago. Now the figures may have reached the 25 million figure.

This is how the capitalist-landlord clique has been developing the home market for Indian industries. It is because of this that it has to look for foreign markets to dispose of the products of its own minimal industry.

But the peasant is equally exploited by the bourgeois-landlord state and the capitalist market. While the big landholders are able to take advantage of the shortages, the small producer forced to sell his product at the harvest time, has to accept a lower price, which always compares unfavourably with the price of the commodities—products of industrial goods—that he has to buy to satisfy his personal needs or the needs of agriculture. Besides, the producers of commercial crops are always at the mercy of the world market and big foreign monopolists in India who fleece them on every occasion. The terms of trade are unfavourable to the peasants, resulting in an enormous loss to them. The high prices levied on industrial goods by the monopolist big bourgeoisie also denude him still further.

The grinding taxation of the Government which falls heavily on goods consumed by the peasantry adds to the intensification of the crisis.

It will be thus seen that the crisis of agrarian relations becomes the foundation of the crisis of the economy. It intensifies the crisis at every stage. It intensifies the shortage of foreign exchange by insufficient production of foodgrains, it drastically narrows the internal market rendering destitute millions of the peasantry, by giving them a pittance of a wage; by extorting a tribute of Rs. 300 crores from the peasants by way of interest on loans and many more crores by way of rent; it curtails the capitalist market in urban and rural areas alike by raising the prices of foodgrains and thereby giving a push to all prices; it hinders the process of devel-

opment of production by diverting capital resources to speculation and land purchases.

These are the direct results of the class policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord Government. As the Party *Programme* correctly puts it :

“The community development schemes and panchayat raj (panchayats, block samitis and zilla parishads) the Government has initiated, despite the limited social amenities and benefits the people can derive from them, are in the final analysis another device to extend and consolidate the rich peasant and landlord base of the ruling class in the rural side. Consistent with its class policies, the Government has been giving the richer sections of the peasants and landholders direct financial, technical and other aid almost to the exclusion of the other strata of cultivators. The bulk of the expenditure on the community development and national extension schemes flows into the pockets of landlords and rich peasants. Large sums are advanced to them as taccavi loans. Special agricultural loans are granted to them for the purchase of tractors, pump-sets, oil engines and for sinking tube wells. It is they who grab the lion’s share of the chemical manures and good quality seeds distributed by the Government.”

“With the rapid expansion of money economy in the rural areas, forward trading and speculative holding of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities have grown enormously on the basis of expanding bank credit and otherwise. The tightening of the grip of Indian and foreign monopolistic trading interests over agricultural produce has rapidly grown bringing in its wake intensification of exploitation of the peasants through unequal exchange and violent fluctuations of prices. As a result, the peasant is fleeced both as a seller of agricultural produce and as a purchaser of industrial goods.” (Paragraphs 41 and 42.)

The Face of the Recession

The industrial setback has taken place in the conditions of a chronic condition of slow growth. The worst years have

been exactly those which have been years of crisis of the capitalist economy.

A study made by the Reserve Bank gives the following figures:

Annual rate of growth in industrial production

Year	All Industries	Basic industries	Capital goods industries	Interme- diate goods industries	Consumer goods industries
1961	8.4	12.7	9.0	4.5	7.5
1962	8.4	15.5	16.0	8.8	2.2
1963	9.4	14.5	13.5	8.4	5.4
1964	6.3	2.8	24.4	7.0	7.5
1965	5.8	6.0	10.6	5.4	3.4
1966	2.4	5.2	2.2	1.3	0.7
1967	1.4	2.1	1.0	8.9	-3.5

These figures show that the decline in industrial production had started as early as 1964 when they could not complain of a bad agricultural year. They also showed that after the initial progress the industries were coming against the barriers of the home market. It is also known that a large number of engineering industries had considerable unused capacity. These figures also show that the intermediate goods, and especially the consumer goods, industries had a much slower rate of growth and that the latter which is directly connected with satisfying the immediate needs of the people actually declined in production by 1967. This is not due to the desire of the planners to promote basic industries since the declared targets for consumer goods also have not been reached.

A growing saturation of the home market accentuated by conditions of the world economy and a sudden fall in agricultural production seem to have been the real cause of the recession. That it was not just a partial maladjustment is clear from the following from the study made by the Reserve Bank: "It is apparent from the foregoing analysis that recession

affected a wide section of organised industry, the impact on individual industries ranging from the moderately affected to the seriously affected. A declining trend in the growth rate of output was noticed between 1965 and 1967 in respect of industries accounting for a weight of 68 per cent in the Index of Industrial Production. A declining trend in capacity utilisation was noticed in respect of selected industries accounting for 38 per cent of the weight in the Index of Industrial Production...on the other hand the wide range of industries that have experienced recessionary trends appear to face the demand limitation. The sharp decline in the growth of the investment not only the direct investment demand; because of its impact on real incomes, it has also caused a decline in the growth of inter-industrial and final demand."

The fall in consumer goods production is significant. According to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of India, between January and September 1967, production of cigarettes declined by 6.6 per cent compared with the previous year; woollen textiles which had declined in the nine months of 1967, by 4.4 per cent; leather declined by 1.5 per cent; food processing by 18 per cent; cotton textiles which had declined by 2.8 per cent in 1964 registered a further decline of 1.9 per cent.

It is significant to note that in this period while the mass of peasants over a wide area lost their purchasing power a small section heavily added to its gains. This was of course the richer or the capitalist and the landlord section who had a surplus to market at high prices. The *Economic Survey* says: "According to national income data, the farmers average unit realisation rose by nearly 13 per cent in 1965-66 and a further 19 per cent in 1966-67". The survey does not identify the section that profited.

The official figures showing the accumulation of stocks as given in the *Economic Survey* were as follows: (Pp 712-713)

The seriousness of the crisis can be gauged from the stock position, obtaining in various industries—the proportion of stocks to production. In the following table production

figures are monthly average for the quarter while the stock figures are for the end of the quarters. The table shows that the proportion of stocks was rising despite declining production in a number of industries. Even when the proportion of stocks was declining it was still too big and abnormal.

		3rd Quarter 1965	3rd Quarter 1967
Pig Iron	Production	610	565
'000 tons	Stocks	95	167
	Ratio %	16	30
Finished	Production	379	333
Steel	Stocks	172	187
'000 tons	Ratio %	45	56
Coal	Production	5722	5756
'000 tons	Stocks	4738	5730
	Ratio %	83	100
Iron Ore	Production	1400	1550
'000 tons	Stocks	1735	3003
	Ratio %	124	252
Cement	Production	863	899
'000	Stocks	150	200
	Ratio %	17	22
Steel	Production	4667	4379
Castings	Stocks	12616	16458
Tonnes	Ratio %	270	376
Diesel	Production	7400	9653
Engines	Stocks	5114	8496
Stationary			
numbers	Ratio %	69	88
Jute	Production	113	94
Textiles	Stocks	123	148
'000	Ratio %	109	157
Bicycles	Production	124	140
'000	Stocks	73	108
	Ratio %	59	77
Diesel	Production	1561	1346

		3rd Quarter 1965	3rd Quarter 1967
Trucks	Stocks	1124	744
Numbers	Ratio %	72	55
Diesel	Production	680	620
Buses	Stocks	324	155
Numbers	Ratio %	48	25
Cotton	Production	391	359
Cloth	Stocks	387	197
Million metres	Ratio %	99	55

The crisis has ruined the handloom industry and thrown thousands of handloom workers out of employment. Large stocks of handloom cloth have accumulated, the khadi emporia also displayed huge stocks of unsold cloth, which only meant that the spinners and weavers were without jobs.

Among the industrial employers, the smaller industrialist has to bear the brunt of the crisis. The makeshift measures of the Government only help the bigger bosses. The smaller employer is unable to continue production with accumulated stocks which lock his capital. Many small engineering and other concerns are irretrievably ruined and a larger number are threatened with extinction.

Dependence on Foreign Aid

The crisis of the economy was accentuated by dependence on foreign monopolist aid, by the dependence on foreign capitalist markets and the demand of foreign monopolist creditors that India should conform to their policies. In fact this was a demand that India should accept partly the burdens of their crisis. The devaluation of the Indian rupee imposed by the USA was one of the devices to pass the burdens of the crisis to India.

This aspect of the crisis is hidden by the apologists of the Government as a balance of payments crisis. The *Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance* for 1966-67 has to admit, "apart from certain basic factors, such as unfavourable

agricultural conditions, scarcity of raw materials, high costs, which have been inhibiting exports recently, the setback noticed during the year was also attributable to the dislocation in trade, immediately following the devaluation of the rupee. To some extent, the situation was aggravated by the slump in the international prices of certain commodities as tea and sugar... the decline being pronounced in the case of jute manufacture... cotton manufacture, tea. . .”

The foreign exchange crisis which even now aggravates the difficulties of Indian industries arises from the country's dependence on foreign aid. The *Economic Survey* states, “During the Third Plan some 46 per cent of imports were financed by foreign aid; the proportion went up to 49 per cent in 1966-67. Excluding food the proportion of imports financed by aid was 40 per cent in the Third Plan and 43 per cent in 1966-67”.

It is clear that there is bound to be a perennial foreign exchange crisis unless this relation of extreme dependence on foreign aid is altered. It is this relation that enables the imperialists to blackmail and pressurise us. For, almost all new industries in India heavily depend for intermediaries, spare parts, raw materials, on foreign imports and these cannot be had without foreign aid. That is how the Fourth Plan was so easily scuttled by the imperialists.

Why this perennial shortage? Why has it not been possible for India to pay out of the proceeds of the loans, borrowings and growingly lessen the burdens of debts? Because the loans are costly, the real purchasing power being 20 to 50 per cent below their nominal value. This imposes a heavy burden on Indian production and it is not able to produce the regular surplus instituting barbarous methods of exploitation. Secondly, under the stress of its own crisis and its balance of payments difficulties the USA has increased its demand for payment of loans in dollars. “The trends of United States loans assistance, however, have changed recently. In India, for example, only some 19 per cent of all United States loans received by the end of 1960 were repayable in dollars. By the end of 1964 their share had risen to 44 per

cent." (*U.N. Economic Survey of Asia*, etc., 1966.) Also recent agreements allow the United States authorities to sell the counter-part funds accruing under PL-480, thus depriving the recipient countries of valuable foreign exchange from American tourists. Besides, devaluation has raised the foreign debt in rupees by 57.5 per cent and raised by 50 per cent the cost of meeting foreign obligations.

"A second fact, closely related to the first, is that much of the economic assistance has strings attached. Aside from political overtones, serious enough in themselves, which partially dictate which countries receive the grants or loans, the grants or loans themselves are often made for specific purposes, for example, to provide show-cases for the assisting country. Frequently, the beneficiaries of foreign aid are required to spend any monies received in the donor country and to ship any needed materials in its vessels. As most of the rich western countries, for various reasons but mainly because of their inability to preserve an internal monetary balance, have experienced foreign exchange difficulties, the practice of 'tying' the capital outflow to underdeveloped countries has become increasingly common". (Gunar Myrdal, *Asian Drama* P. 635.)

"By the period of 1961-63, about two-thirds of gross bilateral assistance was contractually tied or limited in other ways. The proportion of commodity expenditure financed by the United States Agency for International Development has risen from less than one half in 1961 to over 90 per cent in 1964-65 ... In the Federal Republic of Germany, there was an increase in the proportion of tied assistance from 10 per cent in 1962 to somewhat less than 50 per cent in 1964". (*United Nations Conference on Trade*, etc., quoted by Gunar Myrdal)

The colossal burden this puts on the economy, the process of exploitation it leads to is screened by the Congress rulers under the description of a balance of payments crisis. The total external debt of the Government of India according to 1968-69 budget figures is Rs. 6,225 crores. The ratio of external debt to the total public debt of the Government

was less than one per cent in 1955-56; it rose to as much as 32 per cent in March 1966. Following the devaluation of the rupee, the value of foreign loans was written up by 57.5 per cent and the proportion of external debt to public debt rose to 45 per cent. In 1966-67, it formed 20 per cent of the national income at current prices.

The heavy payment obligations of this inflated debt levy an extortionate tribute on the economy imprisoning it and barring further progress. Apart from this it completely mortgages the export earnings to the payment of these debts and reduces the quality of free exchange available to purchase foreign imports according to needs and in competitive markets.

“In India debt servicing increased threefold between 1960-61 and 1965-66 while export earnings increased barely by one quarter. Debt service accordingly rose from 8 per cent of export earnings in 1960-61 to over 20 per cent in 1965-66. In the Fourth Plan period, external debt service will be increased to 28 per cent of the export earnings or to 36 per cent of the foreign resources needed for the Plan” (*U.N. Survey of Asia*, 1960). Nearly 50 per cent of the country’s free foreign exchange earnings from export has to be spent to meet the debt payments and food imports. India’s debt payments alone amounted in 1967 to Rs. 242 crores. In December this year Sri Morarji stated that India’s foreign loan requirement’s were of the order of 1,000 million dollars while her debt payments will amount this year to 500 million dollars, i.e., Rs. 375 crores. The debt payments will thus absorb half of the amount of the new loan.

Thus all chances of buying vital imports for industry including machinery at competitive international prices is ruled out; India must buy her maintenance imports at uncompetitive monopolist prices under the terms of the aid. This has imposed a wasteful high cost structure on the Indian economy narrowing the market still further. Unable to foot the bill in the crisis India had to beg for postponement of the debt payments—a form of international insolvency. India has secured a debt relief of 98 million dollars. In this con-

nection, the rôle of devaluation of the rupee must be understood. It not only raised the debt by 57.5 per cent, it also raised by 50 per cent the cost of all imports needed for the industry including machinery. Besides making the aid costlier the object was to curb Indian advance and make it difficult to import new machinery for building new industries. The demand of the World Bank that India should confine herself to consolidating what she had was being enforced in a new way.

Industrial imports declined because of inflated value; the imports of machinery and transport equipment declined from 1033 million dollars in 1965-66 to 760 million dollars in 1966-67 and to 327 million dollars in April-September 1967.

The devaluation further increased the debt burden of all industries which had incurred foreign loans and by raising the costs at a time when industrial production was slowing down, it accelerated the pace of the crisis.

The devaluation was dictated by withholding the loan for maintenance imports. When the loan was granted it was laid down that the imports loan should not be given to finance imports of new machinery. The import loans were mainly utilised to sell commodities which had a falling market in the USA and the capitalist countries.

A further factor accentuating and perpetuating the crisis was the reduction or virtual stoppage in foreign aid on which depended the momentum of the Indian economy. The Aid India Consortium had indicated a target of 1,300 million dollars of aid to India in the year 1967-68 inclusive of food and was 900 million dollars against which authorisation aggregated according to the *Economic Survey* only to 303 million dollars. Also only 70 million dollars have been authorised for projects as compared with 234 million dollars in 1966-67. This reduced government expenditure and advanced the recessionary tendencies. One must realise the full rôle played by foreign aid, devaluation, lessening of aid to understand the growing dependence of our economy and the part it plays in India's economic crisis.

India's foreign trade is dominated by its 'trade with the capitalist economies of the West. Its exports are dominated by traditional commodities like tea, jute, textiles, etc., the world market for which cannot expand very much; in fact in some cases it has been shrinking. The agricultural commodities and raw materials which form a large part of the exports are subject to wild fluctuations of prices in the international capitalist market and these fluctuations or recessionary conditions in capitalist countries bring about a critical condition for our exports. The one-sided dependence on exports on the capitalist countries affected by recent recession, the lopsided character of the exports, all continue to generate the crisis and accentuate it.

The dependence of the country's foreign trade on western capitalist countries, together with recent changes and advances in trade registered with the Socialist countries, is seen in the following table: (See p. 720)

It will be seen that with the increasing loans from the USA, its role in our foreign trade, especially imports, has risen; that the role of the USSR and the eastern European countries in the trade has also increased. But the trade with the USA is much higher than that with USSR and the trade with the western bloc is of course dominant. The trade with the U.K., though even now considerable, has fallen. Imports from the U.K. now equal those from the socialist countries while exports to the latter in 1965-66 exceed those to the U.K.

At the same time India is in the sterling bloc and has recently agreed that to ensure the stability of the sterling it would not use its sterling resources outside the sterling area. British private investments in India still continue to be dominant and trade with areas under British influence still plays an important role. The trade with the European Free Trade Area which includes Britain and her partners was more than the entire trade with the socialist bloc in Europe in 1965-66. Imports from this area were valued at Rs. 182.59 lakhs while exports were at Rs. 155.66 lakhs.

By 1964-65 the USA alone among the countries of North America contributed to 37 per cent of Indian imports; its share of exports being 18 per cent. By 1965-66, these percentages were 38 and 18 respectively. The U.K. share in imports dropped from 16 per cent in 1962 to 12 per cent in 1964-65 and 10.6 per cent in 1965-66; its share in exports dropping from 23.7 per cent in 1962 to 20.5 per cent in 1964-65 and 18 per cent in 1965-66.

The figures for 1966-67 and 1967-68 show the same trend. In 1966-67 imports from the USA form 37 per cent of the total and exports formed 18 per cent. The corresponding figures for 1967-68 were 40 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.

Imports from East European countries formed 11 per cent of the total in 1966-67 and 13 per cent in 1967-68. Exports were 19 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68.

Imports from the U.K. which were 16.6 per cent in 1962 dropped to 8 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68; while exports dropped from 23.7 per cent in 1962 to 20 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68.

The USA is dominating the imports while its share of Indian exports is more than that of the East European socialist bloc. While imports from Britain dwindled, it claims a larger share of India's exports than the USA or the socialist world of Eastern Europe.

This naturally leads to a conflict of interests between the western powers themselves. The fact that India continues to remain in the sterling bloc while borrowing huge amounts from the USA is itself significant. The pull of the British with their investments and trade is still considerable over India.

This also explains why when the Soviet Union offers profitable propositions to increase the trade between the two countries, the Indian Government hesitates to accept them and even rejects them.

The investment of private foreign capital adds to the crisis by its high rate of exploitation. Like the foreign aid, it also proves a costly proposition and forces a costly economy on the country. "Foreign investments are costly. Costs have

Year	(In Lakhs of Rupees)									
	All Countries		USA		East Europe		Common Market		U. K.	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
1960-61	112,162	64,232	32,756	10,253	4,431	4,956	19,589	5,175	21,715	17,248
1961-62	109,006	66,034	25,554	11,574	8,762	6,380	19,115	5,182	20,015	16,094
1962-63	113,148	68,548	34,684	11,433	11,011	9,236	15,805	4,882	18,556	16,322
1963-64	122,285	79,324	44,997	12,989	12,926	10,891	14,101	6,219	17,146	16,367
1964-65	134,903	81,630	51,048	14,689	14,499	14,388	17,244	5,702	16,365	16,730
1965-66	140,853	80,564	53,483	14,775	15,668	15,658	20,639	5,529	15,009	14,571
1966-67	170,442	96,744	62,638	17,947	18,082	18,307	25,275	7,531	13,455	17,384
1967-68	197,238	119,867	77,150	20,743	20,301	22,594	25,186	8,931	15,786	22,903

The percentage of share of the various countries in India's foreign trade was as follows between 1948 and 1962 :

Per cent of total period's exports destined for

Year	Total Value in millions of dollars	Western Europe including U.K.	Eastern Europe	North America	Per cent share of former colonial powers in	
					Exports	Imports
1948	1371.2	31.6	1.9	17.8	21.6	22.8
1950-52	1372.4	33.2	0.8	21.2	22.8	19.0
1956-58	1272.4	37.8	3.9	20.7	27.7	22.7
1959	1308.0	38.5	6.9	18.5	27.6	19.5
1962	1414.8	34.7	11.8	21.3	23.7	16.6

been inflated in a number of ways, of which the excessive make-up of the prices of machinery and equipment imported (by foreign firms) and the excessive charges for know-how patents and the like are only two... the restrictions imposed on exports of products manufactured in India with collaboration agreements ... the result has been that foreign investments have had a relatively easy time. They have been able to fix the prices for their products in India 50 per cent to 100 per cent higher than those prevalent in their home countries. The profits earned by foreign investments have also been very much higher." (Loknathan, *Economic Journal*, December 1966)

In spite of this inflated value of foreign capital it continues to get the highest profit rates in the world. A recent estimate showed that returns on American investments in India were higher in India than anywhere else in the world. The survey by Reserve Bank of India published in October 1968 showed that foreign capital in collaboration concerns got a return of 15 to 20 per cent on its investment in India. It also showed that most of the collaboration agreements had restrictive clauses regarding exports. It was plain that the foreign capital here came only to loot the home market.

The total private foreign investments in India are nearly Rs. 1,000 crores. Their burden has increased by 50 per cent since the devaluation of the rupee. The ever increasing concessions to private foreign capital, the higher rate of profit it claims and the constant drain on Indian resources for repatriation of profits have all accentuated the crisis. The total levy imposed by the foreign exploiters is unbearable.

Between 1956-57 and September 1967, nearly Rs. 600 crores were remitted by way of profits, royalties, etc., according to officially admitted figures. It is also known that a substantial part of the addition to foreign capital comes from ploughed-back profits, profits earned in India, and does not constitute addition of new production potential from abroad.

Inflation, High Prices and the Crisis

Another feature which plays a role in deepening the crisis is inflation, deficit financing—the special Indian weapon of securing finances for the capitalist path in India. The heavy taxation of consumer goods forces the prices high and reduces the purchasing capacity of the people. Inflation which perpetuates increasing prices is a weapon to transfer value from the toilers to the capitalists and their brethren. It is a weapon to keep the consumers' capacity in check so that greater and greater capital formation takes place. Its effects are there for all to see. From the Central Government employees to factory workers all are forced to fight against a reduction in their real wage which inflation is forcing down. Combined with shortages inflation creates quite a crisis for the industries. With rising inflationary prices urban and rural masses alike are forced to spend a greater part of their wages on the absolute necessities of life leaving very little surplus for industrial goods. The tribute levied by feudal relations in the shape of shortages of food, and inflationary finance come up against the profit hunt of the capitalists. The cost of production tends to rise constantly taking means of consumption beyond the reach of the common man. Some of the textile mills refuse to produce cloth for common consumption; they concentrate on higher quality cloth catering to narrow sections but with larger purchasing power.

The rapid concentration of wealth and means of production that has been taking place under Congress planning has also served to prolong the crisis. The Monopolies Inquiry Commission found out in 1965 that there are 75 leading business groups or houses whose assets are 46.9 per cent of those of all non-government non-banking companies. The proportion of the total paid-up capital of these groups to that of all non-banking non-government companies was 44.1 per cent. The Commission lists various devices and practices to keep rivals out, to peg prices high, to compel sellers to sell at a dictation price. The Hazari Report on Licensing

has also revealed how the Birlas monopolise licences in order to keep out rivals. Here is an attempt to reap monopoly profits in conditions of low industrial development, stop further progress of industry for the sake of guaranteeing the high profits of previous entrants. This once more imposes a high price structure on the economy.

It is not realised how monopolies and concentration of production levy an exorbitant tribute on the economy, artificially push the prices upwards, and make arrangements to collect the ransom by combinations and agreements. All this narrows the home market making a crisis inevitable. Besides, their hunt for profits through combinations and restrictive practices ruins the smaller competitors and lays waste lot of productive power. How prices are pegged high by keeping out rivals, secret agreements, etc., is narrated in the Report of the Monopolies Commission. It says, "we are convinced that in certain goods of consumer use including drugs, exorbitant prices were actually charged by producers who are either the sole producers of the goods or accounted for such a large share of the production that there was no substantial competition and they acted as price leaders... Another practice restrictive of competition is the insistence of many manufacturers that their goods must not be sold below the price as dictated by them... It is obvious that this kills competition between the actual distributors of the article and often keeps the prices which the ultimate consumer has to pay higher than they would otherwise have been". Even retail prices are fixed by the monopolies. The Commission further states, "Even more widespread than resale price maintenance is the practice of exclusive dealing which many manufacturers enforce. This consists in a manufacturer telling a dealer that he shall not deal in any competitors' goods". "Several instances were brought to our notice of the practice of fixation of prices by agreement between competitors." It is by such practices that monopoly levies its tribute, imposes high prices on the economy, accentuating the crisis. It also retards the progress of industrial development by its

attempts to keep off rivals and ensure the domestic market as its exclusive preserve.

Another important factor which has distorted the economy is the expenditure of the Government of India on defence which runs nearly to Rs. 1,000 crores each year.

According to the figures of the Reserve Bank of India reports, the expenditure has risen from Rs. 289.54 crores in 1961-62 before the India-China border incident to Rs. 842.49 crores in 1967-68 taking nearly 30 per cent of the total revenue budget. From the capitalists to their economists all agree that this has been a heavy strain on the economy diverting capital, resources, inflicting heavy taxation burdens, denying the people necessities of life.

Taxation and Further Robbery

The monstrous taxation of the people to finance the capitalist path is nothing but a forcible transfer of value from the toilers to the capitalist class to foot the bill of their industries. To this has been added the recent bill of Rs. 1,000 crores for defence purposes—a bill arising out of the political class policies of the Congress Government—its anti-China policy which helps it in securing foreign 'aid'.

The total tax revenue of the Government of India was Rs. 875.37 crores in 1961-62. In 1962-63 it was Rs. 1,060.98 crores, in 1964-65 Rs. 1,562.80 crores; in 1967-68 it was Rs. 2,160 crores. The expenditure on defence was Rs. 289.54 crores in 1961-62; it increased to Rs. 425.30 crores in 1962-63; to Rs. 704.15 crores in 1963-64; to Rs. 762.18 crores in 1965-66 and Rs. 842.49 crores in 1967-68.

While the capitalists were given every concession the masses were robbed and fleeced through indirect taxes in the form of excise duties on commodities of common use. Union excise duties which amounted to Rs. 145.25 crores in 1955-56 at the end of the First Plan rose to Rs. 1,231.40 crores by 1967-68. How they push the prices upwards, how they have developed into a monstrous system of robbing the people becomes clear from the following table :

*Percentage proportion of excise duties and
cesses to cost of production*

Industry	1955-56	1964-65
Matches	51.4	60.8
Tobacco	34.7	45.4
Sugar	15.2	15.0
Iron & steel	1.1	15.0
Tea	0.3	6.3
Mineral oils	28.3	31.4

This is one of the important elements in the ever-rising prices of commodities narrowing the market and the purchasing power of the people.

Simultaneously it must be seen how this is a process of robbery of one class by another. The same time that the masses are being fleeced, the capitalists are allowed to loot the public treasury, derive the benefits of the public sector and evade taxes on a huge scale.

Prof. Kaldor estimated that the evasion of income-tax deprived the exchequer of an amount at least equal to that realised by the state. Everyone knows that evasion has become a fine art. The public does not realise how it is defrauded by big business and monopolists who openly state that there is nothing that money cannot buy. Simultaneously these same interests see to it that they are able to purchase the products of the public sector at the cheapest price. The public sector is made to function as the tool of the private sector at the expense of the people. Electricity produced in the public sector is purchased by big industrialists at fantastically low prices. This open loot of the people, this deliberate defrauding of the public sector, has added to the intensity of the crisis.

“A main reason for state investments in power, transport, and other public utilities has been to promote private enterprises. Whereas in India and Pakistan, the state has also ventured into industry on a large scale, it has done so mainly in fields where for various reasons private industry could

not be expected to take the initiative. Furthermore, it has taken this step mainly in order to make supplies of raw materials, or capital goods available to private industry" (Gunar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, p. 2102)

"Even in India, where 'a clear decision has now been made in favour of substantial surplus accumulation' in public sector undertakings, profit rates remain very low. The reasons are those already hinted at: the lingering idea that it is possible and desirable to give incentives to private enterprise by setting low prices on services and goods from the public sector; the opposition of private industry to higher prices, reflected also in the positions taken by the state Governments; and the difficulty of raising administered prices in pace with the rise in the general price level". (*Ibid.*, p. 2107.)

It will thus be seen that the crisis is one of the entire economic and political policies, of their basic foundations and is not one which is either related only to a bad agricultural season or just shortage of foreign exchange. It is possible to have ups and downs even within the basic framework, but that is nowhere getting out of the crisis.

An important result of this crisis is the mad search for export markets—not of a healthy expanding economy which has enough surplus to send abroad after satisfying the minimum requirements of the people and the country but of an economy whose home market cannot absorb the products of the moderate advance registered by its industry in the past. There is no doubt that the bourgeois-landlord economy needs such exports even to earn foreign exchange to keep the wheels of industry running; but at the same time, it screens the fact that the entire production cannot be sold in the home market. That is why there is a race to produce as cheaply as possible at the cost of the working class. This search for foreign markets under the impact of the recession at home and necessity of foreign exchange because of indebtedness, lands India's representatives in the most reactionary company. Nijalingappa, Sanjeeva Reddy, Morarji Desai—all try

to cultivate Japan and South-East Asia as new trading partners. And India prides herself in sending Tata trucks, Bhilai steel, railway wagons to the puppet Governments of South Vietnam and South Korea—parading it as new triumphs of export performance. The exigencies of the capitalist crisis land the 'non-aligned Government' in helping the butchers of the Vietnamese people and at the same time break all trade relations with North Vietnam. The dependence of the economy, its urgent need for exports, is likely to create a reactionary political orientation drawing India more firmly into the imperialist net.

It is because of this dependence that India's trade with independent countries and with the socialist camp is not developing with great rapidity to overcome this one-sided relation with the West. India has kept herself out of the profitable trade with People's China though other countries are vying with each other to enter the Chinese market. Its trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe has increased and been helpful in giving it plenty of manoeuvrability. Had it not been for the rupee payment facilities which these countries provided, the Indian position would have been absolutely untenable. And yet when big offers to lift engineering goods, etc., are there India hesitates for fear of the West. It stalls negotiations about purchase of Soviet aeroplanes for air service for bulk purchase of Indian engineering goods. The pressure of the USA is so strong that even this bargain which will save a huge amount of foreign exchange is not easily accepted.

The various economic measures taken by the Government are only intended to ease directly or indirectly the burdens and difficulties of the capitalist class. While it adopts repressive measures against the workers and other sections when they struggle against the effects of the crisis, it adopts measures and policies which give plenty of facilities to the capitalists to pass on their burdens to the toilers. The credit control, the refinance facilities, the raising and lowering of bank rates are all done in the interests of the bigger capitalists,

the victims being not only the toilers but also the smaller sections of the capitalists.

The relaxation of controls, the decontrol of the prices of a number of commodities, the self-control by industries all reveal as opportunities for the bigger sharks to profit at the expense of the common man.

Under the stress of the crisis, private sector capitalists are being given more and more freedom, delicensing is introduced, planning is being reduced to announcing of general targets and the role of the state sector is being reduced. Simultaneously greater pressure is being exercised to give more facilities to private foreign capital, to relax controls over collaboration agreements. Many facilities are being given to the foreign capitalists. And yet a formal announcement opening new avenues for them has not been made. In its bargaining the bourgeois Government seems to rely on an ad hoc arrangement and not a formal change in policy.

Under the stress of the crisis there is strong pressure to yield to the demands of the imperialists and strike an anti-national deal. But the crisis at the same time sharpens the conflict of sections of the bourgeoisie with imperialism which threatens to take a larger part of the loot from the exploitation of the people by intruding into the domestic market. This compels many to play a middle role between the Soviet Union and the imperialist camp to safeguard their own interests. There is a move to coordinate some development targets under the plan more firmly with Soviet planning—i.e., make long-term arrangements with the Soviet Union and there is strong hostility to it also. To counteract the growing pressure from one side—American imperialism—there is a tendency in the ruling circles to hold on to the connections with the other side and refrain from anti-Sovietism. This was seen in relation to the Soviet arms deal with Pakistan and Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. There are voices in the ruling circles and industrial circles as well who would like to enter into a dialogue with China to lessen the atrocious burden of de-

fence spending and exploit the opportunities of trade and commerce with China.

The crisis while creating the danger of an anti-national compromise leads to a certain sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and sections of the national bourgeoisie which seek to continue the policy of playing between the USSR and the imperialism camp to drive a harder bargain with imperialism.

False Claims

The Government and its apologists have started advertising that with the good agricultural season of 1967-68, with agricultural production increasing by 27 per cent over last years' fall, India is on the way out of the crisis. They are advertising that the balance of payments position is improving by six per cent between January and April 1968. While there is no doubt that the situation did somewhat ease after the big harvest, all the other factors from foreign exchange crisis, debt payments, clogging of the home market, export performance remain and the basic causes continue. Besides, again this year there is talk of a fall in production of food-grains. The Government of India is urgently asking Washington to release the balance of PL-480 aid for the year amounting to 3.5 million tons. The stocks held by the Government will be not more than three million tons by the end of September. There is likelihood of a fall in the kharif crop of three million tons. Prices of cereals in September in most states are as high as last year. To keep the economy going an annual rise of seven per cent in exports is necessary and this is beyond achievement. The U.S. foreign aid bill has been cut to the lowest figure in twenty years—1619 million dollars. The House Appropriations Committee gave the following as the reasons for the cut: "the serious fiscal situation of our country, budget deficit, and increasing rate of inflation, the gold outflow to past and present recipients of our assistance and our deficit position in our international balance of payments".

It is in this background that some of the developments paraded by the Government have to be understood. Food-grains output in 1967-68 was 21 million tons more—29 per cent higher—than in 1966-67 a year of low production. It was eight per cent higher than the previous four months of 1968, rose by 6.4 per cent over the corresponding period of 1967 when it had risen by only 1.7 per cent. Over the period July 1967—June 1968, the wholesale prices index (base 1952-53=100) registered a fall of 6.1 per cent as compared with increase of 15.8 per cent, 8.3 per cent during the preceding two years of 1966-67 and 1965-66 respectively. But consumer prices instead of falling have risen. The All-India Consumer Price Index for working class (base 1949=100) showed a rise of 1.4 per cent over the rise of 14.1 per cent during the previous year. The Reserve Bank Report for 1967-68 adds: "The rise of more than six per cent in the index for January-April 1968 is encouraging. The recovery from recessionary trends is, however, partial and tardy and several industries are working below capacity".

These years of crisis have inflicted untold sufferings on the people. The devaluation, inflation, the rising burdens of debts, all have served to shoot prices high and as has been pointed out, prices rose by 15.8 per cent and 8.7 per cent in the last two years of 1966-67 and 1965-66. The price-rise in the three years ending 1966-67 was at an annual rate of 12 per cent. The index of wholesale prices rose from 152.67 in 1964-65 to 191.3 in 1966-67. By September 1967 it reached 221.5. Between July 1967 and June 1968 it registered a fall of only 6.1 per cent.

The Consumer Price Index went on rising. The Working Class Consumer Price Index number (1949=100) was 152 in 1964; it rose to 184 in 1966; it shot up to 217 in October 1967; between July 1967 and June 1968 it has registered an increase of 1.4 per cent; it appreciated by 9.2 per cent in 1965; 10.8 per cent in 1966 and 13.5 per cent in 1967. In this same period per capita availability of food decreased as pointed out earlier; the annual per capita availability of edible

oils decreased from 4.5 kgs in 1964-65 to 3.4 kgs in 1966-67; and of cotton cloth from 15.1 metres in 1964-65 to 13.1 metres in 1966-67.

The full story of privations imposed by the crisis can be understood only if it is remembered that real wages continue to lag far behind the cost of living; that the real incomes of the workers, middle class employees, agricultural workers and poor peasants continue to fall off with the prices making bigger and bigger inroads into them. Official statistics show that the real wages of factory workers today is below the pre-war level of British days. It was only by 1950 that the real wages of the worker were the same as the 1939 level. In recent years, it has continued to fall. Official figures show that by 1965 itself it had gone below the 1949 level which approximately represented the same wage as in 1939.

Year	Index number of money earnings	All-India	Index
		Consumer Price Index No. Base 1961=100	number of real earnings Col. 2 x 100 Col. 3
1962	105.6	103.2	102.3
1963	108.9	106.3	102.4
1964	114.1 (E) (P)	120.6	94.6 (E) (P)
1965	124.7 (P)	131.7	94.7 (P)
		E—Estimate.	P—Provisional.

This is how the burdens of the crisis were being already passed on to the workers. During the last two years, with the continued rise in prices the situation has become unbearable, the working class standard of living drastically reduced, which has accentuated the crisis of the market.

It will be further realised that in the same period the employers opened a big offensive retrenchment to safeguard their profits, that the Government and every section of employers tried to oppose every little demand of the workers and employees and suppress their movements in blood. Immediately after elections the United Front Ministries of

democratic parties did give some relief to the employees and workers, some relief was secured by the workers through their organised strength—central government employees, etc., but a policy of general resistance to the demands of the working class had started.

The number of unemployed on live register in 1965 (December) was 2,469,000; in December 1967 it was 2,738,000; in February 1968 it was 2,799,000; in March 2,703,000. Official statistics (*Economic Survey*) reveal that employment in the private sector went down by three lakhs from 68.1 lakhs to 65.2 lakhs between March 1966 and June 1967, this despite the fact that since March 1966 the coverage has been extended to include establishments employing 10 to 24 workers also. Actually there is a tremendous backlog of unemployment which exceeds 13 million. In the figures registered at the employment exchanges two years ago there are nearly two lakhs of educated employment-seekers—clerks, professional, technical and managerial personnel. The number of unemployed engineers has risen to 39,000. The mounting unemployment of engineering and technical personnel in a country like ours exposes the myth of rapid industrial development. Besides unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the ranks of the unemployed include young college graduates, school teachers, professors, skilled workers whose numbers run into lakhs. This of course does not include the partially and fully unemployed in the rural areas.

The rising unemployment, the rising cost of living and the fall in real wages called forth wide strike actions from the working class. The figures for mandays lost for the last five years were 1962—6.12 million, 1963—3.27 million, 1964—7.72 million, 1965—6.90 million and 1966—13.85 million. Mandays lost on account of strikes and lock-outs during 1967 were 9.92 million (provisional). 1968 has seen strikes and lock-outs extending over months—some lasting for as many as 4½ months. The newspaper workers' strike itself lasted nearly two months and while it showed the determination and strength of the workers, it also saw the arrogant

refusal of the employers to accept the recommendations of the wage board and the sycophancy of the Government towards the newspaper magnates. The one-day token strike of the central government employees was organised in the face of the Central Government's intimidating and repressive policies. It once more showed that under the stress of the crisis the Government like the employers is not prepared to negotiate but is only bent on repression. The crisis has already increased the grimness of the class struggle.

It is against this background that we have to understand the mounting struggles of textile, steel and other industrial workers—the rising ferment among the railway workers, the prolonged struggles of the state government employees in almost all states in India before and after 1964. The newspaper workers' struggle, the central government employees' struggles and the wave of resistance among the entire industrial workers, school teachers, professors, hospital staff, students, show that every section is being pushed into action for its immediate demands by the inexorable burdens of the crisis.

The crisis leads to ferocious onslaughts on the toilers in the rural areas. The Party *Programme* had drawn attention to the concentration of landholdings. During the last few years, this has been accompanied by a concentration of money power, credit, marketing facilities, surplus in the hands of a few people—the vested interests. The ever-rising spiral of prices which continually revises the cost of cultivation is leading to expropriation of the small peasant where he owns land. There is always a big gap between the prices he gets at harvesting time and the prices at which he has to buy his implements. The governmental expenditures on improvement, irrigation facilities, etc., bypass him and at the end of each season he faces bankruptcy and destitution. The agricultural workers who are only partially employed bear the worst burden of the crisis. There is growing gap between the purchasing power of the wages they get in the season—and these are very low—and what they can purchase afterwards. With the cities full of unemployed, with no opening in the

villages for new employment, and with introduction of labour economy measures on the big farms in pursuit of larger profits, the mass of workers is being reduced to pauperisation.

It is out of this situation that we get the big movements in agrarian areas, the movements of tribals, the movements and demonstrations of the landless for land. It is out of this crisis that we get ferocious struggle in the rural areas where every effort is made to suppress in cold blood the protests of the agricultural workers as in Andhra. The development of capitalist relations, the growing production for the market, the application of more capital to land—all on the basis of land concentration and the semi-feudal land relations create the most acute agrarian crisis which manifests itself in the growing expropriation, and unemployment of large sections of the poorer sections. The recession together with the adverse agricultural conditions only accentuated the process creating huge discontent in the rural areas.

For the Government, for the bourgeois-landlord clique, the only way out is to repress the people, force them to accept the burdens of the crisis, force them to reduce their standard of living, restrict their consumption, force unemployment on them and increase the surplus per head of person employed so that the demands of foreign debtors and indigenous profiteers are met, so that Indian goods are sold on the foreign markets at lower prices. No more concessions but further attacks—this is the declared policy of the Government and the capitalists. Therefore every device is used from high taxation on necessities of life, inflation, rise in prices, while holding the wages and salaries in check. Cloth, sugar, tea, tobacco are getting beyond the reach of the common man. Education of their children also is already beyond the means of the toiling classes. With lakhs of unemployed the Government is taking a lead in introducing automation, computers, threatening the jobs of tens of thousands.

This brings official policy directly into conflict with the people and leads to the upsurge in the fight against the present policies of the Government.

The Danger of American Domination

The economic crisis and the developments connected with it fully bring out the warning and analysis given in the *Programme* of our Party about the danger from American imperialism, a danger which no party in this country except ours has been seeing. "The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic 'aid'." They "have become the chief bulwark of neo-colonialism. In these circumstances the penetration of American capital in India and our growing reliance on American 'aid' are creating a dangerous situation for our country also. They are utilising it to wrest more concessions for exploiting our country..."

The economic crisis reveals the increasing dependence of our economy on American 'aid'. At each and every step the economy has to meet one or the other demand of India's donors. Devaluation was forced by them on India. The Fourth Plan was scuttled under their pressure, their refusal to help it. The increased concessions to private foreign capital are being given under their demands. Trade with American satellites is being opened and developed to please them. Trade ties with North Vietnam and Cuba were snapped, once again under their pressure.

The import of American over-produced goods like fertilisers is forced on India in the name of developing food production, imports which are charged at a price much heavier than that obtaining in the international market. To get back their debts they demand that Indian workers and the people should be exploited in the most ruthless manner by the introduction of automation and other devices.

The penetration of American imperialism into our economy and its growing domination are creating new and sharp dangers to the independence of our economy, a danger which the people can neglect only at their own peril, at the peril of their liberty and freedom. Any party which underestimates this danger betrays the interests of our country and our people.

The crisis reveals that the contradiction between the people

and imperialism, mainly American imperialism, has tremendously sharpened and it is directly facing them in the shape of frontal attacks on their standard of living and jobs and of direct imposition of starvation and destitution on millions.

Imperialist Attack on Foreign Policy

The economic dependence on American imperialism leads to direct pressures on India's foreign policy and the events of the last four years fully demonstrate how the bourgeois-landlord Government is yielding to it. In the joint communique issued at the end of her visit to Washington, Smt. Indira Gandhi praised U.S. President Johnson's sincere desire for peace and gave her support to the notorious 'containment of China policy' of the U.S. imperialists.

On the question of Vietnam the Government of India has not abandoned its prevaricating policy. It refuses to go beyond requests for stopping the bombing of North Vietnam and never by word condemns the direct American aggression and its brutal war in Vietnam. On the other hand, under American pressure, it has snapped all trade ties with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Trucks, Bhilai steel, cement—materials which may be used by the puppet Government in its war against the people are being freely sent to South Vietnam. At the dictates of the USA, the Government of India banned the entry of all books describing American atrocities in North and South Vietnam, but it sent medicines worth thousands of rupees to help the puppet troops of the South Vietnam Government.

Again trade is being opened with South Korea which is under the domination of the puppet regime set up by the American imperialists. But socialist Cuba continues to be boycotted.

In spite of extremely valuable help to India from the German Democratic Republic, it is denied full diplomatic recognition under the pressure of the West German and U.S. Governments. Economic aid is sought from the West German Bonn Government and its Chancellor, the reactionary Kiesinger, was specially invited to visit this country.

Of late, the Government of India has taken several steps to cultivate friendly relations with the reactionary regimes in Asia which are either satellites of the USA or supported by it. The Government lost no time in establishing relations with the Indonesian fascist regime. The establishment of the regime was described by India's Foreign Minister as the return of Indonesia to parliamentary democracy. The Vice-President of India paid a friendly visit to Thailand, whose Government is openly participating in the American war against Vietnam.

In this period, the Government continued to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe. The Soviet Union and the other countries rendered economic aid to India which enabled the bourgeoisie to continue to play between the two camps. In spite of this and because of the increased dependence on the USA, there was a reactionary shift in the foreign policy.

The Party *Programme* correctly stated, "The border dispute with China leading to a border war between the two biggest states in Asia and the state of cold war existing since then, have further accentuated this shift in India's foreign policy".

The anti-China policy was consistently utilised to secure more aid from the USA; the same weapon was used to appeal to the USSR. In the bargain it was used to pile up the huge expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores on 'defence' which has tremendously accentuated the economic crisis, a fact which is acknowledged even by many among the bourgeoisie.

The complete loss of initiative in foreign policy, its utter bankruptcy, was seen in the Indo-Pakistan war when the American game to make Asians fight Asians succeeded on the sub-continent. The Tashkent agreement rescued India and Pakistan out of the conspiracy hatched by the imperialist powers.

The bankruptcy of the Government's foreign policy was once more seen when the Soviet Government decided to supply arms to Pakistan. The resolution passed by the Central

Committee of our Party in its Jaipur session stated, "The decision of the Soviet Government highlights the crisis of the foreign policy of the Government of India. This is not fortuitous. It is a part of the crisis of its basic policy of developing the Indian economy on capitalist lines with aid from imperialist powers and collaboration with foreign monopolists. The decision of the Soviet Government to supply arms to Pakistan has exposed the utter failure of the foreign policy of the Government of India", which seeks to utilise the anti-China stand of the U.S. Government and capitalise on the hostility between the USSR and China.

It should be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union has been showing a certain shift in its attitude to Indian claims and pretensions vis-a-vis Pakistan. In the earlier years Soviet statesmen made statements to the effect that Kashmir was irrevocably a part of India. The recent Soviet position, according to the Prime Minister, is that the question is one to be settled between India and Pakistan. It was known that at the Tashkent conference the Soviet leaders strove hard to prevail on the Indian Prime Minister to accept this stand. This shift also is directly connected with the growth of the internal reaction in India and the increased surrender to the USA. The Soviet shift is significant and must be recognised as due to the growth of American influence.

Behind the play between the two camps and professions of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the Government of India was taking certain reactionary steps which did not escape the attention of the Soviet Union and which led to strong comments in the Soviet Union.

In spite of bitter results of putting staggering burdens on her economy, the Government of India pursues its anti-China policy. Now and then one hears some people calling for normalisation of relations with China and relieving the Indian economy of the needless burden of a huge defence expenditure. Some papers owned by big business also sometimes demand a relaxation but as yet the anti-China chauvinism created by the Congress and all other parties is so dominant

that the saner elements are unable to develop concerted pressure. The dependence on the USA only helps the anti-China lobby to strengthen the policy of hostility to China.

At a time when all other countries, faced with recession, are trying to cultivate the Chinese market, the Government of India keeps India away from the profitable trade to please the Americans and thus prolongs the crisis.

During the visit of Smt. Indira Gandhi to Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand more statements were made to the effect that in these areas the main danger was internal subversion, i.e., revolution (or communist revolution as the international monopolists say) and that this should be met by international cooperation and pacts in the region. The main danger to these countries comes from the USA which is carrying on a murderous mission of aggression in Vietnam. Smt. Gandhi did not utter a word about it. The proposal for regional cooperation against internal subversion amounts to a call for a pact of reactionary Governments supported by the USA to crush the revolutionary movement in each country.

Congress President Nijalingappa during his recent tour of Japan said that the two countries should come together for bringing about political stability to the area. This is significant, for the Japanese monopolists and Sri Nijalingappa think that the greatest danger to democracy in Asia comes from People's China. Sri Morarji Desai's tour, it is known, became a scandal when he openly talked about two Chinas and put the External Affairs Ministry in a difficult position.

As a result of his talks with the leaders of Japan's ruling party, Sri Nijalingappa said there had arisen a feeling that the two countries should come together for bringing about political stability to the area. He called upon Japan and India to work closely together "to make Asia safe for democracy so that democracy develops into a way of life throughout the world". Bringing about political stability of the area in cooperation with the Japanese Government has no other meaning than forming a united front with the Japanese monopolists

against the revolutionary popular movements of the region. And to cooperate with Japan to make Asia safe for democracy has no other meaning than forming an anti-China front. For, in the vocabulary of the Japanese ruling class as well as Sri Nijalingappa, the greatest danger to democracy in Asia comes from China and not from the USA.

Sri Nijalingappa is eager to join hands with the Japanese monopolists who are manufacturing huge supplies for the U.S. military command to massacre the Vietnamese. This is what he means by saving democracy in Asia. Can anything be more shameful than this?

And finally during the Indo-American talks, in the last week of July 1968, the Indian side is again reported to have suggested that the security of the region should be ensured by an international guarantee (not by the withdrawal of imperialist forces and stoppage of all American intervention). The Americans are reported to have demanded a written guarantee from the countries of the region—that is, a pact signed and sealed. Thus it seems that while speeches were being made in the Rajya Sabha about flexibility in approach, proposals of how to contain the revolutionary movement in South-east Asia, how to contain China through regional pacts, were being discussed with the U.S. delegation.

These recent shifts have been accentuated by the economic crisis, by the need for earning more foreign exchange, by the urgency for more exports. The mad search for exports necessitated by the recession is forcing the Indian bourgeoisie to seek economic partners in the most suspicious quarters and develop political relations with them. The process is accentuated by the demand of the World Bank that there should be more trade among the countries of the region, by which they mean that India should open trade and commerce with the satellites of the USA.

That is why in recent months, the countries visited by the Prime Minister and others belong mostly to the region under the influence of the USA. South-east Asia, Australia, Latin

America—these have attracted the Ministers of the Government of India.

The Government of India's stand on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is equally suspicious. The non-proliferation treaty is an unequal treaty, a treaty which while it imposes unequal conditions on other and smaller nations, does not in the least affect the death-raising power of the USA. It puts no restrictions on the imperialists, on the piling of nuclear armaments and there is no guarantee against proliferation. At the same time in the name of non-proliferation it makes other nations dependent on the big powers for the research and development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Britain and the USA in co-operation with the USSR are to be the powers that will have the right to dictate to the other countries while there will be no restriction on their capacity to manufacture more nuclear weapons.

It was correct on the part of the Government of India to protest against the unequal conditions and refuse to sign the treaty. It was correct to demand that the big powers accept real restrictions on their nuclear capacity and destroy their weapons.

But the Government of India is at the same time raising a scare about China, pointing to the development of nuclear weapons in China and raising a scare about its own safety, about the likelihood of attack from China. With these pretexts it is demanding the right to be ready for the manufacture of her own weapons or in the alternative some kind of nuclear umbrella jointly provided by the USA and USSR. Thus the initial protests against an unjust treaty are being diverted into anti-China channels and towards securing a nuclear guarantee from the two big powers. The main enemy of the world is forgotten and like the USA, the Government of India is holding China as the main culprit. The USSR is playing a sorry and reactionary role in this, pressing India to sign the treaty and at the same time pandering to its anti-China hostility.

It is this economic pressure that creates the possibility of

further shifts in foreign policy endangering national interests. Besides, the basic internal cause for a reactionary shift in foreign policy has been strengthened in recent years. The Party *Programme* correctly stated, "The growth of monopolies and big business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies, which are actively encouraged by the Government, the increasing reliance of its five-year plans on aid from the western countries, particularly from the USA, despite the vital, industrial, technical and economic aid rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries—all these have a tremendous bearing on all the policies of the Government, foreign policy being no exception."

In recent years, it is precisely the strength of the monopolies and big business that has grown.

The danger of its anti-national deal therefore increases. While the crisis itself compels some sections of the bourgeoisie to take a more sober stand on foreign affairs, to be aware of the growing grip of the imperialists, it, at the same time, heightens this danger of further reactionary shifts in India's foreign policy, shifts which may create dangers for the future of the country. The *Programme* calls on our Party to be vigilant and wage a persistent struggle against the reactionary shifts, against the designs of the American imperialists.

People in our country are still oblivious of the growth of the American danger and CIA penetration. Recent events and revelations however show that the CIA is spreading its net far and wide—from the universities and educational centres to the defence forces. It is making preparations for striking at Indian freedom through its agents whenever it requires to do so. The economic dependence and the vested interests round it form its economic base of operation for its neo-colonialist plans. And it is freely using the PL-480 funds at the disposal of the American embassy in India.

As the revelations of an American spy reveal:

"The CIA and U.S. Military Intelligence gained entry to the high-ranking military circles of India, and tried to influence

them. They did not begrudge funds, time or personnel for this purpose.”

“Washington constantly stressed the need for a pro-American group in the Indian army that could take over at the opportune moment. With this goal in mind, the American Intelligence did not confine its activities to the Indian capital. They set up a network that covered the entire country and planted their agents in both the lower and higher echelons of the military. I recall a secret document that arrived from Washington indicating that all military personnel that had close ties with us should be promoted to more influential positions and place an officer at the head of the Indian General Staff who could direct an Indian policy that would be advantageous to us.”

“According to the document, agents in the American consulates in the various cities of India were to concentrate on the higher-ranking officers of the garrisons and find out their political outlook, their attitude to the USA. Ultimately, the best candidates would be recruited for the CIA. The methods used were neither above-board nor subtle. ‘Ralph’ was the nickname of an Indian colonel whom the CIA got in their clutches. They were aware that he had a weakness for the fair sex. So they went ‘fishing’ for him using an American beauty, a CIA agent of course, as bait. The colonel snapped at the bait and was caught, hook, line and sinker. So the CIA added another name to their list of American agents in India.”

“The American Intelligence Agency was constantly broadening its ties with the army and also the political circles of India. Every attempt was made to influence outstanding political figures who could in turn influence government policy or at least, were well informed concerning it.”

The various foundations, the Peace Corps, the World Assembly of Youth, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions have been revealed to be CIA agents and operating with CIA funds. It should be noted that these agencies have been financing organisations like the Youth Congress

with which the Indian National Congress is connected or trade union organizations with which the INTUC and the PSP-HMS are connected. Those who are loud in their profession of patriotism and equally loud in their anti-communism are the recipients of the tainted money. A few months ago the question of CIA's role in India with particular reference to its work among the youth was raised in Parliament. Startling revelations accusing openly the Youth Congress and the World Assembly of Youth's Indian Committee were made. The beneficiaries dared not deny that they were receiving money from the agency.

Last year the Government was compelled to close the Asia Foundation after it was exposed as a CIA front. For eighteen years now the Government of India was operating through the Foundation. It was *New York Times* that exposed it along with the American Friends of India as a CIA agency. But till the last the vigilant Government of India which is busy discovering non-existent communist conspiracies in the country, had no inkling as to the real character of this notorious foundation.

The United States Information Service is another branch of the CIA functioning in India with special facilities granted by the Government of India—the Government allows it to rent tele-type facilities which facilitate its work.

The increasing American grip over the country is seen in the increasing arrogance of American companies and capitalists towards the Indian people and the Indian Government. When American nationals openly defy Indian laws, the law is very lenient and everything is arranged in a way which belittles Indian laws and asserts the superiority of the USA. The American oil magnates who run their refineries in India refuse to obey the directives of the central Government of India, directly attack their workers, retrench them and show utter contempt for the Government committees appointed to investigate the disputes between them and their workers. And when they behave insolently like this, the state Governments lend the help of the police to crush the workers.

It is further known that a number of bureaucrats are in the pay of the USA and they manipulate things to suit their American bosses. In the riots, in the provincial conflicts, in the communal tensions, one often sees the hand of the CIA out to smash the freedom, democracy and unity of the Indian people.

The danger to Indian independence is thus growing and unless the growing dependence of our economy on the USA and the consequent penetration of the CIA is stopped the menace cannot be overcome. The Government is unable to meet this menace because it cannot break away from the policy of increasing 'aid' from the USA. The danger is heightened by the fact that all the other 'Left' parties including the revisionists are either oblivious to it or deliberately underplaying it, thus keeping the masses in ignorance of the U.S. conspiracies.

NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

Our Party, in its Seventh Congress documents, while analysing the economic-political situation obtaining then, clearly indicated the features and the nature of the economic crisis that was gathering momentum, and also exposed the hollowness of the so-called path of independent capitalist development, launched by the Congress Government. In the Political Report, entitled *New Situation and Party's Tasks*, adopted by the Central Committee in April 1967, which carried forward this understanding of our Party Congress after assessing fresh developments, we noted the deepening of the economic crisis and also its projection into the initial stages of a political crisis.

Three important points were emphasised regarding the nature and character of the economic crisis. First, the chronic character of the crisis inherent in the dependent and semi-feudal social order, and the contradiction that has come to exist between the productive forces and the relations of production. Second, the capitalist path of development conceived by the bourgeoisie to overcome the chronic crisis is itself caught in the whirlpool of a far more serious economic

crisis. Third, the present economic crisis is not to be mistaken for an ordinary cyclic crisis of capitalism or a temporary recession, but should be understood as an inseparable part of the world capitalist crisis, the crisis of the very capitalist order which is heading for collapse on a world scale.

Events during the last eighteen months have corroborated these conclusions and reinforced them with additional evidence.

Further, in the same report, we noted how the pursuit of the capitalist path without effecting radical agrarian reforms and relying heavily on foreign monopoly capital, was leading the country to the danger of neo-colonial domination under U.S. imperialism, endangering its national independence, and condemning its people to the cruel exploitation of the imperialists, Indian monopolists and the big landlords. It gave a serious warning to the people that continued hostility with the neighbouring states of Pakistan and People's China was increasing the heavy defence burdens on our economy, and this in its turn, was intensifying the economic crisis, increasing the dependence on imperialism and imperilling the country's progress in every field of activity.

The virtual abandonment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, opening of the floodgates for invasion of private foreign capital and its collaboration deals with Indian big business, the food crisis, resources crisis, foreign exchange crisis, balance of payments crisis, repayment of foreign debt crisis, the planning crisis, in short the crisis of the entire internal and external policies of the Government, speak eloquently of the correctness of our Party's assessment of the economic situation and the warning given on its basis.

The glib talk the leaders of the ruling classes are indulging in that they have been able to turn the corner because of the good harvest in 1967-68 and some other measures and steps supposed to have been taken by them cannot hoodwink anyone who has seen the haunting phenomenon of intensified closures, lock-outs, lay-offs, retrenchment and the rising wave of strikes of the workers and middle-class employees in the last eighteen months after the fourth general elec-

tions. The mounting mass discontent in the industrial centres and rural areas, and the frequent recourse of the Government to repressive measures to meet it, cannot escape the attention of any observer. The apathy with which the Government sat idle feigning helplessness when the newspaper magnates provoked a nationwide strike in their establishments and stopped publication of newspapers for two months, the clumsy haste with which it came down on the proposed one-day protest strike of the central government employees all over India, banning it with a draconian ordinance, and the closures and strikes continuing for months in several engineering concerns and textile factories are typical of the economic crisis and the working class unrest in different parts of the country.

The political crisis that has set in and is being expressed in an open and sharp form following the fourth general elections continues, and all its basic causes remain essentially unchanged despite any change in its form and manifestations. The leaders of the ruling Congress party denied the very existence of such a political crisis and sought to brush it aside as some temporary "instability" that had set in. They have now begun claiming that it has been warded off, stability restored, the conditions that gave rise to such instability, i.e., the coming into existence of non-Congress Governments in as many as eight states, have been set right by dissolving most of these Governments and that the Congress party also is considered by the vast millions of our people as a party capable of delivering the goods, etc. These are deliberately intended as morale-boosters for their own party and as dampers for the rising anti-Congress discontent of the masses. A few glaring facts would convince any political-minded person of the correctness of this statement.

The fact that hardly within a year after the general elections in the country, elected legislatures had to be dissolved and mid-term poll ordered in five states with a total population of 175 million, hardly speaks of political stability, it highlights the crisis in the situation.

The crude and corrupt practices freely resorted to by the Congress party at the states and central level, squabbles centering round the only issue of sharing the spoils of office and in no way connected with programmes and policies, are by no means an indication of tiding over the political crisis, but, on the contrary, underline the depth of the crisis.

Or can anyone dare to assert that the Centre-State conflicts that are corroding the federal structure and challenging the country's unity have, today, disappeared or have been mitigated? It is an issue that no political party can dodge without revealing its real colours. The fact that Congress chiefs from the states play a decisive role in selecting the Prime Minister of the country notwithstanding the concentration of unitary authority at the Centre is highly significant. It denotes the growing contradiction and conflict between the states and the Centre, which is maturing fast calling for a radical solution, but the ruling party, with its reactionary class policies, is utterly incapable of finding such a solution. It also reveals that the ruling party is no longer able to exercise its centralised authority over its state units.

Two definite trends are clearly emerging. One is a dangerously reactionary trend which advocates the setting up of an unalloyed unitary system of state and government, trampling underfoot all the autonomous and democratic rights of states and nationalities in the country, while the other, despite different shades and currents, fights for a genuine federal set-up and free, full and unfettered autonomy for states. The deepening crisis of the capitalist path and its inevitable projection into the political spheres as it matures, cannot but bring about a frontal confrontation between these two distinct forces and trends, and that is exactly what is in the making at the present stage of our political crisis.

Hence, what our Party characterises as the initial stage of the political crisis remains perfectly valid, no matter what the bourgeois leaders assert to the contrary.

But, what is significant and should be taken serious note of is that at the present stage of development the economic

and political crisis is sought to be utilised by forces of extreme reaction for their counter-revolutionary ends. Highly disruptive organisations like the Shiva Sena in Bombay, Lachit Sena in Assam and the like are fanning the worst parochial and chauvinist feelings on a big scale. Taking undue advantage of the continued conflicts with Pakistan and People's China, these dark forces are systematically working for the rousing of communal frenzy on the one side and most heinous anti-communist passions on the other. The growing mass discontent is thus sought to be taken into counter-revolutionary channels. Not only known reactionary forces like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc., outside the Congress and those inside the Congress resort to this; the distressing part is that several political parties and groups who objectively represent the democratic and progressive classes and sections in the country are falling victim to this dangerous chauvinism, and sometimes take the lead in these matters under the cover of nationalism and patriotism. The success of the rabidly nationalist and crudely chauvinist forces can be gauged when we see that a party which calls itself communist, the Right Communist Party under the leadership of S.A. Dange, virtually accepted several of the national chauvinist demands raised from time to time. What is surprising then if parties like the PSP, SSP, DMK, Akalis and the like frequently fall victim to this game and objectively abet reaction and disrupt the democratic unity of the people?

A glance at the history of the last eighteen months would reveal how on several issues, all these parties actually helped the game of the Congress party and other reactionary forces to divert the growing mass discontent and political awakening, born out of the economic political crisis, into disruptive channels. The weakness of our Party and other consistently democratic forces, on a national scale, and the consequent inability to give leadership to the growing mass discontent, are enabling these forces to distort the whole phenomenon and take it in a wrong and disruptive direction. The political crisis and the situation thus created are being utilised more

by the anti-people forces than the popular forces headed by the revolutionary working class and its party. This we should note.

Before concluding this topic, we would like to reproduce a highly instructive passage from Lenin's report to the Second Congress of the Communist International :

“On the one hand, bourgeois economists depict this crisis simply as ‘unrest’, to use the elegant expression of the British. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely insoluble.

“This is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie are behaving like bare-faced plunderers who have lost their heads: they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom. All this is true. But nobody can ‘prove’ that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions, and suppress some movement or uprising of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to ‘prove’ in advance that there is ‘absolutely’ no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry, or playing with concepts and catchwords. Practice alone can serve as real ‘proof’ in this and similar questions. All over the world, the bourgeois system is experiencing a tremendous revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now ‘prove’ in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organisation, contact with the exploited masses, and determination, and skill to utilise this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 226-227).

It is imperative that all our comrades fully grasp the meaning of this passage so as to be guided by it in their activities.

Hostility of the Government to Our Party

Basing on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class relations obtaining in the national as well as international arena, the Seventh Congress of our Party had worked out the Party

Programme and the *Resolution on Tasks*. These two documents were intended to guide our current political activity among our people and also to go forward in building up the People's Democratic Front to achieve the People's Democratic Revolution, as the only way out for the salvation of our country's problems and people's emancipation. Eighteen months ago, the Central Committee reviewed the progress of our work, self-critically examined the correctness or otherwise of its programmatic and political understanding, assessed the economic and political situation anew and worked out the new tasks corresponding to the new situation that emerged immediately after the fourth general elections.

First of all, it is necessary to recall that the bourgeois-landlord Government of the country had laid a deep conspiracy to tame the once-united Communist Party of India, to cultivate a section of its leadership with cajolery, to reduce it to a parliamentary "His Majesty's Opposition", and to transform it into an appendage of the ruling Congress party. The Government, under the shrewd class leadership of Nehru, pursued this tactic with all the cunning at its command. A section of the leadership at all levels including the C.C. acted as the trusted agents of the Government. Through them the Government was able to secure detailed information about the proceedings of the committees and decide its attitude towards individual leaders of our Party.

The Political Intelligence department could easily make out its first big list of 'who is who' in the Communist Party leadership at different levels in the post-independence offensive against the Party, because of the openly declared positions adopted by all the leaders, in the so-called inner-party discussion of that period. Basing itself on this, it began its effective intervention from within and was closely following the inner-party discussions and developments from time to time. With the deterioration of India-China relations, following the failure of the Tibetan counter-revolution and the Government of India's stand on it, and with the open eruption of the border dispute during 1959-60, the

differences inside the Party got sharpened on the one hand, and on the other, the intervention of the bourgeoisie and its press to influence and shape the Party's policies became more intense. The so-called 'leakages' that were organised, the 'inside stories' briefed by the hidden hand of the Home department, the manner in which the columns of special correspondents of almost all the leading dailies were pressed into service, and the systematic slander campaign and character assassination of individual leaders carried on by the pseudo-Left periodicals like *Link*, *Blitz*, *Mainstream*, and subsequently daily *Patroit*, etc., stand as a veritable record of history for nearly a decade.

All this campaign of political vilification and slander was organised for and aimed at nothing but politically isolating our trend of thought, destroying the image and revolutionary prestige of our leaders in the masses, depicting us as sectarians, dogmatists and advocates of violence, painting us as anti-national, anti-patriotic agents of either Pakistan or People's China, as it suited the occasion, beating us down in the inner-party struggle, and to see, at all costs, that a militant Marxist-Leninist force did not crystallise and get consolidated in our country.

It was this that prompted the Government to detain a thousand of our leaders under the Defence of India Act in the year 1962.

It was again the same design that goaded the central Government to arrest and detain all our state leaders of West Bengal in October 1964, on the eve of the Seventh Party Congress.

It was once again the solid strength of our Party, demonstrated at the Party Congress and the militant revolutionary political line adopted there that became an eyesore for the authorities and another big attack was launched at the end of the year 1964, detaining about 1500 of our leaders and cadres till the middle of the year 1966.

The "White Paper", produced by the Home department and distributed in different languages in lakhs, levelling grave

accusations and aimed at systematic calumny of our Party, was condemned universally, in no time, as a bundle of cooked up lies and politically motivated. Our Party leaders whom the Government conspired to detain for indefinite periods in jails under the hated Defence of India Act had to be released, and the Act itself had to be withdrawn. The mighty popular movement that gathered momentum for their release and for the withdrawal of DIR embraced different democratic sections of the people and parties cutting across all political barriers and compelling the Government to accept defeat.

The same was the Government's aim in rushing through the 'Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Ordinance' in June 1966. It was withdrawn under public pressure, but has subsequently been enacted by Parliament. When the Government was compelled to withdraw the DIR after five years of its continued existence, it armed itself with this law, which contains several draconic provisions including the total banning and suppression of associations. The spokesmen of the Government made it abundantly clear that this dagger was mainly aimed at our Party, notwithstanding the deceptive talk of suppressing 'communal' and the so-called 'divisive' forces to cover up its real purpose.

The Congress party and the central Congress Government continued their concentrated fire on our Party in the post-election period, constantly conspiring to involve our Party in one political adventure or another, so as to facilitate its evil design of destroying it. The bourgeoisie and its kept press systematically propagated that they would tolerate and put up with any non-Congress Government in states by political parties and groups, provided it excluded the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The haste with which and the manner in which the West Bengal U.F. Government was toppled, and the unashamed way the supply of foodgrains is utilised as a weapon to undermine the Kerala U.F. Government highlight their enmity to our Party and all that it stands for.

The present legal existence and functioning of the Party

which we won after years of hard struggle should not deceive any one amongst us into the belief that the Congress Government and other avowed anti-communist reactionaries in the country have abandoned their evil designs on our Party, and have come to respect the democratic rights and civil liberties assured under the Constitution of the country. To understand the degrading depths of their anti-communism, it is enough to recall the unconcealed joy and gratification expressed by these forces over the murderous attack and mass-scale butchery of the Indonesian communists in 1965, and the haste with which the Government had rushed to hug the butcher regime, offering economic aid and hearty cooperation. It is dangerous to forget even for a moment how the class war is tremendously intensified on a world scale and how the propertied classes in their desperate last-ditch battles to perpetuate their decaying, exploiting order, are turning into wild beasts in their behaviour while keeping only their human form. Lenin, as early as 1920, warned communists everywhere of this danger, in his famous *Theses on the Comintern's Fundamental Tasks*, and it is necessary to remember his words to warn ourselves again.

Speaking about the monstrous growth of militarism and violence on the part of the world bourgeoisie and characterising any naive belief in their democratic and peaceful code of conduct and behaviour as 'sheer philistine stupidity' Lenin observed: "That truth consists in the bourgeoisie, even the most enlightened and democratic, no longer hesitating at any fraud or crime, even the massacre of millions of workers and peasants, so as to preserve private ownership of the means of production."

Further, exposing the democratic pretensions of the bourgeoisie, he stated: "Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the Government of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois democratic system is most 'stable', are already systematically and secretly drawing up black-lists of communists and constantly violating their own constitution so as to give secret

or semi-secret encouragement to the whiteguards and to the murder of communists in all countries, making secret preparation for the arrest of communists, planting agents-provocateurs among the communists, etc, etc.”

India-China Question

—Party Upholds Banner of Internationalism

The bourgeois-landlord Government and its leaders, riding on the wave of rabid national chauvinism and relying on their stupid calculations, were the most vociferous denounciators of our Party and its political line, the line of advocating negotiated settlement of the dispute with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and People's China, instead of indulging in their dangerous policy of continued confrontation with Pakistan and 'containment' of China.

This political line of ours was dubbed and slandered as anti-national, and yet our Party leaders all over the country preferred imprisonment under the DIR, doggedly defending our line, and counter-accusing the Congress party and Government with betrayal of real national interests and treachery to the common people of our country than yielding before the threats of force and violence by the Government.

Our demand for ending the Indo-Pak war and for negotiated settlement of the Kashmir problem was denounced by the late Prime Minister Shastri as an attitude "totally opposed to the national policy and united opinion in the country" and as "double-talk". He went to the arrogant length of warning our Party, in his scurrilous speech at Aurangabad, saying, "if they persist in this attitude of questionable loyalty to the motherland, why should they stay at all in the country".

Three weeks of the shooting war between India and Pakistan, the cease-fire forced by the Security Council resolution, the newly dawned wisdom to accept the offer of the Soviet Union's good offices to meet the representative of Pakistan at Tashkent and the signing of the Tashkent Declaration totally exposed the utter political bankruptcy of the

Government's tirades against our Party. The line that our Party advocated and continued to advocate stood the test of time and proved to be the only correct way out.

Let us see what happened to the political line of the Government and other self-styled "nationalist and patriotic" parties in relation to the border dispute with the People's Republic of China. The dispute first came into the open and burst into a serious conflict between the two countries in 1959, with the Tibetan developments and the Chinese armies coming to the borders. It is nearly a decade since then. From the day this dispute came into the open, we had been advocating a peaceful political settlement, through negotiations and talks between the two Governments, and were against all bellicose declarations and acrimonious claims on the disputed spots. This was denounced as a line emanating from the so-called 'China Lobby', as an anti-national line of surrendering our territory to People's China, etc. Nine years are over, scores of armed border clashes took place, a regular war broke out and a humiliating military debacle took place, the defence budget has enormously increased and reached over a thousand crore of rupees, dependence for military hardware has hundred-fold increased, the vaunted policy of peace and non-alignment has been emasculated, the economic crisis has been aggravated, the earlier political-military confrontation since 1947 with one neighbouring country, Pakistan, had extended to a dangerous confrontation with both the neighbouring countries, People's China and Pakistan, dragging the Government into accepting the bankrupt U.S. policy of 'containment of communist China', a policy which is meeting ignoble defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people.

The country and the Congress Government have become a pawn in the hands of different kinds of anti-China statesmen, to be played by them on the international chess-board, while they deceive themselves all the time thinking it is they who are playing the game. Everyone, without exception, in the anti-China lobby in our country realises that it is next to impossible to secure a settlement of the border dispute through

a war with China, and yet the rabid chauvinists, ultra-nationalists and confirmed anti-communists stand as one to oppose even the smallest move for a peaceful settlement. What is the game? The game is clear—it is to serve reaction and counter-revolution at home and imperialist reaction abroad. A section of the Congress party and the central Congress Government faced with the deepening economic crisis, confronted with the fast-losing bargaining and manoeuvring capacity in the international field, and belatedly realising the utter futility of the confrontation policies that are being pursued, are, now, rethinking and timidly putting across the need for a reversal of these dangerously damaging policies. But they are mortally afraid of the ghosts of bellicose chauvinism and ultra-nationalism that they themselves have been rousing. Hence they dare not reverse these policies. As many as 125 members of Parliament belonging to different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties came out in the open aggressively advocating adherence to the same old bankrupt anti-China policies and even wanting to take it to the extreme limit of aligning with the U.S. stooge, the Taiwan regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Thus the Government stands a prisoner of its own policies. That is how matters really stand, and yet the nonsensical slander against our Party by the Congress leaders, echoed by the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, PSP, continues with still more vehemence and shamelessness. But the history of the last half a decade demonstrates that there is no other solution to the continued conflicts and disputes with the neighbouring countries, Pakistan and People's China, than the one our Party has been consistently putting forth despite all the opposition and persecution it had to face. The day is not perhaps far off when this correct line of ours completely triumphs, debunking all the so-called "nationalists" and "patriots" who have landed our country in the present impasse.

What is required is not to rest content and satisfied with the correctness of the line, but to carry on a consistent and persistent struggle to mobilise ever wider sections of our

people around this correct line and build a powerful mass political movement to break the present impasse. The national and international conditions for the success of our line, today, are objectively far more favourable than at any time during the last several years. With redoubled confidence and courage our Party will have to go into action and mobilise mass sanctions for the line.

The Congress leadership and the central Government roused national chauvinism to politically isolate our Party, discredit its political line as anti-national, adventurist, etc., and forge a front against the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Our Party armed with the political understanding given by the new Party *Programme* and *Resolution on Tasks*, had concentrated its main fire against the Congress leadership and the Government as the chief representatives of the big bourgeois-landlord reaction, and worked for the forging of an anti-Congress democratic front with all those democratic parties and groups who were prepared to ally with our Party, isolate the Congress party and inflict political blows, both through the weapons of extra-parliamentary mass activity as well as parliamentary elections, etc.

Events have shown that the Congress leaders did not succeed in their political line—they could neither prevent the mighty united mass struggles in the pre-election period, nor escape defeats at the hands of the people in the fourth general elections which showed their growing loss of influence and they are even now continuing to lick the wounds. In this, the significant political role played by our Party has to be noted—a role which no honest political worker dare deny.

The Struggle Against the Revisionists and the Tasks Still Facing Us

The struggle against the revisionist leadership of the united CPI, carried on inside the Party for years, finally culminated in our deliberately breaking with it and convening our Seventh Party Congress on our own in October-November 1964. A month after our Congress, the revisionists, too, held their

Congress and called it their Seventh Congress. The two Congresses came before the public with two distinct, sharply opposed programmes and political lines, each claiming and asserting that its programme and political line alone were genuinely Marxist-Leninist and really communist.

It is interesting to recall that as many as twentyfour delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties under revisionist leaderships came running post-haste to attend the Right Communist Congress at Bombay, the CPSU leading them, and the renegade clique of the League of Yugoslav Communists included in them, to greet this revisionist ramshackle congregation. A number of other parties led by revisionists obliged them with messages. This itself showed that a big international crowd had solidly rallied in support of the revisionist clique of Dangeites, who assembled to denounce our Party as 'splitters', 'renegades', 'dogmatists', 'sectarians' 'adventurists', 'Chinese agents' and 'betrayers' of the cause of communism in India, and to adopt a new programme and political line in opposition to the programme and political line adopted by our Congress at Calcutta. We had despatched to all these fraternal Parties all the relevant documents adopted at our Calcutta Congress, with a covering letter explaining the real and factual situation inside the Indian communist movement.

All the same, they all attended and blessed the Dangeites' Congress. This was not all. It is particularly interesting to recall the profuse praises showered on these revisionists by the CPSU delegation for their Marxism-Leninism, whose utter hollowness now stands glaringly revealed. We cite only two of them to show their sham character in retrospect. B. N. Ponamarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, heading the CPSU delegation, in his speech at the Right Communist Congress said :

The Communist Party of India [Dangeites' party] is fighting for the unity and cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; it comes against dogmatism and 'Left'-sectarianism as well as against reformism and right-opportunism."

“Your party is a *distinguished detachment* of the international communist movement. Acting on the basis of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings it contributes to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, for the unity of the world communist movement.” (Emphasis added.)

Such were the praises showered on and certificates given to their revisionist counterparts by the revisionist leaders of the CPSU in 1964. During the last four years, life and events have shown how every syllable of these praises and certificates of Marxism-Leninism has been proved false and how they were deliberately meant to bolster up the revisionists in India. But the Indian revisionist leaders, holding up these certificates in both hands, went about the country, challenging our Party on every count, contesting every basic formulation of our Party *Programme* and counterposing to it their Bombay programme as a piece of ‘creative Marxism’, and countering our Party’s political-tactical line with an alternative line of theirs. What happened to that Bombay programme, and what fate their political-tactical line met is now the common knowledge of every politically thinking person in our country, notwithstanding the fact that there are several credulous people among the revisionist following who are still being duped by their leaders. Our Party, in a number of its writings and documents, had laid bare the bankruptcy of the revisionist programme and policy, and it is redundant to repeat all of them here, in detail. And yet, a brief resume of the revisionists fiasco, during these years, cannot but find a place in the present Political Report to the Party Congress. This we shall attempt and touch upon a few salient and basic questions.

The Indian revisionist leaders boast that they alone are the real Marxist-Leninists and communists in our country, and their Bombay programme is the creative revolutionary programme for the Indian working class! What ‘revolutionary’ changes had these ‘creative Marxists’ introduced in their programme? The first basic change that they made was to

substitute the concept of 'National Democratic Revolution' for the till then existing concept of 'People's Democratic Revolution', a concept accepted and current in our Party since 1948.

Class Character of the State and National Democracy

The revisionists, in their draft programme, published in the middle of 1964, came out with the following profound definition of the state and its class character in India :

"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 often wields considerable influence."

"The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admitting them in governmental composition, especially at the state levels and giving them concessions at the cost of the peasantry." (*Draft Programme of Right C.P.*, p. 21)

The 'Marxist-Leninist' wisdom they attained during the six months of inner-party discussions made them keep intact the first two paragraphs of this definition but incorporate a small but round-about amendment in the third paragraph which reads as follows in the finalised programme :

"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 reforms and further enables them to secure concessions at the cost of the peasantry."

Another three years of experience has further enriched their 'Marxism' and they have now completely discarded the last two paras mentioned above from the definition of state power, and amended the first clause in their Eighth Party Congress, in the following manner :

“The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, in which the big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence. This class rule has strong links with landlords. These factors give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power.”

For the benefit of our readers and also to do proper justice to the revisionist authors of this programme, we should be permitted to highlight the new in this twice amended definition of the state power.

For the first three and a half years since July 1964, the revisionists considered that “in the formation and exercise of governmental power, *the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence*”. It is now amended to say that on the state in India, “*the big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence*”.

If earlier the ‘national bourgeoisie’ “compromises with landlords, admits them into the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state levels”, etc., now it is discovered that “the class rule has strong links with the landlords”!

What do all these factors add up to? “These factors give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power”! What, then, are these revisionist revolutionaries expected to do to carry out their ‘National Democratic Revolution’? They should eliminate these factors that give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power, and then that state power freed from the reactionary pulls once again sets on its “revolutionary journey”!

Here, the cat is out of the bag! The National Democratic Revolution of our revisionist gentry has nothing to do with the state and state power, but it is only a revolution against the ‘reactionary pulls’ on the present state power in India.

We ask them a straight and simple question, what is the concrete class character of the state power in India, at present, to which class or classes does state power belong and who is leading that state power?

We ask them another pertinent question: all right, state power belongs to the whole Indian bourgeoisie. But which stratum or section is leading that state power and has placed

itself in commanding heights? They say that they do not know, and repeat once again, the whole bourgeoisie!

Further, what is their so-called 'National Democratic Revolution' and against the state power of which class or classes is it directed? They again prevaricate. If the state power belongs to the whole of the bourgeoisie, are we to understand that their revolution chooses as its target of attack the whole bourgeoisie, big and non-big, peasant bourgeoisie as well as landed bourgeoisie, etc.? In that case it would be a cent per cent proletarian socialist revolution, at its highest and final form. This, of course, is remote from their thinking and one should be fair enough not to accuse them of such a crime. Their dogged resistance to admit that the big bourgeoisie and big landlords are in possession of state power, that the big bourgeoisie is the leading force in it, is not born out of ignorance, but emanates from a calculated and deliberate class collaborationist policy, a policy to ally with the present state power. They, therefore, depict it as a popular democratic state power where neither the big bourgeoisie nor the landlords have a place, one which foolishly allows itself to be "powerfully influenced by the big bourgeoisie" and to have "links with the landlords". The revisionists do not build any real case for revolution against the existing state power, nor do they mean it seriously when they use the word revolution.

It is not accidental that the revisionists when they define the class character of the state nowhere mention collaboration with imperialism. Had they done so, their entire structure of class collaboration would have fallen to pieces. Reading their characterisation, one gets the impression that it is a state which does not contain any class interested in collaboration with imperialism. In our characterization, we have precisely stated that it is led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism. But the revisionists keep silent on the basic issue leaving themselves free to cooperate with the bourgeois-landlord alliance. Their praise of the Government's foreign policy, their opportunist

understanding about planning, all flow from this vitiated outlook.

Is it not mockery to talk of National Democratic Revolution as an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly revolution, when, according to them, neither the feudalists nor the imperialists and Indian monopolists are in state power ?

The revisionist muddle on the class character of the counter-revolutionary state power extends to the class character and content of their revolution, too. Just as they prevaricate, dodge and avoid answering the question, "who is in the leadership of the counter-revolutionary state power", they repeat the same trick and try to wriggle out of answering the equally important question, "who is to be the leader of the revolution".

It is again ABC of Marxism-Leninism that in the present-day world, there are two hostile classes on the stage of history, the capitalist class and the working class; that the struggle between the two will decide the destinies of mankind, the former representing decaying capitalism and the latter leading the victorious cause of socialism, while all other classes and strata thrown in between the two, in the final analysis, have no other go except to choose to follow one of these two classes. Another Marxist-Leninist truth, firmly established and repeatedly proved, is that all social revolutions in the present historical era, whatever the different stages they have to pass through in different countries depending on the degree and maturity of the class forces, and by whatever names they are called, are different currents in and form an integral part of the world socialist revolution. From these two irrefutable premises springs the concept of proletarian hegemony for the present-day revolutions, which alone guarantees the successful leading of these revolutions to their destination, while the hegemony of no other class can accomplish the revolution, other classes when they assume hegemony will betray the revolution at one stage or other.

To depart from any of these truths or to revise any of these propositions is nothing but opportunism and revisionism, a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Describing the class alliance of the National Democratic Revolution, the revisionist programme states that "*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.*"

After three full years of "rich" experience and newly enriched "Marxism-Leninism" of theirs, the revisionist leaders incorporated another amendment to elaborate the concept, as they claim, by adding the following:

"The leadership of this alliance belongs to firm anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly forces." The confusion thus is worse confounded, and the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony is given the final go-by under another subterfuge.

Who leads the state power? The 'whole bourgeoisie', reply our revisionists and add, we don't agree with the CPI(M) that the big bourgeoisie is the leading force in it.

Who leads the Indian revolution? The "whole revolutionary front and all the firm classes in it", and we don't agree with the CPI(M) that the leadership cannot but be that of the working class, reply the Right Communists!

Can anybody beat them in this revisionist clap-trap?

This shameless revisionist lot refuse to realise that a Communist abdicates all claims to Marxism if he is shy of propagating fearlessly the concept of proletarian leadership of the revolution. Without fearlessly propagating this scientific concept and boldly rousing the working class to the historical mission that it has to discharge, without raising their level of political consciousness to organise themselves to fulfil this great task, and without telling the working class and other toiling masses that they can only discharge this responsibility by building a powerful Communist Party capable of leading the class as well as the class allies of the revolution, the concept of proletarian hegemony can never be realised in life and actual reality. This is what our Party upholds, and what our Programme proclaims.

But the Right Communists, in line with their modern

revisionist counterparts in the international arena, have abandoned this concept of proletarian hegemony, since according to them, it was originally conceived wrongly and has become quite obsolete in the present epoch. The notorious Earl Browder theory of dissolving the Communist Party of the USA and converting it into an association or a club, the discredited thesis of Tito of Yugoslavia to merge the Communist Party into an amorphous front of all classes and to transform it into a 'league' of some kind, and the infamous *Action Programme* of the Czech Communist Party under Dubcek's leadership which elevates the so-called National Front to the foremost place in the state leadership while demoting and virtually denigrating the leading role of the Communist Party—all these constitute, in essence, one single pernicious chain, the theme of opportunist revision of the concept of proletarian hegemony. This is not all.

The leaders of the CPSU who are now denouncing Dubcek's theories of giving up the leading role of the Communist Party and are now declaring that they even risked the step of armed intervention to defend leading role of the Party and safeguard the gains of socialism in Czechoslovakia, are no less guilty of this crime, the crime of undermining the Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony over the class and national revolutions of the present era and advocating utter revisionist theories.

Revisionists and Socialist Aid

The revisionists were singing panegyrics to the capitalist path that the Congress Government had embarked upon, describing it as an independent path of economic development, as a path that reduces India's dependence and strengthens its independence, as a path to lay the foundations of an industrial India, a path which contained ingredients that can put India on the road of a non-capitalist path, etc.

The state sector and socialist aid to it were characterised by the revisionists as a sort of wonder drug that cured all the ills that the Indian people were afflicted with under the present

social order. They spared no efforts to tell our people that socialist aid would be a miracle weapon to beat down foreign monopoly capital, to set the country on the high road of industrial revolution, to curb big business in the country, and even as a vehicle to put the country on a non-capitalist path of development. To put it in their own choice words, they were saying that socialist aid "enables the recipient country to reach the position of self-reliance as early as possible", and it creates the "material technical base of non-capitalist and independent economic development, the augmenting of Indian democracy" and the like.

One may ask these Indian revisionists, after full thirteen years of getting this bountiful aid how much "weakening of imperialism and its agents in India" has taken place, and how big a base for "non-capitalist and independent economic development" is laid, and why they are, of late, shouting from the housetops about the increasing danger of U.S. neo-colonialism in the country and the threat to its independence?

We are also interested in knowing from them what had happened to this 'miracle drug' of Soviet aid, which was administered in heavy doses to the Indonesian Government under Dr. Sukarno, and why it "did not weaken imperialists and its agents" in Indonesia, and put that country on the road to "non-capitalist path".

Can they explain why, despite heavy Soviet arms aid and economic aid to Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries, the U.S.-inspired Israel state with a population of only two million could inflict a devastating military debacle on the hundred-million-strong Arab fraternity. How is it that this aid did not come to the rescue of Ghana's N'Krumah or Kaito of Mali from the military coup against them? The list is too long and it is not necessary to reproduce it here.

The talk of Soviet socialist aid and its "revolutionary" effects without relating it to which class state and government is taking it, to which class purposes it is put to use, to the growth of which social-political forces, in the final analysis, it is assisting, etc., is the characteristic of people who be-

lieve in non-class socialism, about whom Lenin rightly remarked that they should be put in a cage along with the Australian kangaroo to be exhibited all over the world. It is the height of folly to describe socialist aid as a magic-wand to effect class transformations of states and governments, and to depict its effects one sidedly as though the recipient states and governments are just boobies awaiting the trap. Socialist aid to the backward countries and states under the rule of the capitalist and landlord classes, notwithstanding the *momentary effect* of intensifying the conflicts and contradictions between them and the imperialist states and the strengthening of the oppositional tendencies of the national bourgeoisie in *certain measures* cannot alter the basic class laws in operation. The truth that this aid while in some measure strengthens the oppositional trends and tendencies of the bourgeois ruling classes, also strengthens them *vis-a-vis* their exploited masses, should not be lost sight of. Socialist aid injected into the body of the fast decaying capitalist and landlord order does not rejuvenate it or transform it into a "non-capitalist" order, but invariably in the final analysis, goes to buttress it. Here again the stock-in-trade argument that even strengthening of capitalism in these countries is objectively fostering anti-imperialism, etc., ceases to be any more valid in the epoch we are passing through, the epoch of the collapse of capitalism on a world scale, and the experience gained during the last ten to fifteen years, all over the world, confirms this truth.

Revisionists on Foreign Policy

Then coming to their attitude to the Government's foreign policy, it is no less treacherous than the one adopted by them to the internal policy of the Congress Government. If the class analysis of state power and Government had gone absurdly wrong, as seen so far, nothing need surprise us when their programme gloats over the foreign policy of the Government and servilely rallies behind it. The Bombay Programme opens its chapter on foreign policy thus:

“The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment 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.” (*Rightist Programme of 7th Congress*, Para 61).

It ends with the appeal: “The policy of non-alignment, peace, and anti-colonialism has strengthened India’s political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction ...Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.”

It is all the more amazing that the same is repeated word for word in the year 1968, in their amended programme at their Congress of Patna, where they were proclaiming from the housetops that they were determined to overthrow the Congress Government, because of the reactionary policies it was pursuing. Does it not look ridiculous in the extreme to take a stand, as the Right Communists do in their programme, that the internal policies of the Government have become so reactionary and counter-revolutionary as to endanger independence and increase the threat of neocolonialism, while the foreign policy, pursued by the same class Government, still remains a “Policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism”, that it “meets the needs of India’s economic development”, that it “has strengthened India’s political independence and also enabled it to obtain resources for peaceful construction”, and that every progressive force in the country has “to defend this policy”, etc.?

Plight of Revisionist Political-Tactical Line

It is not difficult to understand what sort of political-tactical line comes out of such a bankrupt class analysis of the state and Government, and such opportunist ideological and theoretical positions adopted by the revisionists. If you look into

two or three amendments introduced at the Patna Congress to their Bombay Programme, and read the explanations offered by them, they reveal the utter fiasco of the political-tactical line they adopted at their Seventh Congress.

In chapter 8 of their Bombay Programme, where the path of revolution was discussed, it was originally stated in para 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, along the path of non-capitalist development.*"

To put it clearly, they were saying that the Congress Government was "building independent economy" but was "incapable of implementing" the "national democratic programme".

How is it amended at Patna? "But this programme cannot be implemented unless the rule of the national bourgeoisie and the capitalist path which it is pursuing are ended and National Democracy is established."

It looks, at first sight, very innocent and innocuous, but it is not really so when the mischief behind it is seen properly.

The first thing they silently drop is the clause about the bourgeoisie "*pursuing the path of building independent national economy*", which they were praising to the skies for years and were doggedly contesting with our Party when it was pointed out how the Congress path, in the final analysis, was a path leading to precarious dependence on foreign capital, etc. Do they not owe an explanation to the public why they now calmly drop this clause, which they so deliberately incorporated in their Bombay Programme?

The second point in the amendment is really "revolutionary", and even doubly "revolutionary"! It categorically declares that they are going for a revolution to carry out the national democratic programme, and to do it they will have to overthrow the "state power of the whole bourgeoisie", because such a "*programme cannot be implemented unless the rule of the national bourgeoisie*" is "ended"!

When it is a question of defining the class character of the state and its power, they doggedly and passionately argue that it is neither a bourgeoisie-landlord state power nor do the big bourgeoisie and big landlords have any share in that state power, not to speak of the big bourgeoisie having a leading role in it.

When they talk about revolution, they are out, to “end” this state power which, according to them, “is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie”.

Thus, the present state power is not in the hands of reactionary and counter-revolutionary classes and yet it requires to be overthrown by their national democratic revolution—such is the queer logic of the revolutionist amendment!

Why did their Patna Congress introduce this “ultra-revolutionary” amendment? The authors explain thus: “*Nowhere in our party programme had it been expressly stated that the Congress rule must be overthrown and replaced by a democratic government, representing anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal classes and forces, etc. This amendment makes clear and explicit what was implied in the original formulations, viz., the overthrow of the Congress from power.*” (*New Age* March, 10, 1968).

How brazen-faced and shameless one should become to offer this atrocious explanation, full three years after the adoption of the Bombay Programme? A programme for a revolution omits to make a mention of overthrowing the rule of the Congress which wields the state power for an unbroken period of twenty years; and the explanation is that it was implicit there, and now they are making it explicit. Can political dishonesty go any further?

The reality is that they were all along advocating a tactical line of united front with the Congress party, they were advocating the discredited thesis of danger from the so-called extreme reaction and the need to build a front against it, they were, at the same time, apologetically pleading that it was not a general united front with the Congress, that they were working to ally and collaborate with the state power,

a state power in which they say, there would be neither “exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie nor that of the proletariat”, etc.

It was on the basis of this tactical line that they were analysing and assessing the class character of the political parties in the country, and a whole chapter was written on it in their Bombay Programme.

Now, when they find that this whole class collaborationist tactical line has been blown up by life, they delete the whole of this chapter at their Patna Congress, and offer the public another ridiculous explanation to hide their bankruptcy. They say: “Chapter 9 of the party programme which deals with political parties has been altogether deleted from the programme. It was felt that there was no need to have a chapter characterising and describing the various parties in a programmatic document.” Why? Because, “fluctuations in the parties and their positions will occur”, and, “some parties break up, some parties even disappear and new parties come up”. (*New Age*, March 10, 1968).

The single biggest example of the “fluctuations in the parties and their positions”, etc., is the very party which serenely theorises about them, the party of the Right Communists.

The opportunist theory of the “most important division in our democratic forces today” being between the masses following the Congress and democratic opposition is silently put back in their brief-cases, and along with that, their advocacy of a front with the Congress is abandoned.

The bankrupt theory of “making ceaseless efforts to forge unity with *the progressive forces within the Congress*” and building a front with them, with the simultaneous deceitful talk that this “front does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or entering into formal alliance with the Congress”, etc., ended in a fiasco, and in its place the slogans of anti-Congress democratic front and Left front have been brought to the forefront.

Next comes the analysis of the Swatantra Party and the

revisionist' attitude to it. It was defined as "the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes" which "acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies" and tries to unify "all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policy". But in practice all this black reaction did not come in the way of their joining hands with sections of the same Swatantra Party in Uttar Pradesh, with a change in the Swatantra signboard for a while, as in the Bihar Front Ministry, or a tacit understanding with the Swatantra Party as in the Bhavnagar municipality when the post of chairman was offered to the Right Communist representative.

Third come the Jana Sangh and RSS. As described in the Bombay Programme they "are not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organisations wedded to Hindu revivalism", "foment communal fanaticism against the minority society and organise communal rioting" and the RSS part of it, in particular, is "organised along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements".

But their 'landmark' Congress at Patna deleted this, may be they have discovered "fluctuations in positions" in the Jana Sangh, too! The revisionists who shamelessly entered into alliances and fronts with the Jana Sangh in U.P., Bihar and Punjab and joined the non-Congress Governments in these states, even before the stand of their Bombay Programme on the Jana Sangh was discarded, have found that stand inconvenient for their treacherous and opportunistic deals with these reactionary forces, and deleted it from their programme, after a year of happy honeymooning with the Jana Sangh in these three state Governments. The story does not end with this ignominious act of the revisionist crowd.

When this has come to be ridiculed even by their international patrons of modern revisionism, and when they are pilloried by the progressive forces at home for this heinous alliance of theirs, the General Secretary of their party does not feel ashamed to trot out, in public, an excuse for this counter-revolutionary crime, and state that their party is

compelled to ally with the Jana Sangh by the pressure of the Samyukta Socialist Party! But the depth of their degradation can be more clearly seen when the Right Communists' state unit in Punjab is, even today, pleading on bended knees for an alliance with the Jana Sangh, where even the shameless excuse of SSP's pressure on them is totally absent. It is for this type of unprincipled, opportunist and politically sinful deeds that the revisionists wanted to clear the path, and the real reason for deleting the class definition of the political parties from their programme lies here. If it was a matter of correcting their characterisation of parties, it should have encountered no difficulty, and the need to totally abandon it would not have arisen at all.

Last comes the revisionist class assessment of and attitude to the Muslim League, Akali Party and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu. All these parties were condemned outright as nothing but communal, separatist, reactionary organisations, the DMK "indulging in Left demagoguery" and aiming to "divert and disrupt the democratic movement in the south". It declared war on these parties and announced a "no-truck" policy with them. This was some four years ago.

When our Party was saying that in these three parties mentioned above, it was not enough or correct to see only the separatist tendencies in the DMK and the exclusive championing of communal and religious minorities of Muslims and Sikhs in the Muslim League and the Akali Party, but it was also necessary to know the democratic classes and sections they represented, the policy they adopted towards the ruling Congress party and, above all, their readiness to unite with the Communists, shedding or shelving their anti-communism, the revisionists had nothing but ridicule and denounced us as people engrossed with "blind anti-Congressism", as those who refuse to fight "extreme reaction" as the main enemy, and as a party going in for all sorts of opportunist alliances against the Congress party. What has happened to all this now?

Everybody who has been observing their behaviour with these parties, and reading all that they write in their press can understand that all this was thrown on the dunghill, and they, today, have transformed themselves into staunch admirers of these parties, extolling them to the skies and even going to the extent of licking their boots if it helps the revisionists to attack our Party. Not a word of criticism against any of these parties is heard, and non-class hugging of them has become a normal practice. The demagogic slogan of Left unity is mouthed and the most disruptive practice of allying with anybody and everybody to isolate our Party, to disrupt and discredit, has become their confirmed and consistent practice.

If the revisionists in this game of theirs have not succeeded in any appreciable measure it is despite them. They did their utmost to do this in the electoral struggle in the fourth general elections, and the record of their treachery in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and the whole of North India stands as an irrefutable proof of it. Their whole party programme and the political-tactical line was blown into smithereens, and yet they were eagerly striving to disrupt our Party. They do not hide this when they openly gloat over the recent Left defections from our Party and forecast its imminent disintegration. They, even today, shamelessly repeat the slanderous charges contained in the infamous "white paper" of Home Minister Nanda who together with it met his inglorious political end. Recently, the General Secretary of the revisionist party, in his press talks in Kerala, came out with the provocative slander that the "Lefts" rebelled against our Party because our Party did not keep to its alleged promise of starting an armed struggle. He does it deliberately to shield the utter bankruptcy of his party's programme and political line and the total fiasco his party is facing.

The collapse of proletarian internationalism and the ascendancy of national chauvinism in the Right Communist Party, which got reinforced with their anti-China and anti-Pakistan policies in the Indo-Pak and India-China disputes and conflicts, are now tearing the last shreds of their

communist mask and the same has been seen on the issue of Soviet arms to Pakistan, and even more glaringly on the Czechoslovak developments and the Soviet armed intervention of that socialist republic.

The real characteristic of the revisionists, the servility to one's own bourgeoisie, has now come into head-on conflict with the Soviet leaders who manoeuvred themselves into the position of armed intervention in Czechoslovakia to rout it, and to destroy it root and branch remains the score in the anti-fascist war. If the entire international revisionist fraternity is caught in a crisis, the Indian agency alone cannot escape it, and that is what we witness today. They, typical of their opportunism, support Dubcek's liberalisation and democratisation campaign which is denounced as counter-revolution by the Soviet leaders, and do not by a word lend their support to Soviet action.

However, it would be the height of political ignorance to think that revisionism, with all these defeats, has ceased to be the main danger to the Indian communist movement. It is there still alive and kicking, drawing sustenance from the bourgeoisie inside the country and formidable support from the modern revisionists abroad. A relentless battle to rout it, and to destroy it root and branch remains the foremost task before the Party and the revolutionary working class of our country.

RISE OF "LEFT"-ADVENTURISM AND ITS DISRUPTIVE ROLE

Our Party, immediately following the electoral battle, was seriously occupied with assessing the political forces and on that basis working out the tasks facing it in the new post-election situation. The April 1967 meeting of the Central Committee addressed itself to this task in the main, and its resolutions indicating the line of further advance for our Party and the revolutionary movement in the country are there before all our Party members. It was at this time that the "Left"-adventurist assault on the Party, its Programme

and political line was unleashed by the Naxalites in West Bengal, powerfully supported and backed by the Chinese communist press and radio. In no time, this "Left" infantism spread to some other state and district units of our Party, developed into another serious challenge to the Party, diverting the main attention of the Party from the mass political tasks it had set before itself.

The ideological-theoretical stand and the political line of the "Left" were examined in detail by the Burdwan Central Plenum in April 1968, and the Polit Bureau's *Ideological debate summed up* and *Letter to Andhra Comrades* contain the relevant material. Another Central Committee document dealing with the nature, origin and character of these "Left" defections in special reference to Andhra is before the Party and hence we do not propose to cover in the present report all the ground covered by these documents.

But there are certain important points and development to be noted in connection with the "Left" line, so that the Party is armed adequately for the sustained struggle against this menace. It would be extremely wrong to think that the "Left" line has been defeated and no more represents a serious danger to the Indian communist movement. "Left" opportunism has not ceased to be a serious threat to our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country.

First, the "Left"-opportunist trend in our Party, which began openly expressing itself from May-June 1967, did not reveal all its cards then. It pretended basic allegiance and loyalty to the Party's Programme and political line making out that differences were confined to individual propositions in the Programme and certain tactical positions taken by the Party. It manifested first in West Bengal, and rapidly spread to different parts of the country. The interesting thing is that during the Central Committee meeting of April 1967, when the work of our Party during the thirty months since the Seventh Congress was reviewed and assessed, and on that basis the report on new situation and Party's tasks was presented, there was not a single dissenting voice either in the

Central Committee or the State Committees whose views were reflected by the Central Committee members heading these State Committees. In fact, initially, the political report and other resolutions of the April 1967 meeting of the Central Committee were welcomed and supported by all the units, and no dissent or criticism was heard till September-October 1967. Starting with the Naxalites' infantile revolt in West Bengal in May-June, it gathered rapid momentum, reaching its breaking point in January-February 1968. It acquired its main inspiration and political courage to frontally challenge the Party line and organisation from the aggressively open attacks on the Party line launched by the Chinese communist press and radio, and their encouragement and open calls to rebel against the Party. We should take serious note of this and draw the necessary lessons from it.

Second, the present "Left"-opportunist deviation is not just a national phenomenon, peculiar to our country or Party, but an international phenomenon. To either miss this aspect or under-rate its significance is fraught with grave consequences for the future of the Party and its political line and handicaps the Party in its struggle against both the right and "Left" opportunist errors and deviations. The present "Left" opportunism carries with it all the fundamental features pointed out by Lenin, in his work *'Left' wing Communism—an infantile Disorder*. Just as modern revisionism seeks to revise the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the Communist Party, the principle of democratic centralism, the concept of proletarian internationalism, and the principle of class struggle, replacing it with class collaboration, class peace, etc., "Left"-opportunist now rejects all alliances and agreements with other political parties, denouncing them as unprincipled compromises, negates the need to participate in bourgeois parliaments, is opposed to work in the reformist trade unions, decries the need for the building of the Communist Party, substitutes the advanced revolutionary vanguard for the revolutionary classes and masses, and advocates premature 'insurrections'. Further, it

distinguishes itself in virtually negating the role of the working class in the world proletarian revolution under cover of "ultra-revolutionary" slogans of "peasants' people's war", "world villages encircling the world cities and liberating them", and "national liberation revolutions playing the decisive role in defeating world imperialism and achieving world socialist revolution". Finally, it has evolved its own analysis and assessment of the world alignment of class forces and arrived at the conclusion that a big part of the socialist camp, including the Soviet Union, has already been liquidated due to revisionist policies, and these socialist states, the Soviet Union in particular, have become allies of world imperialism for world domination, and excepting one or two Communist Parties and some splinter groups, no world communist movement exists since the majority of the Parties have gone under revisionist leadership.

Third, the Left defectors when they were engaged in their polemics against the Party line before and during the Burdwan Plenum, were hiding their real political views and convictions. They have now revealed that every charge made by the Party against them—looking on the Soviet Union as an imperialist power, revising the assessment of the alignment of class forces in the world, liquidating the socialist camp, advocacy of armed struggle as a slogan of action, lack of loyalty to the Party—was correct.

This "Left"-adventurist trend appeals mainly to the militant and fighting sentiments of the petty-bourgeois youth and student sections, and also can for some time attract some really fighting and honest individuals and groups. It is totally wrong to underestimate the dangers it poses to organising and consolidating the Communist Party and revolutionary movement in the country. The bourgeoisie which utilises right-opportunism and revisionism from one end to disorganise and disrupt the communist movement, does not in anyway hesitate in utilising "Left"-opportunism and adventurism for the same purpose, of course, in a different manner. The world capitalist class schooled and tempered in

hundreds of years of its exploiting class rule, assiduously learning and systematizing their experiences of all revolutionary movements in the world, is today the most adept at playing every counter-revolutionary trick with the revolutionary working class and its Communist Parties. If by exploiting the right-opportunist mistakes, the bourgeoisie seeks to undermine the Communist Party politically and ideologically, thus killing its revolutionary soul, it does not hesitate to exploit the "Left" and "ultra-Left" deviations inside the communist movement to disorganise, disrupt and even physically destroy the organised revolutionary movement. This is what history teaches us repeatedly, and a careful analysis of our own past history and present experience completely confirms this truth.

The "Left" danger should not be viewed and estimated only from the defections that have so far taken place, which itself constitute not a small damage, but also from the angle of the potential dangers it poses for our Party. This aspect gets all the more emphasised, if we bear in mind that it is raising its ugly head in our revolutionary movement and beginning to gather momentum in a big way under the impact of the deepening crisis, that it is finding expression in a country with a preponderantly petty-bourgeois population which is subject to extreme moods of revolutionism alternating with defeatism and demoralisation before the enemy's offensive, that it is emanating in the background of revisionist treachery and the consequent disgust and hatred against it, that it is attacking the Party which is not yet, by any standards, politically and ideologically well-consolidated, and above all, that it is being backed and supported by a big Communist Party, holding state power in the biggest and largest populated country in the world. To underestimate it is grievously wrong and fraught with dangerous consequences.

However, the patently absurd political-ideological positions "ultra-Left" opportunism is adopting on international questions, positions that land it into equating imperialism and socialism on the plea that the latter is under revisionist

leadership, would enable many honest people who are misled by it to get disillusioned of this extremely erroneous path and render our task of exposing and isolating it comparatively easier.

Our Party while not for a moment forgetting the fact that modern revisionism still remains the main danger in the world communist movement and also is confronting us directly in the form of a well organised Right Communist Party, besides the reformist legacies still haunting us, will have to carry on a principled and sustained struggle on both the fronts, i.e., against right revisionism and also "Left" and "ultra-Left" opportunism and adventurism.

Congress Conspiracy against U.F. Ministries

The four-year period since the Seventh Congress of our Party can be divided into two distinct stages: one prior to the fourth general elections and the second the post-election phase which covers the last eighteen months. It was after reviewing our work till then that the C.C. had worked out the political report, *New Situation and Party's Tasks*, in the middle of April 1967. It is now necessary to examine the major developments in the subsequent period and note the achievements and shortcomings in our work during this period.

The ruling Congress party, which suffered devastating political blows at the hands of different opposition political parties in the fourth general elections, which lost the monopoly of its control on as big a number of states as eight in the country, and whose majority in Parliament was drastically cut down, did not take these defeats lying down. Taking undue advantage of the power it still monopolises at the union centre, and exploiting the weaknesses and vacillations of several opposition parties which entered into different fronts and alliances against the Congress during and immediately following the elections, the Congress party launched its counter-attacks on the political opposition in the country to dissolve the non-Congress Governments, in particular those with a decisive democratic character and to once again re-

establish its monopoly political control over all the states in the country.

The people, the opposition parties and the democratic parties have been putting up a stiff resistance to and carrying on a bitter struggle against the Congress attempts at crushing their political opposition, and the political battle between the Congress party and Government on the one hand and the anti-Congress democratic forces on the other is a marked new feature present in the Indian situation during the last eighteen months.

The political strategy of the Congress party during this period was once again to concentrate its main fire against our Party and single out for attack the two U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, in which our Party happened to be the decisive force.

The Congress has succeeded in toppling the West Bengal state Government, but miserably failed either to regain its hold on the Government through a puppet regime or to stage a come-back to office by the back-door. It conspired and did everything it could to disrupt the U.F., isolate our Party and then gain the upper hand in the state's political scene. In this game, too, it was foiled, thanks to the politically awakened people of West Bengal. The Congress party with its power at the Centre and the material resources of the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes at its disposal no doubt, could purchase some elements in the Bangla Congress and some other groups who were associating with the U.F. But it could not escape disruption in its own ranks and today finds itself more corroded with factional strife than ever. Above all, the Congress, which was mortally afraid of submitting itself to the people's verdict in a mid-term poll, has been compelled to face the electorate once again. This time, to its great shock, it is confronted by a single United Front of democratic opposition unlike in the fourth general elections.

The political balance-sheet of the eighteen months of battle between the Congress party and the democratic opposition is decidedly in favour of the latter, the former having lost

heavily its political image among the people. While this is the common victory of the U.F., our Party has no doubt played a decisive role in the course of these eighteen months of sustained struggle against the Congress conspiracies and attacks, and in forging people's unity and sanctions behind the U.F. Our Party's political-tactical line had come for severe test in this field of people's struggle in West Bengal, and it has stood the test with credit.

Next comes the U.F. and its Government in Kerala, another important target of attack by the Congress party and its central Government. Here, the utter rout of the Congress party as well as the Kerala Congress dissidents in the fourth general elections did not provide that manoeuvring room for the Congress toppling operation and it has to take recourse to other methods. The chief method the central Congress is pursuing there is to starve the state through the reduction of rice supplies to it by half, and then try to discredit the U.F. Government, and in particular, the CPI(M) which happens to be the single biggest force both among the people and in the state legislature, for failure to provide minimum food rations to the people. The central Government neither takes the responsibility of supplying foodgrains to the state, nor permits it to purchase it in other states. It also stopped the long established system of central subsidy to the state which is deficit in food to the extent of fifty per cent of its minimum requirements. And then it puts the local Congress party and its other agencies in the field to constantly malign and attack the U.F. Government, with special concentration on the CPI(M) and the Chief Minister and Food Minister who are its nominees in the U.F. Cabinet, for starving the people and raising the price of rationed foodgrains—a thing which the Congress party itself has forced on the state Government and the people.

The Congress party and its stooges did not hesitate to utilise the services of the Right Communist leaders, using them as pawns in its game of systematic smear campaign against our Party and its representatives in the U.F.

Government, to discredit our Party, to disrupt the U.F. and, if possible, to set up a Government with Congress and Kerala Congress backing, excluding our Party from the United Front and Government. It is as a part of this nefarious game that the Right Communists slandered and attacked the CPI(M) for failure to supply food to the people, at the same time shamelessly opposing a struggle against the central Government which is the main culprit, and egging on some other vacillating elements in the other constituent parties of the front to do the same.

This game of the Congress and the complicity of the revisionists was exposed, the unity of the front was saved, and the Congress and its allies were politically isolated. This cannot be said to be the first or last game of the Congress party in Kerala, and the situation there does not permit any complacency on our part with regard to the unity of the parties in the present U.F.

The central Congress leadership, in desperation, is resorting to other aggressive methods against the Kerala U.F. Government, like its attacks on the state's autonomy, even in the matter of maintaining law and order which is entirely under the jurisdiction of the state Government. The arbitrary deployment of the Central Reserve Police in the state, the insistence on implementing the central Ordinance against the central government employees' one-day protest strike in strict accordance with the interpretation of the central Home Ministry, and the crisis they seem to be precipitating over the issue of Centre-State relations are, definitely, ominous signs. We should take serious note of this and mobilise the democratic forces in Kerala and the entire country, consolidate the U.F. and carry forward the struggle for the defence of the democratic and autonomous rights of the states and their peoples.

Anti-Congress Fronts in U.P., Bihar, Punjab

The Congress conspiracies against the fronts and their non-Congress state Governments in Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab and the manner in which these conspiracies were fought

back by different fronts and parties, and the balance-sheet of these struggles present a totally different picture.

The first thing that should be noted in this is that the non-Congress fronts in these states were blown to pieces under the attacks and undermining activities of the Congress party, and when these front Governments were toppled one after another, there was hardly any public protest. The manner in which these fronts came into existence and the correlation of forces they represented demarcated them from the United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal. In the latter two states the fronts came in the wake of mass struggles led by our Party in West Bengal in cooperation with some other Left parties; in Kerala by ourselves alone. In the electoral front in Kerala and in the front forged in post-election period in West Bengal, our Party, because of its position among the people, was the leading force. The activities of the front hence could be influenced and guided by us along democratic channels.

In these other states the fronts that were formed did not centre round our Party, our Party being a weak force among the people. The dominant force came from other parties, some of whom for a few parliamentary gains, joined hands with the notorious Jana Sangh and, while in ministerial office, behaved in a thorough-going opportunist manner.

Where parties like the Jana Sangh or Swatantra which are in no way ideologically or politically different from the bourgeois-landlord Congress party dominated the non-Congress front or the Ministry, the anti-Congress discontent got distorted and the enthusiasm for removal of the hated rule of the Congress started getting dissipated. The alternatives present before the people of these states, in the absence of a solid core of consistently democratic and revolutionary parties, was only to choose one set of opportunist combination under the signboard of the Congress party or another set of combination called the "non-Congress fronts", neither of them really democratic nor loyal to the common people and their democratic aspirations.

The second important point that emerges from the experience of these fronts and their state Governments is their signal failure in drawing the masses into political activity, their failure to harness the growing anti-Congress mass discontent for democratic advance, and the most unseemly and disgusting floor-crossings indulged in by several amongst these parties with no other aim than getting into ministerial offices, which produced mass apathy among the people. The marked difference can be easily seen as to how in West Bengal our Party together with allied parties took the people into confidence, exposed every treachery—whichever the quarters from which it came—before the people, mobilized them in millions on a series of occasions against the Congress conspiracies, and foiled by mass political action and struggle the game of the Congress to perpetuate the puppet regime of P. C. Ghosh. This was conspicuously absent with the other fronts and Governments. The failure in Punjab by the main political parties in the front to mobilise the masses against the installation of the puppet Gill Ministry, the manner in which the Front Ministry in Bihar was allowed to be toppled and the Paswan Ministry installed, and the opportunist rallying of parties, again, around it without bringing the masses into the field for effective intervention, speak eloquently of the fiasco of these parties and fronts in this crucial regard. The whole drama was enacted by parties and their leaders behind the scenes, and not before the people's audience and on the open political stage, with issues sharply posed before the people. The contemptuous bourgeois concept of these parties that people are to be called into action when their votes are needed and after that political parties and their leaders are free to indulge in their opportunist political game, has played havoc with the democratic movement, its progress and consolidation in these states.

Some of the parties that formed these fronts, alliances and non-Congress Governments like the Jana Sangh, BKD and such other groups which had factionally broken away from the Congress, could by no stretch of imagination be

called democratic and their anti-Congressism was shallow, deceptive and in certain respects extremely reactionary and counter-revolutionary. National chauvinism and jingoism, dominant Hindu communalism and anti-communism are the sheet-anchor of these parties. Anti-Pakistanism and anti-Chinaism have become the bedrock of their foreign policy. Their strong ideological and social links with feudal and semi-feudal landlord classes are patent and unconcealed. Is it conceivable that these parties can ever form a part of the democratic forces in the country and become a democratic alternative in the country?

The other big parties that formed the backbone of these fronts in U.P. and Bihar are the SSP, PSP and the Right Communists. If the SSP and PSP, particularly the SSP, had placed their hopes on the Jana Sangh for their struggle against Congress rule, that would reduce itself to anti-Congressism minus any democratic content. Further, the "respectability of democracy" these alliances confer on the Jana Sangh undermines the cause of democracy, pampers and encourages Hindu communal reaction, and helps the growth and consolidation of the Jana Sangh. In fact the political results of this alliance with the Jana Sangh and formation of non-Congress Governments in cooperation with it go to show that greater gains were garnered by the Jana Sangh and not by the democratic parties and groups. Such alliances compromise the position of secular and democratic forces in the eyes of the people, and conceal the arch reactionary character of the Jana Sangh. The communal riots that were engineered by the Jana Sangh in places like Ranchi, Allahabad and other areas while these so-called non-Congress Governments were in office are the biggest condemnation of every democratic party in these alliances. And yet, the alliance with the Jana Sangh continues, and even now the SSP and PSP aggressively pursue it, while the Right Communists go for underhand deals with it and do not hesitate even to have open alliance if agreed to by the Sangh.

The leaders of the PSP and SSP are not only conciliatory

to and compromising with the Jana Sangh's Hindu communalism and revivalism, but in the matter of foreign policy, particularly with regard to the neighbouring countries of People's China and Pakistan, they vie with the Jana Sangh in their anti-China and anti-Pakistan attitude and try to outbeat it. Added to this, their anti-communism also finds an ally in the Jana Sangh. The PSP, SSP and Jana Sangh leaders, in the matter of foreign policy and specially regarding relations with Pakistan and China, actually find themselves to the right of official Congress policy. Their programme of democratic-socialist demands and aims on the economic front stand in total conflict with their political and ideological convictions.

It is quite natural that such conflicting and self-contradictory programmes and policies are bound to face rough weather as the social and political crisis deepens, as the social contradictions get sharpened, and as the mass democratic revolutionary movement assumes sweep and tempo. In fact such is the developing situation today that it is putting these parties and their policies to severe test: their anti-Congressism with democratic economic demands on the one side and their pro-Jana Sangh chauvinism and anti-communism on the other are pulling them in two diametrically opposite directions. The PSP and SSP, today, are being pulled in two different directions, the PSP leaders more inclined to go towards the Congress, and the SSP leaders due to their marked anti-Congressism are moving closer to the Jana Sangh. Neither of these is a democratic option, it is only choosing between two reactionary and anti-democratic positions. The fact that where the communist movement is strong and commands an independent mass position of its own the SSP, and sometimes the PSP, too, are drawn into anti-Congress democratic alliances and fronts with our Party, should not blind us to the more basic orientation of these parties to alliances with the Jana Sangh. This feature will have to be seen in the context of another reality, that is, the SSP and PSP happen to be strong in UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and the North

where the *Jana Sangh* also is a powerful force. In West Bengal, Kerala and the South, our Party is a sizable independent political force, and neither the *Jana Sangh* nor the PSP and SSP have any real political-organisational bases.

It is in this background that the role of the Right Communist Party in these states and fronts has to be examined and judged. How is it that the leaders of the PSP and SSP, particularly of the PSP, oppose and are averse and allergic to any front with our Party, while they are all too eager to join with the Right Communists? How is it that the Right Communists, too, in all the states mentioned above, are extremely eager to ally with these parties and join these fronts? The reason is principally political. The Right Communists with their modern revisionist theories and practice, with their bourgeois-nationalism and chauvinism and with their anti-Pakistan and anti-China policies, find themselves more happy in the company of the PSP and SSP and join the front and non-Congress Governments with the *Jana Sangh* as their allies. This opportunist alliance has its root in the right-opportunist political and ideological policies of the revisionists.

The anti-Congress upsurge could not be directed into democratic channels and anti-Congress fronts could not be consolidated in the states of Bihar, U.P. and Punjab, not because the Congress party had a greater hold over the masses there when compared to West Bengal and Kerala, but because of the weaknesses of the democratic forces. Let it be noted that results as revealed in the fourth general elections show that in Kerala the Congress party and the Kerala Congress together polled as much as 43 per cent of the total votes; and in West Bengal the Congress party polled 40 per cent of the total votes polled. But in U.P. the Congress could secure only 32 per cent, in Bihar 33 per cent, and in Punjab 37.5 per cent of the total votes polled.

The experience of the last eighteen months demonstrates that there are two distinct political contents to anti-Congressism, two distinct types of anti-Congress fronts and Governments, with two distinct consequences and results. One

category is that of U.P., Bihar, Punjab, etc., and the other of West Bengal and Kerala. In the former states our Party is a weak force and in the latter it is the decisive force in the fronts; in the former the main parties and groups that constitute it do not adhere to consistent democratic programmes or practice and even ally with the avowedly anti-democratic and Hindu communal Jana Sangh, while in the latter the main constituent forces are generally democratic, despite the class prejudices and vacillations of some parties. In the former the Congress intrigues were sought to be countered with similar counter-intrigues, while in the latter the Congress intrigues were met and defeated with popular mass mobilizations and intervention. Consequently, we are faced with two different kinds of results: whereas against the non-Congress fronts of U.P., Bihar and Punjab the Congress scored a measure of success, in West Bengal and Kerala, the U.F.s could foil these foul attempts and put up a sustained struggle in defence of popular anti-Congress unity and democratic united fronts.

This the ruling central Congress leaders understand well, and that is the reason why they insist on the exclusion of the CPI(M) from any democratic front Government if such a Government wants to enjoy "tolerance" and "preference" at their hands.

But our Party, in its advocacy of united action, united front and programmatic alliance with political parties and groups, was always principled in its approach, and was never guided by opportunist and barren anti-Congressism in forging fronts and alliances. It took enough precautions on the eve and in the course of the electoral struggle in 1967, not to permit any of its state units to have any agreements, tacit or open, with parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra. In states where it was not a decisive force, the Party insisted mainly on electoral adjustments, rather than forming of fronts with a programme with other democratic parties and groups. After the election results were known, it analysed the class character of the different non-Congress state Governments, and decided that except in West Bengal and Kerala, our

Party should not participate in any other non-Congress Governments such as those in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab and even withdraw its state units from the legislature fronts where they initially were tempted to join. Further, we openly announced that our Party in these legislatures will function as an independent group and offer critical support to the non-Congress Ministries, though it was a Left revolutionary opposition and never to be confused with the reactionary Congress opposition. Wherever it offered its cooperation, it was strictly conditional and from issue to issue.

It should also be noted that the leaders of the PSP and SSP not only were guilty of these opportunist alliances and formation of all sorts of non-Congress Governments in UP., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc., but they also played a highly disruptive role on an all-India scale, in their vicious campaign against the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, making the main force of these Governments, our Party, as their target of attack. On the issue of workers' 'gherao' movement, the peasants' land struggle in the Naxalbari area and other struggles, they were in the van of anti-communist propaganda and assisted the Congress central Government in its false cry of "law and order in danger" in West Bengal and Kerala. Thus the role they played instead of carrying forward the anti-Congress democratic upsurge that was in a big way expressed during and immediately following the fourth general elections, actually disrupted this upsurge and objectively assisted the Congress in relatively stabilizing its extremely shaken political position in the country.

Today, after eighteen months of non-Congress Governments in eight states, after many of them have been toppled by Congress conspiracies, betrayals of certain front partners, etc., the discontent and political opposition to Congress rule continues to grow and spread. The Congress party and its central Government are unable to arrest it since the economic and political reasons behind this growing discontent are far deeper and beyond the control of bourgeois-landlord class policies. But the democratic unity of democratic par-

ties lags far behind to utilise the situation and the opportunities to strengthen the growing mass discontent against the Congress so that the democratic revolutionary movement is consolidated and taken forward to new heights.

The political situation in our country, today, is such that it sharply poses two alternatives: either the economic-political crisis created by the bourgeois-landlord class policies of the Congress is utilised by the progressive and democratic forces in the country for bringing about radical political changes or it is allowed to be exploited and distorted by the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces to plunge the country into the dark regime of repression and reaction.

Either the democratic and revolutionary parties, groups and individuals forge a really united, powerful democratic front with a really clear-cut, consistent agreed democratic programme of action, or allow the essentially reactionary opposition parties to play their opportunist game with the popular anti-Congress fronts and in the bargain disrupt the democratic anti-Congress upsurge and enable the bourgeois landlord classes to perpetuate the misery of the masses and prevent the progress and well-being of the nation.

In other words, either allow the unhealthy and harmful currents noted above in the anti-Congress united fronts of Bihar, U.P., Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, etc., to invade, overwhelm and undo the United Fronts and their progress in states like West Bengal and Kerala, or the U.F.s in these states with their rich experiences exercise their healthy impact and influence on the rest of the states where the Congress has lost and is losing heavily, but where the democratic forces are unable to utilise the situation to the people's advantage to any appreciable extent.

These alternatives are posed before all democratic and progressive parties and groups in the country. Either each party is awakened to this reality, acts up to the needs of the situation, establishes its democratic and revolutionary bona fides with the people, and grows in strength and political stature or it faces stagnation, disintegration and demise.

Our Party should strive to fulfil its part of this great responsibility, and the initial successes scored in West Bengal and Kerala, and the confidence these successes give us, should inspire us for a sustained and intense struggle to build and consolidate the unity of the democratic parties and groups, the democratic classes and strata, and the entire progressive and forward-looking forces in our country. It is true that it cannot succeed in this until and unless it grows into a significant political force, not only in one or two states, but also in the different big and small states in our country. It is equally true that it does not grow and develop into such a political force unless the correct political line of forging class unity of the working class, the unity of different democratic classes and parties that represent these classes and masses is pursued with vigour.

The long accumulated experience of the national and international revolutionary movement teaches and the eighteen months of experience in working both in the U.F.s and the anti-Congress democratic U.F. Governments also confirm that this struggle to forge the united democratic front registers progress and scores success only if we adhere to some tested principles and implement them in earnest.

The first factor is the working class party, its class and mass consolidation as an independent political force. Without this no other democratic class or any political force representing it would either respond to the calls of united front building or find it necessary to unite with us. The very concept of a real revolutionary united front loses all its meaning and significance if the working class and its political party around which alone such a front can and should be built, is not consolidated as an independent force to command confidence and inspire enthusiasm in other classes and masses objectively interested in the front. The present serious lag in this respect should be overcome.

Our Party can and should never abandon its right to criticise the programmes and policies of other allied parties both in terms of our fundamental class point of view and also in

terms of the accepted minimum programme and its implementation by all the parties in the front honestly and faithfully. It should respect the same right for other parties and should not deny it, as long as the front and parties remain in operation, reflecting the class realities.

The third principle we should strictly adhere to is that whenever differences arise between the constituents in the front on the programme or other connected issues, and if they are not resolved in the framework of the agreed programme and party-to-party talks and friendly discussions, the issue and the differences should be squarely placed before the people, for free discussion and conclusions, and should never be hidden from the people, nor confined only to behind-the-scene confabulations among the top leaders of parties.

New Situation and Party's Tasks anticipated the conspiracies of the Congress party and other reactionary forces to torpedo the united fronts formed with our Party in the van, and also viewed the possible developments in this regard.

As already noted, these conspiracies of the ruling classes have not fructified so far and we were able to defeat them in West Bengal and Kerala with the assistance of other allied parties. But it should not lead us to any complacency in this regard. There are many weaknesses still persisting in the fronts and constituent parties, and a sustained prolonged struggle is required to overcome them and consolidate the fronts and their programmatic cohesion.

That document also pointed out another important feature and the tasks following from it. That feature still remains and the tasks are further emphasized and underlined in the present circumstances. That task is the task of fighting boldly for an alternative democratic programme, and favourable conditions are present to carry on that fight with greater determination and tempo.

Recent developments show that the battle over policies and ideology is overdue, and in this respect our Party is lagging behind, and we should make up this lag as quickly as possible. So far no fundamental critique of the programmes

and policies of reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra has been made, let alone of other democratic parties which happen to be partners in the U.F.s of West Bengal and Kerala but with whom our Party has big differences on several basic political questions. It appears that we are taking too much for granted when we think that the people understand the reactionary parties and their role, and are content with casual exposures in general agitation-propaganda work. It is time we wake up to the urgency of a fundamental critique of these parties, what role they are playing and what dangers they present to our democratic and revolutionary movement, and draw the public into as wide a discussion and debate as possible. If a concerted attack on the reactionary parties is not made, and their bogus opposition to and real complicity with the Congress rulers are not thoroughly exposed, the danger they represent to democratic advance can neither be understood by the people nor can it be averted.

Equally important is the urgency and necessity of opening a public debate with the SSP, PSP and other democratic parties on how some of their positions and stands regarding the internal and external policies of the Government contradict the democratic demands and aspirations of the people, how their anti-Congressism thus is deprived of much of its democratic content, and how their anti-communist stances play into the hands of reaction and damage the unity and united struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress. No doubt this should be done in such a manner that it does not injure the existing fronts with them or alienate these parties, but it cannot be avoided if we have to consolidate the fronts, to raise their quality and cohesion, and further advance to wider and wider areas and states in the country.

Our Party in West Bengal and Kerala U.F. Governments

Our Party, immediately following the fourth general elections, assessed the class character and composition of all

non-Congress Ministries in the eight states, and clearly laid down its attitude towards each one of them in detail. It placed the two state Governments of West Bengal and Kerala in a special category and stated that the role our Party plays in these two fronts and Governments, at the present stage, is of crucial importance for the entire Party and its future advance.

The Right Communists were indulging in all types of opportunist slogans, characterising the non-Congress Governments as transitional governments and stepping stones for their National Democracy, and issuing calls for immediate overthrow of the central Congress Government, and its replacement by a so-called coalition Government, which in their fantasies they described as "urgent central slogan", "rallying point of the day", "the central slogan of the party", etc. It is needless to discuss this arrant nonsense in detail, as everything around this talk of "parliamentary insurrections" and "coups" has been proved to be abundantly hollow and bogus, as only the reflections of their revisionist parliamentary illusions nourished over the years.

Subsequently, within a month or two after the formation of the non-Congress democratic Governments in West Bengal and Kerala, an "ultra-Left" adventurist trend arose, which, claiming to comprise of "real revolutionaries" in our Party, began attacking the party line as 'neo-revisionist', characterized our Party's participation in these fronts and Governments as something born out of its "parliamentary cretinism". They declared the slogan of "boycott of elections and legislatures" as the only correct revolutionary slogan and advocated "armed peasant struggle" and "people's war" as the slogan of the day. The experience of the last eighteen months has amply demonstrated how "Left"-infantile this political line was, how unreal, utopian and romantic was its assessment of the situation and how it only played into the hands of the reaction to disrupt our Party and its struggle for winning the masses to its political line.

In the present report of ours we propose neither to

exhaustively deal with these right and "Left" opportunist attacks on our political line, nor to give a detailed account of the working of these two U.F. Governments, and our Party's role in it. That, obviously, is out of the scope of the present report. Hence, we confine ourselves to the examination and review of two key propositions made by our Party regarding these two U.F. Governments and how we look upon them. One proposition made by us was: "In a word, the U.F. Governments that we have now, are to *be treated and understood as instruments of struggle* in the hands of our people, more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power, that can materially and substantially give relief to the people." The second was: "In clear-class terms, our Party's participation in such Governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the cause of People's Democracy and at a later stage for socialism." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, p. 70)

The point to be assessed is how far our state units working in these respective U.F.s and Governments have been consciously working according to this understanding.

Before we proceed to assess the two aspects of the West Bengal and Kerala U.F. Governments, let it be made clear that different parties have different illusions about the real nature of the political power these state Governments possess, different understandings of their utility, and totally different estimations of the conflict between the nominal autonomy of states and highly centralised authority of the Centre. It is for our Party, as the conscious vanguard in these fronts and Governments, to understand the fake character of the power invested in the state Governments, and strive "to treat them and understand them more as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people", than be led into the reformist delusion that they have either "adequate powers" or they can "substantially give relief to the people". There is an ocean of difference between declaring them straightaway as "instruments of struggle" and the direction

to strive to utilise them as "instruments of struggle". This should be borne in mind.

In the nearly ten months the U.F. Government was in office in West Bengal, our state unit and its representatives in the legislature and Cabinet did earnestly strive to carry the understanding given by the Party, and utilise the Government both as an instrument of struggle and as a specific form of struggle to win more and more people and allies to the Party's political line. There was a systematic attempt on the part of the central Congress Government, by utilising the weakness of certain parties and groups in the U.F. state Government, to reduce it to a docile instrument to merely carry out its orders, written and unwritten, in the name of maintaining "law and order". But our Party's representatives in the Cabinet and the state's legislature mobilized as many allied parties and groups against such attempts, and together with them also mobilized the people to fight back the central interference and high-handedness. Even in the midst of a highly complex situation created by the Naxalites' adventurist slogan of "armed struggle for liberation" on the one hand and the incessant pressure for armed suppression of the Naxalbari peasantry by the central Home Ministry on the other, our state unit did not lose its independent initiative in fighting back this offensive, notwithstanding certain initial errors and vacillations before certain moves and steps of the other partners of the U.F. Government. Our Party's firm stand against the use of police against the popular struggles strengthened the democratic forces. The widespread working class "gheraoes" to redress some of their long-standing grievances and demands, peasant struggles in several districts against evictions and for taking possession of Government's 'surplus' and wasteland from the illegal occupation of big landlords, the relief secured by the middle class employees of the state Government and the civil liberties ensured for their legitimate trade union activity, etc., were examples of how different oppressed sections of the people were utilising the presence of the U.F. state Government

for carrying on their just struggles, and how our Party and others cooperating with it were assisting them in this struggle. It is this factor that increasingly endeared the U.F. Government to the people and made them stand with the U.F. in its struggle to resist the imposition of the puppet Ghosh Ministry on the state, and finally scotch the conspiracies of the Congress party to stage a comeback to the state Government through the backdoor.

In the matter of giving relief to the suffering people, the biggest relief could be secured by the state government employees which they were refused for years under Congress rule, though it was not adequate and the resources at the state Government's disposal would not permit more. The exclusion of the poor and middle peasantry from the oppressive grain procurement system imposed on them by the Congress regime, the take-over of the tramways management in the city of Calcutta and the Government's refusal to increase tramfares, and a number of other measures taken by the U.F. Government in the very short period it was in office, cannot be brushed aside as of no significance. Apart from this, another important factor that often misses the attention of the critics of the U.F. Government, is the flat refusal of the Government to impose additional burdens of taxation on the oppressed sections of the people. Burdensome taxation has been the practice under the rule of the Congress party and these taxes would have increased further if the Congress was allowed to get into the state Government once again.

The important fact that should not be lost sight of is the extremely limited and curtailed powers and resources of the state Governments as they are at present constituted under the present Indian Constitution. The devastating effects of the deepening economic crisis on the working class, toiling peasantry and the middle classes, today, are such that they cannot be removed by the meagre ameliorative relief measures that a state Government can provide, they can only be redressed by a radical and revolutionary change in the entire

social set-up. It is the increasing awareness of the people and their political consciousness of this truth that constitutes the acid test of whether the U.F. state Governments have been utilised as instruments of struggle or not in the people's revolutionary struggles for a revolutionary change. Judged from this angle, one can safely assert that from the ten months of the U.F. Government's functioning and our Party's role in it, the popular anti-Congress democratic forces have gained considerably, that the U.F. parties which acted up to their pledges have enhanced their political prestige, and our Party as the leading force has endeared itself to increasing numbers of people, placing itself in a far stronger position than it was during the February-March elections of 1967. This truth is now accepted by all and even our class enemies dare not dispute it. How far this has been solidly consolidated, organised, etc., is another matter with which we are not dealing just now.

Our Party's strength in the Kerala legislature is relatively large and the Chief Ministership and Home Ministership in the state Cabinet are held by our Party's representative unlike in West Bengal where they were held by the representative of the Bangla Congress. Secondly, unlike in West Bengal, it was not the first time that the people of Kerala were having a communist-led state Government. A decade earlier, in 1957, there was a state Government virtually of the Communist Party which could boldly undertake some radical legislative measures like agrarian reforms and unleash class and mass enthusiasm in a big and spectacular manner. The third important factor is that the state of Kerala is a chronically deficit state in the matter of foodgrains, a deficit to the tune of 50 per cent of its requirements unlike West Bengal where there is only a partial deficit. The present Kerala U.F. Government is called upon to constantly contend with the Centre's discrimination over food supplies, and that, too, during the stage of acute food crisis in the country as a whole as a part of the deepening economic crisis. Fourthly, Kerala is not an advanced industrial state like West Bengal.

which fact has its own additional advantages and disadvantages, particularly in the face of a deepening economic crisis, which provokes attacks from the bourgeoisie on the working people in order to shift the burdens of the crisis on to them, and in the bargain, also, invites mounting popular discontent and widespread organised resistance from the industrial working class and middle class employees.

These factors have their own bearing and should not be ignored or overlooked while examining the work and progress of the Kerala U.F. Government, and our Party's role in it.

The first thing to be noted is that as far as the relief to the people is concerned, facts go to show that it is greater in terms of budgetary allotments and quantum compared to West Bengal—the food subsidy, increment in the wages and emoluments of state government employees and other relief measures being not unimpressive. Of course, it does not meet the needs nor is it expected to satisfy the people. The main suffering of the people, the suffering caused by drastic reduction of rice supplies by the Centre and consequent conditions of food scarcity and rise in market prices, has so overwhelmed mass feelings and sentiments as to relegate all other relief measures to the background. The cut in rice ration imposed as early as May-June of 1967 was continued for nearly one year till June-July 1968, and the United Front was utterly complacent about the simmering mass discontent, while it was drawing on people's goodwill expressed during the general elections. Further, some of the parties in the front including the Right Communists were opposed to launching a sustained and powerful mass movement against the central Congress Government for its starving of the people of Kerala, and were utilising the discontent trying to divert it against our Party, and at the same time insisting on wrong policies of procurement and control of grain movements in the state. Our Party, while noting this phenomenon, instead of critically exposing the parties and groups in the front which were opposed to unleashing a powerful movement unitedly, drifted for too long, involved

in top-level talks and the delaying tactics of certain leaders of other parties in the front.

The damage this drift cost to the front's political prestige, and to our Party as the leading force in it, and the moral courage and boost this situation gave to the Congress and Kerala Congress were clearly reflected in the municipal elections, where the people who supported the front, were found apathetic and the Congress and Kerala Congress could capitalise it to their advantage. It is only after this sad experience and shake-up that our state leadership boldly moved into independent action to mobilise the people against the central Congress policies of starving the Kerala people, and also to expose those parties and groups in the front which objectively were playing the game of the Congress. The situation then began improving and the trend of isolating our Party is somewhat reversed.

This failure on the part of our Party is born not only out of the reformist understanding of the relations between parties in the front, the failure to appreciate the role of independent mass mobilisation and the loss of live contact with the mass mood and temper, but also partly due to another reformist tendency which held that the U.F. and its Government in Kerala were stable enough, and that the Congress and Kerala Congress were reduced to an insignificant minority in the legislature, that the central Congress conspiracies would not easily work in Kerala, and that the U.F. Government would be allowed to last its full term with minor difficulties and some impediments. Such an understanding, obviously, discounts the deepening economic crisis and maturing political crisis in the country, and pays scant respect to the propositions that the U.F. Governments should be treated and looked upon as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people, that it is a specific form of struggle to mobilize increasing numbers of people behind the Party's revolutionary programme and policy. The conspiracy of the Congress and Kerala Congress to cultivate the Right Communists and certain other allied parties in order to exclude

the CPI(M) from the Government, and work for a Congress-supported so-called "non-Congress Government" in Kerala shattered this illusion amongst some of our comrades and awakened them to the dangers.

Apart from the shortcomings and errors cited above, it is seen that sometimes beneficial steps and actions were delayed and their good impact was lost and certain bunglings by ministries held by representatives of other parties were becoming a cause of anxiety and worry to comrades all over India with the result that the good record of work of the Kerala U.F. Government was overshadowed by these shortcomings and errors. This should be borne in mind by our Kerala state unit and it should conduct itself with additional care and attention.

In the recent months, starting with our independent mass activity against the anti-people policies of the central Congress, the proposed Agrarian Relations Amendment Bill, the Debt Relief Bill and, above all, the bold and democratic stand taken during the central government employees' struggle, the good image of the U.F. Government as well as of our Party, as the leading force in it, is rapidly being recovered. But it would be wrong on our part to think that we are out of all troubles in running the U.F. and its Government in Kerala, and the corrections are stable and ensured. Our Party unit in the state is a long way off from liquidating the legacies of the right and reformist past, and overcoming the Left-sectarian trends that are on the increase in the recent period. The Party's state leadership is earnestly engaged in the struggle to overcome these serious shortcomings and there are definite signs of progress in that direction.

But one thing we should always bear in mind is that the type of parliamentary struggle we are conducting and the U.F. Government and work in it with allied parties are terribly slippery ground and unless our Party is doubly conscious of it, always conscious of the reformist and constitutional illusions it breeds, the principal aims and objectives with which our Party is participating in this activity will be

lost sight of and great harm will be done to the Party and revolutionary movement.

Some of the criticism coming about the U.F. Government are correct and we should receive it and correct our mistakes. But there is another type of criticism both from the extreme right and from the extreme "Left" that the Government is not doing some "big" things. Such a criticism comes from the failure to understand the extreme limitations imposed on a state Government and that, too, a coalition of several parties, and from the lack of realisation that state Governments under the present set-up have neither real autonomy nor adequate powers to undertake any radical and really effective measures of relief and reform. To do that, a revolutionary change is required and nothing short of it can meet the situation.

To conclude, the experience gained in running the U.F. Government in Kerala does not conflict with the main propositions which our Party has laid down about running these Governments and the utility of these institutions for the advancement of the democratic movement.

Party and its Progress in the Rest of the Country

Barring the two states of West Bengal and Kerala, our Party, in no other state, has acquired that independent mass strength and stature to decisively influence the political developments in the state it is working. Even in these states there are differences in the strength of party membership, its mass political influence, etc. After these two states of West Bengal and Kerala, three other state units, which command considerable strength and mass position, are in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, where the party membership was on par with that of West Bengal and Kerala and its mass base, too, was sufficiently wide when we broke with the revisionists in 1964, the progress of our Party and the revolutionary movement has got a severe setback since then; As noted in the *Election Review* of April 1967, the disruption here from

the revisionist party was far greater compared to Kerala or West Bengal. Out of the total votes polled, about sixteen lakhs, by our Party and the Right Communists, they could mobilise as many as six lakh votes as against our ten. The division and disruption, thus created, resulted in the defeat of both in 25 constituencies, sixteen of our Party and nine of the revisionists. In the post-election period, the Andhra unit was again faced with a serious "Left"-adventurist attack which finally resulted in a split in the Party, further disorganizing and disrupting the Party as well as the mass movement. The causes and reasons of this setback have been examined separately, and we do not propose to deal with it here, once again.

In *Tamil Nadu*, our state Party unit and the mass movement under its leadership have registered a steady advance, since our break with the revisionists in 1964, and the same trend is observed during the last eighteen months of the post-election period, despite "Left" disruption in certain pockets like Madras and Coimbatore. The revisionist political-tactical line of sometimes equating the Congress and the DMK parties and at other times lining up with the Congress against the DMK in that state had done havoc to the communist movement in the past, and finally smashed the revisionist party when it persisted in the same line in the 1967 general elections. Our state unit learning from this costly experience and guided by the Programme and political line of the Party, chalked out at the Seventh Congress, decisively broke with this bankrupt revisionist political line. The progress registered was noted in the *Election Review and New Situation and Party's Tasks* of April 1967, and the political line and future tasks were laid down there. Notwithstanding the two tendencies coming up frequently—the tendency of uncritical support to the DMK and the tendency of attacking the DMK as no better than the Congress, perhaps even worse—the State Committee is struggling to put through the Party line and fight these two harmful tendencies. Basing on its independent work among the working class and peasantry

and on the successes registered in both extra parliamentary work and parliamentary elections, and taking advantage of the big split in the bourgeois-landlord classes in the state in the shape of the Congress and DMK, the state Party unit is currently steering its course of political-organisational activity with considerable success. The extension of trade union activity and a number of strike struggles it led during the last one-and-a-half years, the reactivation and extension of the Tanjore peasant and agricultural labourers' movement to other areas, and the numerous big peasant struggles and mobilizations made in this period, and the growth of membership and organization registered since the Seventh Congress do, certainly, inspire confidence.

However, our comrades in Tamil Nadu are aware that considering the forty million population of the state, our Party's base and political influence are still very weak, that the DMK's hold on the urban and rural poor is still preponderant that our mass peasant activity is still confined to one or two districts alone, that the legacies of right reformist tendencies inside the Party are far from liquidated, and that the ultra-"Left" trends, though they have not taken the disruptive form of defection and split, cannot be underestimated and have potential dangers.

Our state unit will have to pursue the present line in the state, while not for a moment forgetting the fact that it should scrupulously maintain its independent position, not permitting any uncritical support to the DMK and its Government and giving no scope to the Party in any way being tarred as tailing behind the DMK. Further, it should also note that as the crisis deepens and the masses are on the move to fight back its evil effects on them, the DMK Government, however democratic when compared to the Congress, tends to use the state machine against the militant working class and peasant movements—there are enough indications of this already during the last one year, and we will have to resist such offensive and fight back. While doing so, every care should be taken to see that our opposition to the DMK

Government's anti-people steps and actions does not play into the hands of the reactionary Congress opposition, because such a mistake will compromise our position in the eyes of the people as one of combining with the Congress. This will objectively help the Congress party on the one hand and the DMK on the other, instead of demarcating ourselves from both and advancing independently.

In the state of *Uttar Pradesh*, the communist movement did not and could not secure a firm mass base, and had always remained an insignificant political force during the last forty years. Even today the Congress, Jana Sangh, PSP and SSP dominate the political scene of the state, and neither the Right Communist Party nor our Party is anywhere near those four political parties, though the Right Communists have an edge over our Party which has been further accentuated and emphasized due to the big "Left" defection organised by a section of the state Party leadership.

Our Party had hardly recovered from the serious electoral defeats, and reverses suffered in the first quarter of the year 1967 when the ultra-"Left" faction in the State Committee forced a split on the Party, dividing the Party by half and disrupting the existing mass movement. The Party unit there could not take advantage of either the rapid disintegration of the Congress party or the discrediting of other opposition parties in the masses due to the highly opportunist policies pursued by the non-Congress state Government that these parties set up and functioned in the state for a year. The entire energies of what remained of the state unit of the Party were more directed to defending the Party organization and the very political line of our Party, than going into the masses and implementing the line. It has been reorganizing the district and local Party units and has not yet been able to overcome the disastrous effects of the "Left" disruption. The coming mid-term poll in the state affords an opportunity for the state unit in U.P. to go to the people with its independent political line, to reforge contact with the masses in the traditional bases of the Party, and in that process

regroup and reorganize our Party on sound lines, unlike in the past when it remained nebulous with frequent ebbs and flows in its membership. This is possible if our state leaders realistically estimate the situation in the state and our strength at present, if the limited aims and objectives they set before them in these elections are realistic and concrete, and if they look upon these elections and the opportunity they give to us to go to the wider sections of the people as preliminary and preparatory ground work to be continued and sustained in the post-election period. Any attempt, knowingly or unknowingly, to play high politics in the state, under the influence of bloated notions, which used to be entertained earlier about our Party's mass influence by some of our leaders, should be resisted, and efforts at concentrating our limited energies in certain specific areas, fronts and trade unions should be made.

Bihar: When the split took place with the revisionists, the entire leadership at the state level and two-thirds of the total membership had gone over to the revisionists. Only a few leading comrades with a third of the then existing membership came over to our Party and its political line. Despite all revisionist attempts in complicity with other allied parties to squeeze out our Party from the political scene of Bihar, our Bihar unit stood the ground, fought the general elections, and secured five seats in the Assembly, besides sizable votes in some other constituencies. In the course of advancing our work on the basis of the electoral results and the actual realities of the situation, a small group of "ultra-Left" elements arose and defected from the Party. These defections, though not big in numbers—about three hundred in all—did harm our bases in Jamshedpur and Dhanbad and also some good start made in the students' front has been disrupted. This "Left" adventurist section in Bihar dares not fight any other political party, but factionally concentrates on disrupting our mass activity in the pockets in which we are working. The state unit of Bihar, while grappling with the problems it is faced with, is once again drawn into

the mid-term poll, where the revisionists are trying their usual game of allying with anybody and everybody to bypass us and squeeze us out if possible. Our comrades in the state, during the recent period, have extended their activities in the tenants and agricultural labour sections of the peasantry, leading their struggles for the occupation of forest lands and other wasteland under Government's possession. Without relying on doubtful electoral alliances and undaunted by the revisionist conspiracies, and basing on their independent work and political influence among the masses, they are concentrating on a limited number of seats in the mid-term elections, while popularising the concept of democratic front; against the Congress and readiness to join such a front, exposing the opportunist alliances with the Jana Sangh and the like.

Punjab: The communist movement in Punjab has its rich traditions though the partition of the country which divided the state had disrupted it in a big way. The post-partition conditions provided ample opportunities for the spurt of communalism, Hindu communalism, exploited by the Jana Sangh and Sikh communalism by the Akali Party. Our Party in Punjab, a state situated on the Pakistan border with direct impact of the Indo-Pakistan conflict over the Kashmir issue, under the three-pronged attacks of the Congress, Akalis and Jana Sangh, was unable to register big progress, and the same unit had, once again, to face the revisionist split in 1964. It should also be noted that the demand for a separate Sikh state, though communal in character, was aggressively championed by the Akali Party, and our Party with its correct stand demanding a linguistic state of Punjab within the Indian Union found itself opposed by the Congress and Jana Sangh on the one hand and by the Akali leadership on the other from a different angle. The leadership of Sant Fateh Singhi, no doubt, had to change the original Sikh state demand, and veer round to the demand of a Punjabi state, on the lines we were advocating. But it should be admitted that the political credit for fighting and winning a separate Punjab

state was capitalised by the Akali Party under the leadership of Sant Fateh Singh, thus giving it an additional edge over our Party, besides enabling it to exploit Sikh communalism and appeal to the rising rich peasant and rural intelligentsia.

It was in this background that our Party had gone into the fourth general elections, and in the struggle to forge an anti-Congress democratic front our independent strength formed quite inadequate to pressurise the Akali Party into a just and reasonable agreement on the allocation of seats, thus losing the initiative completely to the Akali Party and its opportunist alliances. But the outcome of the general elections was such that the strength of the Congress and anti-Congress democratic front was evenly balanced and the Jana Sangh with its nine members was in a vantage position to bargain. The Akali leadership plunged for an agreement with the Jana Sangh to get into office and keep the Congress out. The Central Committee of our Party, as clearly laid down in its April 1967 decisions, was opposed to joining either that front or that front's Government, and asked our Party to lend its critical support without opening itself to the charge of helping the Congress party to come into office by withholding such critical support to the Akali-led front.

In order to meet the situation the Central Committee of our Party clearly laid down in its April 1967 resolution that "our Party cannot afford to keep aloof from the Sant Akali Party in its struggle for setting up a non-Congress Government on the plea that it is joining hands with the Jana Sangh to achieve the same; lastly when the people see the prospect of ousting the Congress and setting up a non-Congress Government there, with hopes of getting some relief from these Governments, it would be hazardous to reject our support to the formation of non-Congress Governments and risk the responsibility for objectively helping the Congress party to reinstall itself in the state Governments. But when we examine the extremely weak position of our Party both in the Assemblies and people outside, we will have to lend our support in order to enable the other alliances to form the

Governments. Joining these 'united fronts' and agreeing to participate in these ministries, even on the ground of an agreed programme, is not permissible."

The state leadership of the Party which correctly decided not to accept ministerial posts in the Akali-led alliance, accepted the post of convenorship of the Coordination Committee of the "United Front" with a Polit Bureau member acting as the Convenor. This step was criticised by the C.C. and P.B. The P.B. directed that we should resign from this position and continue to give critical support to the Ministry. There is no doubt that the key position we were holding with our three-member strength, the political prestige our P.B. member was commanding as convenor of the Coordination Committee, had helped in the survival and functioning of the Gurnam Singh Ministry, and also got a measure of relief for the people. Notwithstanding these immediate gains, this step of our State Committee carried with it elements of compromising our political position vis-a-vis the Jana Sangh and the opportunist alliance of the Akali Party, Jana Sangh and Right Communists. The State Committee, a month after the receipt of the C.C.'s directives, extricated itself from the convenorship of the Coordination Committee, and this time gap was allowed by the P.B. to implement the decision, as the retreat from a wrong step also had to be made without doing serious damage to the then existing front Ministry.

Our Party during the last eighteen months has resumed its mass activities, and it has made considerable progress during the last six months. Its influence among the employees has increased. Its work among the students has made good progress, and its activities are being steadily extended to the tenants and to the agricultural labourers' movement. It has also increased its activities in the trade union movement.

As seen elsewhere, the Right Communists are vigorously working for an Akali-Jana Sangh-Right Communist alliance in the ensuing mid-term poll, to which we are firmly opposed. We have been advocating an electoral front and

adjustment of seats between the Akali Party, CPI(M), Right Communists, Republicans and other progressive groups and individuals, excluding the Jana Sangh. It is yet premature to forecast how things will finally shape.

There is also a small "Left" disruption, but the state unit was alert in meeting it and defeating it.

The Rising Wave of Mass Struggles and Tasks before the Party

The most important feature of the political situation in the country today is that the growing discontent of the people is finding expression in an unprecedented wave of mass struggles—struggles which embrace every section of the people and are waged around issues of an economic, political and social character. It is this wave of struggles that invests the political developments in the last four years—developments preceding and following the fourth general elections—with the character of an ever deepening political crisis. Had it not been for this wave of mass struggles, the defeats suffered by the Congress in the fourth general elections would have remained a purely electoral defeat and the Congress would have been able, through its own electoral manoeuvres, to retrieve the ground lost at the polls.

The Congress leadership did in fact resort, after the general elections, to various manoeuvres at the level of parliamentary and legislative action. Taking advantage of the ideological-political differences within the opposition in Parliament and within the united fronts in those states where non-Congress Governments had come into existence, the Congress leaders tried to isolate some and befriend other opposition parties. Using the prejudice which many of the constituents of the united fronts nurture against the Communist Party of India (Marxist), they launched a vicious offensive against the Party.

It was on this basis that they very nearly succeeded in breaking the U.F. in West Bengal, weaning the Bangla Congress away from the United Front. After that effort was defeated

by the timely intervention of our Party and other progressive democratic elements in West Bengal, they succeeded in breaking the U.F. and used Dr. P. C. Ghosh to topple the U.F. Government. In Kerala, too, they did their utmost to isolate the CPI (Marxist) with the slogan of "a non-Congress Government without the Marxists". Such efforts were made in every other state. Even at the Centre, they tried to get closer to such parties as the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and PSP with whose support a reactionary front directed against the CPI (Marxist) and other radical democratic forces was sought to be built up.

These efforts would have succeeded to a very large extent had it not been for the fact that the non-Congress united fronts had to base themselves on the wave of struggles which broke out all over the country—struggles at whose head our Party stood wherever it is a significant political force. Undaunted by the wholesale arrests and detention of its leading cadre and by the vicious propaganda offensive launched against it, the Party took the lead in Kerala, West Bengal and other states in organising struggles for food, trade union demands, civil liberties and so on. The initiative taken by the Party at the time of and after the 1965 mid-term election in Kerala to launch such struggles inevitably drew other Left and democratic parties into a countrywide struggle which reached its climax in the glorious 1966 struggle of West Bengal, forcing the hands of the central Congress Government to release the detenus and relax the operation of the Defence of India Rules.

It was the unity built in the course of developing these struggles that culminated in the formation of various united fronts in various states. The result was that even in those states where there was no U.F. the non-Congress parties had to base themselves on the social and class forces which were engaged in these struggles.

This background of mass struggles invested the electoral victory of the non-Congress forces in the two states of Kerala and West Bengal with a unique character. Not only did the

traditional Left parties in these two states have a predominant voice in the formation of non-Congress united fronts; even the other constituents of the U.F.s had to orient themselves to the wave of mass struggles which was responsible for raising them to the position of ruling parties. Further, the strongest constituent of the U.F. in both these states was the CPI(M) which had the clearest vision and perspective of the direction and manner in which the victory won in the elections had to be consolidated and further carried forward. As the Central Committee of the Party stated, "these two Governments should be looked upon as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people".

The formation of these two non-Congress Governments, with the CPI(M) as the strongest partner in the coalition; the existence of other non-Congress Governments which too from the very nature of the situation had to adopt a relatively friendly attitude towards militant organisations of the working people; the increasing difficulties of the people due to the recession in industry, food shortages, high prices and so on — all this made it inevitable that the post-election period should witness a still higher wave of mass struggles than in the pre-election period. Strikes and gheraos of workers, the unprecedented wave of demonstrations and strikes organised by the middle-class employees, various forms of direct action into which the students and urban youth were drawn—these are the most significant developments of the last eighteen months. The prolonged strike of the newspaper employees and the September 19 token strike of central government employees are the most recent incidents in the chain of these struggles. The fact that tens of thousands of central government employees defied the most draconian ordinance issued by the Congress Government and faced the most brutal police attacks leading to twelve deaths and serious injuries to hundreds, together with the fact that almost all the opposition parties came out in support of the employees and against the Central Government, shows that the mass discontent arising out of the difficulties caused by

the anti-working class policies of the Government is finding organised political expression.

The way in which these struggles are breaking out and developing shows both the strength as well as the weakness of the democratic mass movement in the country; it shows the strength and weakness of the traditional Left parties in general and of the CPI(M) in particular. Some of these struggles burst out spontaneously; even though some of these struggles are consciously organised by the CPI (Marxist) or other Left parties, by the AITUC or other mass organisations, they are in fact far bigger and embrace much wider sections of the people than can be rallied by any of these parties and mass organizations singly or by all of them together. Further extension and development of these struggles is inevitable under the present circumstances because they are an expression of the deep discontent felt by the people, even though large sections of them are still outside the sphere of influence of the traditional Left parties and mass organizations.

While this shows the strength of the mass movement, whose growth and development cannot be prevented by the ruling classes, it contains within itself the basic elements of its weakness: being often spontaneous, it cannot lead to a conscious movement which will transform the electoral defeat inflicted on the Congress party in the fourth general elections into a political defeat for the ruling classes as a whole. In the absence of a conscious political leadership, provided by the vanguard of the working class basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the spontaneous discontent felt by the mass of the people cannot be directed towards a well-organised assault on the socio-economic and political policies of the ruling classes; the vaguely-felt aspirations of the people cannot be transformed into a positive programme of transformation of society.

It is against this background that the CPI(M) should examine its work of building the UF and building the mass organisations and building the Party. The general lines along which these two tasks have to be discharged have been outlined by the

Central Committee in its resolutions on *Tasks on Trade Union Front, Tasks on Kisan Front, New Situation and Party's Tasks and Tasks on Party Organisation*. It is to the extent to which the tasks outlined in these resolutions are implemented that the Party will be able to play its positive role in directing the growing mass discontent towards a united assault on the bourgeois-landlord regime, as well as in drawing the best elements in the ranks of fighters against the regime towards the Party and into the Party.

Our links with our masses are still weak. We depend on spontaneity and are trailing behind in consolidating even the mass influence we have into political and Party forms leave alone further developing it. In this context the building up and strengthening of mass organisations of workers, agricultural workers, peasants, students, youth, women, etc., need hardly be stressed. It is imperative that the Party takes up this task seriously if the existing weaknesses are to be removed and the Party is to be enabled to lead the rapidly growing mass movement.

It is to be realised that the correctness of the policy of the CPI(M) and the bankruptcy of the policies of other parties are all tested in the concrete manner in which everyone of these parties goes into action in organising and leading the spontaneous wave of mass struggles, giving it the political character of an assault on the regime.

The demands formulated by the various sections of the people, who launch struggles; the bitter struggles that they have to wage in order to secure even limited demands; the firm determination with which the ruling classes and the Government resist the people's demands and try to suppress their agitations and struggles—all these make it clear that in waging these struggles, every section of the people comes face to face with the bourgeois-landlord regime. Dearness allowance and need-based minimum wage around which the struggles of industrial workers and middle class employees are being fought; land distribution, wage increases, fair conditions of work, end to the social oppression of harijans

and other backward castes, etc., around which the agricultural labourers are fighting; reform of the educational system and employment opportunities for which the students and urban youth are agitating; completion of land reforms and such other demands for which the peasants are fighting—all these bring to the forefront the basic issues of policy. But, unless and until the mass movement is raised from spontaneity to the level of an organised movement with a conscious aim and objective, the struggles will remain confined to the narrow limits of economism. Struggle after struggle will be waged for particular partial demands, but those who participate in them will not acquire an awareness of the need for changing basic policies and for that purpose changing the regime itself.

They are even likely to develop into movements which can be used by the ruling classes to set one section of the people against another, such as peasant against agricultural labourer; harijan against the upper caste; agricultural labourer; the small property owner against the propertyless and so on. Within the working class movement itself the ruling classes will be able to set the manual labourer and the intellectual worker against each other. Together with the caste, communal, linguistic and provincial animosities which the ruling classes are consciously instigating and utilising in order to divide and disrupt the unity of the people, the narrow economic framework within which the mass struggles are being waged can well form the basis of dividing the fighting people into several antagonistic groups. This will mean the frittering away of the militant energy of the people and directing it into fratricidal conflict within the ranks of the people, thus saving the regime from the united assault of the working people.

It is therefore obvious that if the spontaneous wave of mass struggles is to be consciously led and directed towards a political struggle against the regime, the CPI (Marxist) will have to undertake the work of the extensive and systematic ideological-political education of the entire people.

Every issue around which any section of the people are fighting for any partial demand, every incident in the course of the struggle, every success or failure or compromise which results in these struggles—all this is to be related to the character of the regime, to the policies pursued by the ruling classes and its various sections and strata and so on. The class character of the regime, the bankruptcy of the capitalist path pursued by the ruling classes, the hollowness of the “parliamentary democratic” claims and pretensions made by the ruling classes, the fiasco of everyone of the national policies pursued by the ruling party and the basic alternatives placed before the people by the Party in its Programme of People’s Democracy—all this has to be related to the issues of current policies around which partial struggles are fought and tactical differences arise within the ruling circles. Such a concrete education of the entire people on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete conditions of the economy and policies of our country is the only way in which the spontaneous wave of mass struggles can be raised to the level of a conscious political movement of the working people led by the working class.

It is from this that the importance of the independent functioning of the CPI(M) as the party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism arises. Any tendency to submerge the Party in an amorphous united front, any failure to criticise, expose and try to correct the mistaken views and practices of parties and groups adhering to alien ideologies, will make the mass movement susceptible to all sorts of divisive and disruptive influences which the ruling circles try to inject into the ranks of the people. It therefore prevents that very process of uniting the mass movement in the interests of which the Party is asked to submerge itself into the united front. Far from giving up the independent work of the Party, therefore, its independent work of educating and organising the people should be expanded manifold. The weakness arising out of the spontaneous character of the mass movement can be overcome only if the Party grows

still stronger in those places where it is relatively strong and expands into those places where it is weak or even non-existent. A conscious plan of exposing the policies of the ruling circles, explaining the alternative policies advocated by the Party, criticising the policies of other Left and democratic parties and educating the millions of people on the programme of replacing the present landlord-bourgeois regime by a new regime of People's Democracy—such is the basic political task, the fulfilment of which will enable the drawing in of tens of thousands of new militants and their education and organisation as the Marxist-Leninist cadre of the Party.

Such an expansion and strengthening of the Party, however, is impossible unless the existing units, members and sympathisers of the Party throw themselves heart and soul into the work of organising and leading the present spontaneous wave of mass struggles. It is here that the main weakness of the Party has revealed itself. The heritage of a long period of revisionism has so divorced the Party from the militant mass movement of the people that the basic principle of Party organisation that every Party member should devote his energies to the building of mass movements and struggles has been forgotten. The result is that, even though the Central Committee laid down the correct lines along which the trade union and peasant movements are to be organised, the resolutions giving these guiding lines have, by and large, remained on paper. Only a small minority of Party members and sympathisers engage themselves in the work of building mass organizations and leading struggles. Even out of them, the overwhelming majority function within the framework of narrow economism and fail to raise the ideological-political level of the masses whose struggles they are leading. The Party as a whole neglects the tasks of taking the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the working class and peasantry; applying the fundamentals to the concrete conditions and problems of this country; throwing the intellectuals who come towards the Party into the work of

educating the working class and peasantry on Marxism-Leninism as well as in applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and problems; raising increasing numbers of Marxist intellectuals from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry; and so on. The result is that the task of politicalising the working class and the peasantry is neglected; even those sections of the working people who are formally under the leadership of the Party and who may even vote for Party candidates in elections are ideologically and politically under the influence of bourgeois-landlord ideologies.

Another defect in the work of the Party in the trade union and peasant fields is that the supreme importance of united action is often neglected. The Central Committee in its resolutions has pointed out how, despite the political and organizational differences that undoubtedly exist within the working class and peasant organizations, it is not only necessary but possible that struggles are waged on the basis of unity of all the parties and organizations that have some following among the people. Division and disruption is the biggest weapon which the ruling classes wield against the fighting people. The struggle for the unity of our class must be carried through united actions and organization. The struggle for unity of mass organization must be waged.

This, of course, is not easy since the revisionists and other parties and groups who are working in the trade union and peasant organisations are interested in keeping the movement divided. They create all sorts of difficulties, put various obstacles, which make it extremely difficult both for preserving the unity of existing mass organisations as well as for evolving a programme of fighting united struggles. It is therefore necessary for the Party to realise that division and disruption are the weapons of the class enemy and that united struggles with a view to the formation of united organisations under favourable circumstances are the weapon of the working class and its allies.

All this applies as much to the field of political action as

to that of mass action on economic issues. It was the coming together of the various non-Congress Governments that led the ruling party to the serious political crisis in which it finds itself today. The preservation and further strengthening of this political unity of the non-Congress forces is therefore an essential condition for the transformation of the growing political crisis into a revolutionary crisis. It is idle to hope that the failure of Congress policies to solve the national problems, the further aggravation of the economic and political problems of the nation and the rapid organizational disintegration of the ruling Congress party will all automatically create the proper political conditions for the replacement of the Congress by a democratic alternative.

It is equally idle to hope that the united front that has emerged in the political struggle against the Congress regime can be maintained and further strengthened if only our Party refrains from criticising the other constituents of the U.F. On the other hand, our failure to conduct a firm and principled but fraternal struggle against the incorrect ideologies and policies of the partners of the United Front will help only to strengthen disruptive ideas and thus prevent the maintenance of even the existing unity. At every stage, when either before or after the fourth general elections, differences cropped up within the united fronts, they got accentuated and led to a near crisis in the U.F.s whenever we failed to conduct a firm and fraternal struggle against incorrect approaches and policies. On the other hand, struggles help the resolution of differences whenever they are waged with a view to resolving the differences and further cementing the unity. A combination of struggle and unity both in the field of class struggle for the solution of economic issues as well as for political struggles is thus the direction along which the Party has to direct its activities.

Comrades, in the preceding discussion we have explained at length the political significance of the electoral front against the Congress and the significance of the United Front Ministries led by us. In describing the shifts in the political

situation, these acquired much importance and therefore had to be dealt with in detail. It will be however thoroughly opportunist, thoroughly anti-Marxist-Leninist to forget that these fronts and Ministries and the success scored by them depended directly on the united action forged in class struggles, on the part played by the Party in unleashing and leading these struggles. The electoral front and the ministerial fronts which we participate in are the products of mass struggles, of the correlation of forces created by us in the direct struggle of the masses. In the struggle for People's Democracy the parliamentary front is an auxiliary weapon of our struggle, the main weapon being the direct revolutionary struggle of the masses. It is the revolutionary struggle that is primary, it is here that the vast masses become politically conscious, become class conscious and earn the capacity to use all other auxiliary and subsidiary weapons of struggle. The fatal blow to the existing regime will be delivered not in the parliamentary arena but in the arena of direct revolutionary mass struggle. The former will only hasten the process of the basic conflict.

That is why for our Party the movement of the masses, their struggle against exploitation and for political advance leading to capture of political power is of supreme importance. It acquires added importance today when with the passing of the economic crisis into a political crisis the masses are poised for huge struggles of unprecedented dimensions against the present order. To anticipate these struggles, to prepare for them and lead them is the primary task of our Party. It is these that provide the Party with the flexibility, the manoeuvrability and capacity to utilise all other fronts and transform the latter also into arenas of revolutionary conflict.

That is why the utmost attention has to be paid to the developing of the mass fronts, organizations and struggles. And that is why the Party's line of united action, of united front, assumes tremendous importance in the present context. To transform the situation, to hurl back the Government's offensive, it is necessary to organise total class resistance to

the ruling classes. Without this the decisive battles of the coming period cannot be fought, the interests of the masses cannot be protected and the way to rapid democratic advance cannot be opened. And to mobilise the strongest resistance of the masses it is necessary to rally all sections of the masses owing loyalty to different democratic organizations and political parties. Hence the basic importance of the call for united action.

At the present stage of development of the democratic movement and the alignment of political parties, utmost stress is to be laid on unity in action, from issue to issue, on all the questions affecting the day-to-day life of the people. The course of this struggle for united action and the successes scored by it in uniting the people will help the process of building the People's Democratic Front of the future. The workers' and peasants' alliance must growingly form the core of this united front.

The main tasks and slogans around which such united actions and struggles should be conducted are the following:

1. A national food policy as enunciated by our Party, providing for monopoly procurement of the surpluses of big landholders; state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains, dehoarding and equitable distribution of foodgrains through people's committees. Such a policy alone will end the humiliating dependence on PL-480 food imports;

2. Stopping of all evictions of peasants; breaking of land concentration; distribution free of cost to landless labourers and poor peasants of all cultivable wasteland and wasteland in Government and private forests and of all surplus land of landlords and land in the illegal possession of landlords by *benami* and mala fide transfers; adequate wages to agricultural labourers and debt relief to them and poor peasants; facilities to peasants to increase food production;

3. Full employment, no retrenchment, no automation, need-based wage and full neutralization of the cost of living for the working class and employees; central assistance to states to take over and run industrial units in crisis and give relief

to unemployed workers; for full freedom of organisation of the trade union movement, right to strike, trade union recognition, withdrawal of all anti-strike legislations;

4. The demands of the central government employees and state government employees, and repeal of the Essential Services Act and other anti-strike laws and of the law penalising railway workers for strikes;

5. End of police terror against the fighting people, expansion of democratic rights and civil liberties and repeal of all repressive and anti-democratic laws;

6. Full guarantee of the democratic rights of the national and religious minorities, harijans and tribal people;

7. Demands of the students, democratic management of the universities with voice for the students, legal prohibition against the entry of police into educational institutions, complete overhauling of the education system, economic help to poor students, guarantee of employment; fair deal to teachers;

8. Firm measures against the ever-rising prices by taking steps to end deficit financing, and for ceiling on income and corporate profits;

9. Drastic reduction in the defence expenditure and in the heavy tax burdens on the people;

10. Widest autonomy for the states of the Indian Union, to begin with (a) 75 per cent share of all the centrally collected taxes to go to the states, (b) most of the subjects in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution to be transferred to the states, and (c) all officials belonging to the all-India service like IAS, IPS, etc., to be completely under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Governments of the states in which they serve;

11. A just and democratic solution of the problem of the border nationalities and the tribal people;

12. Nationalization of foreign capital; nationalization of banks and foreign trade and monopolist industries;

13. Moratorium on all foreign debts and service charges and repatriation of foreign capital;

14. Fight against the growing U.S. penetration into our

economy and social life: fight and defeat the U.S. neo-colonialist threat to our country;

15. To resist growing U.S. pressure on our country's foreign policy, demand that the Government give up its anti-China policy and take immediate steps for settlement with China; for strengthening friendly relations with all socialist countries; and for full support to Vietnam and all anti-imperialist struggles;

16. For friendly relations and peaceful settlement of disputes with Pakistan;

17. For abolition of princely privy purses and privileges immediately.

The analysis and assessment made so far of the present national and international situation sharply bring before us the following tasks:

—The necessity and urgency of mobilising the widest anti-imperialist democratic forces and building a powerful and broad-based anti-imperialist movement to defeat the chief aggressor and world gendarme, U.S. imperialism, and its imperialist allies.

—The necessity and urgency of unleashing a mighty solidarity campaign and building a broad-based solidarity movement in support of the heroic Vietnam liberation forces who are fighting the vanguard battle for democracy and independence of nations against U.S. imperialist aggression and in defence of socialist North Vietnam.

To organise movements of solidarity with people fighting against imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

—The necessity and urgency of fighting for the principled unity and defence of the world socialist camp, the camp that is destined to play the decisive role and objectively placed in the position of defeating the threat of imperialist aggression and war and emancipating humanity from exploitation and wage-slavery..

—The necessity and urgency of fighting for the principled unity of the world communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

—The necessity and urgency of solidly uniting our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, beating off the attacks from the right revisionists as well as “Left” adventurists and going forward to building a strong Communist Party capable of discharging the tasks that are confronting it today.

—The necessity and urgency of seizing every opportunity to encourage, support and realise unity of action against imperialist by all the socialist states, Communist Parties and other anti-imperialist democratic and peace-loving forces.

Such in short are the national and international tasks before our Party today.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE POLIT BUREAU AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Seventh Congress was the culmination of the fight against revisionism inside the CPI. The struggle for a correct line inside the Party now merged with the struggle against international revisionism.

The Congress marked a programmatic and organizational ideological break with revisionism accompanied by a complete demarcation on tactics.

Internally the Congress marked the reassertion of the Marxist-Leninist outlook of proletarian internationalism repudiating the anti-China chauvinism of the revisionists, and also the Leninist principles of conducting a democratic revolution in the period of developing world socialist revolution—the hegemony of the proletariat, the vanguard character of the Party, the rejection of the parliamentary path, rejection of the opportunist concept of a state of National Democracy and assertion of People’s Democracy, led by the working class, based on the workers’ and peasants’ alliance.

The Congress repudiated all the revisionist formulations in relation to the Indian situation and correctly described the character of the state (bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism) and the stage of the revolution following from it. It

analysed correctly the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. It repudiated the revisionist attempts to underplay the danger from American imperialism, removed illusions created by exaggerated conceptions about Soviet aid, correctly characterized the growing process of compromise and surrender by the big bourgeoisie; removed all illusions about bourgeois planning, traced the non-alignment policy and its shifts to the class needs of the bourgeoisie and to the rise of monopolies; it foretold the inevitable crisis of the Indian economy under the capitalist path.

It warned against an anti-China policy and the danger of growing isolation from the camp of socialism and democracy.

It regarded the Congress and its Government as the main target of attack whereas the revisionists in the name of fighting right reaction screened them.

International revisionism boosted the revisionist line, encouraged anti-China chauvinism, screened the capitalist character of the plans, boosted one-sidedly Soviet aid, supported illusions about the parliamentary path, and endorsed the tactics of concentrating on 'right' parties other than the Congress.

The Party Congress did not also accept the stand taken by the Communist Party of China. It did not accept that the Nehru Government was a puppet of foreign monopoly capital. It did not accept that "externally it relies on the U.S. imperialists behind the facade of the policy of nonalignment". It focussed attention on its growing surrender and connected it with the increasing collaboration of the monopolists with the imperialists.

Immediately after the Party Congress the revisionist and the Marxist-Leninist lines were tested before the people in the Kerala elections. All the issues — from China to the attitude to the Congress and the Muslim League — were in the forefront. The main issue was of course the question of anti-Congress democratic united front — the question of regarding the Congress as the main enemy, with a challenge

to the entire politics of the Congress. The revisionists attacked electoral understanding with the Muslim League thereby hopelessly miscalculating the depth of discontent among the people against Congress rule.

The ruling party equally miscalculated, attacked us on the charge of being pro-China and anti-national and got a rebuff.

The formation of the United Front — with the SSP, etc.—itself showed that chauvinism had for the time being ceased to be a weapon of fighting us. We had lived it down.

The success of the U.F. showed that the masses in Kerala looked upon our Party as the leading organization in the fight against the Congress. The Kerala elections constituted a big victory for the new line which stood four-square on rejection of chauvinism, assertion of proletarian internationalism and the complete rejection of revisionist internal policies, and advocated open battle against the Congress as the main enemy. The electoral understanding with the Muslim League came in for wide criticism from bourgeois circles and from certain democratic circles, but soon the anti-Congress front was to be accepted by all though by some in a thoroughly opportunist fashion.

The new international outlook was again tested during the course of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. Every other party including the revisionist party went completely chauvinistic—the revisionist party surpassed even the Government in its war-mongering, and refused in the beginning to welcome the Tashkent negotiations. Ours was the only party in the country that stood for peace, for Indo-Pakistan amity, for the unity of the toilers of the two countries. Our independent stand created a profound impression on many sections. At this stage, when the leadership was in jail and when our own comrades outside were valiantly carrying on the work, the tendency of blind faith in the Chinese leadership leading to the echoing of its entire stand on the Indo-Pakistan conflict appeared in our Party. In some cases there was failure to see the reactionary character of the Pakistan

Government, there was also opposition to the Tashkent declaration, etc. There was also a tendency among a section of our comrades to succumb to chauvinism and line up behind the Government. There were even some open expressions of this tendency. Yet, on the whole, our stand was based on a correct appreciation of the role of the two Governments and rejection of chauvinism.

Our comrades outside and our committees carried on the work valiantly. Party organs were brought out in Bengali, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi, Kannada, Marathi, etc. *People's Democracy* was brought out and with the Party underground, big mass battles were fought in West Bengal and Kerala and the Kerala elections were won. The Party waged an incessant battle against revisionism. The revisionist programme passed at their Bombay Congress was exposed. There was no relaxation of the ideological battle against revisionism and in the various jails the Party's ranks were steeled in the struggle and prepared to face revisionism in the actual battle for the masses.

In this period, because the Party could not finalise its stand on the issues of ideological disputes in the international communist movement, there developed a tendency both inside and outside the jails to uncritically accept whatever came from China on the international differences. This was due to the faith developed in the CPC because of its courageous fight in the struggle against international revisionism.

There was thus a distinct Left-sectarian swerve in international matters. The tendency was also in evidence in internal matters. Immediately on release of the comrades from jail these tendencies found expression in (1) an uncritical attitude to the Chinese stand and refusal to examine the changing Chinese statements leading to its virtual denial of the existence of the socialist camp, and (2) an unwillingness to form united front in the elections with the revisionists. In effect this was refusal to lead the anti-Congress discontent during the elections.

However, the Party was saved from such derailment. In

West Bengal, before the release of Party leaders, the ideological struggle had already started against the extreme "Left" trend which talked of adventurist forms of struggle. The first meeting of the Polit Bureau and following it of the Central Committee at Tenali took up the question of (1) differences in the international communist movement, and (2) election policy and tactics.

The former was discussed in the CC but the discussion was postponed in view of the elections. Some comrades were not yet in a mood to see the defects in the line advocated by China. The General Secretary and some of the PBMs drew the attention of the Central Committee to these mistakes of the Chinese Party. The document submitted to the meeting of the CC in June 1966 by Comrade M. Basavapunniah raised the major points of difference with the CPC while rejecting the line of the Soviet revisionist leaders. It criticised the CPC's opposition to joint action for Vietnam and its rejection of such action in principle. It also criticised the CPC's formulation that the Soviet leaders were collaborating with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony and for redivision of the world into spheres of influence and that a U.S.-Soviet aggressive alliance had been formed. It also stated that this was a serious departure from the class analysis made in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and put forth a new strategy and tactical line.

Regarding election alliances and tactics, the PB and the Central Committee evolved the correct tactics of having electoral adjustments with democratic parties against the Congress for breaking the Congress monopoly of power, of overall electoral alliances and advancing slogans of alternative Ministries in certain states and at the same time making it incumbent on Party candidates and committees to popularise the entire *Programme* of the Party and the Party's *Elections Manifesto* including the Party's stand on the India-China question. Correctly sensing that the anti-Congress economic discontent of the previous period will seek to express itself during the elections, the Party strove to rally all anti-Con-

gress democratic forces, attack the Congress monopoly of power in states and raise the slogan of alternative Ministries in some states. On this basis, the Party was able to take a proper attitude towards the DMK in Tamil Nadu, the Muslim League in Kerala, the Sant Akali Party in Punjab, while taking an irreconcilable attitude towards the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra.

Between the Tenali session of the CC and the elections, the PB and the Central Committee directed their attention to evolving a correct revolutionary line on two major mass fronts — the kisan and the trade unions. The *Programme* had correctly seen, unlike the Programme of the revisionists, the growing differentiation inside the peasantry due to the growth of capitalist relations. It had analysed the role of the different sections in the revolutionary movement. But the understanding had not been applied to the concrete building of the kisan mass movement. This was done in the document on *Tasks on Kisan Front* which negated and repudiated the revisionist fallacies and opportunism and called for a rebuilding of the peasant movement based on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata—agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The document on *Tasks on Trade Union Front* which analysed the revisionist outlook and practices of the past and called for a class outlook on trade union problems while emphasizing the need of defending class unity against the offensive of the capitalists, it attacked economism, placed the danger from the U.S. imperialists in the forefront, attacked the revisionist neglect of building the Party, called for democratic functioning of the trade unions, and emphasized the need for building the workers' and peasants' alliance and popularising the aims of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The election line and tactics of the Party were based on the understanding that the electoral battle was a continuation of the great wave of struggles of 1965-66 and that the masses would be using it as a political outlet to express their discontent against Congress rule. The resolution of the

Tenali session of the CC stated, "The people have raised their voice against these policies of the Congress Government which jeopardise the independence of our nation. Above all, they have fought against the policies which have imposed direct suffering on them. The great food struggles of West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar, the widespread mass actions of all sections in all parts of the country, have been the heroic reply of the people in defence of their interests. By their blood, their sufferings, their martyrdom they have repudiated Congress policies in action. The election offers another opportunity to the people and democratic parties to reject the anti-popular policies of the Congress."

To give expression to the gathering political protest of the masses against the holders of political power, the resolution outlined the electoral tactics of the Party as follows: "The Party will strive generally for electoral adjustments with opposition parties, so that opposition votes may not get split and the defeat of the Congress party may be ensured in the maximum number of constituencies" to lead to the breaking of the Congress monopoly of power and secure the following results: (1) the reduction of the Congress party into a minority and the formation of alternative Governments wherever possible; (2) its defeat in as many constituencies as possible and reduction in the number of its members in all legislatures and Parliament; (3) enhanced representation of the Communist Party and to strengthen the democratic opposition in Parliament and state legislatures."

"In the states, particularly where the Communist Party is the leading opposition force, and where there is a possibility of the Congress party being defeated, the Party will strive for electoral alliances with all those parties that are willing to shed their anti-communism and fight the Congress party jointly with CPI. For forging such electoral alliances, the Party will join with other democratic parties to evolve a common minimum programme of immediate relief to the people while popularising its own *Programme*. Such alliances are necessary not only for defeating the Congress at

the polls but also for forming and maintaining non-Congress Governments." "Against the background of the growing crisis, the Central Committee considers it the paramount duty of the Party to run the election campaign as the biggest political campaign against the Congress Government as the main enemy of the people, and against its basic policies, both home and foreign. The Party will also expose parties like the Jana Sangh and the Swatandra Party which advocate variants of these policies."

The Central Committee also directed that in considering choice of seats for electoral contests the needs of future mass struggles should be kept in the forefront. It asked the District Committees to decide the seats which we must contest on the basis of political and mass influence and organizational strength, concentrate their attention in big cities of industrial and educational importance and in the contiguous rural constituencies round about those centres, stretching it to as great a depth or distance as possible, till we reach the next important centre. The seats were to be chosen in such a way that it gave the Party a contiguous mass base to carry on the struggle; the CC was not satisfied with just winning a number of seats at random in far-flung isolated localities.

The understanding of the character of the electoral battle and the tactics adopted in pursuance of it proved to be entirely correct. There were sectarian voices inside the Party which opposed united front with the revisionists and other parties saying all alliances with bourgeois parties were reactionary. Of course, there were some opportunist mistakes committed in carrying out the line, failure to popularise our *Programme*, failure to stick to the criteria laid down by the CC in choosing candidates.

But on the whole, the Party went unitedly into the electoral battle and carried out the line. The failure to understand the election as the continuation of the mass struggle, the failure to develop united front and give organised democratic expression to the discontent against the Congress, would have isolated the Party from the masses. Apart from its effect



on the elections, it would have hampered the forging of new ties and broadening the Party's mass base.

The correctness of the Party's line was seen in the rout of the Congress in a number of states — even in states where it was least expected and where the Left parties and democratic movement were weak. It spoke of the spontaneous welling up of the discontent in wide sections of the masses, who precisely, like the Party, placed the Congress as the main enemy though they were unable to distinguish between the Jana Sangh and the Congress. This was an important political event, an important political experience for the masses. It led to the growing disintegration of the Congress as an organization; it also shattered the Congress monopoly of power in the majority of states and became a great unsettling event for the ruling party. As a consequence it compelled the Congress to resort to unconstitutional steps to topple the non-Congress Ministries, adopt intrigues, exploit the provisions of the Constitution to suit its selfish aims thus exposing and unmasking the class character of the Constitution. In the present level of mass consciousness this was a big advance.

The election tactics not only correctly understood the political background, they also advanced the image of the Party as the most fighting organization against the Congress in states where the Party had accumulated strength. In Kerala, the rout of the Congress by the U.F. under our leadership was complete, leading to a big galvanization of the radical forces — the Right Communists learning from the experience of the 1965 elections had to fall in line and enter the U.F. In West Bengal, though the rightist party succeeded in splitting a common front, our Party was still able to forge a front of Left parties and emerge as the biggest force in the Left front and among opposition parties. The Rightists who relied on fragmentation of the united front could get only a few seats, one-third of what we got. West Bengal also showed how even in this advanced state a wrong step in relation to the U.F. and the anti-Congress discontent would have led to the isolation

of the Party. When the break came with the Bangla Congress and the Rightists, it was our Party which was put on the defensive for some time, the bourgeois papers having made the people believe that we were responsible for the split in the opposition forces. The West Bengal results also showed that had the Rightists not succeeded in splitting the front, the defeat of the Congress would have been more impressive, the U.F. would not have been at the mercy of a handful of opportunists and the struggle between the popular and anti-popular forces centering round the U.F. Ministry would have intensified, accentuating all the contradictions.

In Tamil Nadu, because of the correct and firm approach towards DMK, making the Congress the central point of attack, the Party was able to gain electoral successes, activate its own mass bases and extend and consolidate them. It was able to expand its mass base as was seen in the subsequent period when the Party had to lead mass trade union and kisan struggles with the DMK Ministry in office. The electoral successes only served to intensify and broaden the mass struggles. But for the correct line, again, the link between the Party and the mass discontent for the next step of the struggle would have been snapped.

In other states, where the Party was not so strong and a popular united front could not come before the people, the success of the democratic forces and the Party were extremely meagre. It once more showed that the people regarded the election as the continuation of their struggle against the regime and those parties which were already before them as opponents of the Congress got the benefit of their vote.

The election results were soberly analysed in the PB statement from Trivandrum. The move away of the people from the Congress was seen, as well as its immature character, as seen in the vote for the Jana Sangh, etc., where the democratic forces were weak. The sense of victory of the people, their sense of expectations following the electoral victory was noted and indications of the line to take the discontent to the next stage were given.

Immediately after the elections there was a tendency to be influenced by parliamentary opportunism, forget the connection between the electoral successes with the mass struggle, the necessity of fighting the opportunism of the partners of the united front and lapse into parliamentary tactics. The proposals for a united legislature party in Kerala, the uncritical attitude towards the partners of the U.F. who were just out for parliamentary opportunism were instances and the PB and the CC had to bring them to the notice of the comrades and reject such moves.

Taking into consideration the position of the Party, its mass strength and its capacity to influence other parties, the PB and the CC worked out a line regarding the Party's participation in the alternative ministries. In West Bengal and Kerala, the Party decided to join the Ministry. In Punjab, where we had only three members in the Assembly and mass pressure also could not be worked, our comrades were asked not to participate in the Ministry but only to give critical support to the U.F. Ministry against the Congress. The State Committee had decided to join the Coordination Committee of the ministerial parties with our comrade as the convenor. The PB directed that we should resign from this post.

In Bihar also, where we had won four seats and where our Party was offered two seats in the Ministry, we declined to join the Ministry, though we agreed to support the front Ministry on the basis of specific demands. The PB instructed the Party to sit in the opposition.

Besides, in these cases, the consideration was that the united front included the Jana Sangh and Swatantra with whom we could not associate in any Ministry.

As regards Tamil Nadu, the CC assessed the situation as follows: "The attitude our Party has adopted and our state unit of Tamil Nadu has been pursuing, both during the course of the general election and after the formation of the DMK Government is correct. Ours is conditional support to the DMK Government. No idea of joining the Ministry should be entertained, even if such an offer is made by the DMK

and our Party's place in that Legislative Assembly cannot be on the treasury benches but on the opposition benches. The principal guiding line for such an attitude is based on the correlation of forces obtained in the state both in the Assembly and among the people. Our Party is weak and encounters serious danger of reducing itself to a camp-follower of the DMK, and losing its independent identity among the people....unlike in Kerala and West Bengal where our Party's mass position is on a different footing and higher level."

It will be seen that the PB and CC instructions were once more in line with the consideration of developing mass activity and capacity to move the masses. With our weakness among the masses, our participation in these Ministries would have meant our paralysation before the opportunists. This would have tied us down and hampered our freedom to activate the masses.

The entire political situation was reviewed after the general elections and the Central Committee outlined a policy for the post-election period including the formation of the Ministries. It drew the following conclusion from the electoral defeat of the Congress and its economic background: "The crisis and the consequent mass upsurge have thus opened a new chapter in the history of the post-independence revolutionary mass movement of India. An ever-increasing number of common people are being drawn into the vortex of political life, with a new class and mass awakening. It offers tremendous opportunities to the working class and its Communist Party to take big strides forward in building and consolidating the united front of different democratic classes and in defeating the class policies of the big capitalists and landlords and opening the bright prospects of replacing the present Government by an alternative People's Democratic Government."

On the results of the elections, it stated, "The maturing economic crisis, as the post-election scene evidently demonstrates, has passed into the political sphere, ushering in a

political crisis. The political parties and groups of the ruling classes, find themselves in utter disarray fighting against each other, while their premier class party, the Congress, which has been built over several decades in the past, is disintegrating with a vengeance." The resolution also noted the sharpening of the relations between the Centre and the states under the stress of the crisis and attached great importance to it.

In this background, the Party called upon comrades to regard the two Ministries — of Kerala and West Bengal — as instruments of struggle in the hands of our people more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power, that can materially and substantially give relief to the people. "In clear class terms, our Party's participation in such Governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies, in the struggle for the cause of People's Democracy, and at a later stage for socialism."

Calling upon Party members to build mass struggles, to use the Ministries as instruments of struggle, the document called attention to the extremely weak state of Party organization and mass organizations and warned that the favourable political situation for advance cannot be utilised without overcoming these weaknesses.

Once more there was demarcation from the revisionists and reformists who wanted to tread the parliamentary path and had illusions about running Ministries in alliance even with reactionary parties, who hopelessly miscalculated the need of the ruling party, in view of the deepening crisis, to re-establish its control over the states and from the secretarians inside the Party who in face of the anti-Congress vote of the masses wanted to reject all participation in legislatures and act as if the masses had voted for insurrection. Both would have led to the complete delinking of the Party from the developing mass consciousness and struggle.

The post-election review gave an opportunity to the CC to examine the correctness of the basic assumptions of the Party

Programme. The events since 1964 completely substantiated the basic formulations, disproved the revisionist formulations and showed that the latter had to change their opportunist formulations in face of the realities of the situation.

The *Programme* correctly described the state as a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism in contrast to the revisionist characterization as only a state of the national bourgeoisie *excluding the landlords, and the big bourgeoisie* and its collaboration with foreign imperialism.

The mounting agrarian crisis and the Congress opposition to any kind of radical land reform suggested by any of the United Front Ministries have not only proved the correctness of the Party's understanding about the bourgeois-landlord alliance in the state but have compelled the revisionists to modify their own characterization.

It became patent everyday that the big bourgeoisie was dominating the Government and the revisionist ostriches who buried their heads in opportunist sand had once more to modify their stand.

Our formulation correctly stated that the leading force in the state—the big bourgeoisie was increasingly collaborating with imperialism—a truth not recognised by the revisionists. We also correctly stated, “with the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries, it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with the imperialist monopolies”. We recognised the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and noted the dangerous compromising method of solving it. “It (the big bourgeoisie) seeks to utilise its hold over the state and the new opportunities to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand and on the other to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and feudalism by pressure, bargaining and compromise. In this process, it is forging strong links with foreign imperialists and sharing power with the landlords.”

The events since 1964 have confirmed not only the class character of the Indian state, it has also proved the growing collaboration of the big bourgeoisie with imperialism. Notwithstanding Soviet aid the country is today more dependent on American loans and has to incur new loans to pay off old debts. The danger to the country's economic independence and political freedom grows everyday in contrast to the rosy picture of the revisionists about independent economic development.

The devaluation attack on the people, the abject dependence for loans for running industries, the search for markets with imperialist help and strong pressures on foreign policy, the scuttling of the fourth plan at the dictates of the USA for want of western loans, the growing intervention of the CIA in Indian life—all these have highlighted the American danger which our Party alone has been putting forward and which every party including the revisionists seeks to conceal. Following the Soviet-American collaboration in international affairs, in the name of preserving world peace, there has been a strong tendency to cover the American penetration. We alone have been warning against it. Now with all the revelations about the CIA and American economic domination, many parties are forced to accept it.

We alone held the Congress Government responsible for this and our warning has come true. The fiasco of the entire economic policy of building capitalism with the help of American and Western aid now stands revealed as the danger to our economic and political freedom grows.

We stressed the dual character of the bourgeoisie and its policies. This dualism was exposed also in seeking Soviet aid and bargaining for more American aid. It was seen in taking from the Soviet Union big industrial and heavy engineering complexes while perpetuating and increasing the dependence of the country on the West for the running of other industries, for maintenance imports, for transport, etc. It is seen today in the negotiations with the USSR for export of Indian engineering goods while simultaneously running

after the consortium for loans and debt-relief. The point was again correctly stressed in *New Situation and Party's Tasks*: "In this connection, mention must be also made of the fact that the big bourgeoisie is still banking upon utilising the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist camps. It would be grievously wrong to presume that the strength and scope to utilise it is already exhausted as the big bourgeoisie has now become weak, economically and politically. This tendency of utilising the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist worlds, at least in the immediate future, may acquire added vigour because of their efforts to defend themselves against increasing U.S. pressure and their eagerness to stave off the economic crisis."

This understanding is borne out by facts.

The rejection by the *Programme* of the non-capitalist path and the path of National Democracy is fully borne out by events. The National Democracy of the revisionists has been revealed to be just formation of ministries under the bourgeois-landlord Constitution. The *Programme's* rejection of the capitalist path and of bourgeois planning and its anticipated collapse under the inevitable crisis have again been proved to be correct. "Experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered a new acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to seek to develop along the capitalist path." The *Programme* further correctly stated the need of interim slogans to take the mass consciousness forward. "While keeping before the people the task of dislodging the present ruling classes and establishing a new democratic state and government, based on the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the Party will utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and help the process of building the democratic front."

The *Programme's* analysis and warning on the foreign policy of the Government have again been borne out. Avoiding the revisionist error of giving a general certificate to the foreign policy, or the sectarian error of regarding it simply as an instrument of realising the plans of U.S. imperialism, the *Programme* stated, "its increasing reliance on western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans of capitalist development, its growing economic collaboration with foreign finance capitalists, its continued membership of the British Commonwealth and as a result of all this, its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U.S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and lead to India's isolation from the powerful current of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism. . . It is thus evident that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies." Recent events—the apologetic pleading for stopping of bombing but not condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the trade with South Vietnam, snapping of trade ties with North Vietnam and Cuba, Indira Gandhi's tour of South-east Asian countries, Australia, etc., echoing the talk about containment of China — have borne out this characterisation.

Ours was a lonely voice warning against a policy of hostility to China which had accentuated the process of further reactionary shifts. That policy has landed the country into an unbearable military expenditure devastating the economy and intensifying the economic crisis. Today even the revisionists are forced to plead for an understanding with China. We carried a lonely fight and now some sober elements from among the ruling classes also realise the ruinous character of the policy.

Regarding Pakistan and friendly relations with that country, despite the reactionary character of its rulers, we have been the most consistent advocates, warning that tension and hostility between the two enable the imperialists to

intervene in the Kashmir dispute. Only after a bloody war some people have started realising it. All the parties, including the revisionists, turned war-mongers during the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Our Programme alone made an analysis of the growing differentiation among the peasants and understood the roles of the different sections. Recent mass activity has fully confirmed the correctness of relying on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata and building a peasant movement based on them. If all the State Committees had seriously taken the question the result would have been startling. But wherever the line has been applied, it has shown that these strata form the fighting sections and without them in the forefront neither a militant peasant movement can be built nor will the democratic revolution be successful.

Some of the recent conflicts in the United Front Ministry arose precisely from the fact that some of our partners represented interests hostile to the toiling masses, leading to a lot of inner conflicts and vacillations.

Following the April Resolution, the Central Committee at its Madurai Session reviewed the political situation in the country, the working of the United Front Ministries in which the Party was participating and worked out slogans for all-India campaign. The CC resolution stated, "Under conditions of further deepening of the world crisis, the imperialists are making the utmost efforts to transfer the burdens of the crisis to underdeveloped countries. The economic crisis in India has further deepened driving millions of people on the verge of starvation. Closure of industries has led to widespread unemployment among the workers. Price rise in the period has been the highest the country has seen in the post-independence period. The central Government refuses to change its food policy, refuses to enforce monopoly compulsory procurement from the big producers in the states and continues its abject dependence on the imports from the USA. The country is thus thrown open to further imperialist pressures which were seen in the recommendations of the

Bell Commission's report and the arms-twisting by President Johnson. The danger of the Government of India surrendering to these pressures grows."

It further noted that the joint communique issued by India's Finance Minister and the Japanese Government which dreams of a 'co-prosperity sphere in Asia' and helps the USA to contain China confirms that the Government of India is bent upon continuing its basic policies including its policy of hostility towards China.

It noted that the attacks on people continued and the Central Government cut the aid to the state Governments by over a hundred crores when these Governments required new finances to meet the demands of their employees consequent on the inflationary rise in prices due to the policies pursued by the Centre.

It came out with campaign slogans which included a national food policy, stoppage of evictions of peasants and agricultural labourers, debt relief and adequate wages to agricultural labourers, moratorium on foreign debts, employment and minimum wages to workers, reduction of military expenditure, steps to prevent U.S. penetration, wider autonomy for states.

It further said, "The CC calls upon the entire Party members to arm themselves with this understanding; it calls upon all Party units to reinforce their activities to the task of mobilizing the people for the realisation of these demands." "It must be realised", the CC said, "that the working class and other sections of our people are already on the march . . . The Party must forge the unity of the trade unions and other mass organizations and through these struggles come forward as their unifier, and give direction to them so that they may all coalesce and become part of the struggle for the defeat of the basic policies of the central Government and for alternative democratic policies." It reiterated what it had stated in the April resolution, viz., "The U.F. Governments that we have now are to be treated as instruments of struggle in the hands of our people more than as governments

that actually possess adequate power, that can substantially and materially give relief to the people." . . . "The Party must come forward as the mobilizer of all patriotic sections to stave off the danger of increasing surrender by the Government of India to the dictates of the imperialists thereby facilitating their design to impose neo-colonialism on India."

The Central Committee at the same time reviewed the work of the West Bengal and Kerala Ministries. Separate documents on the functioning of those Ministries were circulated. The CC's opinion was embodied in the resolution on the political situation.

The Central Committee recorded the fact that the finances of the two Governments were in a perilous state, all the more so due to the new restrictions imposed by the Centre. Nonetheless the U.F. Government in West Bengal met a large number of demands of its employees, of employees of local boards and teachers, incurring an annual expenditure of Rs.15 crores; victimised employees were reinstated; recognition was granted to employees' organizations, etc.

The employers launched a very big attack of large-scale retrenchment and also refused to implement awards of industrial tribunals and wage boards. This was answered by a series of gheraos and strikes.

"The Central Committee is happy to note that despite tremendous pressure from the Central Government and the vested interests, the U.F. Government stood firm on the side of the workers and refused to use police to suppress the legitimate struggles of the workers and peasants."

The CC noted that "our Party and our Ministers played an important role in getting these progressive policies accepted by the Government and in their implementation . . . However, the state Government's record of procurement was far from creditable. It had failed to seize from the big landholders the surplus it could have done even at that stage with courage and determination."

"The CC is of the opinion that although our Party outside had campaigned for correct measures on the food question,

and although our Ministers had taken a correct stand from April, they should have taken a firmer stand to overcome the resistance of the Food Minister and others inside the Ministry, who were virtually advocating free trade. It calls upon our Party to be vigilant and ensure that these decisions are not sabotaged by the vested interests and their supporters in the administration. On occasions, the directives of the Cabinet on the use of police in popular struggles have been violated, as in Naxalbari; on every such occasion, the Party came out in protest. It is the heightened consciousness of the common people and their continuous mobilization by the U.F. in which our Party played a leading role that has so far foiled the attempt of the vested interests and the central Government to topple the U.F. Governments."

Regarding the Kerala Ministry, the CC noted the special difficulties in Kerala and the measures taken by the Ministry headed by our Party to give relief to the people. Though the central Government withdrew the rice subsidy the Kerala Government refused to raise the price of rice till recently. It increased the dearness allowance of the state government employees and teachers to the level of the central Government employees; reinstated hundreds of policemen and others victimised by the Congress Governments and abolished the pernicious system of police verification before getting a job under the Government.

The CC at the same time criticised our Party in Kerala for its failure to mobilize the people independently. "It must be admitted that the Party in Kerala was not alive to its responsibilities to independently mobilize the people for correct solutions of problems. Our Party's representatives in the United Front have been putting forward from time to time only such proposals as are likely to be immediately accepted by other partners. This was seen in the fact that they did not raise the question of state monopoly trade in foodgrains and put forward concrete proposals to implement it for a long time. Neither did the Party independently campaign for it. Lack of vigilance led our Ministers to agreeing to the Industrial

Policy Resolution, drafted by the Industries Ministry". The CC called upon the Party units in Kerala to "mobilize both independently and jointly with the other partners in the coalition in the struggle against the vested interests".

It will be thus seen that the CC continued to maintain the link between mass struggles and the functioning of the Ministry and use the latter as a lever to develop the former. Also it said that the mass struggles were on the rise and called upon the Party to lead them in all the states.

The Madurai session of the CC further passed three important ideological documents. The first one dealt with the differences in the international communist movement in which the CC rejected the ideological positions of the international revisionists. At the same time it rejected the Chinese formulation that the Soviet Union was collaborating with American imperialism to share world hegemony and divide the world into spheres of influence — a formulation which liquidated the socialist camp by equating the Soviet Union with imperialism. It also rejected the Chinese opposition to unity in action with the Soviet Union in defence of Vietnam. The draft was circulated to Party units for discussion.

The Central Committee also passed a document on our differences with the CPC. This was necessitated by the continued attacks of the CPC on our Party, our Programme and its current line. The CPC's assessment of the Indian situation fundamentally differed from ours and the CC considered the CPC assessment to be wrong and harmful. "The assessment of the CPC leads one to conclude that the new Indian state is not a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie, which pursues the capitalist path of development in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, but a puppet Government, led by bureaucratic capitalism, run by them principally in the interests of imperialism, while reconciling themselves to live as parasites, depending on the crumbs thrown by their foreign masters."

"If such a premise were to be accepted, then the national liberation aspect of our revolution stands in the forefront,

the edge of the revolution will have to be directed against the foreign imperialists, the contradiction between alien imperialists and the nation as a whole assumes the principal role, and a corresponding strategy of general national united front will have to be substituted in place of the present class strategy incorporated in our Programme. The concept of concentrating the main fire against the bourgeois-landlord state power with the agrarian revolution as its axis will have to be given up."

Equally wrong has been the CPC's estimate of the current situation. The CC document stated, "As a matter of fact, the overestimation of the situation in India, as pointed above, was reflected in earlier writings of 1959-1960, which led them to conclude that the social contradictions in our country were sharpened to such a degree that the Indian bourgeois-landlord Government had finally gone over to imperialism under the threat of imminent class revolution. The same line is now being put across much more bluntly and openly."

The CC had the following to say on the question of fraternal relations: "Now the comrades of the CPS.... have chosen to denounce our Party and its political line through their press and radio."

It was at this meeting that the Central Committee gave serious consideration to Left danger that was raising its head inside the Party. In West Bengal, the Naxalbari elements were already challenging the Party's line and the Party had to wage an ideological struggle against them and discipline them. The bourgeois press was boosting them; Radio Peking was certifying them as revolutionaries. It was necessary to nail down their anti-Leninist heresies and tear off the mask of revolution from them and expose them as opportunists objectively helping the bourgeois-landlord Government. The Central Committee's resolution on "Left Deviation", was intended to achieve this. It stated that "the 'Left'-opportunists challenge the Party Programme itself. They challenge the basic current line including the Party's participation in

Ministries: They also challenge the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist party, viz., its unity, discipline and democratic centralism."

"The 'Left'-opportunists reduce the hard task of unifying the masses, developing proper tactics for it, fighting against the disruption of the reformists and revisionists who undermine the morale of the working class and the peasant masses, paralysing their resistance to the state's policies including violence—to the organization of force. Thus neglecting the main task of building mass organisations, by refusing to fight for every little relief for the workers and peasants, by not paying serious attention to the immediate demands and to simultaneously raising political consciousness, by a mere reliance on organization of force once more leads to a band of select individuals indulging in militant actions, under the pretext of defending or revolutionising the struggles, and bringing disaster to the mass movement".

"The 'Left' deviation is not just confined to a few cussed individuals. It is also an ideological disease of frustrated individuals and it affects also young militants whose militancy is not tempered by the fire of class struggle and disciplined by Marxist-Leninist outlook. Inside our Party there are many militant honest young members who are drawn towards the pseudo-revolutionary line because it appears to be militant. Especially in the wake of our election reverses in many places, many turn with revulsion from patient and sustained mass work and find in armed struggle a new solace.

"But the main cause of the attraction is that due to the growing economic crisis and desperation, impatience and frustration are growing and the mass struggles as yet have not developed to that pitch where they could be seen as the effective means of fighting the present regime. Lack of Marxism-Leninism, failure of the Party to transform this militancy into revolutionary fervour — all create a situation in which the appeal of Left doctrinairism remains."

"Besides when the masses are moving quickly into action, when big battles are impending, there always arises a

trend which seeks to impose its subjective slogans and forms of struggle instead of learning from the masses.”

“Left deviation will thus be a constant source of danger in the coming period and it will have to be consistently fought. But just because of the situation and the factors mentioned above it cannot be fought only by taking organizational measures. In fact, the main fight against it must be conducted ideologically by patient explanation and propaganda.”

The Central Committee took the fight against the Left-sectarian trend buttressed as it was by support from the CPC. The defections and desertions which took place after the Madurai CC meeting showed that the Left deviation was assuming serious proportions in some states. Following the Madurai decisions, and after repeated violations of the Party line, the Central Committee had to expel Shiv Kumar Misra, CC member and Secretary of the U.P. Committee. This was later followed by the expulsion of the entire leadership of the Kashmir unit and the dissolution of the unit itself. The leaders of the unit had openly embarked upon anti-party propaganda in their local journal and in the bargain were pursuing harmful policies in the partial struggles which were smashing whatever mass organizations there were in Kashmir.

The experiences in the elections and the organizational theories propounded by the ‘Left’-deviationists revealed the deep-rooted heritage of revisionism and reformism in the organizational sphere, the methods of Party functioning, the quality of Party membership, the faulty class composition of the Party, the lack of cadre policy, the lack of Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, the wrong relations between the Party and mass organizations, the neglect of various mass fronts, etc., the neglect of democratic centralism, the growth of federalism. The Party could not expect to fulfil its responsibilities and its role as the vanguard without eradicating this revisionist outlook and reorganizing itself on the Leninist principles. This presented a big problem, for it demanded a

concrete understanding of the Party structure from top to bottom as it existed, its methods of functioning in different states, its uneven development in different states and remedies based on a concrete understanding of the situation.

The Calicut session of the Central Committee was devoted to this major task. The resolution it adopted nailed down the revisionist and reformist influences in the sphere of organization, traced the growth of organizational revisionism and the opportunist political line of the old Party and gave immediate tasks to overcome these pernicious influences.

The Central Committee made the following observations while reviewing the growth of revisionism in organization inside the old Party. "A legalistic outlook had grown in the Party to such absurd proportions that not a single measure or step was either conceived or implemented to safeguard the Party and its continuity against the surprise attack of the class enemies and 'general round-ups' by the police. Not even the defence of the big strike struggles of the working class and mass peasant actions was ensured against the onslaughts of the repressive police machine which is accustomed to resorting to wholesale arrests and detention of leading cadres with a view to disorganizing the struggle even before it is actually launched. Virtually the Party was reduced to the impotent position of an instrument which can only lead such mass struggles as the authorities are kind enough to 'permit' and 'tolerate'.

"Alien class habits in the mode of day-to-day life and functioning of our parliamentarians and leading functionaries started developing" in the united party. "Even standards set by the Party for our legislators and functionaries could not be easily enforced. A common proletarian discipline could not be made equally binding on all. Because of this, the unity of will, of action and discipline could not be maintained."

"Democratic centralism, the highest principle and the kernel of a Marxist-Leninist party was subjected to furious assaults

and was seriously undermined." Among the important deviations nailed down in the functioning of the Party at that time was "the giving up of the functioning of the basic unit, the cell or the branch, and trying to function through the general body of the Party members in an area...The basic Party unit has been given the go-by...It means no proper discussion of any issue as in such a large body most of the Party members do not get time to express their criticism or make self-criticism from their own experience".

The document also gave a warning about the rise of federal tendencies inside the Party in opposition to the principle of democratic centralism. "The crudest form in which it is expressed, at present, is that no State Committee considers it its bounden duty to send periodical reports of its activities to the Central Committee, and even Central Committee members attached to the State Committees' work never deem it their duty to keep the Party Centre informed of the activities at the state level. Most of them do not even write letters to the Central Committee occasionally on issues of mass movement and Party activity..."

Nailing down all the deviations and distortions, reasserting all the Leninist norms and applying them to the immediate conditions of Party organization, the Central Committee worked out the following tasks:

"To root out all reformist and revisionist understanding and practices in Party organization :

Begin by regrouping and activating Party members and cadres and educate them to discharge their tasks on mass, political and organizational fronts.

1. (a) Tighten up the recruitment of Party members—auxiliary groups of militants— candidates (lengthen the period of candidatureship to one year) — then regular Party membership (insist on all the minimum jobs enumerated in the report). All Party members must be grouped in compact branches of not more than nine before December 1967 end.

(b) Constant struggle against alien habits and practices in personal life as well as in mass organizations and in Party

life — give up soft and easy life — strengthen body and mind. Be ready to defend yourself and the Party against goonda and counter-revolutionary assault.

2. Know your cadre — their strong and weak points, in all conditions and circumstances — age, how long in the Party — education — class origin and present vocation or profession — amount of income for livelihood — family members — problems of personal life.

Choose cadres for full-time work at different levels and educate and train them. Deploy them in the industrial, educational centres and among the peasantry around these centres.

3. Educate the whole Party membership and train up branch secretaries and local cadre by organising schools for imparting elementary theory of Marxism-Leninism — Marxist economics — Marxist political theory — historical materialism and dialectical materialism based on Indian conditions — international working class and revolutionary movement, Russian Revolution and Chinese Revolution — our Party Programme, Party history and history of the Indian people's class struggles and revolutionary movements — and our present general political line and tasks. By June end 1968, all Party members and especially the Branch Secretaries must be covered by these classes.

Bring out and make available minimum classics and booklets on current political events in India and of the world and insist on their constant study by having individual or branch libraries.

Party weeklies and dailies and a central theoretical organ to educate the mass of our militants, Party members and cadres.

4. Build up strong trade unions and organizations of rural poor (agricultural labour unions and kisan sabhas), on correct Marxist-Leninist lines and improve the class composition of the Party membership by making special efforts for recruiting into auxiliary groups and educating the militants thrown up in class struggles from the working class and the rural poor.

Special attention to youth and especially students and the composition of the Party must reflect the ever-growing percentage of youth of 18-30 years age group.

Work among women as auxiliary to and part of trade union, kisan and middle class employees' organizations and recruiting them into the Party.

5. Streamline Party organizational structure — auxiliary groups of militants — branches of candidates and Party members (factory, village, ward or town); local (thana or tehsil) or district committees depending on the necessity for such units for coordinating the work and not merely because these are government-created administrative units; while consolidating the existing areas of our movement our direction must be to link up these areas into big contiguous areas.”

The State Committees — especially the State Committees of West Bengal and Kerala — have started implementing the decisions of the CC. But as yet detailed reports are not available.

The Burdwan Plenum

The CC had decided at its Madurai session to call a plenum to finalise the ideological discussions on the differences in the international communist movement. The Central Plenum was held in Burdwan in April 1968. Before the Plenum, there were widespread discussions on the CC draft in state, district and lower plenums.

In the course of these discussions comrades expressed themselves freely supporting and criticising the CC line and decisions. The Andhra State Committee in its session of September 1967 by a majority of 9 to 6 objected to the procedure adopted by the Central Committee and demanded that members of the higher committees should be permitted to express their differences with the CC in the lower committees where they were functioning.

In the Andhra State Plenum which 231 delegates attended representing 15,867 members, the CC draft was rejected by 158 to 52, 8 abstaining and a resolution was adopted

requesting the Central Plenum to prepare a new draft on the basis of the CPC's General Line and the Andhra Plenum resolution and the documents submitted to Andhra Plenum by Nagi Reddi and others.

In Kerala with a membership of 15,561 and candidate membership of 4465, ideological discussions were held at district and State Plenums (Conferences). In Trivandrum, the Party *Programme* and other Central Committee documents were challenged and a resolution was passed demanding their revision. In Quilon also there was a similar trend. In Trivandrum only the opponents of the CC document were elected as delegates to the State Plenum though one-third of the district delegates voted for the CC's document. To some extent the same thing happened in Quilon. In Cannanore the delegates holding different views were elected to the State Plenum.

A resolution to postpone the discussions was made at the State Plenum but was defeated by 67 voting for and 227 against and 9 remaining neutral. An amendment to delete the para which rejects the erroneous idea that the Soviet Union is an ally of U.S. imperialism for world hegemony was defeated by 86 voting for and 193 against. The Central Committee's draft was adopted by 225 voting for and 25 against.

In Tamil Nadu with its 10,100 members including 2,500 candidates, the delegates including 27 members of the State Committee numbered 132. The Central Committee document was adopted after some key amendments were rejected. One amendment to redraft the Central Committee document was rejected by 42 voting for and 67 against. Amendment to delete the para rejecting the idea that the CPSU had become an ally of U.S. imperialism to share world hegemony was defeated by 45 voting for and 67 against. Another amendment to rewrite the section on joint action was defeated by 51 for, 54 against.

In Punjab with a membership of 4,875 the number of delegates was 106 of whom 94 were present at the Plenum.

An amendment against unity of a action was defeated by six voting for and 88 against. Another amendment to add a section on the Chinese Cultural Revolution was also defeated.

In Rajasthan an amendment to delete the section dealing with unity of action and that which rejects the erroneous idea that Soviet Union is an ally of American imperialism for sharing world domination was defeated by a large majority.

In Assam, with its membership of 1131 the State Plenum approved the Central Committee's document by a big majority but at the same time passed an amendment for deleting the section on unity in action, which was accepted by 27 votes for and 7 against.

In Orissa, a Plenum meeting was held from December 23 to 25, but it was boycotted by Ganjam and Koraput members under the influence of "Left"-adventurist elements. Thirty comrades were present and they passed on their suggestions to the CC.

In Maharashtra, with a membership of 2,603 and 87 candidates, the State Committee discussed the document and some points were raised but none was pressed to vote.

In Kashmir, Comrade Surjeet explained the draft to the State Committee. But it was reported that after his return the Committee rejected the draft.

In Bihar, with a Party membership of 3,120 a session of the State Plenum was held after discussing the document in district plenums. An amendment to delete the section on unity in action was defeated with 13 voting for and 72 against. The CC draft was adopted with 76 voting for and 8 against.

West Bengal had the most widespread and democratic discussions. Out of 16,000 members and candidates 11,000 participated in the discussions in spite of the short time available. The ideological discussions were taken up seriously in the month of March only, after the mass movement to defeat Dr. Ghosh's Ministry and to get the mid-term poll succeeded.

About 3 per cent of those participating opposed the draft.

The main point of difference was over unity in action and characterization of the Soviet role. The opponents of the draft demanded that the section on unity in action should be deleted and the Soviet Union should be characterised as an ally of American imperialism striving for redivision of the world. Some demanded that the Party *Programme* should be rewritten.

Because the Party was engaged in direct political struggle till the end of February with leading comrades underground it was not possible to hold the State Plenum. The State Committee, therefore, decided to conduct discussions in localities with all members participating, following which District Plenums were to be held for discussing the draft. The State Committee was to discuss the draft after District Plenum discussions were over.

Inside the State Committee some comrades raised objection to the advocacy of unity in action; others also objected to the description of the present time as a new epoch and also opposed the formulation which considered the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as the central contradiction. Some said that united front was to be built against the common enemy but were there any differences between the USA and the CPSU leadership?

Some comrades stressed the necessity of the Party struggling for achieving unity in the international communist movement on correct Marxist-Leninist principles. Others demanded that the criticism of the CPC in relation to its propaganda against us be sharpened.

Finally, the State Committee passed a resolution stating that it was in full agreement with the analysis, formulations and conclusions made in the CC draft, 36 voting for and 2 against.

It will be seen that the discussion on the ideological document was widespread and democratic; that it was carried on at all levels and that comrades freely expressed themselves. The narrow voting in some places, the adverse vote in Andhra and the keen discussions and amendments elsewhere all

betokened active participation by all including those opposing the views of the CC. They also showed the keenness of Party ranks and committees in discussing the vital question and reaching a correct decision. It is necessary to remember this in view of the propaganda of the deserters and the bourgeois press that the voice of the opposition was stifled.

At the Plenum itself there was again a thorough discussion with delegates moving a number of amendments. The Andhra comrades placed an alternate draft and moved it as an amendment to the CC's draft. They were given enough time to put forward their draft and the mover took more than five hours to place his alternative document which also challenged the Party *Programme*.

"The Plenum which was called to register the final rejection of revisionism also became a battleground for fighting 'Left'-sectarianism and 'Left'-opportunism against which the Central Committee draft had warned.

"Some Andhra comrades submitted documents steeped in anti-Marxist-Leninist heresies which advocated a line diametrically opposed to the Central Committee's line and understanding and denounced the Central Committee draft as revisionist. The essence of their line consists in (1) the liquidation of the socialist camp, (2) restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union, (3) Soviet Union an ally of American imperialism for world domination and hence an imperialist power. (4) while there are contradictions among imperialist powers like France and the USA, or England and the USA, there are no contradictions between the Soviet Union and the USA. (5) the world struggle for revolution is directed against the Soviet-USA axis—not American imperialism the main enemy of the peoples of the world but Soviet-USA the joint enemies, (6) therefore there is no question of united action of the socialist camp against American imperialism till Soviet revisionist leaders are overthrown by the Soviet people."

"Thus an entirely different world picture—picture in which the Soviet Union has become an imperialist country—which means capitalism has been restored in the USSR—a big

counter-revolutionary setback, end of the epoch and the decisive role of the socialist camp, emerges from their formulations.”

“All these are not openly stated but this is what is implied, when they denounce the Soviet Union as working for hegemony for world domination and denounce all united action to fight American imperialism.”

They also challenged the *Programme* of the Party stating that Indian independence was formal, etc.

“The arguments against united action took varied forms. Some said no united action was possible with the Soviet Union; others said such a proposal would create illusions about the revisionist leaders; some said no united action was possible because the revisionist leaders were dishonest.”

“Thus all combined to give up the fight for the unity of action of the socialist camp in opposition to the revisionists; none of them had any proposal how to link the common struggle with the people of Soviet Union; they made no distinction between the Soviet people and leaders.”

“Some amendments wanted to delete all references to the division in the world socialist camp—thereby underestimating the harm done by the revisionists and displaying their own refusal to fight for the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Some wanted to delete all references to the new epoch calling it only a special phase of the epoch starting with the opening of the era of proletarian revolution—thus negating the qualitative change in the world balance of forces and liquidating the tremendous revolutionary possibilities of the epoch. In the name of moving revolutionary amendments revisionist content was being pushed forward. Some, though not through amendments, identified the new epoch only with the Chinese revolution, eliminating the anti-fascist victory of the USSR, the successful socialist revolution in a number of countries and the emergence of a powerful socialist camp.”

Besides these, many other amendments were moved, some of which the CC accepted and the Plenum concluded. The Plenum had thus to fight on both sides. While repudiating

the line of modern revisionism it had to fight and defeat the assault of "Left"-sectarianism which was attacking Marxism-Leninism from the other end. The essence of this anti-Marxist-Leninist line was embodied in the Andhra resolution to which a detailed reply was given at the Plenum and before that in a series of articles in *People's Democracy*. The Plenum by an overwhelming majority repudiated the line of the modern revisionists and also rejected the anti-Leninist line advocated by the Andhra comrades. The Andhra document was rejected by an overwhelming vote, 22 voting for and 158 against, 13 neutral—number of total delegates being 207. The various amendments which went against the spirit of the CC draft were also defeated by a large majority, only two getting fifty votes or a little more.

The draft as amended was passed with 162 voting for, 27 against and 9 remaining neutral.

Thus ended the historic Burdwan Plenum which was called to discharge one of the responsibilities handed down by the Seventh Congress to the CC—the conclusion of discussions on international differences.

The common understanding developed at Burdwan, for which the Madurai document had laid the basis, is an important achievement of our Party in its struggle to reach a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the issues posed by revisionism. While it endorsed the repudiation of the revisionist line on which already a common understanding had developed inside the Party, it demarcated the Party from the distorted and "Left"-sectarian understanding of the fight against revisionism and the issues raised by it. This "Left"-sectarian understanding had already corroded the consciousness of a number of Party members, as it was seen in the pre-Burdwan discussions, in the Burdwan discussions and the post-Burdwan splits and desertions. Had the Party not been vigilant against this distortion, had it continued to accept blindly all that came from the CPC, it would have found itself by now in the ranks of those who condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and indirectly supported American con-

spiracies. The Madurai document and the Burdwan decisions while they totally repudiated revisionism in every form asserted the independent position of the Party.

Thanks to the Burdwan decisions our Party is now free to carry on the fight against all distortions, work for the united action of the socialist camp and the principled unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It cannot be however asserted that the Burdwan decisions have become a part of the consciousness of all Party leaders and Party members; that everyone realises the importance of fighting for the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for the unity of action of the socialist camp, for safeguarding the strength and unity of the socialist camp, and its gains and achievements and fighting all the revisionist and "Left"-adventurist trends which come in the way of this unity. While there is a holy and justified anger against modern revisionism and the harm it has done, there is little awareness of the harm being done by the other trend — an outlook which paralyses efforts to assert the supremacy of Marxism-Leninism over all wrong trends.

The Burdwan Plenum and the subsequent desertions revealed how deep the poison of "Left"-distortions had gone among certain comrades. While the vast majority of Party members refused to be swayed by the "Left"-sectarian outlook buttressed as it was by the CPC, some Party members thought that there was nothing wrong with it and moved amendments which supported the basic "Left" propositions.

It is also not accidental that many of these raised basic questions regarding our *Programme*, questions settled by the Party Congress. At that time also, it was made clear by the CC that it did not accept the Chinese understanding of the class character of the Government in this country. That understanding would mean a new strategy—directing the main fire against imperialism, etc. And yet all these questions were raised again to take the Party back to the sectarian path which it had rejected at the last Congress.

Following the defeat of these elements at Burdwan they revealed that they were not prepared to abide by the decision of the majority, that they did not regard the Party as a Party. This resulted in big blows to the Party in Andhra, and disruption in Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir.

The Setbacks Due to Left Disruption

Immediately after the Madurai meeting, Shiv Kumar Mishra, CCM, discussed with Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari and Comrade Surjeet, the dates of the State Committee and programme of explanation of the Central Committee's Ideological Draft in U.P. units. But instead of sticking to these pre-arranged plans, he started meeting members of his factional group in different districts starting with Kanpur. He issued a circular on September 8 to all Party units, as the State Committee Secretary, to organise Naxalbari Kisan Sangram Sahayaka Committees, and called on all the "revolutionaries" both inside and outside the Party to fight the Party leadership. He issued another circular in September to State Committee members who belonged to his faction, not to attend the State Committee meeting. In his letter of September 23 to the General Secretary, he levelled a slanderous charge that the PB had conspired to get its "Revisionist anti-CPC and anti-Naxalbari line stamped under the name of U.P. Communists (Marxists)". The State Committee removed him from secretaryship. Then his followers, K. B. Ansari, Umashankar, Shyamanarayan Shastri, Ram Narain Upadhyaya and Harsahai—the last three of whom were Secretaries of Regional Committees—walked out of the State Committee. Thereupon, the State Committee dissolved the Regional Committees, and reconstituted the Secretariat with four members, Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari, CCM, as Secretary, Comrades Shiva Verma, Ravi Sinha, Satyanarayan Singh and later added Comrade Tandon, as the fifth member. The State Committee issued an appeal to Shiv Kumar Mishra and the State Committee members who walked out of the committee meeting to abide by Party forms and discipline and function.

But Shiv Kumar Mishra issued a circular on September 26 to all district and other Party units not to recognize the new Secretariat and the new Secretary, but follow his instructions. He and his followers asked the DCs and units to revolt against the Party and function independently.

The Central Committee in its meeting at Calicut had to expel Shiv Kumar Mishra from the Party, and directed the PB "to take steps to see that all efforts are made to persuade and to convince the comrades who are at present misled and misguided by Mishra's 'ultra-revolutionary' and disruptive propaganda and activities. Even after such attempts, if some comrades still persist in the same disruptive activities, the Central Committee authorises the Polit Bureau to take necessary disciplinary action."

During the whole of November and the first half of December, the State Secretariat members went from district to district trying to convince the comrades to abide by the Party form and not to raise the banner of revolt and organise a rival party in U.P. and other states. All these efforts proved futile.

Shiv Kumar Mishra, who did not care to attend the State Committee or Central Committee meetings, addressed the Naxalbari ultras' meeting on November 12 on Calcutta Maidan. Along with him, Satyanarayan Singh of Jamshedpur, Bihar State Secretariat member, addressed the meeting. They along with the Naxalites denounced the Party leadership and declared their determination to organise an all-India party of their own. They published their declaration in the Naxalite organ, *Deshabrati*, in Bengali, and in *Liberation*, their English monthly.

The U.P. State Committee, in its meeting in Varanasi in December, decided to reorganise the district and lower units with those comrades who were prepared to abide by Party form and Party discipline, and with those who accepted the authority of the existing State Committee and Central Committee leadership.

It expelled Shyamanarain Shastri, Ramnarain Upadhyaya,

Umashankar (Ballia), Jagdev Singh, K.B. Ansari and Omdutta Shastri—all State Committee members for their splitting activities and for organising a separate party. It decided to ask explanation from Rajpal Tyagi and Ram Harsha Vidrohi for their consistent failure to attend State Committee meetings and inactivity, as well as encouragement to the anti-party elements.

The position in Andhra became very serious, and a big number had to be expelled. Some deserted the Party to remain with the Left-sectarians. It has been already stated that the Andhra Plenum rejected by a big majority the CC draft. In the Andhra delegation to the Plenum, supporters of the CC Draft were in a minority while the opponents were in a majority. It soon became clear that the opponents were not prepared to abide by the verdict of the all-India majority. The CC met at Burdwan after the adoption by the Plenum of the ideological document. After listening to the CC members from Andhra, including D. Venkateshwar Rao, on the situation in Andhra, and taking into consideration the disruptive activities of some of the leading members of the State Committee, it authorised the PB to issue an open letter to the Party ranks in Andhra and take all necessary steps to ensure the implementation of the Burdwan decisions.

Immediately following the Plenum, a meeting of the Andhra State Committee was held in Calcutta. It was attended by five PB members. Comrade M. Hanumantha Rao, CCM and Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Committee, reported in detail on the disruptive activities of the sponsors of the alternate resolution. But they continued to defend their actions. None of them accepted even formally that they were wrong in carrying on their anti-party activities.

A meeting of members of the District Committees called at the instance of the PB and decided by the Andhra State Committee meeting in Calcutta was boycotted by most of the "Left" elements under instructions from their sectarian leaders. At the State Committee meeting these members objected to the implementation of the PB decisions; when it

was decided to implement them, they announced to the press that they had resigned from the Secretariat.

The explanatory campaign which was decided upon by the State Committee was sabotaged by these factionalists where they controlled the DCs. They started organising their own groups, held public meetings advocating their own line and distributed leaflets asking Party members to revolt against the Party. These leaders individually and collectively carried on factional and anti-party activities, incited their followers to do the same and violate Party discipline. When explanation was demanded they would not disown the disruptive activities of their followers but on the other hand, they demanded that the steps taken by the PB for ensuring the implementation of the Party line be revoked. When the State Committee authorised the Secretariat to take action if they continued such activities, these people issued a press statement and asked the Party members to revolt against the Party. Out of the 25 members of the State Committee, ten including Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy and D. Venkateswara Rao who was a member of the CC were expelled.

In a number of District Committees their followers occupied key positions. The officials of these committees and members had to be expelled and the committees had to be reorganised. Out of 15,000 members, 9,000 have renewed their membership. Out of the rest a large number is getting disillusioned with the "Left"-adventurists, leaving only two or three thousand under their influence.

This is the biggest disruption organised by the Left-sectarians.

In West Bengal the number is about 400; in Kerala 700.

To explain and carry forward the line decided upon at Burdwan, the PB and the Central Committee took several steps. Apart from direct reporting by PB members, the *Letter to Andhra Comrades* was written and printed in many languages. The Jaipur session of the Central Committee also adopted a draft on "Left Deviation in Andhra" which was finalised by the Calcutta session of the Central Committee

held in October, after receiving the suggestions of the Andhra State Committee. The document which has been printed and published since then traces the history of the Party in Andhra, its strength and weaknesses and reveals the origin and source of the Left-sectarian deviation in Andhra.

The Jaipur session of the Central Committee adopted a number of important resolutions bearing on the policy of the Party. The Central Committee noted the success of the work of our Party in Kerala in the fight against the policy of the Centre to starve the people of Kerala of food and also the vacillations and hesitations of the other parties in the United Front to join the struggle. "The local jathas organised by the State Committee all over the state helped the people to see that the guilty men are those Congress leaders ruling at the Centre in Delhi and it is against them that the people have to direct their indignation. The Central Committee desires to pay its tribute to all the state, district and local leaders of the Party in Kerala who made the programme an unprecedented success. It hopes that in the further stages of the development of this campaign, the other constituents of the seven-party United Front and people who are not attached to any political party will join the campaign and launch an effective struggle against the Centre."

In connection with the relations among the parties of the United Front and the independent right of parties to express their views the resolution stated, "It is of the utmost importance to strengthen the unity of the U.F. while preserving the right of each constituent of the U.F. to express its point of view, to take the people into confidence on issues on which there are serious differences". Thus the Party was asked to carry the points of serious differences to the public and the parties in the U.F. were also invited to do so—an effective way of bringing the people on the scene and enabling their active intervention.

The Central Committee reiterated that there were several issues connected with the functioning of the Ministry on which our Party held views which strongly differed from

those held by all other parties in the United Front. "For instance, our Party holds the view that a democratic Government like that of the seven-party United Front in Kerala cannot but come into conflict with the policies pursued by the central Government on a number of issues. Struggle with the Centre is thus inherent in the situation. Secondly, there are differences among the various constituents of the U.F. on the details of food policy, land reform, industrialisation, workers rights and so on. Our Party has come out and will have again to come out explaining what its policy is on such issues, as we had to do on food, industrial policy..."

The Central Committee also noted that some serious lapses had taken place on some questions—"the memorandum on labour submitted to the National Labour Commission the attitude to be adopted towards the agitations and struggles of the government employees."

The State Committee had already issued a statement disapproving the memorandum and the Committee and Ministry adopted a correct policy towards the central employees' strike on September 19. The Chief Minister and the Ministry openly supported the strike and resisted the dictates of the central Government to arrest and detain the strikers. All the parties in the U.F. supported the strike and it created a tremendous impression on the people.

The Central Committee's resolution on West Bengal mid-term elections endorsed the policy of united front pursued by our State Committee in West Bengal, its demand for mid-term poll and its efforts to consolidate the U.F.

"The CC endorses the policy pursued by the State unit of our Party to strengthen the U.F. by fighting against the conspiracies and various attempts to create disruption within the U.F. The intensified class struggle outside and the Congress conspiracies had their impact on the U.F. also; certain constituents of the U.F. at different stages tended to succumb to these disruptive conspiracies. It is our Party which took early note of the conspiracy and raised the slogan of mid-term election at the first sign of defections. Our Party

imperialism and other comrades also exposed Dange's autocratic methods of functioning and his politics.

It was later on found that Dange and company were utilising the unity sentiment inside the AITUC to propagate against us. It was decided to make a straight appeal for AITUC unity and this was done in Comrade B. T. Ranadive's speech. Then on our behalf, Comrade Ramamurti submitted a *Platform for T.U. Unity* which with some modifications was accepted by Dange and company. The draft of the *Platform* submitted by us stated :

"All these policies have resulted in terrible attacks on the people's living standards. The working class has faced big attacks on its real wages, bonus and other conditions. Workload has been increasing continuously. These have been resorted to intensify the exploitation of the working class in order to find capital for the capitalist path of development. The Government is surrendering one position after another to the imperialists and if this is not arrested and reversed immediately, the country's independence is in danger.

"The people during the last three years have risen in struggle against these attacks. The Government attempted to lull the working class by promises of a living wage, linking dearness allowance with cost of living, fair bonus, etc. But when the working class found these to be empty promises, they rose in struggle."

"The Government attempted to drown these struggles in repression. The Emergency is continued for the last four years only for this purpose."

"However, the huge and unprecedented struggle and demand for the withdrawal of Emergency has forced the Government to retreat. But still it continues the Emergency."

"The working class and the people will have to face intensified attacks from the imperialists and the monopolists combined."

"The session, therefore, calls upon the Indian working class to lead a sustained struggle against the anti-people policies of the Government and to demand :

1. Nationalisation of banks and foodgrain trade.
2. Take-over and nationalisation of firms owned and controlled by foreign monopolists.
3. Stop the collaboration agreements with the imperialists and refuse their aid with humiliating conditions.
4. Nationalise import and export trade.
5. Immediate land reforms giving land to the tiller.
6. Take initiative to resolve the India-China border dispute and to settle the dispute with Pakistan in the spirit of Tashkent.

“It directs the Working Committee of the AITUC to work out, in consultation with other trade union centres, a charter of minimum trade union demands within two months.”

“The Congress calls upon the trade unions to mobilize the entire working class in unison with all democratic forces for the struggle against imperialism, against the Indian reactionaries and against the Congress Government with a view to replacing it by a Government which will go in the direction of the above platform.”

“The 27th Session of the AITUC having discussed the draft report of the General Secretary, taking into account the sharp differences over it and in the interest of trade union unity and action, directs the Working Committee to recast the report on the basis of the above platform of unity and action.”

We decided to vote against Dange's report as well as his candidature for the post of General Secretary. Six hundred and seven voted against the report and 1810 voted for.

The Dange group had inflated its membership beyond measure and hence could show a big majority in the delegates. This was clear from the fact that the revisionists showed huge majority in two trade union centres—Andhra and Bombay. In Bombay, they relied on the Girni Kamgar Union which by now has virtually become defunct. The fact that the number of rightist delegates from Andhra exceeded those from West Bengal showed the bogus character of their delegation. At the same time it was recorded that the revisionists had

considerable control over the unions affiliated, a fact which we must take note of in pursuing our fight for trade union unity and our work in the AITUC. It was realised that they had brought larger number of delegates from all states except West Bengal—a fact which had to be noted despite the deliberate inflation of the membership. A warning was given that the revisionists were bound to resort to disruptive tactics in the trade unions to keep their hold over them and the AITUC. While fighting their political and trade union line, the Party must be ready to defeat their organizational line.

Subsequent to this, the Central Committee adopted the document on *Tasks on Trade Union Front*. But it has not been seriously implemented except in a few cases where a beginning has been made. The various directives regarding politicalisation, democratic functioning of the trade unions, broad-based strike committees, recruitment to the Party, functioning of the fractions and the concrete fight against reformism, the simultaneous fight for trade union unity—have not been systematically pursued. Especially absent is the consciousness about the change in the situation with the employers and the Government on the offensive under stress of the crisis and the need to throw the entire class against it.

At the same time in many states our comrades systematically attempted to function in the joint trade unions but the revisionists systematically following the policy of splitting the movement have made it impossible to work together. This has been the case in Kerala and our comrades had to fight this offensive of the rightists by rallying the workers independently under our own unions, the rightists often joining hands with the employers or running away with the sign-board of the union in direct opposition to the mass of workers. In places where they faced the workers in opposition to us, they were routed in the union elections. We offered to have a compromise in many places but they always demanded the right to majority even though they had lost the confidence of the workers.

There is no doubt that in all the states they followed the same tactics. It cannot however be said that everywhere we tried to counter the disruption by prolonged struggle for unity and in this struggle isolate them. In some places our comrades fell easy victims to their provocations, after expulsions and removal from the posts of office-bearers and easily accepted defeat and thought of starting new unions. While we have not banned the formation of new unions, they must represent essential steps in the building of working class unity.

These disruptive tactics were pursued by the rightists during the West Bengal TUC Conference when Dange in a gangsterlike manner wanted to give affiliation to scores of bogus unions. They were also pursued in this year's UPTUC Conference when, in order to floor the State Committee with his manoeuvres, his agents brought about a split and illegally constituted themselves into a committee.

It is difficult to report on the Party's struggle for unity as concrete reports are not in hand. Every time, however, when matters were referred to the PB, the comrades were asked to keep in view the Party's struggle for trade union unity. It was on this basis that the West Bengal comrades negotiated the TUC Conference in 1967 and fought the disruptive tactics of the revisionists.

It cannot be said that the function of our fractions in the AITUC is satisfactory. The fraction composed of the members of the General Council and the Working Committee meets. Except on one or two occasions, they dealt only with the agenda of General Council and Working Committee meetings. They hardly dealt with all-India or state problems facing the trade union movement. Besides, these meetings of the fraction are also rare because Dange arbitrarily decides to call meetings of General Council at long intervals. Months pass by, with the working class under constant attack and the TUC does nothing. We have hardly done anything to improve this state of affairs.

At the same time it has to be noted that a number of our

comrades from the states do not take the fraction and the TUC meetings seriously and do not attend in spite of Party circulars.

Our working during the General Council and Working Committee meetings leaves much to be desired. Our comrades allow reactionary resolutions to be passed without opposition—as on automation, etc. There is hardly any protest and opposition to the anarchic and autocratic methods of functioning, to the failure to submit drafts of resolutions in time and there is too much compromise.

There are no reports from the State Committees about the functioning of our fractions inside the state TUCs or joint unions. The PB called a meeting of railway comrades for coordinating the activities. After the initial meeting no meeting could be called and from the centre only one or two unions could be guided. Some consultations were held when the AIRF met. There is no coordination of railway work partly because we are extremely weak on most of the lines, partly because there is no separate cadre to deal with the railways.

The PB, after the Noormahal CC meeting, called a fraction meeting of students and tried to work out a line for the all-India movement. It was earlier decided in the PB not to start a separate all-India organization in the name of Students' Federation. There was a strong demand at the fraction meeting for an all-India organisation. Further meetings of the fraction could not be convened due to several reasons. There were setbacks in Bihar on this front as the main leaders turned sectarian and had to be expelled from the Party. However, our work among students' organisation made headway in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Punjab. The guidance was given by the State Committees. This is one of the fronts for which the CC could do very little.

Party's Struggle for Unity in Kisan Movement

Immediately after the release of comrades in 1966 our Party and its Central Committee took steps to ensure the unity of

the kisan movement and protect it from the disruption organised by the rightists.

The attack of the Government in 1964 on our leaders was exploited by the revisionists to pursue their disruptive activities. They wanted to capture the Kisan Sabha in our absence. They organised rival Kisan Sabha committees in many places. The July 1966 meeting of the Central Kisan Council repudiated the rival Kisan Sabha committees and called for agreement on the issue. In case of failure it decided to restore the status of the 1961-62 committees.

The Right Communist leaders refused to abide by the decision of the CKC and demanded that the rival committees formed by them be accepted as valid committees. Nonetheless every effort was made to restore unity and an agreement was signed by Comrade A. K. Gopalan, Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and Z. A. Ahmed to take certain organisational steps. But they went back on it, demanded that their inflated membership be accepted and in the end walked out and formed a rival Kisan Sabha.

The Kisan Sabha session was held under these circumstances in Madurai in January 1967. The total membership enrolled was nearly a million, half of which was in West Bengal.

Several meetings of the Central Kisan Fraction were held before the conference. They were attended by PB and CC members and the line was decided upon in these meetings. They also gave consideration to the Central Committee's document on *Tasks on the Kisan Front*. It has, however, to be kept in mind that the primary task of building the kisan movement is still being neglected.

Guidance to State Committees

On behalf of the CC, the majority of the PB members have to be directly engaged in guiding the activities of some of our important State Committees and some who were facing special problems. The line worked out by the CC in relation to the elections, the formation of Ministry, the line in relation

to mass organizations—all required to be propagated and acted upon to clear away the confusion and lack of clarity that persisted. Apart from the fact that a revisionist outlook still persisted on number of issues, and revisionism still constituted the main danger, the Party line had to be defended and implemented in face of the constant attack from the Left-sectarian trend which, buttressed as it was by support from abroad, often created a lot of confusion in some states. It will not be an exaggeration to say a major part of the central leadership's time was often taken in strengthening the Party ideologically before giving any attention to the other problems.

Besides, major attention had to be given to the functioning of the two Ministries in Kerala and West Bengal, to the implementation of the line in these two states, as it had a vital importance for the activization and radicalization of our main mass base. In almost every Central Committee meeting and in every PB meeting the working of the Ministries was reviewed, weaknesses were pointed out and directions for overcoming them were given. Apart from the two PBMs from West Bengal who had to assume direct responsibility for the implementation of the line, different PB members participated in the State Committee meetings and meetings of other committees. On the question of food policy, Naxalbari, gheraos, the trade union problems, and in the critical days when the fate of the Ministry in West Bengal was hanging in the balance and a big political movement had to be launched—the centre was able to give constant attention to West Bengal and it helped the Party to go ahead confidently in the implementation of the line.

West Bengal saw the rise of a Left-sectarian trend at this period and the central leadership took up the fight against the deviation in right earnest. *People's Democracy* and the Party's Hindi weekly *Swadhinata*, the latter was made into a central organ in 1965, carried a series of articles exposing the pretensions of the Bengal Left-sectarians and blowing up their ideological premises. Between 1966 and 1967, *People's*

Democracy had published a series of articles exposing the revisionist programme and line. Thus the Party was being constantly equipped ideologically to fight both the wrong trends.

Kerala claimed much more attention in the earlier period. In the first place one PB member, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad had to face directly the responsibility of Kerala, denuding the strength of the central leadership. Comrade A. K. Gopalan was to look after the work of the Kisan Sabha and of the Party in Parliament.

The confusion inside the Party in Kerala together with the rise of Left-sectarian trends and the persistence of a revisionist outlook all combined produced at one time a serious situation. The mistakes in the functioning of the Ministry added to the situation. A proper understanding of the Party line was lacking. Besides certain reformist mistakes committed at the time of the elections—failure to follow CC's directions regarding the choice of candidates, failure to take action against certain comrades for their big lapses in jail—all this led to a critical situation.

The General Secretary had to be deputed to Kerala to report on the Party line and educate the Party. On behalf of the centre, he acknowledged the mistakes made by some leaders in regard to the choice of candidates and also explained the Party line. This resulted in the PB addressing a letter to the Party in Kerala, which went a big way in reassuring the ranks and improving their understanding of the Party line.

The discussion on the Madurai CC documents provided another occasion for educating the ranks in Kerala. In view of the situation there, the CC permitted the State and District Plenums convened to discuss the ideological document, to discuss their work, the political situation and the functioning of the Ministry also. It also permitted the Kerala Plenums to elect new committees on the basis of their discussion.

Five PB members including Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan took part in the conference—Comrades

Sundaryya, Basavapunniah and Ramamurti were the other PBMs—and they guided the discussions. The State Plenum by a big majority adopted the CC document and the State Committee's report and elected a new committee. The District Plenums also elected new committees. At the instance of the Party's state leadership it was decided to relieve Comrade A. K. Gopalan to shoulder the burden of the secretaryship of the State Committee. This, of course, denuded the central leadership still further.

Besides, in this period, the PB members conducted Party schools with attendance of more than a hundred in each. In Kerala almost the entire leadership up to the firka level was covered. This helped tremendously in bringing about ideological unity inside the Party and steel it in the struggle against all erroneous tendencies.

The Madurai document was assailed by the Left-sectarians in a number of states and their challenge had to be met. The biggest assault came from Andhra and to defend the Party line, two PBMs had to attend the District and State Plenums and fight the confusion created in the ranks.

The Plenums in Bihar and Assam were conducted under the guidance of comrades looking after these states. In Maharashtra there was no Plenum but reporting was done by the comrade in charge and the CC members.

In the State Committees and District Committees the CC members guided the discussions, apart from the PB members who were present. Again in almost all the Plenums the PB members participated and helped to defend the Party line.

The splits, defections and the post-Burdwan developments again required the constant attention of a number of PB members on behalf of the CC. The U.P. unit had badly suffered; the Madhya Pradesh unit was also in bad shape; and the biggest blow had come in Andhra.

Comrade B.T. Ranadive went to U.P. to report on the Burdwan Plenum. Comrade Surjeet organised the Madhya Pradesh unit. Several steps were taken to put the U.P. unit

on its feet. The unit has started moving and is showing activity on the kisan front.

But Andhra presented the biggest problem. As previously reported the defectors refused to obey the majority decisions and created a split. Controlling the leadership of many districts they were in a position to bring about a disastrous split. To fight them Comrade P. Sundarayya had to be in Andhra and virtually make it his headquarters. The battle for the Party line had to be waged at all levels. From explanation and reporting in general body meetings to holding of Party schools—all these had to be done. Comrade Sundarayya helped by Comrade M. Hanumantha Rao and by Comrade M. Basavapunniah had to bear the brunt of this battle. Once again this meant a weakening of the central leadership but it had to be faced. As a result of this patient battle, a lot of the Party could be saved, and the mischief of the defectors curbed to some extent.

The fight in defence of the Party Programme, the line on international differences and the immediate tasks of united front was carried on all along the line. As has been already pointed out a series of articles explaining the Party *Programme* and exposing the revisionists were written by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Comrade B. T. Ranadive. Later on, another series on the revisionist party congress and two series on Left-sectarianism were written by Comrade B. T. Ranadive in *People's Democracy*. A series of articles explaining the Party line on Czechoslovakia has been written by Comrade M. Basavapunniah. At the Burdwan session a detailed reply was given to those who attacked the basic formulations of the Party *Programme*. The articles and speeches were later on published in book form (*Ideological Debate Summed Up*). Besides, the PB in its *Letter To Andhra Comrades* again summed up all the ideological and programmatic issues raised by the Left sectarians. This letter was translated into several languages.

Before the elections and after the resignation of the P. C. Ghosh Ministry in West Bengal and elsewhere, Party

and trade union schools were held and the PBMs conducted them. In West Bengal Party schools for members, and later on for students, were held. In West Bengal a trade union school was held at Asansol which was attended by the trade union cadre from Bihar and West Bengal. A school for students, Party cadres and workers was held in Delhi which was attended by members from Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A school was conducted in Bombay also—to which cadres were called from all over Maharashtra.

At the same time, it has to be recorded that the centre, denuded as it was, could not meet the demand for Party schools which was coming from several states. Nor was it possible to prepare a syllabus for study courses which was decided on at the Calicut meeting of the Central Committee. Similarly the decision to start a theoretical organ of the Party (quarterly) to train and equip members in Party ideology could not be carried out.

Efforts were also made to carry out the trade union line of the Party and educate the cadres on its basis. In the Party schools, in the trade union schools, classes were taken on the kisan organisation and the tasks on the trade union movement. At trade union fraction meetings, the trade union line given in the document was again stressed. In Bombay, a detailed outline was given to draft a resolution on the trade union tasks and weaknesses were pointed out. All these, however, were only the beginning and much remained to be done to make the line a part and parcel of the consciousness of Party members. It seems that the State Committees, at least the majority of them, have not paid enough attention to the implementation of the two documents with the result that the trade union and kisan movements continue in their old rut, unable to overcome some of their major weaknesses.

Mass Struggle

The Party in its earlier documents and again in the *New Situation and Party's Tasks* and other resolutions had repeatedly stated that the mass struggles were growing in this

period and that our comrades must systematically be in the forefront of united struggles. Notwithstanding the many difficulties—internal as well as due to our weakness on the mass front—our comrades and Party units have been waging many a heroic battle on the trade union, kisan and student fronts, braving jails, oppression, victimisation and repression. In this period, while the old bases of the Party with large mass influence continued to develop, the Party could strike roots in new bases and new states and Party members emerged as individual leaders of a number of mass organisations. This does not necessarily indicate that the political influence of the Party has correspondingly grown in these sections. Yet it enables the Party to forge ahead politically and spread its influence.

Among the strikes and big actions conducted under the leadership of our Party comrades, the all-India newspaper employees' strike occupies a prominent place. Comrade Kolhatkar, member of our Central Committee, led the strike as the General Secretary of the Employees' Federation. The strike in the biggest dailies, affecting the press of India's big capitalists, continued for two months and was fought with great solidarity and unity. Once again it was a prolonged struggle against the refusal of the press barons to carry out their commitments and the decisions of the wage board. A settlement could be reached only after a protracted battle and rallying of general support of the people. The strike also showed that the employers are now openly setting at nought the decisions of the official committees in favour of the workers.

In recent months, our comrades on the industrial front have been waging the most protracted and bitterly fought struggles in which the workers resist the employers' retrenchment drive most tenaciously. Struggles extend over months but the spirit of resistance continues. On many occasions the workers have to accept an adverse settlement. Not realising the character of the period of recession and the brutal oppression following it, cadres, ranks and trade union leaders

alike feel sometimes demoralised—the failure to develop political consciousness helping in this process.

A warning of the new period was already given in the document on *Tasks On The Trade Union Front* :

“But now in the coming struggle this must change, for the struggle will be faced with totally different conditions. The working class rights are being rapidly curtailed. The recent struggles, students’ struggles for instance, have been ruthlessly dealt with. The Government is trying to rule with class terror—the police is being instructed not just to maintain ‘law and order’ but hunt out the people with a view to crushing their resistance. All these methods will now be increasingly used against working class struggles, making normal functioning of trade unions during strikes impossible.

“This means that unless the working class militants, the trade union cadres are fired with the spirit of class pride, are inspired to sacrifice their all for their own class and put up with hardships for their class brethren the battle cannot be won. Trade union leaders themselves may have to set examples of personal sufferings and courage to inspire their followers. This ABC has to be repeated today because we will be dealing with totally new cadres who have seen very little of the repression of the earlier years. And in recent years the cadres have been accustomed to the corrupt trade union boss who orders them about and generally does the trick either in the court or private conclaves with the employers.

“To revive the old tradition of militancy, of capacity to sacrifice, of class pride in the union, it is essential to undertake at the earliest the education of new and old cadres and educate them in the real meaning—political and class meaning—of the impending battle.”

It cannot be said that we armed ourselves fully with this understanding when the offensive started. Yet our record of resistance and struggles shows that we have not faltered in meeting the offensive of our class enemies. The reports with the centre about our struggles are few and the State Committees have not reviewed the experience of the big struggles

to draw lessons and rectify weaknesses in the light of our line and tasks.

However experience is teaching our comrades of the change in the situation and the three big State Committees in their reports observe that struggles are getting more and more prolonged and settlement of demands is by no means easy despite complete solidarity in the ranks of the workers.

Tamil Nadu: In Tamil Nadu several big struggles based on the united front of all trade unions and parties have taken place. In 1966, the Madurai textile workers went on a general strike and our comrades, following correct united front tactics, working for the unity of the workers, were able to forge a united front of all organisations and parties, first neutralising the INTUC leadership and then drawing in their followers. The Tamil Nadu comrades on several occasions developed correct united front tactics, mobilised the entire number of workers concerned and carried forward the movement. But unfortunately they have neither reviewed these struggles nor drawn any lessons from them.

But it is clear that our Party has played a leading role in a large number of struggles that have taken place recently. The workers who took part belonged to different parties. The struggles were long-drawn and concessions or demands were not won easily though the workers stood solidly united. Reports indicate that these struggles have brought the ranks of the DMK trade unions closer to us and a certain differentiation is growing.

The following are some of the important struggles led by us or in which we participated.

1. Textile workers of Coimbatore belonging to CPI(M), Right C.P., HMS, DMK, INTUC, have had to continuously think of struggles to ward off closures, to get wage arrears, etc. And this notwithstanding opposition of INTUC or DMK leaders to strikes. There were two successful hartals in Coimbatore town, the last one being on May 11, 1968.
2. Wimco Match Factory (Madras) struggle of 113 days

- (lathi-charge and police firing took place)—DMK, Congress, CPI(M), Right C.P and “ultra-Left” workers
3. Metal Box workers’ struggle—53 days—DMK workers and DMK-led trade union.
 4. Vadalur Ceramic workers’ struggle—83 days (our leadership in trade union).
 5. Several handloom workers’ struggles of all parties—finally under our leadership, a two weeks’ struggle at Madurai, nearly 1000 arrested.
 6. 40,000 North Arcot district beedi workers’ strike for a fortnight.
 7. Dalmiapuram cement workers’ struggle.
 8. Manali Oil Refinery, 5000 contract workers’ struggle
 9. Some months ago, in the industrial belt adjoining Madras city, in the automobile industry—several struggles.
 10. Hundred bus workers of Trichy Town, new to the trade union movement and our Party, fought for 45 days
 11. Textile workers in Trichy district, magnesite workers in Salem district and workers in some other industries—a number of other smaller struggles, too. (The Riffle Factory workers’ resistance near Trichy, Textool workers, Coimbatore, Salem Seshasayee Paper Mills workers’ struggle, etc.)
 12. The recent firemen’s struggle of Southern and South-Central Railways.

The firemen’s struggle was of course an important struggle which got India wide attention. The solidarity-cum-unity shown under our leadership did not fail to impress wider sections. The union and our comrades were fighting under the most difficult situation as the Railwaymen’s Federation was there to do mischief and the Railway Board was ever ready to use the former against us. It was only our weakness on the other railways that prevented us from using it as a lever to advance the cause of the railway workers.

West Bengal: This is one of the states hit most by recession and the working class has been under constant attack.

The resistance of the working class has grown as can be seen from the following figures:

Total stoppages of work	1965	1966	1967	1968 (up to October)
No. of factories affected	228	244	447	430
No. of workers involved	123,654	154,356	167,259	250,000
No. of mandays lost	1,362,564	2,754,447	6,918,816	9,250,000

The offensive against the workers continued in 1968. According to Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, while at the time of the removal of the U.F. Ministry, the number of strikes was 14, lock-outs 88 involving 42,714 workers, by July 1968 the workers in 106 factories were on strike, lock-outs continued in 86 firms and 38 factories faced closure affecting 110,000 workers.

The unions led by our Party as the leading organised force was in the forefront of the struggles consolidating and expanding our trade union base. The following are some of the important strike-struggles led by us till December last:

Strike Struggles in 1968

- January 11 Continuous strike in Greaves Crompton—continued for more than 5 months.
- January 24 One-day all-India newspaper employees' token strike.
- February 16 One-day token strike of 4 lakh engineering workers.
- February 28 All-India bank employees' token strike (1,70,000 all-India figure).
- March 6 80,000 mercantile firms' employees' token strike.
- March 12 10,000 cinema workers' continuous strike started, it continued for more than 3 months.
- April 5 40,000 LIC employees' token strike against automation.

- April 15 2,50,000 jute workers' and 50,000 cotton textile workers' one-day token strike.
- April 15 10,000 Texmaco workers' continuous strike started, it is still continuing.
- May 10 All-Bengal secondary teachers' token strike
- May 16 One-day state government employees' strike
- June 17 65,000 colliery workers' one-day token strike
- June 25 30,000 municipal employees' one-day strike
- July 12 Durgapur steel workers' strike.
- July 18 Guest, Keen, Williams one-day strike.
- August 12 One-day combined strike in engineering, jute, textile industries involving 7 lakh workers
- September 19 Central government employees' one-day token strike.
- November 7 Continuous strike of petroleum workers.
- November 14 Continuous strike of Bengal Immunity workers (2000).
- December 18 One-day protest strike of Durgapur steel workers.

This list is not exhaustive. In various other concerns and industries, strikes and various other forms of struggles are going on, such as DVC. The employees resort to mass hunger-strikes, by batches, continuous for one week in protest against the threat of retrenchment of nearly 4000 employees. Similarly in the Farakka Barrage Project, nearly 5,000 have been declared surplus—there was mass hunger-strike, subsequently demonstration etc.. In Lloyds and Stewarts, continuous strike was going on from July 1, in protest against retrenchment. There was one-day local bandh in Behala area in solidarity with the workers of India Fan and in protest against goonda attack and police repression. The local bandh was a grand success.

Besides these, there were the token strikes of the central and state employees, the prolonged strike of the newspaper workers, strikes in Burnpur, Howrah Burn Company, M & M., Guest, Keen, Williams, strikes lasting over months and tenaciously fought by the workers.

The strike in Texmaco, the cinema workers' strike, the Greaves Crompton, Howrah Burns and Burnpur were some of the most bitterly fought strikes. In many of these strikes, the workers had to accept adverse settlements but the spirit of resistance and organization did not die out. The above relate only to the year 1968. The year 1967 also saw some big struggles including the protest strike against the dismissal of the U.F. Government.

Our comrades fighting these bitter strike-battles, keeping the solidarity of the workers at all costs and loyally standing by the workers did a glorious job. At the same time it has to be noted that had they kept the Party directives before them they would have succeeded in raising the consciousness of the workers and extending the political base of the Party and ensuring large-scale recruitment for the Party from among the fighting and militant workers.

To the credit of our Party and trade union leadership it should be recorded that they made conscious efforts to rouse the working class to its fraternal duty towards the peasantry and had decided to send workers' volunteers to protect the peasants' crops threatened by the landlords in 1968. They also campaigned among the jute workers for a fair price to the jute farmer.

Due to our leadership of mass actions, the Party has been able to improve its position in the trade union movement. The Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union—membership, 30,000—has now a Party leader as its General Secretary. Till last year's elections, it was in the hands of the revisionists.

Similarly, in the engineering and textile industries, we continue to hold offices and our position in the BPTUC has now improved. Total number of members affiliated to the BPTUC is 350,000. In the last BPTUC elections, we defeated the disruptive game of the revisionists and were able to improve our position. In the new Executive Committee which consists of 71 members, we hold 34 seats, our allies 4, those who generally support us hold another four while the rightists hold 24 and another party five. In contrast, before

last year's elections, in a committee of 67 we were holding 26, rightists 25 and others 16.

Our Party has noted in these struggles that the sense of solidarity among the people is growing. Middle class youths and students come out to support the struggles of workers and peasants at the call of their organizations. New sections of people are joining the struggle. The sense of workers' and peasants' alliance is growing.

Kerala : Kerala is one of main bases of the trade union movement and during the last two years our Party has carried on a number of struggles, fought the disruption created by the revisionists and has succeeded in weakening the hold of the revisionists in a number of places. Though a large number of trade union leaders went with the revisionists, still we were popular among the workers and this helped us to establish and consolidate our position in the trade union movement. We are a more influential and more organised force in the trade union movement than other parties. But only in Cannanore and Kozhikode districts we by ourselves can organise a complete standstill in all the industries. Besides, it should be noted that we are weak in the industrially advanced district of Ernakulam. In the coir industry, where we are a major force, we conducted glorious struggles and the workers were materially benefited and the revisionists were exposed.

Except in Quilon, most of the cashew workers' unions in other districts are under our leadership. The textile, coir, beedi and handloom workers are seriously affected by the crisis, and we are in the forefront of the struggle defending them. We successfully carried on the plantation workers' struggle and were able to change the wage board's decisions to some extent. We conducted the toddy tappers' struggle in Ernakulam district and the struggle for gratuity, wage-increase and provident fund in Alleppey district. This has put us in a strong position inside the Tappers' Federation and therefore the revisionists started organising rival unions. The Beedi-Cigar Workers' Federation is led by our comrades, both the General Secretary and the President are Party members.

While conducting these strikes, there was a tendency among some comrades to lapse into economism and hurl a tirade against our Ministry and thus play the Congress game. There was also a tendency to fall a victim to revisionist provocation and form new unions without preparing mass support. In a number of cases our trade union leaders correctly formed new unions as the rightists had lost all support and at the same time they were refusing to function the old unions.

We have organised a union of ours among the State Road Transport Corporation workers and also in Fertilisers and Chemicals. Recently we have organised a Federation of Toddy Tappers' Unions in Kerala, which has a backing of 22,000 employees. In the plantation industry we have organised a separate union in the Kodumon Plantations (Government) and now we are in a majority there. But we have lost our organizational leadership in Munnar area, since the leadership went to the rightists. Though a sizable number of workers there are politically with us, we have yet to organise them under our leadership. Also in Palapally Estate we have lost our leadership due to the combined positions taken by the extremists and the rightists. Now some disruptive activities against our trade unions are started by Kosal Ramdas in State Road Transport Corporation and Electricity employees' unions. The extremists have some hold among the State Transport Corporation workers as well as in the Electricity NMR unions.

In Travancore Rayons Employees Union we lost our leadership and we have taken steps to recapture it. Now we are faced with a combined attack from the extremists and rightists in the trade union front.

We have organised new sub-committees and fractions in all the statewide unions functioning in the state. In the plantation sector (Government) we have got one rupee increase more than the wages decided by the Rubber Wage Board. A joint agitation and a strike took place in private plantations for wage-increase. In the coir industry at Alleppey we have organised our own unions and brought the majority of workers under our hold. We have secured sizable concessions from

the employers. In the coir-yarn making sector we have organised unions in Trivandrum, Quilon and Ernakulam districts and we have conducted struggles for wage-increase and got slight increments in wages. In Quilon district we have organised our own unions in all the industries. The cashew industry is facing a crisis. Thousands are rendered unemployed. We are yet to find a solution. Four textile factories are closed for which solution is not yet in sight. In the coir sector and handloom sector severe unemployment problem is there.

For the toddy-tappers, we were able to get sizable wage increase. In the Government and quasi-Government industries sizable wage-increase and other benefits were secured by our organised efforts.

In Kerala, besides, the Party started taking in right earnest the struggle against the policies of the Centre.

A Save Democracy Fortnight was observed from February 2, 1968, to protest against the Centre's discrimination against Kerala on food and the Centre's policy of toppling non-Congress Governments. Demonstrations were organised when Smt Indira Gandhi visited Trivandrum. Towards the end of March, a kisan demonstration of 25,000 was organised to demand speeding up of land reforms. Since May, the Party took up the question of fighting the Centre and started on its independent activity, all the while requesting other parties to join the struggle. The Kerala bandh in October involving more than a lakh of workers was the result of this agitation. This was followed by a united strike of thousands of plantation workers which we are jointly conducting along with others.

The Party's lead in the central government employees' strike, the Ministry's open support to it and refusal to carry out repression against the striking employees have galvanised the situation further in our favour.

Other States : In Mysore also we have participated in or held many of the recent important strikes. The strike of the Kirloskar Electric Factory workers in Bangalore, the Kirloskar Factory workers in Harihar and Hubli, the strike of the em-

ployees of the central government industries in Bangalore, the struggle of the textile workers in Bangalore, the prolonged struggle of the tile workers in Mangalore and general strike there for one day in support of the same, the one-day strike by the beedi workers in Mangalore, the struggle of the engineering workers in Harihar, cement workers in Bagalkot, etc., and several other working class actions have taken place in this period. The bank and insurance employees have also gone into action for their demands.

In Maharashtra, in recent times, our Party and its trade unions have led a number of prolonged and militant strikes. The strike of Greaves Cotton lasting over 4 months; earlier the strike of Firestone employees in the city of Bombay; a large number of strikes in the Thana belt; the big strike of handloom workers in Icholkanj and earlier in Bhiwani; and the militant movement for reopening of the closed textile mills in Vidarbha in which hundreds were arrested and there was mass defiance of section 144. This was a movement in which our comrades participated along with the local Forward Bloc leader. The Party also organised industrial conferences and demonstrations in support of Vietnam and the French workers' struggle.

Andhra Pradesh : During this period, especially during 1967, State Road Transport workers (16,000 employees), Kothagudem Colliery workers, ILTD (Indian Leaf Tobacco) workers went on strike, for increased DA, revision of pay-scales and against retrenchment. We participated vigorously in these strike struggles but the revisionists led them and withdrew them accepting certain conditions harmful to the workers.

We led agitation of the municipal and Highways employees against retrenchment and for certain other demands. Retrenchment was stopped.

Jute mill workers' strike in Eluru, Shipyard staff employees' strike in Visakhapatnam, motor workers' strikes in Nellore, Guntur and Vijayawada, have succeeded in getting some of their demands conceded.

The South-Central Railway Firemen's struggle was successful. It drew the attention of the whole of India to the excessively long hours which they are being made to work and the Railway Minister was forced to agree to reduce it immediately to 12 hours from the time of signing—on and to appoint a commission to go further into the matter.

Large-scale retrenchment of elementary teachers to the extent of 30,000 was contemplated by the Government and also the age of retrenchment was reduced from 60 to 55 years, thus endangering the services of large number of teachers. Their state organization conducted a wide and continuous agitation, and as a result retrenchment was stopped and the High Court quashed the Government order reducing the age limit for retirement.

But here again, with the passing away of Comrade Ch. Lakshmayya, President of the Elementary Teachers' Federation, the revisionists on one side and the "ultras" on the other have split the organization.

On the whole, among the working class and in the organised trade union movement, after the demise of Comrade K. I. Narasimham, our Party leader, we have become a very small force; the revisionists with their bureaucratic methods dominate the existing unions and are eliminating us from the unions. Now the "ultras" have started further splitting these unions.

Recently, in Rajasthan, a number of strikes have been led by us—strikes in which a large number of our trade union comrades are being persecuted. The strikes have served to improve the position of our Party in the trade union movement and the working class.

In Punjab also there have been advances. Our comrades were present in the struggle of the railway workers at Pathankot during the September 19 strike.

Kisan Struggles

Tripura : Our unit in Tripura is undergoing heavy repression. All the leading comrades besides several other of our valiant comrades have been in jail once again for nearly a

year from February 1968. They include Comrade Dasarath Deb, a CC member, Comrade Nripen Chakravarty, Biren Dutt and several others.

Nonetheless our Party in Tripura has been carrying on a valiant struggle. We have struck deep roots in the adivasi areas and the movement against unjust levy and for zoom cultivable lands led to resistance in these areas. The police firing and mass arrests transformed the spontaneous movement into a mass protest under our leadership. In some places, the levy collection was very poor. Adivasi women participated in the movement with great enthusiasm and militancy.

Bihar : In Bihar, our Party leading the Kisan Sabha is engaged in leading the kisans in their struggle for land. The struggle in Champaran district embraces two hundred villages and the other covers about fourteen adjoining police station areas of Purnea, North Bhagalpur, North Monghyr and Saran. The fight is for the distribution of ten thousand acres of alluvial land to the landless and the second is directed against the brutal oppression and illegal eviction by feudal land-grabbers. In the former, the peasants occupied the lands and police were set in motion. One peasant was killed and hundreds arrested.

In the other struggle the peasants are face to face with the most blatant type of feudal land-ownership—pitted against landlords who own not less than 30,000 acres each. The organised resistance of the peasantry against eviction, against feudal torture and atrocities has brought the police on the scene, and hundreds of peasants were beaten and arrested. Several are still in jail. But the peasants by their heroic resistance have succeeded in stopping eviction and oppression over a wide area. Everyday the united action of the peasants grows stronger and any attempt at eviction is collectively resisted. The urge to unity found expression in the anti-eviction conference held last June in the village of Naisalganj which has now become the symbol of peasant unity.

Andhra Pradesh : In Andhra, our Party comrades and kisan leaders are facing a reign of terror—combined terror

of the police, and landlord goondas, and valiantly resisting it. Murders, hacking of limbs, belabouring, looting, raping and mass jailings, police firings and lathi-attacks—every weapon of repression and torture is used against the agricultural workers and poor peasants who loyally stand by the Party in the struggle against exploitation and oppression.

After the Seventh Party Congress, our comrades turned their main attention to work among the agricultural labourers. Even when the whole leadership was in jail, in Nalgonda district in about 200 villages, agitation and struggles were conducted for wage increases and the annual wages for farm servants were increased. The interest in kind ("Nagu") was reduced from 100 per cent to 20 per cent. Again, in 1966, in about 80 villages in the same district, in a period of food scarcity, our comrades mobilized the people and forced the landlords to sell the grain at controlled rates.

In Guntur, West Godavary and Krishna districts, in about 150 villages, agricultural labour agitated and organised strikes and achieved daily wage increases during replanting, harvest or tobacco curing seasons.

In the forest belt of Khammam and Warangal districts, in 1967 and 1968, 30,000 girijans (tribal people) participated in agitation and strikes and got the rates for "beedi leaf" gathering increased from 3 paise to 5 paise per packet of 100-150 leaves. In Bhadrachalam division, the tribal people went on strike, refusing to do *begar* in forest work of the Government.

In Nalgonda, Khammam and Warangal districts and in Ibrahimpatnam taluk of Hyderabad district and in Repalle and Bhimavaram taluks of the Coastal districts, agitation and struggles were continuously carried on during 1966-1968 against landlords' efforts to evict the peasants cultivating the wastelands (banjar lands) and forest lands, from tens of thousands of acres. Because of our agitation it was not possible for the landlords to evict them from the lands, and the Government was forced to grant pattas on about two lakh acres during the last two years.

It is to suppress these struggles that intensive terror and repression was let loose by landlords and their armed goondas actively aided by the police. More than 4000 persons are being prosecuted during this period in various cases.

In Srikakulam district, the girijans movement in Parvatipuram agency tract, was developed by our Party during the last ten years, and especially during 1964-1968. It was able to get the farm servants' annual wages raised by from ten quintals of paddy to 30-40 quintals; for harvesting and threshing grain on one acre from Rs. 5 to 30; abolished the *begar* of womenfolk of the farm servant who used to be paid Rs. 5 per year and got them 10 quintals per year. The Girijan Union was able to force the Government and landlords to supply rice at controlled rates and prevented the locally produced grain from being taken outside the area; it also got increased prices for forest produce gathered by the tribals. It has developed a widespread agitation for restoration of the lands seized by the landlords and moneylenders back to the tribals.

Now this whole movement is wholly in the hands of the "ultras" and tremendous police repression is let loose there. Our efforts to send some parliamentary delegation and even send Sarvodaya leaders like Sri Nabakrishna Chowdhury to those areas, to expose police terror are rebuffed by the "ultras".

The Agricultural Labour Union of Andhra Pradesh had 110,000 members in 1966-67. But the revisionists broke away from it and set up a rival organization. Now during 1968, due to the "ultra" defection, we did not renew membership of this organization.

West Bengal : In West Bengal, the kisan movement has passed through valuable and varied experience during the period. It worked actively for the defeat of the Congress in the last elections. The formation of the United Front Ministry with the participation of Kisan Sabha spread to new areas in each district.

Basing on the organized strength of the peasant movement and utilising the new opportunities it successfully resisted

the widespread eviction offensive. Eviction of sharecroppers, was stopped wherever there was any Kisan Sabha unit existing. The organised poor peasants also intervened in many places for the distribution of surplus lands amounting to tens of thousands of acres; they occupied thousands of acres of vested lands as well as riverbank lands in some districts and had them regularised: they occupied and cultivated several thousand acres of landlords' lands which the landlords had kept under their ownership by mala fide transfers. They also took some initiative in unearthing *benami* lands.

After the overthrow of the U.F. Ministry, the organised peasants actively participated in every district in the struggle for defence of democracy. They also fought against the attacks of the landlords and the police and mainly succeeded in harvesting the crop they cultivated

One of the features of the peasant movement is to retain the gains achieved during the U.F. Ministry. Under the U.F. the vested land distributed among the poor peasants amounted to nearly 230,000 acres. After the removal of the U.F. Ministry, there have been attempts to dispossess the peasants of this land in many places. But in the majority of the cases the peasants have been able to retain them and in some places they have been able to recover *benami* lands. The peasants' struggles for land have developed and spread in the districts of 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Cooch Behar, Murshidabad, Malda, West Dinajpur, Birbhum, Howrah and Hooghly. In some of these struggles there have been clashes with jotdars and the police. The peasants are boldly facing it and going ahead.

Tamil Nadu : Though Tamil Nadu has not seen peasant struggles for land or other demands, it has seen some of the most bitterly fought struggles of agricultural workers for better wages. The struggle in November was one in which the DMK Government used repression against the agricultural workers and helped the landlords to organise strike-breaking. Hundreds of workers were arrested and jailed. But our comrades valiantly led the struggle against the landlords, who had deliberately violated the agreement about

wage rates. Similar struggles had broken out in the earlier part of the year and were decisively led by us. Once again we had to fight the bureaucracy, the pro-landlord attitude of the DMK Ministry and carry on the struggle firmly. It was for this that one of the Ministers chose us for attack and directed his fire against our Party.

Kerala : In Kerala, the rural masses in recent times had their attention concentrated on the food agitation against the Centre. Several jathas of people marching from one end of Kerala to another, rousing the people, and covering the entire state in a period of one month, have galvanised the situation leading to the Kerala bandh of October 23. In this the mass of agricultural workers and poor peasants participated. Besides, the attention of the peasants has been fixed on the Agrarian Relations (Amendment) Bill and distribution of surplus land.

In recent months, the struggle of agricultural workers has been forging ahead after the organization of an agricultural workers' conference on the initiative of the Party. In September the people of Palghat organised a Palghat bandh and the agricultural workers who were already struggling for their demands went on a districtwide strike on that day. With the beginning of the harvesting season struggles for increased wages broke out all over the district. While settlement was reached in many places, the Congress and its Karshak Sangh organised goonda attacks in some places to terrorise the workers.

Uttar Pradesh : Our Party and Kisan Sabha in Uttar Pradesh are participating in demonstrations and struggles for wasteland, for higher wages for agricultural workers. In Faizabad, Gorakhpur, Sultanpur there have been big demonstrations and struggles for these demands. In these struggles the harijan agricultural workers are mercilessly attacked and beaten by the landlords and police and unspeakable brutalities are perpetrated on harijan women.

Punjab : The Dehati Mazdoor Sabha in Punjab has taken initiative to unite the struggles of the agricultural workers

and in many places has succeeded in getting increased wages. Reports from Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana and other districts show that the khet mazdoors through their struggles and organization have succeeded in getting increase in their wages. In many places the agricultural workers helped by the poor peasants succeeded in overcoming the resistance to their demands. In many places, they could secure a daily wage of Rs. 4 with food in place of the present Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3 per day. These struggles and victories have encouraged the leaders of the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha to extend the demand for increased wages to other areas. An anti-eviction struggle is going on in Jullundur district where the Government wants to eject the peasants to take their land for a seed farm.

In Maharashtra the struggle for higher wages of the Warli peasants resulted this year also in a favourable settlement.

Students

West Bengal : Last year, in 109 colleges students' union elections were held and out of that we won 76 college students' unions.

Up to the Puja vacation this year, 65 college students' union elections were held and out of 65, we captured 43.

Chatra Sangram is the organ of our organisation which is the only regularly published fortnightly paper by the students in the state. The circulation of *Chatra Sangram* is fluctuating though we cannot meet the demand due to shortage of funds. At present its circulation is 4,000. We are mainly publishing students' news and politically analysing our line of action; sometimes we are translating appropriate political writings. This journal is also fighting the reactionaries, revisionists and the sectarians.

We are launching membership campaign throughout the year but actually the campaign gets momentum at the time of the new session as the membership is for the academic session. This year we have given the call of enrolling one lakh members, but up till now we have enrolled round about

45,000 as members in the SF. This membership campaign will continue till the end of the academic year.

In the sphere of the students' movement our organization is in the leadership and almost the entire democratic progressive students' movement of the state was guided by our organization since the separation from the right revisionists.

In the year 1964-65, we, on behalf of our organization, first raised the slogan of detenus' release within the student community of West Bengal and our organization led that movement.

The tram-fare resistance movement of 1965 was led by our organization within the students.

In the historic food movement and in the 1966 movement for democratic rights, our organisation played a glorious role. Our organization was also the leader in the movement against the curtailment of democratic rights of the students in 1966.

In the year 1967 we were engaged in our organizational consolidation through district conventions and conferences and finally by the state conference of our organization. Formally, from this year, we started the ideological fight against Left-sectarian politics and launched a big movement with the 22-point education 'demand-charter'. We also launched the movement against the reactionary education policy of the Government and against the provincial and communal design of the reactionaries. In the last part of that year, we launched a strong movement for 'Save Democracy' and against the conspiratorial actions of the central Government including the action of Governor Dharma Vira. At that time we initiated the United Students' Action Committee and through that action committee we fought against the repressive policy of the reactionary illegal Government of Dr. P. C. Ghosh. In 1968, up to the proclamation of 'President's rule' our 'Save Democracy' movement was continued. We again started the movement with the 'Education Demand Charter' for the solution of the students' own problems and simultaneously raised our voice for immediate mid-term poll in our state and all through this period, we propagated the plan and the

programme of the United Front of our state. Since 1964, we are also launching the movement against the imperialist penetration and expressing our solidarity with the people's liberation movements in different countries particularly the heroic struggle of the Vietnam people.

As we are concentrating on changing the character of the students' movement and have been successful in turning the students' movement from a seasonal to a continuous character; we are also constantly trying to make the students the main auxiliary force in the workers' and peasants' struggle, finally to make them part and parcel of the democratic movement. In this connection, we like to mention the solidarity rally for Texmaco workers, newspaper employees, anti-automation (LIC and others), striking government employees, etc., in the workers' and employees' sector; and the rally for the peasant movements in Sonarpur (24-Parganas), Barasat and Baruipur (24-Parganas), Dhupguri of North Bengal, etc. It should be noted that at the time of the Jay Engineering workers' strike we observed solidarity, students' strike—that was the first all-Bengal students' strike purely in solidarity with workers and toiling people. This time also for supporting the demands of the striking newspaper employees, we observed a successful all-Bengal students' strike on September 4, 1968.

On September 13, a mammoth students' rally was held at the Calcutta University Campus under the independent call of our organisation for (a) immediate mid-term poll in the state, (b) withdrawal of 'security force' from the North Bengal Campus, (c) withdrawal of cases against the students of Uttarpara Pearymohan College and North Bengal University, (d) release of detenus, (e) more seats in the different faculties of Calcutta University, including law, etc.

One of the achievements of the West Bengal Committee of the Party was the formation of a youth organisation. Just before the state conference more than 36,000 members were enrolled. At present the number is 42,000. Working class, peasant and middle class youths are being enrolled.

Tamil Nadu : In Tamil Nadu after a long number of years, the students have come forward to organise a branch of the All-India Students' Federation. The urge and the need for this arose from the innumerable struggles against student victimisation and on several other issues. The fact that the students have organised themselves in the Students' Federation and are looking to Party leaders for guidance shows the new political mood of the students. The monopoly of the Congress and DMK over the students is breaking and they are evidently getting disillusioned with them. The conference was presided over by Comrade N. Sankaraiah, a member of the CC, and inaugurated by Comrade K. Muthiah, editor of our Tamil Party paper. The open session was attended by not less than five thousand students. The conference was a representative gathering drawing students from far off places.

Kerala : The student front was neglected for a long time. In August 1967, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad held a school for 50 comrades working on this front. This was followed by the Palghat Convention. Certain Party members, under Left-sectarian influence, went against the Party line and indulged in disruptive activities in the Federation. However, the overwhelming majority of students following the Federation remained in the Party. Party paid close attention to this front and new office-bearers were elected by convening a special convention. All district units of the Federation except the Palghat unit remained under the leadership of the Party. The Federation has considerable influence among the mass of students though the Congress continues to have more influence at the Kerala state level. A summer camp was held for students and a programme was chalked out. Recently the students fought the anarchic action of the Congress students directed against our Ministry. They have also been active in struggles for students' demands, leading demonstrations and processions.

One of the recent achievements was the formation of the Kerala Socialist Youth Federation in June 1968.

Andhra Pradesh : In 1965, our comrades took the lead in

organising the strike of Tirupati University students. Our students also took a leading part in the anti-Hindi-imposition agitation.

In 1966, in the agitation for the steel plant, students took the leading part.

In 1967, 15,000 students in Guntur agitated and fought against the rise in hotel rates and secured reduction.

In the same year, students all over the Andhra area under the jurisdiction of the Andhra University conducted strike struggles against modified regulations and got them partially changed.

In 1967 itself, students of the Osmania University as well as high school students went on strike against the tuition-fee-increase. Students of the Tirupati University again went on strike against increase in tuition fee and change in the system of examination. In December of the same year, high school students of the Andhra University area went on strike.

But now, an overwhelming majority of students who were coming towards the Party, have gone over to the "ultras"

Punjab: In the state of Punjab, the students' organisation under our leadership has started forging ahead.

There is a big renewal of student movement in Punjab during the last two months, prolonged student struggles have taken place in Ludhiana and Bhatinda and college students from all over the state have come out in sympathy. Lathi-charges and firings could not crush the unity and solidarity of the students. Ultimately the Governor had to accept their demands.

The above is a bare resume of the activities of our Party among the masses. It is a record full of heroism of the masses under our leadership; a record of devoted and steadfast work by our Party comrades in defence of the masses, forging new links of the Party with the masses and widening its mass base and influence. It must be recorded that within the short time since our release from prison our comrades have done their best to reforge old links which the Government sought to break, rebuild the mass organizations under

our leadership which the Government tried to smash in co-operation with the revisionists. The fact that our comrades have been successful in a large measure to recapture our old influence and extend it shows the steadfast devotion of the masses for the Party—a devotion which the Party has earned through its loyalty to the people, its current political line and its firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

Parliamentary Fraction

While two PB members are members of Parliament and continue to guide parliamentary activities, it has to be admitted that the guidance of the PB and the CC as a whole, in the shape of review of parliamentary work, direct intervention and guidance on political issues, has been rare. Besides, the two PB members themselves are unable to guide the fraction constantly. Comrade A. K. Gopalan has been given the responsibility of functioning as the Secretary of the Kerala State Committee; besides, he has been very ill. Comrade P. Ramamurti is also saddled with multifarious responsibilities. The laxity created by this state of affairs has resulted in the fact that since the Madurai session of the Central Committee there has been no report to the CC on our activities in Parliament.

There are also no reports from the states (except Kerala) on our activities in the state legislatures.

This reveals a very bad state of affairs and represents a lapse from Leninist norms.

In his *Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International* placed before the Second Congress of the International, Lenin said: "In particular, there is a group or cell of communists that deserves exceptional attention and care from the Party, i.e., the parliamentary group of Party members, who are deputies to bourgeois representative institutions (primarily the national, but also local, municipal, etc., representative institutions). On the one hand, it is this tribune which is held in particular regard by large sections of the toiling masses, who are backward or imbued with

petty-bourgeois prejudices; it is therefore imperative for communists to utilise this tribune to conduct propaganda, agitation and organisational work...On the other hand, the entire history of bourgeois democracy, particularly in the advanced countries, has converted the parliamentary rostrum into one of the principal, if not the principal, venues of unparalleled fraudulency, financial and political deception of the people, careerism, hypocrisy and oppression of the working people. The intense hatred of the parliament felt by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is therefore quite justified. The Communist Parties and all parties affiliated to the Third International—especially those who have not arisen by splitting away from the old parties and waging a long and persistent struggle against them but through the old parties accepting (often nominally) the new stand—should therefore adopt a most strict attitude towards their parliamentary groups; the latter must be brought under the full control and direction of the Central Committees of the Parties; they must consist, in the main, of revolutionary workers; speeches by members of parliament should be carefully analysed in the Party press and at Party meetings, from a strictly communist standpoint; deputies should be sent to carry on agitational work among the masses; those who manifest Second International leanings should be expelled from the parliamentary groups, etc.”

In terms of these norms the CC and the PB have failed to guide the parliamentary activities at the Centre. No doubt the PB and the Central Committee laid down certain norms for the individual behaviour and functioning of Ministers, members of legislatures and Parliament and asserting the supremacy of the Party.

Ministers, MLAs and MPs were asked to treat all their emoluments as Party money. They can only spend such amounts as would be sanctioned by the Party. The amount sanctioned for MLAs was not to exceed Rs. 300 per month and those for MPs not to exceed Rs. 500 per month. Ministers and legislators were asked to submit their assets and liabilities

to the State and Central Committees. Strict rules were laid down for Ministers who were asked not to accept private receptions and dinners.

Some instances of violations of these instructions were noted in the beginning and the comrades were corrected. But, subsequently, there have been no reports about how these directives are being implemented. So far as the members of Parliament are concerned, levies are being paid though there might be lapses in some cases. Recent reports and accounts have not reached the centre.

But the main failure is in connection with political guidance. It may be safely stated that the CC never discussed the functioning of the Central Parliamentary Fraction and our activities in Parliament **except once**; and that the PB has also very rarely discussed our parliamentary activity at the centre in the light of our line **and** the role we assign to Parliament.

In the report submitted to the Madurai session of the CC it was stated, "Our work in Parliament could have been much better but for the fact that most of our comrades are new and not well-equipped. There is general lethargy for hard work to equip themselves and a tendency to get readymade notes from the office. Sometimes the note given by the office is ill-digested and bloomers are committed. Fortunately, since these have come from junior comrades, they have gone unnoticed in public.

"Again the tendency to look at problems from the local or constituency point of view often predominated. The all-India viewpoint and the fact that our Party has to use parliamentary forum to put across its all-India policy gets blurred. This was seen in the debate on food.

"Persistent and sustained efforts have to be made to overcome these weaknesses if we are to utilise Parliament as a weapon which would help the development of the democratic struggle."

The PB and the CC have to admit that they have not politically assessed our work in Parliament much less the performance of individual comrades.

After the Madurai session of the CC, PB sent a circular to MPs calling a meeting in May 1968 and detailing out the agenda which included all the necessary political items. But for various reasons, the matter could not be pursued.

Central Organs

At present, the Centre is running *People's Democracy* and *Hindi Swadhinata*. The PB and the CC occupied with the many issues and diversion created by Left adventurism which absorbed the attention of the PB could not discuss the running of these organs, give them guidance and check and overcome their weaknesses.

At the same time it must be noted that one source of weakness is the fact that hardly any CC member and few PB members contribute to the Party organ. Howsoever hard-pressed one might be by other work, PBMs and CCMs have to contribute fairly regularly to the central organs if they are to reflect the collective experience and consciousness of the Party. It must be noted, besides, that several CCMs have been approached individually several times but the requests have always drawn blank.

Apart from the editor, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad is the only PB member whose articles appear fairly regularly in *People's Democracy*. Here also the articles are not specially written for *People's Democracy*. They are written in other journals from which we take them.

Comrade M. Basavapunniah and Comrade Surjeet have also contributed from time to time. Among the CC members, Comrade Achintya Bhattacharyya has been a fairly regular contributor till recently. And Comrade H. Konar has also contributed and carried out assignments given to him.

Both *People's Democracy* and *Swadhinata* have been heavily understaffed and it is through sheer grit and over-work that the comrades and the staff are able to bring out the issues in time.

A handicap of the paper is that we have no correspondents in the states and in spite of requests the state leaderships have

been unable to assign anyone to the job. This puts a terrific strain on *People's Democracy* comrades who have to translate reports appearing in the organs of the State Committees.

The result of all this has been a fall in the circulation.

A glance at the sales distribution will show that the sales of both the papers will easily increase much beyond the present figure if the State Committees and local Party units adopt a proper Party attitude towards the Party papers. This outlook has been absent. It seems to be nobody's business in the states to push the sales of central organs. It seems to have been forgotten that one of the elementary duties of Party units is to spread Party literature.

Hindi *Swadhinata* also has partly suffered from this indifference. The comrades and units in Hindi-speaking areas have not made it their Party duty to increase the circulation of the paper, to utilise it as an instrument for the advance of the Party. That is why West Bengal absorbs the largest number of copies than all the Hindi-speaking areas put together.

If the papers are to serve as an instrument of the Party, help the Party in attracting all the conscious elements towards it, not only the units must change their attitude towards it; both the papers must register improvement, raise their quality, and that, too, substantially, and combine attractive journalism with the Party's politics.

Vietnam Solidarity Campaign

The PB, the Central Committee and the entire Party have used all occasions to enlighten our people on the great struggle of the Vietnamese people and to forge brotherly ties between the people of Vietnam and the people of India. Our central party organ, *People's Democracy* and *Swadhinata* have been popularising the cause of Vietnam and exposing the barbarities of the U.S. imperialists. At the call of the Central Committee, our Party units have held innumerable meetings and demonstrations demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from the soil of Vietnam. At each meeting of the Central

Committee our Party has raised the issue. It has condemned the Government of India for its hypocritical role, for snapping trade ties with North Vietnam under American pressure and for starting trade relations with South Vietnam.

In July 1966, our West Bengal unit held one of the biggest rallies in support of Vietnam. In June 1967, the Polit Bureau gave a call to observe July 20 as Vietnam Day with mass meetings and demonstrations in urban centres. It said, "Vietnam has become for all progressive mankind the hinge on which turns the question whether to allow the U.S. to impose colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia or whether the Asian countries will rise as one man and rout the U.S., defend their freedom, democracy and national independence. Such is the meaning and significance of the formulation that Vietnam has become the focal point of all world contradictions." Following this call innumerable meetings and demonstrations were held in different states. The Party and the CC continue to keep Vietnam in the forefront.

At the Jaipur session of the CC in 1968, the CC again called for solidarity with Vietnam and gave "its fullest support to the stand of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its current talks with the US delegation in Paris".

Acclaiming the magnificent victories of the people of Vietnam, the resolution stated, "Now is the time to give all our support as never before to the Vietnamese people, to demand the U.S. stop its war of aggression and get out of Vietnam. The Central Committee strongly condemns the policy of the Government and calls on the Indian people to unleash the strongest movement to compel the Government of India to change its policy."

While presenting the report of the CC and detailing out its positive achievements, one cannot be blind to its weaknesses, its failures to discharge certain important jobs and implement decisions—political and organisational. In assessing these latter, note must be taken of the attacks of Left-adventurism on the Party which absorbed the PB and CC's attention for a long time.

Nonetheless, these shortcomings have to be noted.

The shortcomings in relation to the Party organs and the Central Parliamentary Fraction have already been referred to. It has also been pointed out that guidance to mass struggles has been given only in a few cases. In the absence of reports from the State Committees review of trade union and kisan struggles could not be done.

Hence, it is difficult to assess how seriously the trade union and kisan line is being implemented on these fronts. The failure on the part of the State Committees to send reports to the CC is part of the growth of federalism inside the Party of which the organisational report has taken note. However, on the occasions when the PB and CC gave guidance they endeavoured to implement the line strictly and fought all erroneous tendencies. Some states only recently reported on the difficulties encountered in carrying out the trade union line but these have yet to be assessed. It is also not known whether any State Committee has reviewed the experience of recent struggles in the light of the Party's line on the mass front.

While laying down a correct political and ideological line the PB and the CC could not always carry out the organisational decisions. It was decided in the CC meeting at Calicut to have a quarterly theoretical organ of the Party whose contents were to be made available in all the languages. The PB and the CC could not implement the decision. Similarly, it was decided to prepare study syllabus and run Party schools on behalf the centre. This decision also has remained unimplemented. When certain organisational steps were taken in most of the states in view of the critical political situation, the major decisions of the document on *Tasks on Party Organization* remained unimplemented in a large number of states. The PB and the CC could not constantly check whether the decisions were being executed.

A continuous organizational check-up has been lacking and this has been one of the major weaknesses of the CC's functioning.

STATE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Central Committee Resolution on *Tasks on Party Organization* has pointed out how deep are the inroads made by right opportunism and revisionism into the methods of our Party organization and how "during all these years not only our political line was revisionist but organizational practices and changes in our Party Constitution were also of a right revisionist character". "In our drive for a mass Party we have reduced the standard and quality of a Party member to that of a militant or a striker and reduced the Party organizational structure to one that is suited only for parliamentary activity, to one of a social-democratic variety".

We must keep in mind this legacy, this serious drawback in our Party, which has been persisting since we started reorganizing our Party on correct Marxist-Leninist line, after 1964 from our Calcutta Congress onwards. In spite of the severest repression and detention of about 1,200 leaders of our Party for eighteen months, and in spite of the short space of time which we had, about one year after we could correctly and elaborately pin down our mistakes in our CC resolution of November, 1967, *Tasks On Party Organisation*, our advance on Party organisation has been on correct lines and quite significant.

Even before our units seriously studied this document and tried to apply it to the concrete situation in their respective areas, our leadership at the centre, state and district levels had to concentrate all their attention to fight and root out the Left-adventurist line which a group of comrades persisted in advocating among the Party ranks, violating all norms of Party organization and discipline, in the course of our inner-Party discussion on "the differences on ideological issues in the international communist movement". In West Bengal, our whole Party was engaged from November 1967 in a big democratic struggle against the imposition of Dr. P. C. Ghosh puppet Ministry by the Governor, and to get a democratic non-Congress Government back through another verdict of the electorate. As such it had not been possible

for the Party leadership to give the necessary attention and guidance to Party units and take up this important task. All that we can say is that we have just started to take up this key task.

We have not received detailed reports' on the state of Party organization from the states. Hence the picture given below is based on the meagre information which we have at the centre. As such it cannot be comprehensive (but is merely illustrative) nor be as useful as it could have been to draw the necessary lessons fully for immediate guidance and practice.

I. Party Membership During 1964-68

1. Instability of Party Membership: The table in Appendix gives the Party membership statewise, at the time of the Seventh Party Congress in 1964; in 1967 before the Left-adventurist disruption; and now in 1968.

Our membership including candidates has come down from about 1,19,000 to about 82,000 in 1967 before the "Left" defections and now it stands at 76,425 of whom full Party members are 65,402 and candidates are 11,023.

One feature to be noted here is that the renewal of old members and recruitment of new members in 1966 were at its lowest. One of the reasons was that immediately after the release of comrades, we could not contact all Party members and get them renewed. But if we see the steep fall in Andhra (from about 30,000 to 16,000), in Kerala from 28,000 to 16,000, in U.P. from about 8,500 to 3,500 etc., it should be admitted that the quality and consciousness of our membership in the old united Party from whom we had rallied two-thirds of the total members against revisionism, was in a great number of cases no more than that of a militant and was not that of a communist. Neither in the united Party nor later when we reorganised our Party as CPI (Marxist) were we able to educate and develop those Party members who continued to be in our Party for years, into conscious communists. If only we had been conscious of the elementary and fundamental Party organizational principle that every

'militant' and 'striker' cannot be recruited as a Party member unless he is developed into a communist and had been more careful in recruiting and later in educating them, this pendulum-like swing in the membership of our Party could have been avoided. Certain districts in certain states, and especially in West Bengal, show a consistency that approaches the standards of normal Party membership recruitment.

But even in West Bengal, if we analyse the districtwise Party membership and candidate membership, and its ratio, we find a not very happy state of affairs. For example, in 24-Parganas, in 1967, PMs were 2,659 and candidates 1,195, total being 3,854. But by 1968, with all these candidates having become full members the Party membership excluding new candidates should have been 3,854, but it was only 3,398, i.e., a fall of 456 or about 12 per cent. We do not know whether and how much of this was from the candidates recruited or from the old membership. In Calcutta DC, it is 27 per cent, in Burdwan it is 19 per cent, in Howrah 21 per cent, in Hooghly 24 per cent, Midnapore 24 per cent, Birbhum 24 per cent, Bankura 18 per cent, Malda 17 per cent, West Dinajpur 12 per cent, Nadia 27 per cent, Jalpaiguri 34 per cent, Cooch Behar 37 per cent, Purulia 53 per cent and only in Darjeeling and Murshidabad it is 4 per cent each, and for the whole state it is 19 per cent. Except in 24-Parganas, the other four major districts, Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan show a drop of 20 to 25 per cent in renewal. It is a serious matter to be concerned with. We must probe why this is so and immediately take steps to overcome this serious drawback. (As we do not have figures for the rest of the states, we would like our State Committees to analyse their own figures. Similarly the District Committees must analyse the situation in the locals and in the branches.)

As for the percentage of Party membership who are active or who have pledged that they would strive to fulfil the minimum standards of a Party member there is no mention in any of the reports and as such, on the question of purging

the Party of inactive members or the efforts made by Party units to activate them, we cannot say anything leave alone drawing an all-India picture and drawing necessary conclusions and lessons.

2. *Left Defections* : The number of defections due to the Left adventurist line, we can place at about 7000 throughout India. Statewise figures are given in the table (see Appendix I) as well the number of defections among the delegates at Seventh Congress.

The biggest blow to the Party is in Andhra Pradesh. Out of about 16,000 members in 1967, 9,048 have renewed membership in our Party so far, and 380 are newly recruited as candidates. Out of the remaining 7,000 most vacillating and confused. We could not contact them, as most of these persons are in such districts and taluks where practically the whole district and taluk leadership had gone Left-adventurist. There is a great possibility of winning most of them into our Party as we go on contacting them and campaign and explain our line. At present, those who have definitely gone with the "ultras" number about 3,000.

In the leadership of our Party in Andhra, at the time of the State Plenum in January 1968, of about 233 present only 52 voted for the Central Committee's draft, 158 against and the remaining were neutral or absent. Even of those State Committee members, of 20 who were present only 4 voted for the CC draft, 4 remained neutral and the remaining voted against. Now the position is: of those Plenum delegates 100 are with us (of whom 11 old State Committee members are with us and 10 have been expelled). Of the major districts in Andhra Pradesh, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavary, Khammam, Warangal and Nalgonda, we have been able to retain 75 per cent of the membership in Nalgonda and Warangal; in West Godavari and Khammam 90 per cent; in Krishna 50 per cent and Guntur 35 per cent.

The "ultras" have not been able to consolidate themselves into an organised group on a statewide or even a districtwise basis. They are quarrelling about the political line and about

immediate action. The youth and student sections are for immediate action while the older leaders are advising them restraint. With some adventuristic isolated actions and some anarchist deeds, with the repression in full swing, many of the participants and suspected participants are surrendering to the Congress and to the police, revealing all their secrets. Some of their key persons have already become inactive or demoralised or have left politics. In Nellore, Vijayawada and Khammam town, and in some other places, they have degenerated into attacking our comrades, waylaying them individually.

It is the younger section which was looking towards our Party that has been for the time being diverted into wrong channels. And it is in Srikakulam district where the girijan movement was developing well that they have led it seriously astray. Further, they are providing an alibi by their tactics for the Congress Government to intensify their police brutalities, backing up and encouraging the landlord-goonda attacks in Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Because of this large-scale defection which the bourgeoisie goes on exaggerating day in and day out, a demoralising effect on the general public about the ability of the communist movement in Andhra Pradesh to lead the people is created.

Next to be noted is the defections in U.P. and Kashmir. In Uttar Pradesh, Shiv Kumar Misra was able to take away with him half the State Committee and half of the District Committee members, in major districts like Ballia, Azamgarh and Kanpur, and, on the whole, half of the Party membership.

In Jammu and Kashmir, our unit was confined mainly to Jammu. We could not keep in close contact with this unit. The leadership, especially the Central Committee member, Ram Pyara Saraf, taking an "ultra" position, was able to swing over the whole of the state leadership to his line. We have not been able to reorganise the unit there, because we are not yet in a position to send a trusted and capable comrade there. We have received reports which go to show that many of the Party members have started rethinking and repudiating the adventurist line.

In other states, the defections are negligible.

In our major states the defections do not exceed 2.5 per cent in West Bengal, Punjab 2 per cent; Tamil Nadu 3 per cent; Kerala 5 per cent.

But we must not be complacent. There are certain individuals and small sections in different states who still hold serious Left-deviationist views. The growing economic crisis and desperation and the mounting of more and more Government repression to suppress the mass struggles, are making a number of militant honest young members succumb to this pseudo-revolutionary line due to lack of Marxism-Leninism, and due to their inability to see the mass struggles as the effective means of fighting the present regime.

3. Composition and Structure of The Party: No state Committee has submitted any report about the following aspects of the Party :

A. Number of branches district-wise; number of Party members district-wise (full Party members, and Candidate members); number of women members; number of auxiliary groups and the total number of members, district-wise.

B. Age group of the members 18-35; 35-60 and over.

C. (i) Length of Party life: less than 2 years; 2-5 years; 5-10 years; 10-20 years; 20-30 years and over 30 years.

(ii) Length of jail or underground life.

D. (i) Educational level; illiterate (unable to read); up to 8th standard; SSLC and above and graduates.

(ii) Minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics studied. (The list given in the Appendix)

(iii) Party documents studied 1. Party Programme, 2. Ideological Resolution, Ideological Debate Summed Up, Letter to Andhra Comrades, 3. Party organs in English or in their respective mother-tongues.

E. The income groups among Party membership, families having income of less than Rs. 15 per head per month; Rs. 15 to Rs. 30; Rs. 30 to Rs. 60; Rs. 60 to Rs. 90; and over Rs. 90.

F. (i) Class origin and (ii) present occupation or present

class character. 1. worker, 2. agricultural labourer, 3. poor peasant, 4. middle peasant, 5. rich peasant, 6. landlord, 7. artisan, 8. intelligentsia, 9. small trader or small industrialist, 10. others.

G. District-wise Party organs sold. Number of copies of literature sold and the total amount of sale district-wise. Number of Party members and percentage of PMs participating in these sales.

H. (i) Party fund collected district-wise during the current year; number of people from whom it is collected number and percentage of Party members who went for collection.

(ii) Amount of levy fixed on Party members district-wise and how much realised.

(iii) Fund collected for mass organizations and for mass issues, district-wise. Number and percentage of Party members participating.

I. Number and percentage of Party members working in different class and mass organizations—trade unions, agricultural labourers, kisan, student, youth, women, volunteer corps and Party organization.

As such no report on these lines can be submitted to the Party Congress.

But on the basis of certain illustrative examples we may get a broad idea of the situation in the Party, in certain respects.

In West Godavary district of Andhra Pradesh, out of 900 members analysed, we got to know that they are organised in 117 branches, on an average of 7 members per branch. (2) 50 per cent of them are of the age group 18-35; the remaining 35-60 group. (3) 30 per cent have a Party life of less than five years; 20 per cent between 5-10 years; 36 per cent between 10-20 years and 14 per cent over 30 years. (4) Class origin of membership is in per cent workers 11, agricultural labourers 28, poor peasants 13, middle peasants 9, rich peasants 4, landlord 1, artisans 13, middle classes—intelligentsia 7, small traders 11.

This is an encouraging picture, with the younger age group constituting 50 per cent, 70 per cent having more than 5 years of Party life, class composition of the Party 65 per cent from the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections; middle peasant and middle classes being 30 per cent and from the upper section only 5 per cent.

In Tripura out of 2,092 members, 73 per cent are from the proletarian and semi-proletarian element (workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants and artisans); middle peasant and middle class to 19 per cent and from upper section 4 per cent

II. Party and the Mass Organisations

It has been narrated earlier in other parts of the report how our Party has been boldly leading mass struggles, working class, middle class and government employees, kisans, students, youth, how our influence has increased tremendously among various sections of the people. This is especially so in West Bengal and Kerala and in varying degrees in Tamil Nadu, Bihar and other states. There were series of big political campaigns and struggles as well. The slogans our Party has put forward, the tactics we pushed in conducting these struggles, the unity in action we were able to forge and the consequent political advance we made are also pointed out to the extent reports are available with us. Here we confine to one subject, how far our Party has been able to consolidate this tremendous mass influence into organizational form and politically develop the innumerable militants who have been thrown up in these struggles.

As the PB Circular "Prepare for 8th Party Congress" specifically stressed, this evaluation has to be done on the basis of how it got reflected :

"In the growth of mass organizations, agricultural labour associations, kisan organizations, trade unions (factory-wise, industry-wise, trade union membership in relation to the total number of workers in each establishment), youth, students, and women's organizations:

“In the growth of the unity in action on various mass issues and in the growth of suitable organizational structure for united action;

“In the growth of the Party.”

Detailed questionnaire and tables to sum up the results for trade unions, kisan, youth, student and women fronts are given.

But we have not yet got any information and cannot draw even a broad outline of the organizational position of our Party in the masses and mass organizations. We can give only illustrative examples.

1. In the Working Class

In West Bengal alone our Party unit has been able to develop the Rashtreya Samgram Samiti of different trade union organisations under the influence of different democratic political parties as well as several central organizations like Mercantile Employees' Federation, All-Bengal Teachers' Association, ABPTA (All-Bengal Primary Teachers' Association), State Transport Union, Kisan Sabha, etc., as a united organisation to conduct united struggles.

Similarly, the July 12 Committee has become a powerful platform of the united struggle of government and semi-government employees and of sections of the state employees.

The United Front of political parties has also become a front for mass struggles.

So, if any statewide struggle of workers, employees, peasants, teachers, students, youth and democratic forces against the atrocities and exploitation of the Congress Government is to be built up in West Bengal, a joint call given by the Rashtreya Samgram Samiti, the July 12 Committee and the U.F. obtains the maximum response.

There is a great increase in the unionization of the working class, as evidenced by 897 new unions with a total membership of 129,000 getting registered in 1967 as against 272 with 33,000 in 1966. Our Party influence in the trade union movement, in the united mass struggles front, and in the

BPTUC has become decisive. But what is the state of Party organization in these mass organizations?

The West Bengal State Conference reports give us certain details in certain factories.

Even from these available figures, we see that formation of auxiliary groups wherein all the militants are to be organised as a first step, contact kept to develop them, has not been taken up in all establishments except one or two, where also only a small percentage of active volunteers are grouped in auxiliary groups.

Volunteer organization exists only in two factories, nothing in the rest.

Sale of Party organs only in two factories, but in the rest not at all done; and even when it is taken up, it is very unsatisfactory. Whether any reading groups are organised, whether our own PMs sell, read Party organs and literature and conduct reading groups, nothing is known.

This is further pinpointed in the West Bengal report. It goes on to say :

“There are factories where although we have powerful unions, no Party units have developed.

“In the Dalhousie area, the strength of the Mercantile Federation and Employees’ Unions affiliated to it has increased over the last two years, but the Party’s strength has not increased substantially. Of 165 organizations, there are Party branches only in about 10.”

We wish such information about the Party’s position is given for all the factories, industries and areas, for the whole of West Bengal. We do not have any such information from any other state. But the position is no better and in fact in most other states is even worse.

The Tamil Nadu report also pinpoints certain similar defects in our trade union work :

“(i) Sectarianism continues in the trade union movement. This affects the outlook and practice as regards unity. We can see this in the demand in some places that without forming a rival trade union we cannot advance. As parties have become

different, mass organisations have to be different too is also a plea urged sometimes. Whenever our Party is subjected to severe anti-communist attack, the feeling comes that there is no way except by forming a rival union. Instead of patiently explaining with confidence in the workers that if they are given all the details they will see through their activities and will develop struggles to build unity, our comrades succumb to sectarian trends instead.

“Even now the trade unions under our leadership are functioning in the old way, on the basis of the wholetimer in that front or as an organization dependent substantially on that individual. There will be no trade union democracy. There will be no factory committees or departmental committees. The executive committee does not consciously take decisions. The recruitment of union members is the job of only a handful. It is rare indeed for all the workers being made to feel a sense of participation in trade union activity by every step being made known to all the workers and their consent taken or their suggestions invited before any action is taken.

“There is no selection of the best militants from the workers and giving them training to develop them as sympathisers for the Party and then as Party members. Party building and propagation of Party politics is absent. The practice is only to stand within the framework of economic demands. The workers do not get educated politically. In our method of work the collection of funds for the Party has also been given up in many places. When workers in any particular industry are engaged in a struggle, workers of other industries there or workers of that selfsame industry in other places extending fraternal support in some form or other is not done in any planned way even by unions under our leadership. However much the peasantry may be affected, the trade union nearby will not come forward to extend sympathy.

“So every Party member must judge his activity in the working class keeping the following questions always in mind :

“The Party and the trade unions : does every Party member

in a factory or in an industry work in that trade union; or are the Party units organised in factory or among the company employees only active on general issues, in their locality outside the eye of the employers. To every Party member, are quotas of enlisting trade union membership, collecting trade union or Party fund, distribution of and sale of Party literature, contacting a definite number of workers and having discussions to draw them into unions given and checked up how far they have been fulfilled? How many auxiliary units from the workers, factory-wise in that area have been formed? Any volunteer squad or squads formed? Party membership recruited? Do our trade union leaders take up the recruiting and education of Party members? Do they have regular political discussions conducted among general trade union members and workers among whom they work? Have Party fractions been formed in different trade unions and whether they meet regularly to decide on the steps they have to adopt in particular trade union meeting or other?

“We repeat again the Central Committee directive: ‘Trade union leaders must also be able to build the Party and function it in their respective working class sectors. The present division that trade union leaders are good on trade union problems and leading strikes but Party building is someone else’s—Party organiser’s—job, is to be done away with. Trade union leaders can and must become Party leaders and Party leaders can and must become the mass trade union leaders and working class leaders as well.’”

Now coming to Party fractions and sub-committees in the trade unions or in the working class organizations:

Even where fractions exist and function, they discuss only the trade union problems or working class economic issues that crop up. They do not discuss political issues, Party recruitment, Party education, etc.

At the all-India level, there is an insistent demand that more and more all-India fractions for various sections of the industrial workers and other sectors be formed, to co-ordinate and guide centrally all our Party units and comrades

in these organizations. In many of these mass organizations or fronts, there are some fractions constituted. But it must be accepted that quite a number of them are only in name, because we have no Party units in most of the states, in those sections, and even where we have some, we have not been able to allot cadre to be in constant touch with them and develop them. This has led to the failure of taking in time the necessary initiative or of guiding them on various issues facing the movement. This is leading to great disappointment and demoralisation.

We have not been able even to set up a functioning trade union sub-committee on all-India level. It is only individual PBMs who are forced to tackle and give guidance as issues crop up.

This situation has to be immediately remedied if any headway is to be made by our Party in the working class to implement the tasks enumerated for the trade union front.

One way out is to constitute all-India sub-committees for these various all-India fronts and the most active comrade from the strongest Party unit in that front be made secretary to function. Help him go round India, to be in touch with the Party members and militants in that particular front, and help to organise and develop Party branches in that front, in close cooperation with the State and District Committees. Ask the strong all-India mass organisations or our units to find the necessary financial resources. We must have a full time central trade union sub-committee to constantly guide various comrades.

2. Party in the Kisans

In our circular, we had suggested : "It is necessary even if it has not been done earlier, at least to broadly point out the state of agrarian relations in that area, (a) the differentiations among the peasantry; the percentage of landlords (capitalist or feudal landlords), the rich peasantry, the middle peasants, the poor peasants and agricultural labour and of the rural artisans; (b) the nature and extent of feudal

exploitation—sharecropping, moneylending, forced labour and other illegal extortions, caste and other social factors which intensify this exploitation, the domination of these various factors on the agrarian economy; (c) the demands of different sections of the rural masses (or of the peasantry); (d) the tactics of struggle to be followed, against which narrowest section we have to concentrate fighting, neutralizing which sections, winning over which sections, and basing and relying on whom—this is to be done concretely at least later on village-wise, Party branch-wise; for the present, broad indication and direction at least is to be given. This can be done by the experience of leading comrades, later to be corrected and full-fledged analysis on the basis of existing material (census reports, etc.), to be verified and corrected by detailed personal verification.”

Unfortunately, we have not received any detailed reports about such an analysis or about the efforts of most of our state and district units to make such an analysis of the agrarian situation in different socio-economic localities in their respective districts or tehsils (thanas).

The *West Bengal State Committee* report says: “After release of leading comrades in 1966, the Party seriously took up the task of organising the peasants and overcoming of weaknesses of this front. Step by step, our Party Committees began to realise that it is the task of the whole Party and not a few comrades only to build the kisan movement, that the kisan movement must be based on poor peasants and agricultural labour and that peasant unity must be built on that basis and also that peasantry must be rapidly politicalised....The subsequent CC document on *Tasks on Kisan Front* helped greatly in our understanding.

“The major point to be noted is that in this period we have started to make a break with the past and to base our kisan work on poor peasants and agricultural labourers. In some areas and districts our old kisan movement was based on sharecroppers, in others mainly on middle peasants. But in this period, in all areas, partly through conscious efforts

and partly through force of circumstances we have taken up the cause of the poor. Not that in all areas the amount of land distributed is large. In many places whatever land is distributed, it is scattered. But basing on these land struggles, the poor peasants in wide areas are becoming class conscious and are being organised. This shifting of base has naturally created some imbalance in the existing relation among different sections of peasants under our influence. Taking advantage of this the reactionary forces tried to alienate from us the middle peasants. But we generally took care to allay their fears and concentrate our movement against the big jotedars and hoarders. It would be too much to say that we have fully succeeded or that we have completed our orientation, but we have definitely made advance.

“The revival and reorientation of the kisan movement was reflected in the growth of kisan mass organisation. In 1964, membership was 68,000; in 1965, 100,500; in 1966 it rose to 115,000. It rose to 521,000 in 1967 which included about 140,000 enrolled by Dangeites. (The Dangeites have since then left the Kisan Sabha.) This year by April 30, 1968, i.e., within two months only, we enrolled 255,000 members. This increasing strength of the Kisan Sabha was reflected in the 19th State Conference which was attended by 676 delegates, 106 observers and 83 fraternal delegates (highest ever attendance). The composition of the delegation also markedly changed in favour of agricultural labourers and poor peasants reflecting the change in the organisation (Agricultural labour and poor peasants—319, and middle peasants 115.)

Tamil Nadu : The State Committee report says : “It is the Tanjore movement which occupies the central place in our kisan movement. That is primarily an agricultural labourers’ movement. The Central Committee has pointed out the need for giving prior attention to the agricultural labourers’ movement and organisation. On this basis the Tanjore movement has a strong rural proletarian base. But if only the Tanjore movement gets rid of two big defects then it can evolve into

a big political force. The movement will also acquire a completeness.

"*First*, this agricultural labourers' movement is confined only to the four eastern taluks of Tanjore district. It is only when it extends to the western taluks that it will have full strength. The recent conference of west Tanjore peasantry in Kumbakonam has been a good first step in this direction.

"*Secondly*, apart from the agricultural labourers we have not approached at all the middle peasants whom we have to win as a firm ally of the rural proletariat, even in the taluks where our movement is strong. If we take up their issues also and the agricultural labourers' movement comes forward firmly to support their demands as well, then our Tanjore movement will get tenfold strength. The leading role of the working class in the villages will also be patent through actual experience to the other sections of the peasantry. Without this change the Tanjore movement cannot register any advance.

"Steps have now been begun to remove both the above defects. This will certainly yield good results."

"On diverse issues some work or other has been carried on in other districts on the kisan front. Still it cannot be said that membership of the Kisan Sabha has grown and it has become a stronger organisation. In December 1967, a well conducted provincial kisan conference at Tiruvarur worked out the slogans. In January 1968, the all-India kisan conference was held at Madurai and gathered a big mobilization besides enthusing our provincial movement as well."

Kerala: The Kerala State Committee report gives a review of their campaigns on various issues. They held conventions from block level in the districts wherein 10,000 activists participated. They have decided to enlist about 300,000 members in the Kisan Sabha. They have strong organized agricultural labour organisation in Alleppey district and a developing organisation in North and South Wynad areas. Tremendous influence among agricultural labourers in Palghat district but very poor organization.

Punjab: "The agricultural workers are at all places struggling for increase in their wages and the jagirdars and rich peasants are trying to disrupt their movement by raising the question of jat and harijan. Comrades from the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana have paid some attention towards this rising movement. Campaigns for *nazul* lands, for *bet* lands and against evictions of *abadker* (virgin lands reclaimed) tenants; against eviction of peasants, in the name of sandbeds, etc., are also taken up in these districts as well as in Sangrur and Bhatinda."

In *Andhra Pradesh*, our work mainly among agricultural labourers and poor peasants in certain taluks of Guntur, Krishna, Godavari, Khammam, Nalgonda and Warangal, for the increase of daily wages, for wastelands and supply of foodgrains. Our whole Party leadership has been concentrating to develop our work on the basis of agricultural labourers and poor peasants in the rural areas.

In *Bihar*, it is in Champaran and Purnea districts, in two taluks each, that the struggle for forest cultivable land in the former and against evictions in the latter is going on.

In *U.P.*, it is only in Faizabad and Sultanpur that struggle for distribution of communal land marked for harijans but occupied by landlords is going on.

In *Maharashtra*, our kisan base is mainly in the Warli area.

In *Tripura*, our main base is among Tripura tribes, for zoom land and against forced levy from small and medium peasants.

In *Orissa*, it is in Balasore district and in a group of villages in Puri district that our movement exists.

In *Madhya Pradesh*, we have recently established contact with tribal people near Indore-Ujjain.

In *Rajasthan*, our work is mainly confined to certain taluks of Ganganagar, Sikar, Churu and Alwar districts.

In *Assam*, our base of influence is confined to certain taluks in Cachar district and to some very scattered small areas in three other districts.

This shows the extremely weak state of our work and

influence in the rural areas in most of the states. And even in those states where we are working and influential, many of the areas are too much scattered. Biggest weakness is our failure to build some contiguous movement, at least, covering areas having a population of about a million even.

Second weakness is our failure to develop kisan and agricultural labour movement to reach the important urban centres, either district or even taluk towns in most of the states.

Thirdly, the low level of ideological and political level of our cadres, say Branch Secretaries working in the rural areas. Recently from the analysis of 162 rural branch secretaries who attended a school in Andhra Pradesh, we find that not more than 25 per cent have read our own Party *Programme* and ideological documents and far fewer have read the rest of the Party documents. Those who have read the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics like (1) Communist Manifesto; Origin of Family; Socialism Scientific and Utopian; (2) Wage-Labour and Capital; Wages, Prices and Profit; Imperialism; (3) State and Revolution; Two Tactics; 'Left'-Wing Communism; (4) On National and Colonial Question; (5) On the Agrarian Question; (6) Foundations of Leninism; (7) History of CPSU (B); (8) Chinese Revolution and Chinese CP; (9) Dialectical and Historical Materialism; (10) History of International Communist Movement; are not even 10 per cent.

This political weakness is reflected in the meagre sale of Party organs and sale of Party literature in rural areas, if we take branch-wise.

So the urgent necessity is to train up rural Branch Secretaries at the first instance and help them to formulate the slogans and tactics in their villages to work among the peasant masses especially agricultural labour and poor peasants. We must see and help them to continuously read our Party organs and literature and equip themselves better and better.

3. Students and the Party

"The influence of our student organisation in West Bengal, has increased to a considerable extent. This is reflected in

the College Union elections. In 1964, the undivided SF obtained a majority in 42 out of 76 college unions. After the expulsions of the right revisionists and extremists, in 1966-67, we won 77 unions. This year (1968), up to now in about 110 college unions we have won 68, jointly as U.F. 6, Chattra Parihsad (Congress) 12; Right CP 4, extremists 6, Progressive Students' Union (RSP) 5; DSO (SUC) 5 and others 2. Our Students' Federation membership has increased from 10,000 in 1964 to 45,000 now and our student paper (*Chattra Sangram*) sells 4,000 copies. But Party leadership in many districts is not yet paying particular attention to and giving importance to the work among students.

"School students who number much more than college students are still paid very little attention by us and all reactionaries, particularly the Jana Sangh and RSS, are trying to penetrate them."

But the report does not give us the number of auxiliary groups and the total membership of these groups, nor the number of volunteers in each college and area, nor even the number of Party members; how many of our Party journals are being sold, amount of Party literature, reading groups, political maturity of our student groups, their fraction functioning. Just like in other fronts, we take it for granted that today because the students are responding to the call of our Party on many current economic and political issues, all are behind us. This is nothing but leaving it to spontaneity, instead of consciously bringing them into Party organisational structure and politically and ideologically developing them.

In Kerala, our Students' Federation has a membership of about 25,000, and Party and sympathisers' groups in a large number of colleges and high schools.

But our students have to continuously struggle against the disruptive and hostile activities of the Kerala Student Congress, etc.

In Tamil Nadu recently a provincial students' conference was held, a large number of militants rallied to this conference. We have to train them and build a functioning mass

students' union, while drawing in and closely working with students under the influence of other democratic parties.

In Andhra Pradesh, after the adventurist split, most of the student contacts have gone over to them, but gradually we are building our own cadre. The State Committee is planning to hold a school for 10 days for about 50-100 student sympathisers.

In Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan, students' conferences were held but no report is available about the present Party position. In Bihar and U.P., we had attracted a considerable number of students towards our Party but "Left" adventurists took away large chunks of them with them.

In Punjab, during the last four years, considerable numbers of students had come under our political influence. Since two years a students' organisation has been set up at the state level but "Left"-adventurists were able to take a section with them but the big majority has remained with us. Recently a students' school was run by the State Committee.

From the above, it can be seen that among the student masses, except in West Bengal and Kerala, we are not able to do much and in fact have lost ground compared to 1966 and 1967. The CC must take necessary steps to properly coordinate and develop the student movement.

4. Youth and Party

It is only in West Bengal and Kerala that our Party has taken up organisation of youth leagues seriously. In West Bengal, the Democratic Youth Federation has now a membership of 42,000, its state conference was attended by 1187 delegates and 955 observers. Its main base is in Calcutta and 24-Parganas with nearly 25,000 members, Howrah and Hooghly combined have about 5,000, the remaining districts having from 200 to 1000 members each. Rallies in support of Vietnam, in support of government employees' demands; fund collection for flood relief; special attention to the youth squads guarding the LIC House to prevent installation of computer for automation. It also sent squads and picketeers in support

of workers' struggles like in Texmaco and also in several struggles of peasants.

In Kerala, the Socialist Youth Federation has been formed. They took part in food agitation, struggle of October 23 and also in the agitation against automation and central government employees' strike. In all districts, youth committees are organised. About 25,000 have been enrolled.

In Kerala, a volunteer corps of about 30,000 including 2,500 women is being organised under our leadership. Every other party has also got its volunteer corps—the Muslim League 10,000; Jana Sangh 5,000; Congress Seva Dal number not known; Kerala Congress 3,000; Right CP 2,000; RSP 1,000. Our volunteers are being politically trained.

In other states, there are some scattered youth leagues organised at random in different places, but no consistent planned effort nor any report of their activity.

5. Women and the Party

In West Bengal, the membership of the Mahila Samity has increased from 18,000 in 1962 to 43,000. Right Communists and we are jointly working in this organisation. In the Council and in lower and local units, we are in majority but in the state executive we are equal. In whichever area or district, the Party Committee helps, the work in the women's organization is developing. We have not been able to activate working class women even in their trade union or on day-to-day problems, except during strikes in small numbers. Nor have we been able to draw in peasant women into activity. Most of the Party leaders and most of the ordinary members do not take an interest in building women's movement and organization, even to the extent they do in other organisations. We are bringing out a monthly women's paper, whose circulation is now about 4,000.

The neglect of work among women is reflected in women's Party membership, being about 500 in 16,000, i.e., 3 per cent.

In Kerala, our women have taken a leading role, in various struggles in the past. But in all the recent struggles led by our

Party women's participation was very minute. Just now work has been started to organise women. If Party committees try to send some women workers from trade unions and agricultural workers' unions, we can make it a success.

In the whole of India, the number of women Party membership would not exceed 750, i.e., about 1 per cent of our total membership.

From all these reviews, we can come to the conclusion that our links with our masses are weak. We depend on spontaneity and estimate the response which our slogans are evoking as all our stable strength. We are lagging in consolidating even the mass influence which we have into political and Party forms, leave alone further developing it higher and wider.

III. Party Education

Our Central Committee has given in its resolution as key task, "Begin by regrouping and activising Party members and cadres and educate them to discharge their tasks, on mass, political and organisational front."

It has also suggested that "there should be a short-term plan in which the schooling of the entire membership of the Party is to be covered. The period of such schooling in our opinion, should be 15 days minimum, if necessary divided into 2 or 3 convenient sessions". Subjects are also suggested. The Branch Secretaries' schooling was to be completed by June 1968.

The Central Committee has failed even to prepare a "well-prepared and uniform syllabus", apart from the long-range plan of producing suitable Party literature, pamphlets, booklets, etc. Some of the reasons for this failure are mentioned in the section on functioning of Party committees.

Yet let us briefly enumerate the efforts made by our Party to educate the Party membership and cadre by way of schools :

In Kerala, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad conducted 4-day schools on Party Programme in 1966, Comrade B. T. Ranadive took classes for three days for the trade union

cadre. In 1967 June-July Comrade P. Sundarayya in schools of four days explained Party policy and tasks on the basis of our CC resolutions and on the pending ideological issues. These schools covered nearly 500 leading cadres. Comrade M. Basavapunniah conducted a four-day students school in 1968 and later on that basis five student summer camps were conducted. Two schools for about 70 volunteer captains were conducted in August and September 1968.

In Tamil Nadu, it was mostly in the form of general body meetings for two or three days and in four-day schools that Party policy as well as ideological issues were explained. They covered most of our active Party membership.

In Andhra Pradesh, the State Committee conducted a school for students (175 attended) in 1966; in 1967 three schools were conducted in which 175 students, 20 teachers, 25 Party cadres and 135 youth joined. A school for women activists covering 97 persons was also conducted. All these schools were for seven days. It also conducted a training school for conducting political classes, 64 attended it and the school lasted for 11 days. The District Committees conducted schools for Branch Secretaries and activists covering about 500 persons. For conducting their schools, Pulla Reddy as Secretariat member was put in charge. He had utilised these schools to inculcate "Left"-deviationist theories. Pulla Reddy had to stop his syllabus "On the lessons of the international communist movement" as it went against Marxism. In all these schools only one side, the necessity of guarding from revisionist danger was stressed, but the danger of "Left-deviation which was its twin was not stressed. Hence as later events proved Pulla Reddy was able to mislead a large number of student and youth cadres who attended these schools.

Recently after the Left-adventurist elements defected from the Party, 190 Branch Secretaries from rural areas were schooled for 12 days. Comrade P. Sundarayya guided it.

In West Bengal, apart from general body meetings and 3 or 4 days' explanatory schools, a trade union school was conducted for the Asansol-Dhanbad area in Hindi

Comrades B. T. Ranadive and P. Ramamurti helped it. Some district schools were also organized.

For the Hindi-speaking region and Punjab a central school was held in 1967 in Delhi. Comrades B. T. Ranadive and P. Ramamurti and Surjeet conducted it. Similarly three days' schools in U.P. in three places and one in Punjab were organized and Coms. B. T. Ranadive and Surjeet helped them.

In Maharashtra, Comrade B. T. Ranadive conducted a school for 10 days, for 50 persons.

The experience of these schools shows that even our Branch Secretaries are to be carefully educated and trained. A large percentage of them have not been reading even our Party documents, nor our Party journals regularly. A much larger number of them have not read even the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics.

So urgent necessity is that the PB must (1) prepare a syllabus; (2) must suggest selections of basic Marxist-Leninist classics, say about a 1000 pages; and (3) take steps to see that all Branch Secretaries undergo this minimum schooling. In these schools conducted statewide or for a few districts clubbed together in a state, the district and state leaders are also to be asked to be present and help to coach up Branch Secretaries, how far the lessons are being followed; the concrete application of Party policies in their areas and fronts to be worked out. These leaders must also know the strength and weakness of their Branch Secretaries so that they can follow up the schools and help them further in their education and in their practice. Schools must be for kisan cadre, working class cadre, student, youth and women cadre held separately.

2. Party and Marxist Literature Published, Sold and Read

Apart from the schools, unless Party cadre and even Party members make it a habit to read Party documents, and also patiently and seriously take up the studying of Marxist-Leninist classics (minimum and most important), it is next to impossible to develop the necessary Marxist-Leninist cadre.

It is only West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab that are able to bring out practically all the CC documents from 1964. Karnataka did bring all the important ones. In Hindi the Party Centre assisted by the U.P. Committee has brought out all of them. But Maharashtra, Gujarat, Orissa, Assam, have not brought out most of the CC documents, (see Appendix II on Party documents published for details) In Urdu, Party Programme, Constitution and ideological documents have been brought out by the CC. The CC must bring out at least the most important documents in Urdu.

Similarly, CC must help to bring the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist selections in all languages. The CC and State Committees must see that these books are in constant supply, that every branch and as many members as possible get them and study them.

3. Party Organs

For a Marxist-Leninist party, Party organs are the means of educating the cadre and the people about the Party's ideological and political positions both in theory and practice. They are to help our Party units and members to carry on agitation and propaganda among the people. In fact they have to help our organisation-building as well. That is why the organisational principles of Communist Parties enjoin that the editors of the Party organs are to be carefully selected and to be approved by the next higher committee.

Unfortunately, due to the revisionist understanding that has been pervading for years, these concepts have been given the go-by. We have to re-establish them.

In fact, though our Party units are bringing out weeklies, *Chintha* (Kerala), *Theekadir* (Tamil), *Aikya Ranga* (Karnatak), *Prajasakti* (Andhra), *Desh Hitaishee* (Bengal) *Swadhinata* (Hindi) *Lok Lehar* (Punjab) and dailies *Deshabhimani* (Kerala) and *Ganasakti* (Bengal), our centre does not know how they are putting across the Party line. The State Committees do not send any reports about the political merits and weaknesses of the material appearing in these papers. That is one of the

reasons the centre could not do anything in case of *Jammu Sandesh* (Urdu) till the whole Kashmir state unit revolted and left the Party. (It was learnt later that it had been carrying on completely anti-CC line from September 1967).

Orissa, Assam, Gujarat are not now bringing out any Party organ even as monthlies. Maharashtra earlier used to bring out a weekly but was stopped and for the last four months, it is bringing out a fortnightly. The Karnataka weekly is a four-pager, crown size, and there is persistent demand that the size of the paper be increased.

Orissa brought out a weekly in 1965 but could not continue it. Similarly Assam used to bring out an 8-page weekly (circulation: 1500) but could not continue it.

From whatever little material available, it can be said that the circulation of our Party weeklies is far behind our Party's influence and strength as can be seen in the following figures: Kerala—5,000 (though daily with two editions sell about 25,000); Tamil Nadu—5000; Andhra Pradesh—4,500; West Bengal—27,500 (daily has circulation of 7500) Hindi and Urdu weeklies about 1,500 each (Bihar—1,000) U.P.—350, Rajasthan—100, Madhya Pradesh—150); Nepal-weekly in Darjeeling—1,700; Punjab—1,500; Karnataka—2,000.

If we analyse the district-wise or area-wise distribution the position is far worse. Take, for instance, in West Bengal where *Deshhitaishi* sells about 27,500 copies, if we exclude the five major districts of Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan, the total number of copies sold in the rest of the 11 districts is 3,220, varying from 150 to 500.

It means that our Party units and Party members do not take it as a serious political job to sell our Party papers and popularise widely our political policies. This is the picture in every state.

This lack of political seriousness is also reflected in that no lower unit or even members of the same State or Central Committee which are bringing out state journals or central

organs, send any criticism or suggestions for improving them.

People's Democracy : Coming to the central organs, *People's Democracy* has a circulation of 7,500, of which Calcutta takes about 4,040 and another 630 in the rest of West Bengal. So all other states take only 2,800 copies.

These circulation figures show we are not making efforts to reach the intelligentsia, in all universities and educational centres. If only copies are made available at these centres, the circulation could be far greater as is evidenced by Delhi sales of 290.

People's Democracy is now financially self-sufficient though up to September 1968, about Rs. 10,000 was paid to meet its deficit.

Swadhinata (Hindi weekly) : Its total circulation is 3,500 of which West Bengal takes about 1,600. The Hindi speaking region takes only about 1,700 copies—Bihar about 1,000, U.P. 350, M.P. 150, Rajasthan 100, Delhi and Haryana 50.

But *Swadhinata* has been incurring heavy loss. During the last 3½ years from June 1965 to the end of December 1968, CC had to subsidise it to the extent of about Rs. 46,000.

Swadhinata serves only Hindi-speaking people in Calcutta and to some extent Bihar. In the rest of the Hindi-speaking region, it is practically not being made use of.

Kisan-Mazdoor (Urdu weekly): Some of our friends have brought out this progressive Urdu weekly from Calcutta from May 1968. Its circulation now is about 2,000 of which 1,000 copies are sold in West Bengal and 250 copies in Bihar.

IV. Party Fund

The financial position of the Party at all levels is bad. Central Committee has to spend during the last four years Rs. 500,000 of which states contributed during 1964-68 about Rs. 100,000. The rest was raised by PBM contacting certain individual contacts and donors in the states from which they have come. But this kind of dependence on individual contacts is politically unsound and dangerous. Our finances have to be put on a stable basis at all levels.

The CC has been incurring a monthly expenditure of Rs. 12,500 including subsidies to the states and the Party organ *Swadhinata*.

The only ways to stabilize Party funds are:

(1) Every Party member must make it a point to pay his minimum levy. Unfortunately except in certain districts of West Bengal and in a few other areas in certain other states, and a few individuals, our Party has failed even to fix the amount of levy due from each member and unit, even though the CC made it compulsory as early as November 1967.

(2) Every Party member and Party branch must make it a habit and practice to approach every month, as large a number of persons as he can in his residential area, or in his place of work or vocation and start collecting Party fund. It is only this organised mass collection from greater and greater numbers of people that would lead to stability of our political influence and the Party finances. Individual contacting and donations will be only supplementary.

(3) Unless we make this fund collection a serious political job, we will not be having resources to maintain a larger and larger number of whole-timers or bring out the necessary Party literature and papers and agitational material or expand our Party activity.

Our Party must seriously plan and collect funds at various levels, and must insist on certain fixed amounts to be sent to higher units. The whole fund position is to be organised from higher committees to lower committees and not be left to each unit to collect and spend as they like and can.

V. Functioning of Party Committees at Various Levels and the Necessity of Promoting Cadres

We have lost quite a number of cadres at different levels some because of their right-revisionism in 1964 and some because of their "Left"-adventurist line in 1967-68. But at the same time, with our growing influence generally on an all-India level, especially in West Bengal and Kerala, and with various democratic sections throughout the country

looking to the CPI(M) to give them correct lead and guidance, we have to discharge heavy and increasing responsibilities.

We are unable to cope with these tasks and will not be able to do so in the future either (1) unless we streamline our Party organisation by removing inactive elements at various levels, especially in local, district and State Committees, and remove unnecessary layers of committees, (2) and unless we evolve a correct cadre policy, by selecting the best of existing cadre, promoting them to shoulder responsibilities at various levels, under the supervision and guidance of the older and experienced comrades and educating and training them for discharging these responsibilities. We require quite a large number of wholtime functionaries and we have to find the necessary finances to provide them with the minimum necessities.

How far this streamlining has been done in various states is not known. In Andhra Pradesh because of the large-scale defection of leading cadres due to "Left"-adventuristic deviation, in certain districts, Guntur, Nalgonda, two or three taluks are combined to form one local committee or intermediate committee (between branches and District Committees) and in certain districts District Committee members are required directly to look after the branches. For instance, in Krishna district with about 900 members a District Committee of 19 has been formed with three Secretariat members looking after general coordination and the remaining 16 members looking after 150 branches, each about 9 to 10 branches. If we do not have capable comrades who really can function as leading committee members, there is no use setting up committees. Yet in certain districts, there is still hesitancy in doing away with unnecessary intermediate committees.

If we do not have capable comrades who can function on their own at district level, coordinating the lower units, it is better not to have such intermediate committees but members of higher committees directly guide the branches, whenever necessary the higher committee members can call the

secretaries of a particular region which he is asked to look after, for quick explanation and implementation of the higher committee decisions and for necessary coordination, if any.

Another difficulty that still stands in the way of streamlining and forming necessary committees, simply keeping the needs of the movement and not on the basis of Government administrative lines is localism. "My taluk and my district" business persists.

More difficult than reducing redundant layers of Party committees is the removal of inactive members from the Local, District and State Committees. Knowing full well certain comrades are not only inactive and some even politically undesirable to be kept in the committees, we yet hesitate to drop them, for fear of creating heart-burning. Different State Committees' reports guardedly refer to this difficulty.

This hesitation to drop inactive members has resulted in some State and District Committees having big committees in spite of everybody agreeing that we should have smaller compact Party committees at various levels for effective functioning especially in the present developing political situation.

2. Lack of Cadre to Man the Functions at District, State and Central Level

But even if we have small compact committees which are capable of taking political and organisational decisions, and which could command confidence of the lower units and the Party cadre, still the multifarious responsibilities and functions that are to be discharged cannot be done only by the full members of District or State or Central Committees, even if most of them are available at the centre. This difficulty can be overcome only if we can get capable comrades to function the different centres, especially at State and Central Committee level, in various sub-committees. Even if they are not of the SCM or CCM level, it is enough if they are capable of discharging specific responsibility directly under the guidance of one or other SCM or CCM; we should get such cadre if we are to improve our functioning.

At the Central Committee level, though we have now a CC of 31 and PB of 9, actually the comrades available as full-time functionaries are only 4 PBMs, the remaining five are attached to Kerala, West Bengal or Punjab and Hindi regions. Though some of these PBMs discharge certain jobs on behalf of the PB, in so far as they go to help some neighbouring states or some other fronts part-time, it is an acknowledged fact that at central level for lack of cadre, we are not functioning the trade union, kisan, student sub-committees, nor are we able to organise education, preparing syllabus, organising write-ups and publishing necessary political and theoretical booklets on current problems, nor effectively produce our Party papers and agitational material, nor help different State Committees organisationally, nor are we able to plan national campaigns and see that they are implemented.

This is the case at the state levels as well.

Everybody agrees that this is the situation. But every one hesitates to take the only steps that offer themselves as solution.

That solution is to make new promising comrades secretaries of branches and allow the older experienced Branch Secretaries to become members of local committees. It is these local committee members that must educate, train and help the new Branch Secretaries.

Similarly, the experienced and developed Local or District Committee members or at least their secretaries must be removed from the formal secretary's post of the Local Committee or District Committee and promoted to District or State Committees. These comrades for quite a necessary time may stay in that local or district to help the new secretaries as DC organisers or SC organisers of the higher committee. But it is the entrusting of these routine and day-to-day responsibilities to newer and younger comrades whom it is absolutely necessary for the old comrades to train and develop, that will ultimately solve the problem.

The same process has to be undertaken by taking certain

PBMs and CCMs from their present SCs and drawing them as CC functionaries so as to solve this problem in the course of a year or two. But even if this first step of relieving the leading comrades from their formal positions and routine jobs in the existing District and State Committees is not taken, then nothing much can be done, till time and events force a solution. That is leaving things to spontaneity and not consciously building the Party.

We have also failed to evolve a proper cadre policy. We have not tried to understand and evaluate the cadre available at various levels, their strong points and weaknesses. Without this we cannot select and promote, nor even make an effort to educate them.

We must boldly promote the existing cadre if we mean discharging the responsibilities of carrying out the serious political and organisational tasks that are facing us.

Conclusion

After reviewing the weaknesses that still persist in our Party organization, which we have been striving hard to overcome during the last four years, so as to rebuild a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in India, let us also not forget our achievements. It is these successes that today give us confidence that our hard struggle for forging a Marxist-Leninist Party, the organised vanguard detachment of the working class, will triumph.

Life and events during the last four years demonstrate that the Programme policy and tactics that our Party had been pursuing are on sound Marxist-Leninist lines.

Our Party has upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and fought against the national chauvinistic storms that were let loose during the India-China border conflict and during the India-Pakistan war of 1965.

Our Party has been able to achieve greater ideological and political cohesion, fighting against the right-revisionist and subsequently against the "Left"-adventurist challenge. To appreciate the significance and importance of this

achievement, it is necessary to remember that the right-revisionists are backed by the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union while the "Left"-adventurist trends and groups are backed by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The unanimous, prompt and correct proletarian internationalist stand of our Party on Czechoslovakian events once again vindicated our stand on the issues that are dividing the world communist movement.

Our Party has been able to defeat the Congress Government's conspiracies to isolate it from the democratic force by evolving correct, tactical slogans, participating in innumerable mass struggles, and trying to forge unity in action, with all democratic parties and groups, on all economic and political issues confronting our people.

Our Party has evolved correct tactics of participating in the two United Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, and to demonstrate how to utilise this vantage position to give the people whatever limited benefits are possible, while at the same time helping the masses and democratic forces to develop the mass movement against the bourgeois-landlord set-up. Our Party has successfully demonstrated our principled stand by refusing to join the non-Congress Ministries, where the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the other reactionary parties participated in these non-Congress Ministries and demonstrated the bankruptcy of their programmes and tactics.

Our Party has worked out the mass line on the trade union and kisan fronts, analysed the weaknesses of the Party organization and outlined the steps to overcome it. After a thorough inner-Party discussion our Party has taken principled Marxist-Leninist positions on the ideological questions dividing the international communist movement.

Comrades, considerable though our achievements have been, we all know that without a Marxist-Leninist Party apparatus we will not be able to discharge our revolutionary responsibilities in the present period when big mass battles are looming ahead. You all know that our enemies are

conspiring against us and the voice of Indian reaction is being raised to attack and ban our Party. It was only four years ago that our Party had to face an attack on its very existence. We must therefore build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party which continues to give leadership to the mass struggles under all circumstances. That is why it is absolutely essential to carry out the directives given in the organisational resolution.

To fulfil our responsibilities, it is necessary for each of us, for the Party ranks as well as the Party leaders at all levels, to raise the level of their Marxist-Leninist understanding and consciousness. It is absolutely essential that the Central Committee regard the education of the cadre and the ranks as key task and decide to take immediate steps to implement it.

Comrades, we again emphasise that it is only by carrying out our responsibility on the mass fronts and Party front by carrying out the tasks enumerated in our three basic documents on trade union, kisan and Party organization that we can build a really Marxist-Leninist Party in India that can lead the fighting masses and develop their struggle successfully to defeat the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress and establish People's Democracy. Seeing the efforts and the eagerness with which our comrades are trying to carry out these tasks, we are fully confident that our Party will rapidly overcome these shortcomings and will be leading the revolutionary battles of our people to victory!

APPENDIX TO STATE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

TABLE—1

	State	Party membership in 1964 7th Party Congress		1967	1968 8th Party Congress		
		PMs	CMs	PMs & CMs	PMs	CMs	Total
1.	Kerala	18,558	9,580	16,000	16,269	4,643	20,912
2.	Andhra Pradesh	28,312	1,600	16,456	9,048	380	9,428
3.	Tamil Nadu	11,551	—	10,209	8,000	2,017	10,017
4.	Karnataka	1,700	—	1,200	1,194	—	1,194
5.	Orissa	1,125	—	800	498	43	541
6.	West Bengal	13,424	594	16,393	13,233	2,833	16,066
7.	Tripura	*2,500 (about)	—	2,100	2,092	—	2,092
8.	Assam	1,485	—	800	578	173	751
9.	Manipur	*300	—	200	200	—	200
10.	Bihar	2,698	—	3,119	2,882	—	2,882
11.	U P	9,263	—	4,056	2,461	634	3,095

Contd

Contd Table-1

State	Party membership in 1964 7th Party Congress		1967 Total PMs & CMs	1968 8th Party Congress		
	PMs	CMs		PMs	CMs	Total
12. M. Pradesh	700	—	540	486	—	486
13. Rajasthan	1,680	186	1,006	995	200	1,195
14. Delhi	500	100	400	250	—	250
15. Haryana	—	—	400	400	—	400
16. Punjab	6,668 (including Haryana)	—	4,875	4,000	100	4,100
17. Gujarat	242	10	250	250	—	250
18. Maharashtra	4,682	300	3,166	2,316	—	2,316
19. Goa	—	—	—	250	—	250
20. Jammu & Kashmir	925	—	700	—	—	—
	1,06,313	12,370	82,670	65,402	11,023	76,425

*Tripura & Manipur joined later after Party Congress

TABLE—2

S. No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjabi
1.	Party Programme	12500 (2500)	6500 (3rd ed.) (2700)	30000 (3rd ed.)	3000 (2nd ed.)	3000	6000	1000	1000	2200
2.	Party Constitution	3000	2000	5500	1500	3000	3000	—	1000	1100
3.	Fight Against Revisionism	3000	1100 (500)	—	2000	—	2000	2000	—	—
4.	Resolutions of 7th Congress	3000	2000	5000*	1000	1000	1000*	—	—	—
5.	Tenali Resolutions '66	2000*	*	*	*	*	1000*	—	—	—
6.	Election Review '67	2000 (300)	1100 (300)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.	New Situation & Tasks	4400	2200	10000	2000	1000	3000	2000	—	1100
8.	Tasks on Kisan Front	4000 (1500)	5500 (2500)	5000	2000	—	3000	2000	250 (Cylo)	1100
9.	Tasks on T.U. Front	5000 (1700)	2200 (500)	5200	1000	1000	4000	1000	1000	—
10.	Tasks on P. Org.	4000 (1000)	2200 (1100)	5200	1500	1000	3000	500	—	1100
11.	Resolution on Ideological Issues	4000*	4000* (2500)	5000	3000	*	9000	500	500 (Cylo)	1100

Contd

Contd Table—2

S. No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjab
12.	Our Differences with C.P.C.	4000* (3000)	4000* (2500)	5000*	1000	2000	2000	500	1000	1100
13.	On Left Deviation (Aug. 1967)	2200	2200 (600)	*	500	2000	3000	—	1000	—
14.	Ideological Debate Summed up	3000* (900)	*	*	*	500*	2000*	—	—	—
15.	Letter to Andhra Comrades	4400 (2000)	2200 (1850)	—	1000*	*	*	—	—	—
16.	Why Ultra-Left Deviation	3300 (2000)	—	5000	1500	—	3000	—	—	—
17.	Resolutions of CC (Jaipur)	2000* (1750)	*	10000*	*	*	2000*	—	—	—
18.	On National Integration	3000* (2500)	2200 (1700)	—	*	*	*	—	—	—
19.	Resolution to 8th Congress	1000*	—	11000*	*	1000	*	—	—	—
20	(a) Programme explained	2200*	*	*	*	1000	1000	—	—	—
	(b) Two Programmes	2200*	*	*	*	—	1000	—	1000	—

Contd....

Contd. Table—2

S No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjabi
21.	Central Election Manifesto	20000	15000	65000	10000	10000	10000	4000	—	—
22.	Repression in Andhra	5000	5000	*	25000	5000	3000	5000	—	5000

Figures in brackets are number of copies in stock.

* Published in party weeklies. Ideological debate summed up (P D Articles.)

In Gujrati : Party PROGRAMME (1000), NEW SITUATION AND TASKS, TASKS ON KISAN FRONT, IDEOLOGICAL RESOLUTION; OUR DIFFERENCES WITH CPC: have been brought out in short summaries 1000 copies each

In Assamese Party PROGRAMME, brought out, 1000 copies

In Oriya language, Party PROGRAMME, TASKS ON KISAN FRONT, 1000 copies each ELECTION MANIFESTO, 4000 copies.

In Urdu, PROGRAMME, CONSTITUTION, RESOLUTION OF 7TH CONGRESS, Ideological Resolution; 2000 copies each. ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION, and DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR 8TH CONGRESS, 3000 copies.

Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) held at Cochin, 23–29, 1968*

The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met at Cochin in Kerala on December 23, 1968.

At 11 a.m. on 23rd the proceedings of the Congress started with the hoisting of the Party's Red Flag by Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad.

Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary, proposed the Presidium to conduct the Congress consisting of Comrades B. T. Ranadive, Jyoti Basu, M. R. Venkataraman, Godavari Parulekar and Susheela Gopalan. The Congress approved this proposal.

Later Comrade A. K. Gopalan, Chairman of the Reception Committee made his welcome speech and the morning session which was open to the Press concluded.

The Polit Bureau acted as the Steering Committee on behalf of the Central Committee.

The resolution on martyrs and condolence resolutions were moved by Comrade B. T. Ranadive and the Congress delegates passed these resolutions standing in silence.

The afternoon session started at 3.30 p.m.

Comrade P. Sundarayya proposed a Credentials Committee consisting of Comrades, E. K. Nayanar, Saroj Mukherjee, K. Muthaiah, Uddaraju Ramam and P. K. Tandon which was approved by the delegates.

The delegates then adopted the agenda of the Congress proposed by the Central Committee which included the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, January 12, 1969

Political Resolution, Political-Organizational Report of the Central Committee, amendments to the Party Constitution and resolutions on current affairs, election of the Central Committee and the open session.

BTR Introduces Political-Organizational Report

Introducing the Political Organizational Report of the CC, Comrade B. T. Ranadive said, we are meeting four years after the 7th Congress. Recalling the prolonged struggle against revisionism conducted by the Party, he pointed out that the dominant feature of this struggle was that the struggle against revisionism going on for long in the Indian communist movement merged with the struggle against revisionism on an international scale.

We came to our standpoint on vital issues connected with the development and consolidation of the communist movement in India by the force of circumstances, by the application of our own understanding of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of the Indian revolution.

In this gradual evolution of our policy and programme we did not accept the diktat of this or that big party. We arrived at our correct understanding by our application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country.

The last four years have seen tremendous changes in the world situation. The most important aspect of this fast-changing situation is the growth and unprecedented depth of the crisis of capitalism on a world scale.

The tremendous victories scored by the Vietnamese people in this epic struggle against U.S. imperialism are a confirmation of the decline of world capitalism.

The historic struggle of the French proletariat again demonstrated the insoluble contradictions of capitalism.

Imperialism is losing ground on every front.

This is a graphic confirmation of the 1960 Statement of the international communist movement that socialism is becoming the decisive force in human history.

The fact has to be emphasized that despite the serious

revisionist mistakes and distortions, the communist movement is a mighty force.

Vitality of Our Movement

The history of our own Party has shown the vitality of our movement. Soon after we adopted our Programme at the 7th Congress, we were attacked by the ruling classes and they resorted to all sorts of subterfuges to suppress our Party. They called us agents of China, depicted us as traitors and what not.

But the acid test of the strength of our Party, its correct programme and policies came soon after—during the mid-term election in Kerala in 1965. The Kerala election results showed conclusively that the people had tremendous faith in us and we were returned as the single largest party in the State, the Congress with all its patriotic protestations trailing far behind. The Congress attempt to slander us and isolate us from the people and other democratic parties was defeated.

The attacks on our Party did not scare us, we continued to defend the proletarian banner on Indian soil. The test came again during the Indo-Pakistan war. We were not overwhelmed by chauvinism. Our comrades stood the test of internationalism while the revisionists who claimed monopoly of proletarian internationalism succumbed to the worst kind of chauvinistic frenzy.

After our leaders' release in 1966, what was the task of the C.C.? The Programme had correctly analysed the class character of the Indian state and come to generalized understanding of the perspective of Indian revolution. But the transitional tactics had to be worked out.

The electoral struggle of 1967 came in the wake of the mightiest class struggles in the history of our country.

Elections—A Rallying Point

We decided to make the elections a rallying point for our entire programme. We did not shirk the issues for the sake of votes. Issues like India-China conflict and Indo-Pakistan

conflict were put squarely before the people. Our aim was not just to win a few votes. We wanted to rouse the political consciousness of our people on all the important all-India questions.

In April 1967, the C.C. met and analysed the situation. The C.C.'s attention was not diverted by the success in the two States, it pointed out that the deepening economic crisis was fast developing into a political crisis. We gave the slogan of utilizing the State Governments of West Bengal and Kerala as instruments of struggle, against the bourgeois-landlord-dominated Central Government.

We saw to it that except in West Bengal and Kerala we did not join the Ministries even though we were offered seats in the Ministries.

Even while we were fighting the electoral battle, we came out with two basic documents on our tasks on the kisan and the trade union fronts.

These documents nailed down the revisionist mistakes and approaches in our work in these vital sectors of mass activity.

New Serious Problems

However, soon we were faced with fresh problems of a more serious nature—the continuing struggle against revisionism and the newly-emerging threat of left-sectarian disruption.

We nailed down the revisionist lies. We said that revolution was possible only under the leadership of the working class.

The Indian state is a bourgeois-landlord state under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, which was collaborating with imperialism. The revisionist understanding did not concede that the landlords are a component part along with the bourgeoisie in the state while they underplayed the imperialist threat. In fact, the collaboration with imperialism by the bourgeoisie was not a factor in their programme.

Now, of course, they say that National Democracy cannot be established without overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

The revisionists said main danger was the Jana Sangh and Swatantra. But soon after the elections, they joined with the Jana Sangh to form Ministries.

Their main enemy is, of course, the CPI(M).

They are now accusing that it is our policies that led to the adventuristic actions in Tellicherry and Pulpalli and as such organizing defence committees for those arrested in connection with these incidents.

The fight against revisionism has reached a stage when even their own ranks are seeing the bankruptcy of the revisionist line.

The revisionists have dropped the banner of proletarian internationalism as evidenced by their stand on Indo-Pakistan, Indo-China, Kutch, etc., issues.

Wrong Line of CPC

While fighting this revisionism, the Burdwan Plenum of our Party had to take note of the wrong approach of the Communist Party of China to many current international problems and warn Party members against the wrong line being advocated by the CPC.

At the time of the adoption of the Party Programme itself, we had rejected the line of struggle against imperialism being raised to the position of ignoring the bourgeois-landlord character of the state and the formation of a National United Front. We did not subscribe to the formulation that the Indian state was a stooge of imperialism.

As far back as 1965 some CC and PB members had begun to feel that there was something wrong about the stand of the CPC on some questions. We decided to settle accounts with the left-sectarian tendencies in our Party, though backed by the Chinese Party, as far as vital ideological problems and the problems of the Indian revolution were concerned.

At the Burdwan Plenum, some of the delegates asked us to swear by Maoism, that thought of Mao is Marxism-Leninism of present epoch. We said no, we will independently apply Marxism-Leninism to our own concrete conditions.

Socialist relations of production do not change its basic character merely because of revisionist leadership. Our demarcation was fully justified by later events in Czechoslovakia.

The CPC attacking our Party as neo-revisionist and agent of the bourgeoisie, praises the adventurist actions in Pulpalli and Tellicherry.

It is the experience of our own Party that while fighting one deviation, we land ourselves in another.

Their whole approach is reliance on spontaneity.

The left sectarians are attacking us that we are creating parliamentary illusions among people!

They attack the concept of united fronts, of mass movements, the partial struggles, strikes etc.

Madurai draft itself had warned—these theories will lead to a select band of people going to struggle without masses, without organization.

From Kanu Sanyal to Kunnikkal Narayanan, the main target is the CPI(M).

Disruption is caused not because either the revisionists or the sectarians draw upon the prestige of either the Soviet party or the Chinese party to back up their bankrupt theories.

So far as Marxism-Leninism is concerned both left and right deviations are equally dangerous.

M.B. Introduces Political Resolution

Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah introduced the Political Resolution.

He pointed out that there was nothing entirely new in the political resolution. Party Congresses consolidated results already achieved and generalized past experiences to show the way forward. Even then, there is something new in the resolution.

The 7th Congress adopted our Programme. Revisionist understanding permeated all our work, our analysis, our approach to mass movement and problems. We settled

accounts with revisionism. In the period since the 7th Party Congress we concentrated on liquidating the legacies of revisionism. Four main issues were tackled: (1) Our tasks on Kisan Front; (2) Tasks on Trade Union Front; (3) Organizational problems; and (4) Ideological questions.

The present resolution incorporates all the understandings reached during the last four years and highlights what is new.

At the time we adopted the New Situation and the Party's Tasks in April 1967, the main question in the international situation was the question of the orientation of the national liberation movement as the centre of all world contradictions.

The Challenge

Subsequently, there arose the challenge: The line of national liberation movement alone liquidating imperialism—to the exclusion of the important role of the socialist camp, of the working class in the imperialist countries.

Life has shown that contradictions do not remain static.

The Burdwan Plenum refuted the thesis erroneously put forward by Nagi Reddy, etc. (supported by some Chinese statements).

The contradiction between the monopoly capital and French working class came to a head suddenly—with surprising force. The peace marches in America, etc., showed the same thing.

The resolution draws the attention of the entire Party to the erroneous conclusion that the working class movement in the metropolitan countries is to be written off.

All the four basic contradictions on the international scene noted by the New Situation and the Party's Tasks have intensified.

The contradiction between world socialism and imperialism cannot be suppressed for all time to come, despite the existence of revisionist leaderships in many socialist countries. This is to deny the very existence of this very fundamental contradiction. We cannot accept that only China and

Albania are in the socialist camp. We do not subscribe to the theory that there is no world socialist camp and only China and one or two other countries are socialist and the rest including the Soviet Union had ceased to be socialist. We adopted the principle of unity in action to strengthen the socialist camp. One thing is clear—despite the disunity in the socialist camp, distortions of socialism, etc., the socialist camp exists. We do not consider Yugoslavia as part of the socialist camp.

Economic Crisis

Fresh facts and figures have been given to bring the understanding about the crisis up-to-date. Revisionists and bourgeois economists have been questioning the theory of crisis. No crisis, they say, only recession, which can be met with some adjustment in trade, monetary and investment policies, etc. But our Programme is clear: In the third stage of the crisis of capitalism, no capitalist development is possible. During the last four years, life has demonstrated that the crisis is inherent in the capitalist path of development, in the delayed democratic revolution.

Facts marshalled by even bourgeois theoreticians and economists like Gunnar Myrdal have confirmed our analysis.

The capitalist system as a system is coming to the end of its tether.

The crisis has reached a new high.

As early as the Nurmahal meeting of our C.C. (November 1966) we indicated the emerging political crisis. The fact that we are not in a position to utilize the developing political crisis does not mean that the crisis is the less for that. It is becoming deeper.

Centre-State Relations

Centre-State relations are worsening. In this there is one aspect about the distribution of resources. We have to concretely examine how far the resistance of the State Governments to tax the landlords, etc., is to be attributed to the resistance of the landlord class.

We have to study the phenomenon of Centre-State relations more thoroughly.

The contradictions in the position of the bourgeois parties—on the one side they call for intensifying conflict with Pakistan and China and on the other call for higher wages for Government employees and more development.

This indicates that our Programme is the only programme which is consistent. Our Programme stood the challenge of practice.

Our stand on minorities is appreciated by many people.

The bourgeoisie know that no military settlement is possible in either the Indo-Pak or the India-China conflict. But they have not the moral courage to state what is obvious.

A mighty party like the Chinese Communist Party is bombarding us with the propaganda that so many armed struggles in India are going on. They say we are neo-revisionists.

The left sectarians see every political crisis as a revolutionary crisis. We anticipated this infantilism. Our slogan is: Orientate towards what is developing. Tactics should not be confused with perspective. We should be warned: A single mistake will cost us a generation. The bourgeoisie want to destroy our Party. The deliberate game of the bourgeoisie has to be defeated.

One thing has to be emphasized. A great mass upsurge is on. If we cannot lead it, some people may mislead it. But nobody can prevent it. To meet the situation, the ruling classes are arming themselves with all powers to launch an offensive against the people's movement.

Pivotal Task : Build the Party

Of all the tasks facing us, the central pivotal task is: Build the Party.

Our Party had to face a unique situation, unlike any other party in the world. We had to stand up to denunciations from both the Soviet Union and China. It is a painful experience. But this experience is also rich. In these four years

we have succeeded in evolving a political line. But the Party organizational tasks still remain to be fulfilled.

We are still far from being a Bolshevik Party.

The gap between evolving theoretically a correct political line and the implementation of the line in every respect has to be bridged.

Neither our Party nor any democratic party by itself can at present solve the most pressing problems facing us. We are still weak in the country as a whole. We cannot on our own mount an onslaught on the citadel of the bourgeoisie.

The ruling classes' drive towards a police state has to be halted. The threat of American neo-colonialism facing our country has to be met.

Let us, therefore, move forward to build united action against these twin dangers looming ahead on the political horizon, in defence of the interests of the working people.

After a discussion lasting nearly thirty hours, the delegates' session of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) adopted the Political Resolution with a few amendments; in the evening of December 26

Apart from the two members of the Polit Bureau, Comrades B. T. Ranadive and M. Basavapunnaiah, forty-nine delegates spoke during the discussion of the resolution—eleven from Kerala, nine from West Bengal, five from Tamilnadu, four each from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, three from Andhra Pradesh, two each from Punjab, Assam and Karnataka and one each from Goa, Orissa, Tripura, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujrat. Of the 49 speakers, eight were members of Central Committee—S. Y. Kolhatkar, S. S. Shrivastava, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, E. K. Nayanar, M. Hanumantha Rao, Harekrishna Konar, Mohan Punamiya and A. Balasubramaniam.

The Debate

Niren Ghosh (West Bengal) spoke on the situation in West Bengal with special reference to the working class movement. He pointed out to the great strides made by the Party

in organizing, politically educating and leading the workers into action. However, there is a big division among workers—between the Hindusthani-speaking and other sections of working class. This weakness has to be overcome. The class-consciousness of the working class is still in an elementary stage and intense political and ideological education needs to be conducted. The peasant movement has to be developed.

Bharathi Mohan (Tamilnadu), a leader of the agricultural labour movement of Tanjore, spoke of the experiences of the agricultural labour movement and the struggles that are taking place now in that district.

Gerald Pereira (Goa) explained the advance made by the Party in Goa, especially among the working class.

S. Y. Kolhatkar (Maharashtra) gave a graphic description of the serious crisis gripping the industries in Maharashtra. Twentyfive per cent of the industrial capital is invested in Maharashtra and there is a big working class population, but unity in action has not been achieved yet.

Despite the apparent supremacy of the Congress, political crisis in the State was maturing.

The struggle of the Warli adivasis for land had been crowned with success, the Government being forced to recognize their possession of about 20000 acres of land.

K. G. Bose (West Bengal) spoke about the movement of State and Central Government employees and explained the Party's stand on the recent Central Government employees' strike. The deepening economic crisis was forcing more and more middle-class employees to the path of struggle in defence of their vital interests. The Party has to take increasing interest in these struggles, he said.

Balanandan (Kerala) said the economic position of Kerala was very bad. Traditional sweated industries employing lakhs of workers, like the Coir, Cashew, Handloom and Bidi industries were in crisis. The position was better in the organized industries. Since the U.F. Government took over, there had been a spectacular increase in working class actions for better wages and working conditions and many sections of workers

had gained some benefit. In the organized industries, the wage increase has been on the average 25 per cent depending on the nature of the industry, the workers had gained anything between Rs. 25 to Rs. 80 per month. The basic policy of the U.F. Government of not allowing the police to interfere on the side of the employers in labour disputes had helped the working people in a big way.

Similarly, in the State services, substantial increase had been granted in the emoluments of all sections. State transport, PWD, Non-Muster Roll, Electricity Board—employees in all these departments had gained. True, some officials, especially, police officers, flouted Government's policy on one pretext or another and resorted to arrests, etc. of workers in struggle, and in some cases the Government had also taken action against such police officers.

Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri (Punjab) pointed out that the Congress in Punjab was in a first class crisis. The Jana Sangh was also losing their hold with the young people getting radicalized as was seen in the recent student struggles. He stressed the need to base the Party's work on the agricultural workers and poor peasantry. He also pointed out to the splitting activities of the Right Communists in the working class.

Ramanand Singh (Bihar) said that unless social problems are properly understood, we cannot advance our movement. He illustrated this with the question of harijans, tribals, minorities and language problems.

B. B. Nayar (Kerala) spoke on the movement of agricultural labour in Kuttanad in Alleppey district and in Palghat district. The CPI(M) in Kerala was from the beginning mainly based on agricultural labour. He narrated the victories won by the agricultural labourers through the recent struggles. In Kuttanad, they had been able to enforce a 6-hour working day and better wages.

The influence of obscurantism and religious superstitions are still strong among the poorer people even though they follow the red flag politically.

B. Narasimha Reddy (Andhra) said that the general way

of analysis in political resolution has not taken into consideration the uneven nature of the development. Continuous clashes are taking place between our forces and the forces of the enemy classes helped by police. This is the case in Telangana area. We have to find out how we can defend ourselves against the combined attacks of the landlords, goondas and police, who are all armed.

Nirupama Chatterjee (West Bengal) pointed out that the consequences of uneven development of political consciousness of different regions have to be faced and rectified. She emphasized the role of women in kisan struggles and demanded that the wives of Party members should be organized and mobilized for political action.

Ravi Sinha (UP) emphasized the weakness of the communist movement in the Hindustani-speaking areas of India.

Surya Narayana Rao (Karnataka) said that even though our Party in Karnataka is weak, in South Kanara our volunteers defended the minorities during communal riots.

Kunhikanan (Kerala) described the strike of 3,00,000 plantation labourers and in Gwalior Rayon at Mavur.

Swarajyam (Andhra) in her passionate speech said that without the Party, without mass movements, kisan movements, etc., the women's movement cannot flourish. In the Telangana struggle, thousands of women were active. Land problem should be tackled seriously.

She narrated the story of the women of a village in Telangana recently, who defended themselves against the attack of the landlords and his goondas who had come armed.

E. K. Nayanar (Kerala) explaining the work of the U.F. Government said on the whole the record of the U.F. Government was creditable. Every section of workers had gained. This would have been impossible but for the existence of U.F. Government. Innumerable struggles of all sections of toiling people had taken place. Evictions had been completely stopped. The Land Reforms Act was being amended. The Universities Bill, Panchayat Bill, Debt Relief Bill, were all measures of far-reaching significance. Agricultural labourers

had gained big increase in wages. The police had not helped the landlords as in the past. The toiling people in the State had gained a measure of self-confidence and dignity which they did not enjoy earlier.

Sivaji Patnaik (Orissa) said the Swatantra Government was pursuing the same class policies as the Congress in every field—agrarian, food, labour and police etc.

Bhanu Ghose (Tripura) said that the leaders of the Party including Dasharath Deb Burman, member of the Central Committee were in jail for four years since 1962. Repression by the police and Border Security Forces on the population was continuing. The Government was trying to drive away the tribals from the land in the name of rehabilitating the East Bengal refugees and thus creating a rift between the Bengali and tribal people. The Party resisted successfully this Government attempt.

M. Hanumantha Rao (Andhra) said all comrades in Andhra were in agreement on the Resolution. The key task was building the Party. The Party's transmission belts are the mass organizations. In this connection he said that the impression that the Party in Andhra was completely paralysed by defections was wrong. The traditional strongholds of the Party in Andhra are still with the Party. Defections are very grave, no doubt. But the Party has been able to survive and regroup its forces. In 1967, the Party's membership was 16,000. After the extremists' revolt, the Party retained 9048 members. Out of the remaining 7,000 an over-whelming majority of the comrades are coming over to us as we go on contacting and explaining to them.

Referring to the land problem, he said that in 500 villages, over one lakh acres of *banjar* land had been occupied by harijans and landless labour. Recently, the Government had tried to auction fertile lands occupied by landless labour which was prevented by them under the leadership of the Party.

The intensity and savagery of landlord, goonda and police repression in Andhra is on the increase. However, agricultural

labour struggles are breaking out everywhere. 4,000 people are facing security cases.

Chandi Prasad (Bihar) invited attention to the special problems of Bihar. Chhotanagpur division is the centre of heavy industries. Tata Steel, Heavy Engineering Corporation, coal-mines, iron-ore mines are located in this area. It is also a tribal area. Our Party is quite weak there traditionally. All reactionary forces are concentrating in the area. There are 4,00,000 industrial workers in this area alone. The adivasis are being exploited by the landlords and traders and are being pushed out of their lands.

Manoranjan Roy (West Bengal) narrated the experience of the trade union movements in West Bengal. The formation of Rashtriya Sangram Samiti of trade unions had helped a great deal in achieving working class unity in action and politicalization of the workers. The Party was aware of the limitations of the U.F. Government and hence asked the workers to continue to struggle for their demands. The Party asked the workers to stand on the side of the peasantry. In the BPTUC conference, the main slogan was worker-peasant alliance. Workers are now coming in support of office employees, like LIC.

Nallasivam (Tamilnadu) referred to the textile crisis and said 20,000 textile workers were unemployed for the last two years. The engineering industry was in crisis. The handloom industry was in crisis. All this showed the bankruptcy of the policy of attempting to industrialize the country on capitalist lines. Because of mechanization of the tanning industry, thousands of workers had been retrenched. The DMK Government was failing to face up to the problems created by the economic crisis, he said.

Satyanarain Tewari (U.P.) said that in Banares Hindu University there was a new pattern on attack to root out physically the progressive forces among the students. RSS, goondas, police, CIA and even University authorities joined together in this gang-up.

P. K. Chathunny Master (Kerala) stressed the need for

revolutionary vigilance against counter-revolutionary activity. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the Central Intelligence, enemy agents are all active in the educational, political and every other sphere.

He explained the salient features of the new Bill to amend the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act. The important thing is that the day the Act comes into force, landlordism will be extinguished in Kerala and tenants will become owners of the land they cultivate.

Kesto Ghosh (West Bengal) pointed out to the unprecedented scope for developing the mass movement and class struggle. The crux of the problem is to build up the mass movement. Relating the experience in West Bengal, he said the working class and peasantry were being won over to the banner of the Party. He said that the Party must create an independent mass base for itself.

Hare Krishna Konar (West Bengal) said that in the period since the 7th Congress there has been a consolidation of the gains of the Party. But serious shortcomings and weaknesses were there in the Party's work.

He said in the period of the deepening crisis and ruling class offensive, simple mass struggles were not enough. Politicization of the masses had to be achieved.

Govinda Pillai (Kerala) said that one of the greatest menaces to the building of united action was the Right Communists.

Others who spoke during the discussions were Biren Bose, Kali Banerjee, Subhas Chakrabarti, (West Bengal). M. V. Raghavan, Ramana Rai, C. K. Susheela, A.V. Aryan, Patyam Gopalan and Ramchandra Pillai (Kerala), Krishnappa (Karnataka), Ramanand Singh, Chandi Prasad and Krishna Kant (Bihar), Ram Asrey and P. K. Tandon (Uttar Pradesh), Nandeswar Talukdar and Biresh Misra (Assam), Gyan Singh (Haryana), and Motilal Sharma (Madhya Pradesh) V. P. Chintan and Varadarajan (Tamilnadu) and Chiman Mehta (Gujarat).

The New Central Committee of CPI(M)*

Elected by the Eighth Congress at Cochin,
December 23–29, 1968.

The Eighth Party Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) unanimously elected a 28 member Central Committee. The names of the Central Committee members are :

1. Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad;
2. Comrade P. Sundarayya;
3. Comrade B. T. Ranadive;
4. Comrade M. Basavapunnaiiah;
5. Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad;
6. Comrade Promod Dasgupta;
7. Comrade Jyoti Basu;
8. Comrade P. Ramamurti;
9. Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet;
10. Comrade A. K. Gopalan;
11. Comrade C. H. Kanaran;
12. Comrade E. K. Nayanar;
13. Comrade Harekrishna Konar;
14. Comrade Samar Mukherjee;
15. Comrade M. R. Venkataraman;
16. Comrade A. Balasubramaniam;
17. Comrade Satwant Singh;
18. Comrade Achintya Bhattacharya;
19. Comrade Dasarath Deb;
20. Comrade M. Hanumantha Rao;
21. Comrade N. Prasada Rao;

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, January 19, 1969

22. Comrade Siabar Sharan Srivastava;
23. Comrade Mohan Punamia;
24. Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari;
25. Comrade S. Y. Kolhatkar;
26. Comrade Godavari Parulekar;
27. Comrade Ram Das; and,
28. Comrade Des Raj Chadha.

The Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade P. Sundarayya as its General Secretary.

A Historic Rally at the Open Session of the Eighth Congress of CPI(M) at Cochin on December 29, 1968*

It was a fitting finale to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The week-long deliberations of the Congress—the seriousness with which the problems of the people and the country were discussed and the unanimity with which all decisions were taken—had to rightly conclude with the massive show of love and respect for the Party which was seen in Cochin on December 29, 1968.

We had been told that the open rally of the Congress would be a huge one. But neither we nor those who told us this were prepared for what actually took place.

The demonstration was scheduled to begin at 3 p.m. but the town of Ernakulam was in the grip of the demonstration from early morning itself. Vietnam-Nagar was the scheduled venue of the rally, as it turned out, the rally overflowed into the whole town.

The Biggest Ever

Every newspaper—friend and foe—conceded it was the biggest ever demonstration and rally organized by any political party in Kerala. How many people came? Modest estimates put two lakhs as marching in the demonstration and five lakhs as present in and outside Vietnam-Nagar. Even for the CPI(M) which has held some of the biggest rallies in the State in the past, this was something unprecedented. Even

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, January 12, 1969.

more important than the numbers was the way the people demonstrated their oneness with the Party.

Throughout the day buses and trucks, jeeps and cars, flying Red Flags and banners carrying slogan shouting people flowed into Ernakulam from the north and the south—from all districts of the State. It was not only in Ernakulam that the slogans of the Party were heard that day; from one end of the State to the other, people listened to these slogans as these vehicles passed the hamlets and towns.

Jam-Happy Crowd

These vehicles brought trained volunteers of the Party and its members and workers from every corner of Kerala. The flow began early in the morning when a dozen buses from Kozhikode entered the town and buses and cars, trucks and jeeps were still coming in much after 4 p.m. when the demonstration had already begun. By midday all the roads were jammed with these vehicles and by 3 p.m. all private cars and buses were off the roads. Those who reached the town after three—and there were many—could not reach the place from which the procession began and they had to park their vehicles and join those who had lined the roads to watch the historic demonstration.

How many of these vehicles had come? None had any idea, not even the leaders of the District Committees. We saw from the banners that they had come from all the districts, from practically all the mandals and many of the Party Branches had brought more than one bus.

Sea Turned Red

While the highway from the south and the north was thus getting jammed, people were watching another inspiring and colourful scene elsewhere. What the people of the area call the Cochin Sea, they called the Red Sea that day. Watching from the shore we could see in all directions Red Flags and banners fluttering over the placid backwaters from hundreds and hundreds of boats—motor boats and ordinary row-boats.

big and small. They were bringing people from the islands around the town and from more distant places like Alleppey. As they came nearer the thunderous slogans of '*Inquilab Zindabad*' and '*CPI(M) Zindabad*' floated over the waters towards us.

Who Were These People?

Who came in these buses and trucks, jeeps, cars and boats? There were the uniformed volunteers of the Party—men and women—there were Party workers and then there were huge numbers of the ordinary people who look upon the CPI(M) as their own party. And the huge majority of them were agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants, beedi and factory workers. In the twelve buses which had come from Palghat Mandalam, for instance, 55 per cent were agricultural labourers. They told us they could not dream of this a year ago. But this year because the Government amended the Minimum Wages Act and because of their own struggles, they had got substantial increase in their wages and for the first time they had money to pay the bus-fare for the long journey to fulfil their cherished desire of participating in a demonstration of the Party. Similarly from Kuttanad came agricultural workers straight from the battlefields where they were facing the private goonda army of some of the notorious landlords.

People and People and People

The demonstration could begin only a little after 4 p.m. and that, too, after deciding not to wait for all the people who were still coming in from far-off places. When the last man in the procession entered Vietnam-Nagar it was 11 p.m. For seven hours they marched—serried ranks after serried ranks, shouting slogans, singing songs, clapping and cheering. Right from the starting point to the end people had lined both sides of the road ten and fifteen deep for hours before the demonstration arrived and when the procession actually arrived, the marchers had hardly enough space to move forward and

Comrade Imbichi Bawa had a hard time persuading them to move back and leave enough space for the marchers.

Parked at various places were the buses and trucks which had arrived late, the people in them unable even to get down for want of standing space. If all these people had been able to join the demonstration it would perhaps have been morning before the march ended. Even for the CPI(M) it was a new record—so many agricultural workers, workers and other sections of the toiling people participating in the demonstrations. All those who saw it agreed : It was a historic demonstration, it was a historic rally.

The March Begins

The demonstration began from the Deshabhimani Junction with the pilot jeep in front from which Volunteer Captain C.A. Peter was giving directions over the mike. Behind the jeep came two uniformed Red Volunteers on motorbikes with great difficulty keeping the surging people back and clearing the way for the demonstration. Then came a gaily decorated open truck from which General Secretary P. Sundarayya and Polit Bureau members M. Basavapunnaiiah, Promod Das Gupta, Jyoti Basu, A. K. Gopalan and E.M.S. Namboodiripad greeted the cheering crowds. Flowers and bouquets were thrown to the leaders at many places and some of the localities greeted the arrival of the demonstration with fireworks.

Just behind the truck, clad in white saris and red blouses marched K. R. Gowri, C. K. Susheela and J. Sardamma and after them came the delegates from the various States and Kerala. Then came the uniformed Red Volunteers with those from Cannanore district in the front marching to the tune three white-uniformed bands. The contingent of volunteers itself took about two and-a-half hours to pass a point and the estimate is that about 35,000 uniformed volunteers participated in the march that day. Among them were nearly ten thousand women volunteers in white saris and red blouses and two thousand trained girls in white salwars and red

kamizes. Then there were the blue-uniformed porters and loading workers of Trichur and student and youth volunteers in white uniforms and red ties.

Behind the volunteers came the people in massive waves with no end in sight. A life-like portrait of Stalin and a tableau depicting agricultural workers beating back an attempt of landlord to evict an agricultural family from its homestead attracted great attention and drew repeated applause.

Three Simultaneous Processions

Some of us had decided not to participate in the demonstration—that way we could not have seen the whole demonstration. We found a good spot from where we could watch it. The pilot jeep passed the point where we were watching from at 6 p.m. The crowds had collected there from early in the afternoon and when the jeep arrived there the jeep had hardly space to move and Comrade Imbichi Bawa had again to use all his persuasion to make way for the procession. And as the Red Volunteers came in sight and began marching there were two parallel processions on both sides of the road behind the people already lined up composed of people trying to keep abreast of the jatha and reach Vietnam-Nagar in time for the rally.

It was 8.15 and the volunteers were still marching when we got the message that the rally would begin at 9 p.m. without waiting for the demonstration to end. We got out of the place from where we were watching to get to Vietnam-Nagar. And we had to literally struggle to make every inch of advance—so dense was the crowd. It should have normally taken us about fifteen minutes to cover the distance, but wading our way through the crowd it took us nearly 45 minutes. But it had its compensation—we saw one of the most magnificent sights of the evening on the way.

No Room for Sand to Fall

It was at the overbridge near Ernakulam Town station. People were dangerously perched on both parapets and then there

was a dense mass of people generally clad in white as is usual in Kerala and right in the middle of it the three rows of red-uniformed volunteers snaking their way onward. If only we had a camera, we thought and then realized it would have been useless as no one would be able to reach anywhere there. This was the place where you could truly say that if sand was thrown up it would not fall on the ground, there was not space even for that.

When we reached the Vietnam-Nagar the meeting was about to start. Comrade A. K. Gopalan was presiding and making the announcements. Apart from the huge crowd that was sitting raptly listening to what was being said, there was an equally big floating mass which filled the road from the entrance of the Nagar to a distance of about two miles away—and processionists were still marching in.

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad introduced the members of the Central Committee elected by the Congress. Comrades P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, B. T. Ranadive and E. M. S. addressed the vast rally explaining the decisions of the Congress. There were songs by a cultural squad from Andhra Pradesh and Deshabhimani Art Theatres and by the blind singer Mani.

Jam Worse Than Before

When the rally was dispersed after 2 a.m. and we came out, the situation on the roads was still worse.

It was difficult for human beings to inch their way forward and the vehicles that had come there were just stuck, they could not even be started. We were told that some of the buses which had come from outlying places could not move out till 7 or 8 in the morning. And we ourselves had to fight our way back as we had done earlier in the evening when we came to Vietnam-Nagar.

Thus ended one of the most memorable rallies anyone had witnessed—an event which happens once in a long while and stays indelibly inscribed in memory but which it is futile to try and describe in words.

Call of the Eighth Congress of CPI(M): Build United Mass Movements, United Fronts and a Strong Communist Party

Editorial of "People's Democracy", January 19, 1969.

The Eighth Congress of our Party, its discussions and decisions mark an important step forward in the consolidation of unity of our Party, in the struggle for Marxism-Leninism which our Party has been carrying on in our country. The Congress was meeting after the Party had been subjected to severe tests and trials, after the line of the Party had been tested in the rapidly-developing political situation in the last four years.

These were years of struggle against governmental repression against our Party. They were years of struggle for finally rejecting modern revisionism, for asserting Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of India, of ceaseless fight against the Dange revisionists, the servile lackeys of the bourgeois-landlord regime, and betrayers of proletarian internationalism; they also saw the opening out of the struggle against Left sectarianism in our midst; the growing demarcation of our Party from the erroneous stand of the CPC in the fight against international revisionism.

In its struggle for a correct Marxist-Leninist line the Party had to face ideological attacks from the Right as well as the Left. The latter was able to bring about some disruption also, as was seen in the large-scale defections in Andhra. Yet the Central Committee, fully supported by the State leaderships and Party ranks, was able to weather the storm, hold fast to the Marxist-Leninist banner and map out the future course of our Party.

The Party Congress, by registering its approval of the work of the Central Committee, of its fight against revisionism and Left sectarianism, by endorsing the line it pursued during the elections and its decisions to participate in the united front ministries, consolidated the political unity of the Party and gave flesh and blood to the basic line given in the Party Programme.

The Party Congress fully endorsed the tactics mapped out by the Central Committee in the period. It was fully realized that the tactics were neither a concession to parliamentarianism nor amounted to slowing down of the class struggle. They were correctly understood as essential aids to bring the masses to the position of our Party as given in our Programme—liquidation of the bourgeois-landlord state and the establishment of a state of People's Democracy led by the working class. The Party is utilizing every instrument, every form to lead the masses to the inevitable conclusion and objectives. The shrewder representatives of the big bourgeoisie fully realize how the Party is succeeding in mobilizing the masses, in exposing the sham character of the Constitution, its class bias and how wide sections of the masses are learning the bitter truth about class domination and class rule. That is why they, like Nijalingappa, concentrate their fire on us, utter vile curses against us, while reserving flattering and complimentary words for the revisionists.

The Party Congress once more underlined the fact that the real transforming force, the power that can transform the political situation is the power of mass struggles.

In contrast to the revisionists and all other political parties our Party Congress once more warned the people of the direct danger from the growing U.S. penetration into our economy and social life, and called upon the people to fight and defeat the U.S. neo-colonialist threat to our country's freedom and independence. All the bourgeois parties—from the Congress downwards—screen this danger and keep the people defenceless against it. The SSP and the PSP are equally guilty

and play the same role as the ruling party in this respect. And the revisionists, who sometimes shout about American penetrations, abandon all talk of struggle against the danger when they prepare a fake platform of Left unity. Ours is the only Party that considers American imperialism to be the gendarme of world reaction and a danger to our own freedom.

Again the Party Congress demarcated our Party from the stand of all other bourgeois parties on the question of relations with People's China. The ruling classes of this country have taken a hostile and inimical attitude to the socialist revolution in China and the people of this country are asked to underwrite this policy in the name of national security. Is there any party which raises its voice against this anti-national anti-people policy? On the contrary, the most reactionary parties as well as parties like the SSP find themselves together in raising anti-China hysteria; the revisionist crowd toes the line of their master class. The Political Resolution of our Congress demands campaign "to resist growing U.S. pressure on our country's foreign policy; demand that the Government give up its anti-China policy and take immediate steps for settlement with China; it also demands full support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and strengthening of friendly relations with all socialist countries". The Congress passed a resolution demanding full diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

The Party Congress subjected the Government of India's foreign policy to severe attack and opined: "With the increasing and heavy dependence on imperialist 'aid' and with continued hostility to the People's Republic of China, its non-alignment is seriously undermined, its manoeuvrability and bargaining capacity between the two camps is heavily curtailed. Instead of the 'happy' conditions in which the Indian big bourgeoisie could utilize all the world contradictions to its class advantage, bitter contradictions developed with socialist People's China and the imperialists have not been a whit late in utilizing this contradiction to their advantage. With this big shift away from the policy of non-

alignment it is coming under serious pressure by the imperialists abroad and anti-Communist reaction at home, who are demanding further concessions in their favour. Dictated by its own class needs, and still left with room to manoeuvre, its play between the two camps continues, despite the fact the foreign policy of non-alignment as it stands today is very much emasculated and is in a state of crisis."

Our Party Congress taking its firm stand on principled proletarian unity, took into consideration the great harm done to the cause of the world revolution by the division in the socialist camp and the Communist movement. Without abating a word of its criticism of the revisionist leaders of the CPSU who are responsible for this disunity, and who brought Czechoslovakia to the brink of counter-revolution, our Party Congress reiterated the call for unity of action of the socialist camp and considered the stand of the CPC on this issue to be wrong, as "it neither helps the cause of principled struggle against revisionism and of restoration of unity in the world socialist camp, nor is it effective in fighting and defeating imperialist machinations and aggression." The Congress in its Political Resolution called for a principled struggle for the unity of the world movement and the united action of the socialist camp.

"The disunity and division in the socialist camp and the world Communist movement is also in a big way responsible for some of the serious reverses to the anti-imperialist forces in the recent period. Apart from the audacity with which the U.S. imperialists are conducting the aerial bombardment and war on socialist North Vietnam over the last three years, they, together with their reactionary stooges have succeeded in toppling Dr. Sukarno's Government in Indonesia and in carrying out mass-scale butchery of five lakh Communists and their supporters; they organized a reactionary coup in Ghana and overthrew the Nkrumah Government; they egged on and backed Israel to launch a surprise military attack on the Arab states and are deliberately encouraging it not to vacate the aggression.

“The present disunity and division in the world socialist camp, if it is not overcome and a principled struggle to achieve it is not consciously conducted by all the Communist parties and socialist states, a great danger faces the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. It becomes imperative that all the socialist states, despite the existing serious ideological-political differences, devise ways and means of achieving unity in action against imperialist aggressors, which alone can facilitate the process of ideological-political unity of the camp.”

The Party Congress hailed the great struggle of the people of Vietnam in a separate resolution and sent its greetings to the great freedom-fighters. It hailed their victories as a turning point in the world struggle against imperialism and considered them to be victories of unerring application of Marxism-Leninism by the Workers' Party and its great leader Ho Chi Minh.

The Party Congress made a deep analysis of the Indian situation, the growing crisis of our economy which is rapidly developing into a political crisis. With the disintegration of the Congress the ruling classes find it difficult to keep up the facade of parliamentary democracy and these are unmistakable signs of the first steps towards a police state. The monstrous atrocities committed against the people, the virtual reign of terror established during strikes, the arson committed against the agricultural workers in Andhra and Tamilnadu with police connivance and the new legislation to curb and extinguish all democratic rights are the unmistakable signs of what the Congress is preparing for the people.

Thus a great danger hangs over our people—the danger of naked police dictatorship. The way out of this crisis is certainly not through the electoral struggles. But do the revisionists, the other 'Left' parties realize this? Do they at all realize that behind the facade of elections a new plot is being hatched by the ruling classes? Not in the least. Ours is the only Party which sees the danger, which warns the people against it and which puts forward a concrete programme

of action to frustrate and defeat the attempts of the ruling classes to impose an open dictatorship on the people.

The Party Congress in its resolution has warned that with the growing dependence of our economy on the USA, with increasing concessions to American capital, the independence, freedom of the people is being compromised by the ruling classes. Danger to freedom and danger of a police state are both features of the same process engendered by the crisis of Indian economy and its dependence on the USA. The misery and exploitation that this entails is leading to great and heroic battles of the working class, of the students, of the agricultural workers and poor peasants, of all sections of the people—teachers, employees and Government servants. Barring the monopolists and the privileged few dependent on them, and the rural exploiters, the entire mass is being drawn into a growing resistance to this regime. This is the progressive revolutionary feature of the situation. The basic masses are not taking the attacks lying down. They are resisting lock-outs, retrenchment, wage-cuts and resist them for months. They struggle for land and brave the terror of the police. And yet their heroic struggle seems to produce little effect on the course of things.

The Resolution correctly nails down the weakness of the situation. In the first place, the consciousness in the struggle very rarely goes beyond the immediate economic consciousness and the strength does not develop into one challenging the regime itself. The sweep of the struggle is limited on each occasion because the masses are divided in their political allegiance—a vast number owing no firm allegiance to any particular party and therefore are often misled by reformists and reactionaries. For lack of this sweep the basic contradiction between the masses and the class regime is not easily seen, resistance becomes scattered, and heroism is replaced by temporary weariness under the impact of repression.

This indeed is a perilous situation for the revolutionary movement. The ruling classes are out for a reactionary coup:

the masses are fighting but do not realize the political danger and their activities are not converging on a single point—the aim of politically defeating the ruling classes. Only by replacing the scattered resistance of the masses by the total resistance of the class, will the struggle deepen their consciousness, make it effective, and give the required political direction to the movement. That is why the Political Resolution of the Party Congress ends on the note of the united action of the masses as the great lever of transforming the situation. Simultaneously it gives the call for the organization of the Party as a key task of the present situation, for without a real vanguard guiding the movement on Marxist-Leninist lines the struggles will come to nothing.

The Party Congress recognizes two basic weaknesses of the situation—the weakness of the Party as well as the weakness of the mass movement as reflected in its consciousness and organization. The influence of the reformists and revisionists over wide sections of the masses is itself a basic factor leading to weakness in the movement. Unless all these shortcomings are quickly removed there is no hope of transforming the situation in favour of the people, of openly defeating the bourgeois-landlord offensive, their attempt to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the people and instal a police state.

The Political Resolution ends with a number of demands for united campaign and action. They range from struggle against U.S. penetration and domination to basic land reforms, nationalization of foreign capital and monopoly concerns, protection of the rights of the working class, of democratic liberties and basic agrarian reforms. They include the demand for curtailing the power on the Centre and repeal of all repressive legislation.

In the measure that the people succeeded in launching counter mass actions on these issues, in the measure that it succeeded in drawing other parties and the masses under their influence into the common struggle, the Party will succeed in staving off the bourgeois-landlord offensive and finally

defeating it. The weakness of the mass movement, its comparatively low consciousness and its lack of centralism, the weakness of the vanguard—it is these that keep the bourgeois-landlord regime in existence. The united action call of the Party Congress, the call for unity of the fighting masses, the call for joint action of several parties despite differences on a number of issues constitute our Party's specific answer to the present situation.

The Political Resolution states, "It is against this background the CPI(M) should examine its work of building the united people's movement, united front of democratic parties and groups, the building of the united class and mass organizations and the building of a strong party capable of successfully discharging these tasks. Experience shows that unless and until the CPI(M) works hard, mobilizes and organizes the people independently, acquires an independent mass base, all its slogans of building unity and united fronts and its aspirations of leading the united assault on the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress party are in danger of remaining pious wishes and pompous declarations. Of course, it goes without saying that the independent growth of the CPI(M) and its mass political influence is again dependent on how it works out its mass line of working for the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, for the united actions of the democratic classes and masses, and for the united front of political parties and groups that represent the democratic classes and strata of our people."

Such is the call of the Party Congress—a call to transform the present situation, a call to make the masses accept the basic slogans of the Party as their own. It is a call for united front, for united action, a call for getting the majority of the people under the revolutionary banner.

Understanding programmes, ideology, principles amount to nothing unless the masses are won over for action: the Party Congress has chosen fresh instruments to carry the truth and the line of the programme to the people. It once more shows that for the Party the mass struggle, the direct

struggle of the masses is supreme and everything else is subordinate to it.

“The electoral front and the ministerial fronts which we participate in are the products of mass struggles, of the correlation of forces created by us in the direct struggle of the masses. In the struggle for People’s Democracy the parliamentary front is an auxiliary weapon of our struggle, the main weapon being the direct revolutionary struggle of the masses. It is the revolutionary struggle that is primary; it is here that the vast masses become politically conscious, become class conscious and earn the capacity to use all other auxiliary and subsidiary weapons of struggle. The fatal blow to the existing regime will be delivered not in the parliamentary arena but in the arena of direct revolutionary mass struggle. The former will only hasten the process of the basic conflict.

“That is why for our Party the movement of the masses, their struggle against exploitation and for political advance leading to capture of political power, is of supreme importance. It acquires added importance today when with the passing of the economic crisis into a political crisis the masses are posed for huge struggles of unprecedented dimensions against the present order. To anticipate these struggles to prepare for them and lead them is the primary task of our Party. It is these that provide the Party with flexibility, the manoeuvrability and capacity to utilize all other fronts and transform the latter also into arenas of revolutionary conflict.”

This is the basic difference between us and all other parties including the revisionists. The revisionists still talk about the sanctity of the parliamentary path; use the masses as mere pawns in the electoral struggle; were not ashamed to join hands with the Jana Sangh in forming a united front ministry; and are not ashamed to join hands with the Congress against us in Kerala.

The Eighth Congress of our Party expressed its firm determination to continue the fight against international

revisionism whose leaders are the leaders of the CPSU; it also rejected the wrong stand of the CPC on the question of united action. It expressed its unflinching determination to wage an implacable struggle against the Indian revisionists' and expose their hypocritical slogans and postures; simultaneously it rejected the left-adventurist line as a line which is the negation of Marxism-Leninism. The left sectarians reject the role of the party, of the working class, of mass struggles, of united fronts and pin their hope on individual actions. This has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. If the revisionists liquidate the vanguard role of the party by emasculating its ideology and reducing it to a parliamentary party in the name of democracy, the left adventurists do the same in the name of organizing individual action. Both attack our Party and help the bourgeois-landlord classes.

The Party Congress rejected both and has given a clarion call to all Party ranks to go near the masses, to forge new ties with our class and the democratic people. It has given a call to forge a mighty workers and peasants' alliance through these struggles—an alliance against which not all the might of the bourgeois-landlord combination will prevail.

Let everyone obey the call of the Party Congress and earnestly set to win the confidence of the masses. Let the mighty united actions of the people open the way to the next stage of our struggle for a state of People's Democracy led by the working class.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad Answers The 'Washington Post'*

Recently Bernard Nossiter of the *Washington Post* posed the following questions for reply to Kerala Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad:

1. What has the United Front accomplished in its nine months in office?

2. Can your Government, divided among different parties and confronting divisions within these parties, carry out a legislative programme?

3. What has happened to your policy of industrializing Kerala? Has it been inhibited by the divisions within your own Party and the differences between parties in the United Front?

4. How much importance do you attach to the ultra-left in the Communist Party (Marxist)? What is your reply to their insistence that United Front Ministers resign unless they can bring about "progressive" policies?

5. What is the purpose of your party's Volunteer Group? Why do you feel the need of a defence force that operates independently of the police?

E. M. S. in his reply first set out the limitations under which a State Government functions in Indian conditions—where, added to the formal provisions in the written Constitution, the Centre has in the last seventeen years taken far greater powers than given to it under the Constitution. All

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the seven parties in the Kerala United Front had recognized these limitations and specifically mentioned them in the Joint Policy Statement with which they went to the electorate. Obviously such a Government cannot do much to solve the vital problems affecting the lives of the people.

Yet, the United Front formed the Government, said E. M. S., because first, "being in office in a few States, we can effectively fight for changes in the policies pursued by the Central Government." Institutions like the periodical conferences of the Central and States Ministers dealing with different departments, Chief Ministers' Conferences for discussion of general problems, the National Development Council for dealing with the problems of planning, etc. can be used for placing before the nation alternate policies which can further help the process of nationwide discussion on the vital problems facing the country. These Governments, therefore, are effective instruments in the countrywide struggle against Congress policies and for alternate policies acceptable to the non-Congress opposition forces.

Limited Assistance

Secondly, continued E. M. S., despite the limitations described above, the State Government can do small things by way of giving partial relief to the people. While this will not lead to any radical improvement in the life of the people, it can certainly give them limited assistance. At least the intensity of the attacks launched by the landlord-capitalist classes against working people can be minimized. "Even here, it should be emphasized, we come up against various obstacles arising out of those provisions of the Constitution, the rules and regulations framed by the Central Government and the interpretations of the law made by the Supreme and High Courts all of them heavily weighted against the working people and in favour of the landlord-capitalist classes. But at least some of these obstacles can be removed by an ever vigilant leadership of the coalition Ministry. To that extent, the emergence of this Ministry is a gain to the working people."

In assessing against this background the accomplishments or otherwise of the U.F. Government during the nearly ten months of its existence, the question, according to E. M. S., is not whether our people have made big gains after the Ministry was formed but whether it has succeeded in the two-fold objective of the United Front of seven parties.

Looked at from this point of view, E. M. S., said, he can record with satisfaction that "we have tried to solve our major problems of food, industrialization and general economic development. With regard to every one of these questions, we have tried to improve the working of the internal administration of the State while concentrating our minds to the improvement of the policies and practices of the Central Government.

"This is not to say that there has been any perceptible improvement in the living conditions of the people of the State. People today have, on the contrary, even less food (and that at higher cost) than ten months ago. The problem of unemployment and lack of all-round economic development has also become worse during the last ten months. But, despite all difficulties which they are facing, our people are still giving us their general support precisely because they find that we are doing our best and that it is the Centre's policies that are preventing any worth while measure of improving their living conditions.

The question of food, for instance. The machinery for internal procurement has been improved. For the first crop of this year the target was 50,000 tonnes and it was exceeded by 4,000 tonnes. This is about 25 per cent more than the procurement for the same crop last year. This is all the more creditable in view of the fact that while, during the last year every cultivator with more than one acre was asked to deliver to the Government, this year the cultivators below two acres were exempted from the levy. In other words, 25 per cent more is procured from a much smaller number of people than last year.

Despite this the Government is in a worse position than

last year both with regard to supplies as well as in the matter of prices. Rice ration, which had consistently stood at the level of six ounces per adult unit per day during the last year, had to be cut to three ounces during the last six months. This cut in supply has naturally raised the level of prices in the open market, which have during the last six months, remained two times and even more than last year.

Centre Dishonours Commitment

The reason for such reduced supply at higher prices lies in the failure of the Central Government to honour its commitment to supply the State with 75,000 tonnes of rice every month. Supplies this year have been uniformly bad, the monthly average for the last six months being less than 40,000 tonnes. The very reduced ration of three ounces per adult unit per day could be maintained only because internal procurement was better and its result available during those very months in which external supplies reached the rockbottom of between 20,000 and 30,000 tonnes.

“It is out of this bitter experience” said E. M. S., “that we go to the Centre with the demand that they should honour their commitment to us, supply us with 75,000 tonnes of rice every month. We tell them that this is not an impossible task if only they see to it that every State raises the level of its internal procurement to what we have done. It is because the other State Governments, particularly those of surplus States, refuse to adopt the system of internal procurement that the Centre finds it in short supply. We, therefore, asked the Central Government to have a national food policy, based on procurement from the big landlords and rich peasants, both as a matter of assistance to this State as well as in the interests of the country as a whole. If the Centre fails in this task and consequently it is unable to honour its commitment of supply to us, we ask them to allow us directly to purchase from surplus States as well as to import from abroad even if it means paying higher prices. We can well afford to do so if only the Centre makes available to us what we ourselves

earn out of the cash crops that we raise here and sell outside.

“We are thus combining the improvement of the machinery of internal procurement with pressure on the Centre for necessary changes in its policies.”

The same applies to the other basic problem of employment and the programme of industrialization through which alone this problem can be solved. Industry being a Central subject—all the more so within the context of planning—a State like Kerala cannot tackle the problem of employment and industrial development on its own.

Kerala Denied Legitimate Share

As a matter of fact, the people of Kerala are unanimous in holding that the Centre has failed in its duty to the people of this State. It is notorious that, in all the three Five-Year Plans which have been completed so far, Kerala did not receive its legitimate share of Central sector projects in industry and transport.

E. M. S., added : “This, however, does not mean that the State Government has no positive role to play in working for the industrialization of this State. It can certainly take the initiative in creating the proper climate for entrepreneurs either within Kerala or outside to embark on new industrial projects. We can give various incentives for those who are willing to expand existing or establish new industries. It was with this objective that our Government adopted a policy statement on industrialization.

“Since the adoption of that policy statement, some public discussion has taken place on that document. That is possibly what you have in mind when you put question number 3. Before answering that question, however, let me clarify the position with regard to question number 2.”

It is a fact that the Government is composed of seven different political parties. They are different parties precisely because they do not see eye to eye on many questions of national policy. None of these parties conceals its own viewpoint on any of these vital questions.

Common Viewpoint—the Yardstick

Despite these differences, however, they have a common viewpoint with regard to questions of current policy. This common viewpoint has found expression in the joint policy statement adopted by them in September 1966. That joint statement is the yardstick with which every concrete question that poses itself before the coalition Government is measured. The conflict of policies which undoubtedly expresses itself among the various constituents of the coalition Government is, therefore, resolved through mutual discussion animated by the spirit of further carrying forward the unity that was forged when the joint policy statement was adopted.

Such a conflict of policies and its resolution through mutual discussion in the spirit of the joint statement of policy have taken place on a number of issues. The most notable examples are the conflict over, and the subsequent resolution of, the question whether prohibition is to be scrapped or not; the same conflict over the need for restrictions on the movement of foodgrains within the State and allied questions of procurement prices, control over rice mills in relation to food policy, the advisability or otherwise of exempting all small holdings from land revenue and so on.

Everyone of these questions raised public controversies. Enemies of the United Front thought that the unity of the coalition would break on the rock of these controversies. They were, however, disappointed to find that, just as at the time of evolving the joint statement of policy before the election, so in relation to every question of policy that arose after the election, the partners of the coalition resolved their differences, maintained and further strengthened the unity of the coalition.

Industrial Policy Statement

The industrial policy statement is another example of this conflict of policies and resolution of conflicts among the various constituents of the United Front. E. M. S. then related the basic facts related to this controversy.

“First, the coalition partners are united in their desire to get the process of industrialization accelerated. They are unanimous that the State should take a positive stand with regard to giving encouragement and assistance to those who are desirous of starting new industries. This common desire of all the constituents of the United Front was the foundation on which the industrial policy statement was built.

“Secondly, after the statement of the industrial policy was adopted and published, it was subjected to scrutiny by different sections of public opinion both in Kerala and outside. Industrialists were unanimous in acclaiming it. On the other hand, the trade union movement was highly critical of some passages in the statement which may well go contrary to the right of the working class for collective bargaining and their freedom of organization and struggle. Communists and Socialists felt that the incentives offered without any discrimination to all capitalists might end up in helping the rapidly-growing monopoly capitalists (Indian and foreign) to allow them to strengthen themselves not only against the working people but also against the small and medium industrialists.

“Thirdly, the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was the first to make a systematic critique of the policy statement and in suggesting that those parts of the statement which have anti-labour and pro-monopoly implications should be removed. It should be made clear that in making this critique, the Party was not criticizing any individual constituent of the United Front but the United Front as a whole. The leadership of the State unit of the Party generally, and the Ministers belonging to the Party in particular, were equally if not more responsible for the very serious mistake in approach that had crept in the policy statement. This would be incomplete if I do not mention the fact that my responsibility in this respect is particularly serious. Both as the Chief Minister of the State and as a member of the highest leading unit of the Party (Polit Bureau), I should take a greater share

of the blame than anybody else, either in the Ministry or in the Party leadership.

"*Fourthly*, this, however, was taken by the non-Communist papers and all other political parties as an attack by my Party against the other constituents of the United Front; also as an attack by the rest of the Polit Bureau against me. As a matter of fact, it was an effort at correcting obvious mistakes that had crept in. No attack on individual or any party was made. So, after a few weeks of bitter public controversy, everybody started cool thinking. Ultimately, therefore, it was possible to have a dispassionate exchange of views leading to clarity of ideas and a broadly common approach.

"*Fifthly*, even now there is a fundamental difference of approach to the objective and programme of industrialization. Our Party, for instance, is of the opinion that collaboration between Indian and foreign private monopolies will not help the process of rapid industrialization. Nor do we think that the incentives that are offered to industrialize should be extended to the big monopoly capitalists. There are, however, certain other constituents in the United Front who disagree and hold that industrialization is impossible without collaboration between Indian and foreign monopoly capitalists."

E. M. S. mentioned the Right Communists as inclined to this point of view and added that this basic conflict of approach undoubtedly continued.

But all are agreed that cooperation with and assistance from socialist countries will be a powerful instrument of industrializing our State. Not only will this be available on terms better than from the capitalist countries but it can be utilized to strengthen the public sector in the industrial field, regardless of the particular method of industrialization (on which we may have our reservations), we unanimously demand that our State should get a legitimate share of India's industrial development; the same thing applies to the big or monopolist Indian capital. Whatever our own views may be on the desirability of allowing these monopolists to grow

and strengthen themselves, we would demand that a share of the industries that are set up in the country should be located in Kerala; all are agreed that one paragraph in the industrial policy statement offends the right of the working class to organize and go on strike and have therefore, decided to delete it.

E. M. S. said: "This narration of the story of the conflict and its resolution over the industrial policy statement would answer your third question. Different points of view among the constituents of the United Front have not prevented us from taking a common stand, even while each one of us has his own individual viewpoint.

"Having explained what has happened to our policies and practice on two vital questions of policy—food and industrialization, I may now claim that one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition Government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together and establish a relatively stable alliance on which a stable coalition Government can be built.

"I use the term 'relatively stable' advisedly. For, against the background of the indisputable differences among the constituents, the stability of the alliance and coalition has its weaknesses and limitations. Conflicts do arise and sometimes lead to temporary crises. It is, however, inherent in the situation that the conflicts can be and are resolved, crises are overcome.

Not Impossible

"This is of tremendous significance for the country as a whole. For, the main feature of the political situation in India today is the rapid decline in the influence and the power of the Congress, accompanied by the absence of any single party which can replace it. Only a combination of parties can meet the situation. Such a combination of parties should necessarily include the Communists and Socialists and other secular democratic radical parties. The bringing

together of these parties is a difficult and time-consuming process. That, however, is not an impossible task. This I may claim, is the lesson taught by the nine-month-old coalition Government in Kerala."

Regarding the "ultra-Left" in the Party, E. M. S. said: "I want to make it perfectly clear that so far as the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee of our Party are concerned, we are all united both against the ultra-Right and against the ultra-Left trends which may sometimes appear within the Party."

He listed a number of issues on everyone of which "we take the stand of simultaneous struggle against revisionist Right opportunist trends on the one hand and dogmatic sectarian trends on the other.

"Coming to the question of the Party's attitude to the formation of non-Congress Ministries, the Central Committee's stand is clear and forthright. It has no illusion that these Governments can do a lot to improve the living and working conditions of the toiling people. . . . Our Party considers it to be its duty to continuously educate the people on the limitations of the non-Congress Ministries that are being formed and the need for a fundamental revolutionary change in the constitutional political set-up in the country.

Powerful Lever

"This, however, does not mean that the formation and functioning of the non-Congress Ministries is futile. As has been explained in the first part of the above answers, the very existence of non-Congress Governments can act as a powerful lever for that very struggle against the anti people policies of the Central Congress Government through which alone the movement for fundamental revolutionary transformations in the constitutional political set-up of the country can be strengthened. Furthermore, the Ministries that are formed can provide limited reliefs to the working people in various fields. Not to use these opportunities for serving the people and for strengthening the countrywide movement against the

Congress Government and its policies is to have a very important strategic field of action clear for the reactionaries. We have, therefore, to utilize whatever seats of power we can occupy in order to further strengthen the unity and struggle of the entire working people.

“This is the strategy and tactic worked out by Lenin in his days. In his celebrated work directed against Left-sectarian tendencies within the international Communist movement, Lenin said that Left-sectarianism was a punishment for the sin of prolonged Right-opportunist policies and practices. It was because of the systematic work of Social Democracy by way of instilling into the working class the dangerous illusion of Socialism through the bourgeois parliamentary institutions and of the disillusionment which such practices caused among the working people that a section of the honest, militant revolutionaries took to the path of repudiating Parliament itself. Fully sharing the noble sentiments of these revolutionary workers, Lenin however told them that bourgeois parliamentary institutions are useful instruments in uniting, organizing and consolidating the forces of the working class and undermining the power of capital.

Lenin's Caution

“In thus emphasizing the importance of work in Parliament, Lenin, however, gave the necessary caution that, even when working within these parliamentary institutions, Communists should function as the representatives of the working class. They should refuse to submit themselves to those conventions and practices which are intended to transform a representative of the working class into a pliable tool of the bourgeoisie. It is in this spirit that we are approaching the tasks which have unfolded themselves before us—the tasks arising out of a situation in which it has become possible for us not only to win a few seats in the legislatures and in Parliament, but in some cases also to win majorities to form Governments. That is why our Central Committee on the post-Fourth General Election situation has characterized the

Government in which our Party is participating as organs of struggle.”

E. M. S. continued: “The so-called ultra-Lefts obviously do not subscribe to these ideas evolved by the Party leadership. But I have no doubt in my mind that the overwhelming majority of Party members is solidly behind the Central Committee.

“Coming now to the last question regarding our volunteers, let me make it clear that we are not the only party that has its volunteer organization nor are we having the volunteer organization for the first time. The Congress has had, for the last four decades and more, its Seva Dal. The Jana Sangh, too, has its RSS. volunteers. As for the Communist Party, it, too, has been having its volunteers ever since its inception. There is hardly any political party which has not organized its own volunteer groups. The hubbub that is raised against our volunteers is therefore an instance of the attitude ‘what is good for others is bad for the Communists’. The question whether such a volunteer force is necessary since the police is there, it seems, does not arise in the case of other parties, but it should be raised in relation to us!”

“Save Democracy In India” —Convention In Britain*

Appeal released to the Press by the Association of Indian Communists in Great Britain in connection with the holding of ‘Save Democracy in India’ Convention on January 14, 1968.

On the eve of the 21st anniversary of the Republic Day of our country, we, the Indian residents of the United Kingdom, noticed with anger and dismay the recent series of attacks launched by the ruling party on the democratic institutions of India. The popular United Front Government of West Bengal has been dismissed and a puppet Government of a handful of defectors has been installed in its place; another minority Government has been formed in the Punjab; the non-Congress Government of Haryana has been replaced by the Congress rule through the office of the President; and the Central Government of the Congress party is now trying its best to subvert the functioning of the state administration through various means in other non-Congress States.

“The countrywide protests against these perfidious and shameless acts of the reactionary Congress regime, and in defence of democracy, are being drowned in the blood of hundreds of people. Not even the women and children are being spared from the ruthless oppression of the police and military. And in order to remove the last remnants of democracy from the political life of the country the Central Government has passed a Bill which legalizes arbitrary banning of some of the political parties in the country, parties which are performing the sacred task of leading the resistance against the savage murder of democracy in India by the ruling party.”

*Published in “PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY”, Calcutta, January 21, 1968.

Briefly narrating the events in West Bengal, the appeal continued: "The Central Government of the Congress party then pursued a policy of discrimination against West Bengal (and other non.-Congress States) thereby punishing the people of those States for not voting for the Congress party in the election.

"The people of West Bengal are demanding the immediate dismissal of the puppet ministry of Dr. P. C. Ghosh as also the immediate removal of Mr. Dharma Vira, the Governor of West Bengal, from the office, and interim election in order to receive the verdict of the people on the happenings of the past nine months in that State.

"The Congress party has refused to concede these legitimate and democratic demands, as it is fully aware that a new election now would completely root out the Congress party from that State. It is trying to cling to power as long as is possible and delay its ultimate and certain demise.

"What is happening in West Bengal is the concern of the whole of India. The dismissal of the Government of West Bengal is a part of the bigger conspiracy to topple all the non-Congress Ministries one by one through various means. If these conspiracies succeed in West Bengal, the democratic movements of the whole of India will suffer and the Congress party will climb back to its pre-1967 monopolistic power. That is why protest meetings and demonstrations are now being held all over the country— in Punjab, in Andhra, in Bihar, and in every other State.

"The ruling Congress party has taken off its mask of parliamentary democracy, as it did in 1959 against the first non-Congress Government of Kerala. The Governors of various States are now being used to serve the political interests of the Congress party bosses, in violation of the provisions of the Constitution. Double standards are being adopted by the Central Government on the questions of the distribution of food and other Central grants as between the Congress and non-Congress States.

"Central Government officials are being incited by the

Central Government to be disloyal to their Ministers at the State level. Opportunists, self-seeking individuals are being bribed with ministerial appointments in order to bring down the non-Congress Ministries as were done in the Punjab and West Bengal. Protest meetings are being broken up with unheard of cruelty.

“Democracy is in danger in India. It has been proved by the happenings of the past month that the Congress party is extremely reluctant to accept the diminution of the power it enjoyed till 1967, which could be used against the people for the industrialists and feudalist elements. Only the deep indignation of the masses is strong enough to meet the challenge of brutal police atrocities unleashed by the Congress party.

“Living so far away from our motherland, we the Indian residents of the United Kingdom are unable to take a direct part in the struggle against ruthless oppression of the ruling party. But neither can we remain indifferent to the political upheavals of India, when women and children of our country are sacrificing their lives for the cause of democracy.

“At least we can express our warm support and congratulations to the heroic people of India, give them encouragement. At least we can sit together—irrespective of our party affiliations—to discuss about the extent of help we can offer for the common cause of saving democracy.”

The Association of Indian Communists in Great Britain has called a convention on January 14, 1968 at Birmingham, on the slogan of “Save Democracy in India.”

Why the attack on Tripura Communists?*

When Sri S. L. Singh, the Chief Minister of Tripura rushed to New Delhi in the last week of January this year, people of Agartala thought he must have gone there to get rice for the State. For, during the month of January 1968, the modified rationing system in the town had completely collapsed. Long queues of hungry people waited for hours together before ration shops only to be told that there was no rice in the godown.

But in reality, the Chief Minister did not visit New Delhi for rice at all. He had hurried to meet Union Home Minister Chavan to get blessings for his plans to put all CPI(M) leaders and workers in detention under the hated Preventive Detention Act.

It is a well-known fact that the Tripura Chief Minister never liked that the Emergency should be lifted and the Defence of India Act and Rules should be made inoperative in this part of the country. He was the last to release Communist detenus kept in detention in Bihar jails under the DIR. Though his party secured the highest number of seats in the Assembly during the last General Elections, he took the earliest opportunity to put the Opposition leaders and workers in jail without trial. This is how democracy works in Tripura.

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And what are the grounds for this detention? Apart from the fact that the grounds for detention are all perverse and concocted stories and vague generalizations, they refer, among other things, to certain incidents in regard to procurement of paddy and destruction of Reserve Forests.

So far as the policy of the Singh Ministry is concerned, there is nothing new in it. It is as pro-big jotedar and pro-hoarder as it was last year. As during 1966-67, the Government hardly touches the hoards of the big jotedars. In the Assembly, Sri Singh himself confessed that not a single hoarder made any declaration of stock when they were asked to do so under the order. But no steps were taken against any hoarder. Not a single big jotedar or hoarder has ever been put under arrest.

But this year, the Congress Government made the small peasants their target. Notices were served on agriculturists having one or two acres of land, often on *zumias* and bargadars (sharecroppers) to deliver huge quantities of paddy to the Inspector of Civil Supply within a specified date. In order to make this procurement campaign a success, Border Security Police was requisitioned and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate raided the houses of poor peasants.

When the poor agriculturists protested, armed policemen made brutal attacks on the women, fired tear gas shells on them, bayoneted the youth. Such incidents took place at Chalitabari and Rajnagar in the sub-division of Khowai. At Kailashahar, the procurement party is said to have decamped with Rs. 3000 belonging to the poor tribals.

These brutal attacks roused hatred against the Government all over Tripura. In a protest meeting held at Teliamura, 15,000 angry people heard Communist leaders demand a judicial enquiry into the incidents. The Government was forced to make a reassessment of their levy in that area. What did that reassessment reveal?

It was revealed that at Chalitabari out of 20 families, only four families had any paddy to deliver to the Government, others were all poor agriculturists who were wrongly

asked to deliver their paddy to Government agencies. The Chief Minister had to admit in a subsequent Press Conference that such wrong assessment was a general feature in the whole of Khowai. And it is to be noted that the Chalitabari incident has been made the main ground for detention of many of the Communist leaders including Comrades Dasarath Deb, Biren Dutta, Nripen Chakrabarti and Saroj Chanda.

Why did the poor agriculturists object to this procurement drive of the Tripura Government? From their experience they have found that in lean months the Government is reluctant to open ration shops in rural areas. They have seen how the cooperative marketing societies which are authorized to procure paddy, send the procured paddy into the blackmarket when prices go up. They have experienced that neither in the matter of assessment nor in the matter of procurement and distribution, does the Government seek the cooperation of the people. Not even the elected panchayats are taken into confidence.

The only effect that this procurement drive has had on the food situation is to help the speculators to raise the market price of rice sky-high. Never in the past has the price of rice been so high as it is today. Seeing the present militant mood of the hungry people, Chief Minister Singh thought it better to put the Communist leaders and workers in jail before the situation went out of control.

The other ground for detention is that the detained Communists encouraged the tribal *zumias* to destroy Government plantations in Reserve Forests.

What are the facts? The facts are that with the influx of new refugees from East Pakistan, tribal people were getting evicted from land. They had to depend on their traditional *zuming* for their maintenance. But the Congress Government, instead of releasing all cultivable waste land from Reserve Forests, decided to extend the Reserve Forests further to include 60 percent of the total land of Tripura within these Reserves.

As a result of this disastrous policy, *zuming* has been

practically prohibited; the huts and lands long in occupation of the tribals have been illegally included inside the Reserve Forests and these poor tribals are being forcibly evicted.

At Garjee, in Udaipur sub-division, tribal *zumia* women were brutally beaten up while they were working on their *zum*. Hundreds of warrants have been issued on the tribal *zumias* of Sabroom, Belonia, Amarpur and Udaipur either for *zumming* or for their refusal to pay bribes to certain forest officials. At Subalsingh, in Sadar, 20 tribal women were beaten for grazing cattle in the Reserve Forest and thrown out. Corrupt forest officials arrest and beat up tribal *zumias* when they collect sungrass for constructing dwelling huts. But the same officials permit the contractors to fell hundreds of precious trees when they put suitable sums of money in their pocket.

The Congress Government has scant regard even for the Indian Forest Act and has adopted all illegal methods to deprive the *zumias* of their *zumming* rights before these *zumias* could be economically rehabilitated on land. Communist leaders and workers have been put in jail because they defended the *zumias* who died in dozens last year when rice became scarce and the Government refused to issue ration to them. Because, only recently they mobilized fifteen thousand people, both tribals and non-tribals in support of the demand for the Fifth Schedule in defence of tribal interests in Tripura. A section of the Congressmen among the tribals have a communal Sankrak Party. In the name of the Sankrak Party, fresh attempts are being made by the disruptive elements to weaken the democratic movement of the people for food, for *zumming* right, for remission of rent arrears, for better wages for workers and employees and against retrenchment of workers and eviction of agriculturists from land.

The economic crisis in Tripura has deepened. The Central Government has drastically cut down the State's Plan budget and the foodgrains quota for Tripura. The food situation has deteriorated and employment opportunities are almost nil.

The former Maharaja of Tripura, who is a Congress MP today, was greeted with black flags by the unemployed youth of Khowai. Hardly a day passes when Agartala town does not see some workers or employees or students in procession. Bidi workers have given notice of strike on their demand for higher wages. The saw-mill workers and bakery workers are on strike. The motor workers stop buses in order to secure better conditions of service. The teachers as well as bank and Government employees are demonstrating on their specific demands. Communists secured the highest number of seats in gaon panchayat elections held in Jirania and Khowai blocks.

The Congress ruling class seeing its growing isolation has made an attack on the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which is in the forefront of the democratic struggles of Tripura today.

‘Adventurists’ Slogan of “Armed Struggle” Here and Now*

What Does it Really Mean?

Harekrishna Konar

Just at a time when the people of West Bengal have been advancing with more unity and courage in the hard struggle for defence of democracy against the conspiracy to establish a Police Raj, when the demand for mid-term election has become a fighting demand of the masses, some posters have appeared on certain walls of Calcutta and some mofussil areas which read, “Not Mid-term Election, not Civil Disobedience, but Armed Revolution”.

To day, even the limited rights of parliamentary democracy, which itself is a form of bourgeois class rule, have become dangerous to the big bourgeois-landlord ruling classes because in the context of the deepening crisis the working class and the people are intensifying their class struggle by utilizing these very limited rights. For that reason attempts are being made to establish a Police Raj by butchering parliamentary democracy. In this situation, the struggle for defence of democracy has assumed particular significance.

Serves Reaction’s Game

It is a struggle which, by uniting the widest sections of the people and facing the attack of reaction, can defend the democratic rights of the people and take their struggle forward. Not to conduct such a struggle means to leave the path open for reaction’s attack. Under these circumstances,

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it is necessary to understand the harmful significance of the above mentioned posters.

It is evident that their purpose is to keep the people away and divert their attention from the struggle for democracy and from the demand of mid-term election. Whatever may be the subjective intention of the poster-writers, the objective result of their slogans fully coincides with the aims of the Congress and reactionary conspirators.

The Congress leadership, the traitor clique of Dr. P. C. Ghosh and all reactionary circles representing the vested interests, i.e., all those who are unleashing police terror in West Bengal in the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the jotdars in order to suppress the growing mass struggles—are, for obvious reasons, against this struggle for defence of democracy and the demand of mid-term election. For they know, and correctly know, that this struggle will enhance the fighting power of the workers, peasants and the toiling people.

There is no doubt that this will not bring revolution—the immediate aim of this struggle also is not that—but this struggle, though remaining within the confines of the present social system, will help the development of the revolutionary forces necessary for effecting changes in the social system. This struggle against police terror will, on the one hand, expose further the ruling classes and the conspirators, while on the other, it will enhance the courage and fighting power of the toiling people. As a result, the purpose for which terror is created will be defeated; the class struggles of workers and peasants against increasing exploitation and attacks will be intensified.

If the ruling classes fail to compel the people to surrender or to crush them and if they are compelled to accept the demand of mid-term election, then also there will be no fundamental transformation of society. But it is also understood by the ruling classes that as a result of such developments the strength of the democratic forces, among whom the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the major force.

will increase and the working class and the people will get more democratic rights to build their organization and struggle. If the ruling classes, even then, go forward to butcher these rights with the help of the police and the army, the power of resistance of the people will also be greater. In one word, the class struggle will reach a higher stage.

For all these reasons, the ruling classes and their servitors are against this struggle for defence of democracy and the demand of mid-term election. But they cannot admit these reasons openly. To cover up their opposition to the struggle for democracy, they raise the question of law and order. Congress President Nijalingappa has gone a step further and has said that the aim of this struggle is not defence of democracy, but that it is a cover for armed revolution. He knows that he is telling an untruth but he does it in order to cover up their conspiracy to butcher democracy and justify beforehand their brutal repression against the mass struggle.

Who Really Harms Class Struggle?

It is not difficult to understand the meaning of the opposition of the representatives of the big bourgeois landlord rule—the Congress and their agents. But we find that the poster-writers are also similarly opposing the struggle for democracy; the only difference between them is that the poster-writers are doing it under cover of revolutionary phrase-mongering. According to them, this struggle in defence of democracy and this demand for mid-term election are harmful to the revolutionary struggle. This struggle is supposed to help the ruling classes, what is now needed is armed struggle.

Both sides are opposing the struggle for democracy by using the same words "armed revolution", but using them in different ways. One side, as for example, Sri Nijalingappa says that this struggle for defence of democracy is a cover for armed revolution, and the other side says that it is an obstacle in the path of armed revolution. What wonderful similarity!

The poster-writers will perhaps get angry and retort that

they are being slandered, because they really want armed revolution and that also here and now. But one cannot be ignorant of the fact that revolution is not made by a few leaders or cadres; it is the people who make revolution. The ruling class, by using the state machinery against the advance of the people, compels them to take to the path of revolution and the people take to that path by understanding, step by step, through their own experience, the need for it. Nobody can be ignorant of what revolution means and what kind of people's preparedness is necessary for it after the experience of the October Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Viet Nam liberation struggle and the counter-revolution in Indonesia.

Any sensible political worker who has got minimum contact with the people will have to admit that whatever may be in the brains of certain individuals, the objective situation in West Bengal at present is not this. In this situation, the real meaning of the above-mentioned posters can only be to keep the people passive by preventing them from joining the struggle in defence of democracy and at least to create some provocation. How correct Lenin was when he said that as the revisionists and opportunists help the ruling class by propagating about fundamental social changes through parliament, so also the ultra-revolutionaries help the ruling class in another way by harming the cause of revolutionary struggle under the cover of revolutionary phrase-mongering. All those who write the posters may not know it but the persons who are guiding them do know it.

Those who are writing these posters are mostly persons expelled from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and they constitute a small anti-Party phrase-mongering clique. When the United Front Ministry was in existence, they similarly opposed the U.F. and desired its overthrow. Here also their aim coincided with the aim of the Congress, but the grounds were different as they are at present.

The Congress and the reactionaries charged that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) had created Naxalbari.

and the ultra-revolutionaries charged that the Communist Party of India (Marxist), by becoming a party to sending police forces there, had attacked revolution. If for argument's sake, it is even conceded for a moment that the CPI(M) committed mistakes, then also it is necessary to seriously consider what kind of absurd understanding of revolution it is that revolution will not have to face the police and the military and a revolution melts in the air as soon as small police forces arrive. This is called playing with revolution.

In reality, a healthy peasant struggle for land was declared to be "an armed struggle for capture of political power" and moreover, this land struggle instead of being concentrated against big jotdars was directed against all owners—small and big. The ultra-revolutionary phrase-mongers have harmed the peasant struggle, have placed it against the United Front and have provided weapons to the Congress leadership and the vested interests. The Naxalbari conception is not a conception of militant mass struggle; it is a hotch-potch of extremely irresponsible adventurism and sectarianism. (The adventurist conception of Naxalbari should not be confused with the heroism and militancy of peasants.)

For all these reasons, the slogans and work of the ultra-revolutionaries, instead of helping the mass struggle to advance, are helping the objectives of the reactionary ruling circles.

Role of the U.F. Ministry

In order to understand why, it is necessary to analyse in brief the arguments of the ultra-revolutionaries. Their general argument is that the formation of the U.F. Ministry and the Communist Party of India (Marxist)'s participation in it *have spread parliamentary illusions among the people; that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has become a rank opportunist party by allegedly propagating about basic transformation of society through parliament; that there is no difference between the U.F. Ministry and Congress Ministries, rather the United Front, by bluffing the people, has*

harmed the development of mass struggle; that the people are already prepared for revolution and only a call for revolution is necessary.

We shall take up this last argument later on in course of our discussion on mid-term election. It is necessary here to discuss the other arguments.

Each and every argument of theirs is wrong.

There can be no more vile slander than to say that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has spoken about basic transformations through parliament. A wrong path requires slander for its justification. Our Party has been declaring from the very beginning and every one of our leaders and our Ministers also have always propagated to the people that there will be not only no basic transformation in this way, but the U.F. Ministry will be unable even to check the deepening crisis. But the U.F. Ministry will be able to help the mass movement, and will extend the democratic rights for the same. The workers and peasants, by utilizing these opportunities will take their class struggle forward and through it will be able to gain even some partial demands. The Party has spoken about utilizing the U.F. Ministry as a weapon of struggle.

We do not claim that there were no mistakes or weaknesses in implementing this policy. We corrected some mistakes, still there were some mistakes and weaknesses. But this policy was generally pursued as a result of which the sweep and depth of class struggle have increased and just for that reason the big bourgeoisie and the jotdars have become so infuriated—particularly against our Party.

The adventurists ask: Has the police been completely prevented from being used against mass movements? Has it been possible to use the bureaucracy properly in the interests of the people? The answer is, no, they have not been possible. Had it been possible to do so, Marxism would have been proved to be incorrect. No Marxist can even conceive of such things being possible.

For that reason, our Party has constantly explained the

class character of these organs of the state and many times did that even by demarcating from the United Front and the Ministry. Not to do so would have been a mistake and that have would been revisionism. But the question is whether the big bourgeoisie and the jodars have been able to use the administrative machinery as something at their beck and call as at the time of the Congress regime. No, that was not possible.

The handful of adventurists may not understand it, but the workers and peasants engaged in mass struggles know that they got far more democratic rights and by using them they were able to advance their organizations and movement and to gain some partial demands. Not only that, during this period the people have learnt to some extent through their own experience the class character of the police, the bureaucracy and even of the judiciary.

Parliamentary Illusions

It is also necessary to understand whether the participation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the U.F. Ministry has strengthened parliamentary illusions of the people or it has helped to weaken such illusions.

Marxist theory is not a dogma divorced from the experience of objective life. So long as the people do not understand the correctness of a theory through their own experience, the theory does not become an objective force capable of changing society. Every Marxist knows that bourgeois democracy is one form of bourgeois class rule. But if Marxists just repeated this theory by rote and refused to join the United Front, that would have meant skipping over the present consciousness of the people; that would not have helped to weaken their parliamentary illusions to even a small extent, rather they would have sunk even deeper into the masses. Because, in that case, a Congress Ministry would have been formed and the people would have considered the Communist Party responsible for it. The revisionists and other parties would have got more opportunities to slander the Marxists.

The people would have continued to think that their basic problems could have been solved step by step through parliamentary means had there been a United Front Ministry, i.e., parliamentary illusions would have remained strong.

If, on the other hand, instead of constantly explaining the class character of the parliamentary system, it is simply propagated that the U.F. Ministry is a force helpful to the people—as is mainly propagated by the revisionists and bourgeois liberals—then, it does not help to dispel parliamentary illusions. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has analysed this question from the correct scientific point of view. Hence the formation of the U.F. Ministry has not increased parliamentary illusions among the people, rather during this period the people have gained a great experience.

They have understood to some extent the class limitations of parliamentary system. They will learn more of it in future through constant Marxist propaganda and their own experience of objective life. There can be no more foolish un-Marxian conception than that if only some leaders understand a truth, the working class and the people will automatically understand it by simply hearing sermons from the sacred lips of these leaders. The ultra-revolutionaries are suffering from just this disease.

They asserted that the existence of the U.F. Ministry would hamper the mass movement and class struggle. But objective life shows that the class struggle and people's fighting power have increased. The heroic struggle of the people after the dismissal of the U.F. Ministry in spite of brutal repression proves it. If the class struggle has not at all been intensified during the period of the U.F. Ministry, why have the big bourgeoisie and the jotdars become so infuriated? Why was the Ministry dismissed in the darkness of night? And why are the people fighting against this attack? The bankruptcy of the ultra-revolutionaries has been exposed. But they are unashamed and have manufactured a wonderful explanation that all these are artificial stage-managed affairs of the capitalist class. It seems there is no limit to madness.

Their slogan is "No civil disobedience, no mid-term election, but armed revolution." The theoretical basis of this slogan can only be one of the following two assumptions: (1) There is no difference between parliamentary democracy, Police Raj and fascism; at least it has no significance to the working class. The working class has no interest in bourgeois democracy. In all circumstances and for all time the only alternative before the working class is either revolution or any form of bourgeois rule; there is no necessity for the working class to be concerned about different forms of bourgeois rule. (2) The objective situation in India and West Bengal is ripe for revolution. From the point of view of consciousness and organization, the working class and the people are already prepared for revolution. In such a situation the struggle for democracy can only drag them backward. If the whole question is posed in this way, any person having a knowledge of the ABC of Marxism and with minimum common sense will understand that both these assumptions are totally wrong and nothing but sheer madness.

Class Character of Bourgeois Democracy

According to Marxism, parliamentary democracy—however democratic it may look—is, in the last analysis, bourgeois class rule, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Adult franchise and equal rights of all for propaganda and organization, which are part of bourgeois democracy, are in reality formal rights, because the domination of property ownership by the capitalists and landlords keeps these formal equal rights restricted by a network of innumerable *real* restrictions. The working class and the people being utterly dependent on these exploiters for their living, cannot properly exercise these equal rights.

Moreover, the bureaucracy, the police and the army which are organs of the state are custodians of bourgeois interests. Whenever the people come forward in direct struggle against exploitation, the police and the army come forward as the

real power on behalf of the bourgeoisie. The great Marxist leaders clearly explained this class character of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and bequeathed the basic duty of educating the working class about it to all the Marxists.

The history of different countries of the world has again proved the correctness of this Marxist analysis. Hence Marxist leaders have attacked any attempt to create illusions about bourgeois democracy or any above-class concept about it as a great crime and service to the bourgeoisie. They have relentlessly fought against those revisionists who, by seeing the formal democratic rights, have, instead of developing the class struggle to the highest stage, preached about basic transformations of society step by step through parliamentary means. The modern revisionists under the signboard of "creative Marxism" in new conditions have attacked this basic concept of Marxism. (The Indian revisionists have gone a step further in their degeneration by announcing from their Patna Congress that bandhs and ballots will bring basic changes.) Hence the fight against this revisionist distortion is a regular unavoidable duty of Marxist-Leninists.

But simultaneous with the analysis of the class character of bourgeois democracy, the great Marxist leaders at the same time warned the working class against any attitude of disinterestedness about different forms of bourgeois rule. Fascism, Police Raj and autocracy—all these, at present, are forms of bourgeois class rule. Bourgeois democracy is also another form of this class rule. But the leaders did not confuse these two different forms.

In spite of the same basic class nature of the two, the difference between them is very important from the tactical angle of the working class. According to Marxism, adult franchise is a sign of working class maturity; bourgeois democratic rights like the right to vote, to organize meetings, to form organizations, to propagate, to strike etc., immensely help the working class and the people to fight their partial struggles and in general to intensify their class struggle. Hence the working class is not only not disinterested about these

rights, but is very much interested. Bourgeois democracy is an important school to the working class. The working class did not get even these limited rights as a gift from the bourgeoisie. They had to fight for it and fight with their own blood.

Only when the working class becomes so conscious and organized that it can break the limited confines of bourgeois democracy and establish widest democracy by establishing a new state under its leadership, the necessity of bourgeois democracy ends and it becomes a hindrance.

In answering the sceptics Lenin clearly said that the fight for democracy does not only not hinder the class struggle of the working class, but rather helps it to advance, and for that reason, the fight for securing democratic rights has been assigned to be a task of the working class.

In short, it becomes clear that just as, on the one hand, not to understand the class character of bourgeois democracy, not to educate the working class and the people about it and to create illusions among them by preaching about the possibility of transformations of society through it, is a naked revisionist deviation, so also, on the other hand, not to recognize the difference between bourgeois democracy and autocracy, and to refuse to struggle for limited bourgeois democratic rights or to oppose such struggle so long as class struggle does not reach the highest stage, are worst ultra-revolutionary infantile deviation. The Marxists in India have to advance by waging firm struggle against both these deviations.

So long as in the objective situation of the country, the alternatives are autocracy or bourgeois democracy, it is the duty of the working class to stand firm on the side of democracy against reaction and not only to stand for, but to be in the forefront of the struggle for democracy.

But when the objective condition of the country and the political-organizational preparedness reach a stage when the alternatives become limited bourgeois democracy or establishment of widest democracy of the people under working

class leadership through revolution, the working class undoubtedly stands for fight for the latter, breaking the narrow confines of bourgeois democracy. For this understanding, we take up the second question, what is the present objective situation in India and West Bengal.

What are the Revisionists up to in Kerala?*

M. Basavapunnaiah

The spate of scurrilous statements and speeches, and the foul attacks launched against the Communist Party of India (Marxist) by the State and Central leaders of the Right Communist Party for no other crime than the CPI(M) has initiated the campaign for struggle against the Central Government for Kerala's food and State's autonomy, strikingly reveals how shameless they have become, and to what degrading political depths they have sunk.

Even the massive support of the monopolist Press represented by newspapers like *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the like to this revisionist slander and hostility to the struggle against the reactionary policies of the Central Congress Government has not stirred the conscience of the Rightists and made them sit up and ask, "What crimes are we committing to get such fulsome praise and support from arch reaction?"

Why this Attack?

Why all this slanderous attack on the CPI(M), what is the crucial issue involved in the dispute? The issue is nothing short of Kerala people's food and the very future of the UF State Government in Kerala; and acrimonious speeches and filthy attacks are being made for no other reason than that our Party is determined to place the entire truth before the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, June 9, 1968.

people and mobilize them for the struggle against the Congress machinations at the State and Centre levels.

It is by now full twelve months since the U.F. Government of Kerala was compelled by the Centre to drastically cut down the already inadequate rice ration of six ounces per day to a meagre three ounces. The Central Congress Government refused to move and do its part in alleviating the people's misery. The best of the State Governments's efforts to procure surplus food in the State cannot extricate the people in the State from this grave food shortage with things as they are.

Add to it, the Central Government not only wantonly withdrew the food subsidy it was giving to Kerala for years, but also increased the price of foodgrains supplied to the State. With what face can the U.F. Government ask the people of Kerala to bear the burden of this additional price-rise, while it is in no position to provide more than three ounces of rice ration per day? The U.F. Government was left with no option but foot the bill from its depleted resources, which amount to Rs. 25 crores per year if the ration is 6 ounces and Rs. 12½ crores if it continues at the 3 oz. 'chicken ration' as it has come to be rightly ridiculed in Kerala. Is there any doubt that at this rate it is a matter of only few months before the State faces a financial crisis?

The problem that squarely faces the people of Kerala and the State Government is to either allow these Congress machinations of starving the people without food and financially fleecing the State with the diabolical aim of discrediting and toppling the U.F. Government, or mobilize the entire people as one man for the struggle to defeat these Congress machinations. To have allowed this grim situation to develop and helplessly wait for full twelve months without taking the people into full confidence and placing before them the whole truth is not what was expected of the political parties that are manning the U.F. Government in the State.

Our Party, as the major partner in the U.F. knows that it has already delayed too long, whatever be the reasons for

this undue delay, and has deemed it its duty to take the issue seriously.

Blatant Lies by Rightists

The revisionist leaders, who call themselves Communists, have no compunction, at this very juncture, to raise a big ballyhoo against our Party's move, one calling it 'inopportune', the other calling it 'going alone' and still another raving that it is a 'stunt' to appease the so called rebellious elements inside the CPI(M). They have the cheek to tell the public that our Party did not place the issue before other allied parties before deciding to launch the campaign for struggle against the Central Congress Government. How can one characterize all this except as atrocious lies by the Right Communist leaders, who choose to act as the unashamed apologists of the Central Congress regime?

The truth is that our Central Committee, as well as our State Committee, had repeatedly raised this question, and openly appealed to all the allied parties in the UF; and this was done time and again during the last ten months, beginning with the resolution of our Central Committee in the middle of August 1967. Let the facts speak and pin these lies for what they are.

Our Central Committee analysing and assessing the achievements and shortcomings of the U.F. Government in Kerala, as early as the middle of August 1967, in an openly published resolution, observed:

"All the other problems were, however, overshadowed by the food problem. The State which is deficit to the tune of sixty per cent of foodgrains depends entirely on Central supplies to keep its rationing system, under the system of Single-State food zones. Its food problem cannot be solved without outside supplies. The continued failure of the Central Government to fulfil its commitments of supplies of rice had accentuated the food situation, and often brought the system of rationing to the verge of breakdown and created difficulties for the State Government.

Shortcomings Pointed out

“It must be admitted that the Party in Kerala was not alive to its responsibilities to independently mobilize the people for correct solutions of the problems. Our Party’s representatives in the United Front have been putting forward, from time to time, only such proposals as are likely to be immediately accepted by other partners. This was seen in the fact that for a long time they did not raise the question of State monopoly of foodgrains and put forward concrete proposals to implement it. Neither did the Party independently campaign for it.

“On the other hand, they contented themselves with proposing an improved version of the graded system of levy, which had been in vogue since long. It was necessary to keep checkpoints around the surplus districts and prevent the flight of foodgrains from those districts if even this levy system was to be effectively implemented. And our Party firmly fought for this. But almost all other parties—and foremost among them were the Right Communists—demanded the removal of check-posts and in face of this, we had to agree to this demand.

“The price of rice selling outside the ration shops has risen phenomenally. It is this that has given courage to the Congress party to attempt to rouse the people against the U.F. Government, concealing the Central Government’s failure to supply the promised grains. The C.C. calls upon the U.F. to unitedly mobilize the people and frustrate these attempts. It calls upon the Party units in Kerala to rise to the occasion and immediately mobilize both independently and jointly with the other coalition partners in this struggle against the vested interests.”

And further, “The revisionists who had demanded only the levy system and not monopoly procurement, but who by demanding the removal of check-posts virtually advocated free trade, joined this chorus. They, too, sought to screen the main culprit, namely the Central Government, and to blame the State Government for aggravation of the food situation.”

If all this did not make sense to the revisionist Rip Van Winkles, who is to be blamed for it? If this open appeal for united action against the conspiracy of the Central Government for the food of the Kerala people and for the democratic rights of the State does not stir them for months, what right have these gentlemen to complain that our Party did not and does not seek the cooperation of the allied parties in the united struggle? When our Party had raised the question so sharply as early as August 1967, is it elementary honesty on the part of the revisionist leaders and their bourgeois patrons to try to mislead the public by spreading the lie that our Party was insisting on the launching of the struggle as a diversion because of the so-called extremist pressure from its ranks?

Not the First or last

Was this resolution of our Party the first and last of its nature? No. The next meeting of our Central Committee, meeting in the first week of November 1967, in Kozhikode in Kerala, once again adopted a resolution which dealt with the Kerala situation. Relevant portions are reproduced here so that the people can judge as to how the revisionists try to deceive the people hoping people's memory is short.

The resolution said, "What is even more criminal of the Congress rulers at the Centre is that since the formation of the United Front Government in the State in which the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the leading force, they have been using food as a weapon against the non-Congress Government. The sharp fall in Central supplies to the State after the formation of the U.F. Government is clear evidence of the deliberate discrimination practised by the Central Congress Government against the non-Congress Government of Kerala. The Congress leaders are hoping to discredit the State Government by starving the people".

"It is unfortunate that the Right Communists as also the SSP leadership in the State are playing the game of the Congress by directing their criticism against the State

Government and apportioning blame, instead of pinning down the crime on the real culprit, the Central Congress Government”.

“Placed as the State is today, the Kerala Government, whatever the measures it adopts, cannot assure the people with even six ounces of rice, leave alone feeding them with adequate food-grains, unless it receives enough stocks of rice from outside the State. It has neither the constitutional authority nor the resources to buy the stocks it requires from wherever it is available”.

“Denial of food to Kerala is part of the Central Government’s political offensive against the democratic non-Congress Governments, first and foremost against those in Kerala and West Bengal”.

“Not a single person with a democratic conscience can allow the Congress rulers to use food as a weapon against political parties which oppose their reactionary policies . . .”

“The Congress rulers must be made to honour their commitments to Kerala in the matter of food. This is not a fight of the Kerala people alone, it is a fight which all democratic forces in the country have to wage”.

What was the response of the revisionists and some of their apologists in the Kerala United Front and Government to this appeal of our Party? Nothing but busying themselves in vilification campaign against the CPI(M) for all the ills the people of Kerala are suffering from and thus undermine people’s confidence in the U.F. and its Government.

Polit Bureau’s Resolution

Again, a third time, in the month of March 1968, our Polit Bureau after having discussed the grave food and political situation that was developing in Kerala, stated openly in a special resolution on Kerala this :

“In these conditions, the only course left open to the State Government is to demand that it be allowed to purchase in any part of India or outside the necessary quantity of rice and other foodgrains and discharge its elementary

responsibility of supplying the people of the State a minimum of 12 ounces of foodgrains per day on a no-profit, no-loss basis.

“The Central Government refuses to accept this demand also. Under the circumstances, the P.B. appreciates the policy of the Kerala Government not to raise the retail price of rice in the ration shops, despite the heavy increase in the supply price by the Government of India. The P.B. wishes to point out that this position cannot continue for long. Very soon the alternative posed before the State Government by these diabolical policies of the Central Government will be either to increase the price of rationed rice or to face financial bankruptcy within the next four months”.

“It is highly improper for any democratic party, and particularly for a revolutionary working class party like the Communist Party of India (Marxist), to be forced into such a helpless position of acquiescing in the supply of three ounces of rice ration and that, too, by additional price-rise while remaining in the Ministry. The continuation of our Party in the coalition Government, under these conditions without leading the struggle of the entire people of Kerala against the Centre for adequate food at reasonable prices, would be compromising its position in the extreme. Hence the P.B. is of the opinion that our Party together with its allies in the U.F. Government of Kerala will have to confront the Central Government irrespective of the consequences.”

Appeal from the Plenum

The same is once more reiterated by our Central Plenum held at Burdwan during the middle of April 1968 and the resolution of the Plenum ends with the following appeal :

“The C.C. Plenum of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic forces in India, and particularly to the parties in the U.F. to rise to the occasion and rouse the people to the grave dangers facing them and prepare them for the struggle in defence of their food, the right to their democratic Government and State’s autonomy. It directs all Party units, and

especially the Party units in Kerala, to forthwith launch a mighty mass campaign and mobilize the people for these great tasks.”

Inside the Kerala U.F. Coordination Committee itself our Party had raised this issue and the September 11 Bandh against the Centre was organized in pursuance of that. The Committee had also appointed a sub-committee to decide on the launching of the struggle. And the fact is that it is the Right Communists who have been dodging the struggle on one pretext or other.

In face of these facts, it is atrocious on the part of the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party as well as its Kerala leaders to tell the lie to the public that our Party has not sought their cooperation for the struggle against the machinations of the Central Congress regime.

Another Form of serving Congress

Why do the revisionists indulge in this malicious campaign against the CPI(M) and that, too, on the issue of food struggle against the Centre, and that again, after full twelve months of putting up with the supply of three-ounce ration a day for the people of Kerala? Motives apart and ignoring the silly reasons they advance, one is left with no conclusion but that the revisionist class collaborationist line of united front with the Congress is now sought to be achieved through their treacherous role inside the United Front formed against the Congress, i.e., through isolating the CPI(M), undermining the UF and its Government and objectively helping the game of Congress reaction and counter revolution. The glaring fact that the entire big bourgeois Press has been solidly backing the revisionists smear campaign against the CPI(M), on this issue, dispels all doubts in this regard.

To cover up this open and blatant betrayal, the revisionist leaders shamelessly echo the slanders hurled against the CPI(M) by the out and out reactionary parties and their Press in the country. They malign our Party saying that it did not join the U.F. Government to serve the people with whatever

limited relief that a non Congress Government can afford to give under the present set up but to make "the Government *only* an instrument of agitation."

See what two Right Communist leaders, M. N. Govindan Nair, himself the Agriculture Minister in the U.F. Government, and P. K. Vasudevan Nair, MP, say on the subject.

As *Patriot*, on June 2, reports, Govindan Nair alleges, "The CPI and other parties of the U.F. believed that the Government could afford relief to the people, but the CPI(M) leaders viewed the Government only as an instrument of struggle." Vasudevan Nair observed, "while the CPI(M) thought that nothing could be done in the State so long as the Constitution and the reactionary Congress Centre were there, the CPI thought that certain steps that would give some relief to the people could be taken by the Government within the limits of the Constitution."

Where were these two gentlemen when their own Party Congress at Patna adopted a Political Report which says, "These [non-Congress] Governments should be viewed as weapons in the hands of the masses in their struggle against exploiters and for a better life".

So the two wise revisionists, at last, have discovered the basic cause of the present controversy over the issue of struggle against the anti-people policies of the Central Congress Government : The Right Communists have joined the United Front and its Government for giving relief to the people—what the Patna Congress says is only for deceiving the masses— while the CPI(M) has joined the U.F. Government to use it *only* as an instrument of struggle!

May we ask these two Right Communist trumpeteers what sort of other relief to the Kerala people they are prattling about while shamelessly asking them to put up with the starvation three-ounce rice ration, deliberately imposed upon them by the Centre during the last twelve months?

May we also ask these gentlemen what sort of relief to the people they are contemplating when the State's coffers are going to be empty in a few months' time, if the Central

subsidy for food, deliberately withdrawn by it, is to be borne by the State Government as at present?

Lastly, how is it that these great stalwarts, who boast their exclusive mission is service to the Kerala people, dare not mutter a word of protest against the Congress leaders who supplied a six-ounce ration to the Keralites when the country's food production was a bare 75 million tons because the Congress party was ruling the State under cover of the President's regime but plead utter inability today to even keep up the promise of the former quantum of the foodgrains when there is a bumper harvest in the country and the total grain production has reached a new height of 95 million tons? And why are they with such gusto hurling themselves against the CPI(M) for its call for struggle against the Centre for the supply of more foodgrains than the present shameful three ounces a day?

It is a dirty slander to say that our Party does not believe in certain possibilities of limited relief to the people by the non-Congress democratic Governments. Our Party has been openly, frankly and unequivocally stating its position about the nature of these limitations and how the Central Congress Government systematically conspires to topple these Governments and deprive the people of even this scanty relief, and how without constant struggle against the Congress by the U.F. at the Governmental level as well as at the popular level outside the legislatures, nothing, practically nothing can be achieved by these State Governments. Life during the last fifteen months has completely corroborated the truth of our stand.

While it is deliberate slander to say that our Party believes that the U.F. Government is "only an instrument of struggle", it certainly does believe that it can and should be utilized also as an instrument of struggle by the people, in furtherance of their aims and objectives, besides whatever little relief that can be secured through it, provided all the parties in the Front act according to this understanding.

Do the revisionists entertain the illusion that they can

impose their bankrupt class collaborationist understanding on our Party, the understanding that these State Governments are transitional Governments on the way to their ill-conceived National Democratic Government and State, the understanding which helps them to cling on to ministerial posts singing encomiums to the Congress brand of democracy, its Constitution and its administration at the Centre, no matter whether people get only three ounces of rice or the State Government secures its due financial assistance from the Centre.

It is high time that the Right Communist and others who think like them discarded such illusions.

The grave food situation and the alarming financial position that the U.F. Government is facing today in Kerala is, in the main, the deliberate and calculated making of the Central Congress regime, and the omissions and commissions of the U.F. Government, if any, and for which all the parties in the Front will have to share the responsibility, cannot be counterposed as the basic reason for the crisis. This would tantamount to shielding the real culprit and acting as unashamed apologists of the Central Congress Government.

This, indeed, is what is being done by the Right Communists, and they are not ashamed of it yet.

Every party in Kerala should be ashamed not only for having allowed the people to suffer such great misery for a whole year but for not placing even all the facts before them to rally them in a just struggle for their food. The Right Communists who have been oblivious of even the need for such a struggle should be all the more ashamed.

If the parties in Kerala feel the shame for not having led the people in their struggle for their elementary demand for food, that holds out hopes for the future. Let those who are guilty of shielding the Central Government and indulging in the criminal attempt to divert the growing people's discontent against the CPI(M) feel ashamed of playing such a role as pledged partners in the U.F. Government of Kerala; let

them join the just struggle for people's food and the State's democratic rights; and let all the U.F. parties, as one man, go to the people and rouse in them the sense of national shame to which they are today subjected by the wicked and reactionary policies of the Central Congress Government. Either the democratic parties in Kerala rise to the occasion and act in time and unitedly to defend the U.F. Government, or it gets toppled by the calculated Congress machinations—to go down in history unhonoured, unwept and unsung.

Revisionists Ally with Jana Sangh in Punjab*

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

It was not for nothing that the Patna Congress of the revisionists had to delete the portion in their programme dealing with the characterization of political parties. Apart from the fact that these formulations did not stand the test of time and proved to be wrong, they were being quoted by some of their members against the opportunist line pursued by the leadership.

About the Jana Sangh they had stated in the programme that: "the Jana Sangh is not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organization wedded to Hindu revivalism. It foments communal fanaticism against the minority community and organize communal rioting. The RSS is, moreover, organized along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements".

How could they join the Ministries with parties like the Jana Sangh after the above characterization? Therefore, their leadership first decided to put this characterization in the cold storage and later remove it altogether from the programme. In fact, as soon as general elections were over and the Jana Sangh emerged as a strong party in U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, in their bid to join non-Congress Ministries, the revisionists began to advocate that the line of no truck with the Jana Sangh is wrong, that its rank and file is changing

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and that its leaders are becoming more anti-imperialist. This new assessment was not based on any class analysis but simply to justify their joining the Ministries with the Jana Sangh. In reality, they had announced that they are prepared to join the non-Congress Ministry anywhere whether it was a Swatantra or a Jana Sangh Ministry.

Non-Class Approach

This non-class approach towards the Ministries have led them to thoroughly opportunist politics and opportunist alliances. It does not matter for them as to whether these alliances go against the cause of the working class movement and democratic movement in general. I will confine myself here to their practice in Punjab.

The revisionists in Punjab had joined United Front Ministry along with the Jana Sangh. Our Party had also lent support to that Ministry on the basis of programme but had refused to join it. While the revisionists wanted to have a programmatic alliance with the Jana Sangh and others outside the legislature, we refused to be a party to it. During the U.F. Ministry while they were holding joint rallies with the Jana Sangh and other parties, our Party was carrying on its independent activities. So much so that they would not hold any meeting of their Kisan Sabha without some Minister attending it.

Even after the toppling of the U.F. Ministry they have formed the general united front with the Jana Sangh and are actively participating in it. On the other hand, our Party has made it clear that we are prepared to join with any party on any concrete issue concerning the interests of the masses but we are not prepared to join with the reactionary parties in a general united front.

The non-class approach of the revisionists has made them so thick with the Jana Sangh that they cannot take an independent stand on important issues affecting the State. They are completely trailing behind the Jana Sangh. Two questions are worth mentioning.

Language Question

Even after the reorganization of Punjab on linguistic basis there has been opposition to the Punjabi language being given the status of State language as other languages were having in their States. It came from the Jana Sangh and Hindu communal elements in the Congress. It was after a big struggle that the Punjab Legislative Assembly passed a Bill in its December 1967 session introducing Punjabi as a State language. The Bill was defective in the beginning and had the seeds of disruption but with the acceptance of an amendment moved by our Party it was radically improved. The Right Communists in the Assembly joined with the Jana Sangh in raising false bogey of danger to Hindi. Everybody knows that there is no opposition to Hindi in Punjab and the reality is that no other language in the country has suffered so much due to neglect as Punjabi. Under communal influence, a section of Punjabi-speaking people had been disowning Punjabi. It is after a long period that the voice of Punjab began being Punjabi.

The Jana Sangh was keeping mum on this question for some time. But when the provisions of the Punjabi Language Act began to be implemented and instructions were issued to the Municipal Committees to issue their agenda, notices and proceedings in Punjabi by amending the rules, the Jana Sangh again began kicking up a row. The Punjab Jana Sangh President, Dr. Baldev Prakash, characterized this Act of the Punjab Government as anti-Hindi and announced that the Jana Sangh would do everything in its power to seek the withdrawal of this anti-Hindi amendment in the rules. This statement of the Jana Sangh leader was published in the organ of revisionists with prominence and without any comment.

On the other hand, the revisionists came out openly in defence of the Jana Sangh on this issue. In his Press statement on June 9, Satya Pal Dang stated that "the Communists did not support the Gill Government's policy of 'hunting' Hindi out of Punjab and suspending civic bodies on the

language issue Municipal Committees should be allowed to use Hindi if they wanted this". (*Tribune* June 10, 1968)

Can the revisionists explain how Hindi is being hunted out of Punjab? On the basis of what principle do they advocate that the use of Hindi be allowed in civic bodies? Are they not playing into the hands of the Jana Sangh by raising these slogans? They have no answer to these questions. The only answer is their revisionist ideology which breeds opportunist politics and now they want to be on the safe side with the Jana Sangh.

Displeasing the Jana Sangh

Yet another issue has exposed their unprincipled stand. A bye-election has been announced for the Hoshiarpur Parliamentary seat because a Congress M.P. has been unseated as a result of election petition. In the last general elections, this seat was contested by the Congress, the Jana Sangh and our Party. The Congress got about 95,000 votes, the Jana Sangh about 93,000 and our Party got 70,000 and some independents got another 70,000. Many months back our Party wrote to the Right Communists and Sant Akalis seeking their support for our Party but they kept quiet.

But after the Supreme Court decision on the petition the issue became an urgent one. The revisionists instead of taking a clearcut position of supporting us, began to give counsel to both the Jana Sangh and our Party to have a joint candidate. In personal talks they were informing us that they would support us. But their hatred for our Party is so much that they would prefer to have a Jana Sangh candidate or anybody else rather than our candidate, though they are aware that we are a stronger force in this constituency amongst all the democratic opposition parties.

On the 14th the State Executive Committee of their party passed a resolution "appealing to both the Jana Sangh and the Marxist Party to give up their narrow claims and agree to a common candidate."

They have also suggested in the resolution that this

bye-election be fought by the United Front which includes both the Jana Sangh and the revisionists, but does not include our Party. In the editorial of their Party organ *Nawan Zamana* dated June 15, they have again come out with an appeal to our Party and the Jana Sangh asking both to "give up the party interests and give weight to common interest by agreeing to a common candidate."

Can there be a common candidate for the Jana Sangh and the Communists? Only the revisionists can explain.

The election is a big political battle where the democratic parties get an opportunity to approach even the backward sections of the people and mobilize them against the reactionary parties of the ruling classes. From the class point of view the Jana Sangh represents the same ruling classes as the Congress. Have they forgotten that the Jana Sangh is the party of extreme reaction? What is its difference with the Congress? Is it not that the Jana Sangh considers that the Congress is not sufficiently serving the ruling classes? Does it not want still greater concessions for the monopolists? Does it not strive to sabotage trade with the socialist countries? What is the foreign policy it advocates?

What are their arguments in support of their contention? According to their resolution, "This bye-election is being held in the background of the black record of the Gill Ministry of defectors which is guilty of anti-people policies, police repression, corruption and favouritism. The Congress party is responsible for keeping the Ministry in power. Therefore it is necessary to defeat the Congress in this bye-election."

This is the reason they advocate against the Congress. A strange logic! The Congress is to be defeated in this bye-election not because it is responsible for all the ills of our country but because it is keeping Gill in power and the Gill Government is pursuing anti-people policies. Are the policies of the State Government going to be debated in the parliamentary bye election or the Congress policies as a whole? Moreover, if the Gill Government goes (as it is sure to go), what are going to be the tactics of the revisionists?

Another argument of the revisionists is that in a triangular contest the Congress is likely to win. First, this assessment of theirs is incorrect. In case the revisionists and Sant Akali Dal support our candidate, he is sure to win irrespective of the Jana Sangh contesting him. Secondly, what position are they going to take during the mid-term poll if they are posed with the same question of division of votes because of a dispute between the Jana Sangh and their party? Are they going to surrender their seats in favour of joint candidates and thus merge their party with the united front?

Our Party is not prepared to agree to surrender the independent position of our Party before the parties of the ruling classes.

The reality is that whatever the revisionists talk and write with a view to hoodwink their ranks, their non-class opportunist politics has made them avowed enemies of our Party and they do not even hesitate to befriend with the Jana Sangh against us. Their proposal for a joint candidate for the Hoshiarpur parliamentary seat is only intended to deprive our Party of its seat.

Utter Degeneration

Having given up the fundamental outlook of Marxism-Leninism, and having taken the line of trailing behind the bourgeoisie, the revisionists came out against the party of the working class and democratic movement and serve the interests of the ruling classes. It becomes difficult for them to choose between the Jana Sangh and our Party. In degeneration they go to the extent of building a programmatic united front with parties like the Jana Sangh.

Their stand on the Hoshiarpur parliamentary bye-election is an eye-opener for those who still cherish hopes about the revisionists coming back to the Communist fold. There is nothing common between revisionism and Marxism. The Communist movement can march forward only by defeating this alien trend.

Communist Party and the United Front*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

I

The debate between various constituents of the seven-party United Front—between the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Right Communists particularly—has drawn different reactions from various quarters.

All those anxious about the stability of the United Front and its Government are stunned by this debate and regret that things have shaped out this way. They are afraid for the stability of the non-Congress Front and Government—the fruit of their long-cherished desires and relentless efforts. Some of them are also disappointed that “these people also like Congressmen are quarelling among themselves and ruining the State”.

Among the Enemies

In the enemies of the United Front the debate and quarrels have created glee. They feel that they will be able to get out of the predicament created by the formation of the United Front against all their wishes and expectations and the success the Front won in the Fourth General Elections. They hope that this Government will collapse if not today at least tomorrow and President's rule will follow it. They also hope that once this Front falls apart, the Congress will not have

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to face another such powerful Front. In furtherance of these desires, to utilize the differences and quarrels inside the United Front in their favour, they are making organized efforts to intensify the present quarrels and invent and give currency to stories so as to spread demoralization among the friends of the United Front and create new hopes among its enemies.

Though not in the category of enemies, there is a section opposed to the United Front inside the Front itself—these are the elements inside each constituent party who maintain inimical feelings towards one or more parties of the Front. A section of Right Communists who had to swallow their debacle in the 1965 mid-term elections, who hold the CPI(M) mainly responsible for this debacle of theirs and for this reason hate it and who are ever prepared to use every opportunity to fight it; a section of the RSP which, though not to the same degree as the Right Communists, deal with issues with the same attitude to an extent; a section of Marxist Communist comrades and sympathizers who are opposed to the United Front tactics of the CPI(M) leadership since these tactics created the opportunity for the Right Communists who had been wiped out in the 1965 mid-term elections to raise their head again with the 1967 elections—variations of these three can also be seen in the other parties.

All these elements saw the recent debate from their own particular viewpoint. They were happy that they had the opportunity now to try to oust from the United Front and Government those constituents whom they opposed and, if that was not possible, at least to weaken such parties. If there were Marxist Communists and sympathizers who demanded that the Rightists should be thrown out, the reverse side could be seen among the Rightists. Similar was the approach of the RSP's which took up the stand, "let the Communist Party (Marxist) form the Government with those whom it wants, we will keep out". Each one of them, knowingly or unknowingly, helps the enemies of the United Front. For this very reason, they get all help from the enemies of the Front.

Meaningless Propaganda

Worth particular mention in this connection is the organized propaganda that is being carried on that extremist influence is growing in the CPI(M), that because of the extremist pressure the CPI(M) leadership is getting ready to oust the Rightists, etc. Earlier, their story was that the "Marxists were themselves planning to quit the Front and the Ministry". All the newspapers which day in and day out oppose the United Front and its Government, have actively spread this story. It is clear that this propaganda is aimed at strengthening the opponents of the United Front inside each of the constituent parties.

Officially, on behalf of the CPI(M), its State Committee Secretary, Comrade A. K. Gopalan has made it clear that this is a baseless fabrication. He has categorically stated that there is no question of the CPI(M) quitting on its own or trying to oust any other constituent. But these people still continue their campaign. It will, therefore, be useful, to examine the false nature of this propaganda, to refer to some of their earlier campaigns of a similar nature and what effect they had.

When about a year ago, CPI(M) General Secretary, P. Sundarayya came to Kerala along with Polit Bureau Member A. K. Gopalan, these same newspapers, had stated that the visit was to implement the all-India leadership's decision to remove me from Chief Ministership and place Comrade A. K. Gopalan there. Even some of the constituent parties of the United Front, specially the Right Communists, believed this to be true. Along with the papers which openly oppose the United Front and the Government, Right Communist papers, which are supposed to be supporters of the United Front, also joined to conduct this propaganda.

Prior to this, for some time they had carried on another campaign that there were "liberals" and "extremists" in the all-India leadership, that I was a "liberal" and Comrades Sundarayya and Gopalan were "extremists". It looked as if the Right Communist papers were competing with the Congressite papers in conducting this campaign.

Rightist Dream at the Time of the Plenum

The speculations they made and the reports they spread on the eve of the State Plenum in January were in continuation of this propaganda campaign. They said that the "extremists" would get a majority in the Plenum, that afterwards there would be changes in the Ministry and so on. They did not hesitate even to classify the delegates from the districts and count the votes and on that basis make "forecasts" about the Plenum. When, belying all these "forecasts", the Plenum concluded making it evident that the Party's unity had been even more strengthened, the election of Comrade Gopalan as the Secretary of the State Committee was interpreted by them in two ways—one, that it was a victory of the "extremists", the other that it was a tactic of the "liberals" to tame the "extremists".

They did not hesitate in making speculations about the all-India Plenum either. With supreme self-confidence they forecast that the Party would be split into two in Burdwan. When this forecast also was belied, they came out with the explanation that "a split was avoided by making a compromise with the extremists". When here and there some individuals and groups began indulging in anti-Party activities in violation of the Plenum decisions, they again hoped the CPI(M) would split into two from top to bottom. The present campaign is yet another expression of this hope.

Not only those papers openly opposing the United Front, not only the Right Communist Papers and Party Committees, even their Ministers are echoing this propaganda. It is notable that in a statement M. N. Govindan Nair made a few days ago, he made a contrast between "the policy of the sensible E. M. S and the policy of the impetuous Sundarayya". Such references are also there in some of his public statements regarding the Idikki incidents. It was by putting together his statement and some boastful statements of those who call themselves "extremists" that Congressite papers spread stories like "another Vietnam being organized in Idikki", etc. Congress papers on one side, self-styled extremists on the other, a Right

Communist Minister in between—all the three together have raised a storm against the CPI(M) and its leadership.

It is my duty to advise the Right Communists that it is better to give up these dirty tactics. They must remember the result of their campaign against us in 1962-63 charging us with being “Chinese agents” and in 1964-65 in the name of “the alliance with the Muslim League”. A repetition of that today would cut at the very root of the non-Congress Front in which they and we are participating.

Method of Work of a Revolutionary Party

Anyway, I consider it my responsibility as a member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) and as the Chief Minister of the United Front Government to state all the facts regarding the questions that are under debate today

Before that, let me state again what has been made clear earlier, the all-India leadership of the CPI(M) functions with much stronger unity than the leadership of any other party in India. All the ideological policy documents which form the basis of the Party’s unity have been adopted unanimously by the Polit Bureau and all such documents prepared by the Polit Bureau have been accepted by the Central Committee with overwhelming majorities. The same was the case with most of the State Plenums and the Central Plenum. Thus the CPI(M) has a political line which has been adopted with the support of 80 per cent of the Party membership.

As in the matter of political policy, so on the question of organizational policies to implement the political line, the same unity exists in the Party. The Party has a leadership which evaluates the work of every Polit Bureau member on the basis of criticism and self-criticism and corrects mistakes whenever necessary; evolves general organizational principles for the functioning of State Committees and units lower down and reviews their work periodically; corrects those committees and individuals which make mistakes in implementing the Party line and takes action against those who refuse to make the necessary corrections.

It is only natural that discussions on many issues take place in the leadership of a Party which deals seriously with every political and organizational question. Different views and approaches get expressed; the contradictions between them become clear; but as a result of the collective discussions the originally expressed one-sided approach is abandoned and a more correct and acceptable approach is taken.

Similarly, the mistakes and shortcomings in the work of individuals and committees are pointed out; those who are responsible for them are criticized; through this process the mistakes of each one of them are corrected and the guarantee is created that such mistakes will not be repeated in the future. This is the method of functioning of a revolutionary party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism.

My Party and Myself

As a responsible worker of a Party which functions on this basis, my work (just as the work of other comrades) has been criticized. On the basis of this criticism and self-criticism, at various stages many directives (resulting from the discussions in which I participated) have been given to me. I have tried my best to implement these directives and have received all help from my colleagues in this.

It was as a part of this process that Comrades Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan came to Kerala a year ago. The Party in Kerala, and specially myself, who bears the responsibility of the administration in the name of the Party, has to deal with very complex problems which the Party nowhere else in India faces. Simultaneously with dealing with problems, the Party here as in the rest of the country has to conduct inner-Party discussions on many ideological questions and strengthen the Party organization. To help this, apart from Comrades Sundarayya and Gopalan, Comrades Basavapunnaiiah and Ramamurti have also visited the State on many occasions. It is because of the collective effort made by them, me and the State Committee, that the Party in Kerala has

been able to advance with greater unity than ever before on ideological-tactical-organizational questions.

It is this process which is being interpreted as Party control over me. All that I have to say to those who conduct this propaganda is: I am proud to work under the discipline of the Party. There may be individuals in other parties who consider themselves to be above the Party and the movement, but not in the CPI(M). If anyone of us tries to exhibit such arrogant individualistic tendencies, the Party will not tolerate him. If there are people among the enemies who think that by praising me personally they can use me against the Party they are living in a fool's paradise.

A word about the Chief Ministership also: I have taken up this position as directed by my Party (its all-India and State leaderships). The moment the Party thinks I am not fit to continue in this position any longer or that somebody else can fulfil the task better, I will withdraw from this position. My duty, as of other members of the CPI(M), is to do whatever work the Party gives from whichever position the Party assigns. Comrade A. K. Gopalan's attitude is the same. So, there will be no in-fighting in the CPI(M) for Chief Ministership as the so-called "knowledgeable political quarters" propagate. They are trying to fit the names of A. K. G. and E. M. S. to their own ugly images reflected in the mirror.

The Aim of the Criticism

As mentioned earlier, serious discussions have taken place in the Party's all-India leadership and State leadership regarding the problems to be tackled and the policies and programmes to be adopted by the United Front Government of Kerala and the CPI(M) which is one of its constituents. The entire Party ranks have been associated with these discussions. As a part of this process, the views expressed on various occasions by many in the all-India and State leaderships and the work of many of them have been criticized. As a person who has played a not-so unimportant role in all this, my views and work have been naturally subjected to more

criticism. Further, this criticism has also received more publicity.

There are no differences in the Party regarding the object of these discussions and criticism and self-criticism: Strengthen further the United Front and its Government; while making necessary practical adjustments to keep together all the other constituent parties, put forward the Party's independent views on policy and ideological questions without any compromise; improve the work of the State leadership and Ministers who have to fulfil all these responsibilities.

All those who are not jaundiced by enmity to the CPI(M) and examine things truthfully will see that as a result of the collective effort of the all-India and State leaderships the Party has been able to arrive at a clear-cut understanding about the tasks of the Party in the United Front and about the relations that should exist between the constituent parties. The reality is that the Party has fought relentlessly against both the Right-reformist deviation of abandoning the independence of the Party and merging it in the United Front and the Left-sectarian deviation of breaking relations with other constituents of the Front in the name of independence of the CPI(M) and as a result has safeguarded and strengthened the unity of the U.F. and at the same time succeeded in rallying all friends of the Party to campaign for the independent line of the Party. I think it would be worthwhile to look back a little to make this clear.

II

It was in April 1964 that the struggle between the revisionist and Marxist ideologies inside the CPI reached a decisive stage and the process of the formation of two parties began and with the walk-out of the Marxists in protest against the policies of the revisionist majority of the then National Council, the present CPI(M) began to take shape.

Of the 32 National Council members who walked out, six from Kerala immediately issued a statement which expressed the hope that this split between the Marxists and revisionists

in the ideological political organizational spheres should not be a hindrance to the formation of the Left united front necessary for the mid-term elections in Kerala scheduled for 1965 and appealed to the revisionists to co-operate with the formation of such a united front. The basic approach of the CPI(M) towards united front tactics pursued since then could be found in this Statement. And this approach was a continuation of an uncompromising stand in the basic struggle between revisionism and Marxism on the one hand and on the other readiness to co-operate with the revisionists if they were willing to unite and mobilize the non-Congress democratic forces.

First to oppose this approach were the revisionist themselves. They emphatically said that unless we made adjustments on the ideological organizational issues, there was no question of co-operation between them and us in the formation of a non-Congress democratic front. Some articles which supported their stand mentioned me by name and said that it was my eagerness to become Chief Minister that was behind our stand on the united front. M. N. Govindan Nair, to condemn split, said that the inevitable result of the split in the Communist Party would be the victory of Congress in the elections, that if the Marxists had not split the Party, the Kerala administration would have fallen like a "ripe mango" into the hands of Left democratic forces, etc. In the background of the desire of the Kerala people to see the formation of a non-Congress Government, they had perhaps hoped that this propaganda would help to isolate the CPI(M).

On this basis, they went ahead with the slander campaign against us as "Chinese agents", for "capturing the *Deshabhimani*", etc. In all this, Congressite papers gave them unstinted support. M. N. Govindan Nair did not stop there, he attacked A. K. G. and me on the basis of the families into which we were born. Not only did this not have the desired result, it totally boomeranged. A big section of even those who ideologically stood apart from us were disgusted with these dirty tactics. As for Party members, it was clear that

the overwhelming majority had rallied to the CPI(M). The revisionists then had to change their tune. Ultimately they had to accept that there was no difficulty in forming a Left democratic united front with the two Communist Parties in the same way as with parties like the SSP and the RSP.

Thus, they were forced to accept the concept of a united front including the two Communist Parties which they had so contemptuously rejected when we put it forward in the beginning.

Cutting Their Own Nose

Even after this, revisionists adopted tactics, one after another, to try and isolate us from the other parties coming forward to join the United Front. The first blow they aimed at us was on the question of including defence in the United Front programme. Their calculation was that we who had already been dubbed as "Chinese agents" would either reject the demand to include defence in which case they could isolate us from other patriotic parties or we would have to give up our basic stand in which case it would be politically a victory for them. Totally defeating this game of theirs, we took a stand which recognized the need for defence but at the same time stressed the necessity of settling disputes with neighbouring countries peacefully.

This was the same stand which we had taken in 1962. For stating this stand in a speech at a Pazhavangadi Maidan rally then, not only papers like *Mathrubhoomi* and *Manorama*, but also Right Communist papers like *Navajeevan Janayugom* and the then *Deshabhimani* had unleashed an onslaught on me. But without sliding back even an inch from this stand, we pursued it in our talks in the United Front. By 1964, the political situation was very much changed and it was clear that it would not be possible to disrupt a non-Congress United Front in the name of defence.

Then they came with their new tactic. They took the stand that a Left political line should be to defeat not only the Congress but all the reactionaries and, hence, it was neces-

sary to oppose the Muslim League and Kerala Congress as much, if not more than the Congress, and with such a stand, they sought to restrict the scope of the United Front. The CPI(M), SSP and KTP were not prepared to accept this position. All the three parties held the view that there should be some electoral understanding with the Muslim League since it was not likely to join a Left United Front. The Right Communists said this was unacceptable to them and disrupted the United Front.

As in the past, the Congress papers rushed to their aid. Papers, both in English and Malayalam, with gusto propagated that the Right Communists and RSP had taken a principled stand regarding the elections while the CPI(M), SSP and KTP were allying with reactionaries. This gave great hopes to the Congress.

Once more the people dealt a heavy blow to the Right Communists. They rejected with contempt the slander of Home Minister Nanda and Dange, who collected evidence for him, that we were "Chinese agents". The Kerala electorate gave the largest number of seats to the CPI(M). And the revisionists had the honour of forfeiting the largest number of security deposits. It was clear from the election results that the Right Communists had cut their own nose to spite the CPI(M).

Rightists' "Change of Mind"

Following this, the Right Communists were forced to do a self-examination though limited. They accepted that all democratic parties would have to jointly work with the CPI(M) on the demand for rice, working class issues, etc. They also began participating in the political campaign to win the release of CPI(M) comrades in detention. Thus the feeling was created in the people that they would again co-operate to form the united front which they had disrupted before the mid-term elections.

But with the outbreak of the Indo-Pak war the situation changed radically. Under the leadership of Prime Minister

Shastri, Congress and other reactionary forces tried to whip sentiments against Pakistan and China. Most of the Left parties including the Right Communists took part in this. The Right Communists also joined the efforts of others to isolate from other parties the CPI(M) which refused to fall a victim to this anti-China, anti-Pakistan hysteria. They began to shout that there was no such thing as a Kashmir problem, that no settlement with Pakistan was possible, that the nation should unite to face a joint aggression by China and Pakistan, etc. With this the United Front itself ceased to exist.

Even after Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin suggested that a peaceful settlement should be found to the Indo-Pak problem, for some time they stuck to their old anti-Pakistan stand. Only after Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri himself showed sobriety on the issue did a change of heart take place in the Rightists.

As a big blow to this political line came the Tashkent talks. The Shastri-Ayub Agreement was signed. Meanwhile, the food situation in Kerala began to worsen. Only then did the Right Communists agree to a joint agitation on food. This struggle began with the Kerala Bandh of January 26, 1966. Following its success and in the background of the forthcoming elections, the Right Communists and other parties began taking a more realistic attitude to the question of united front. The Right Communists shifted from their old position of the Muslim League being a reactionary party with which no united front was possible. The Muslim League also shifted from its position that Communism was anti-religion and hence there was no question of any united front with the Communists. The concept of a non-Congress front comprising of all parties willing to work jointly on the basis of a minimum programme came to be widely accepted.

Even after the acceptance of not only this principle but also the minimum programme, the Right Communists continued their anti-CPI(M) stand. They insisted on getting constituencies in which the CPI(M) had been proved to be far stronger, and went on postponing endlessly the distribution

of seats. They unnecessarily went on prolonging the United Front talks for weeks together with their insistence that in Quilon district where they were stronger they would not concede a single seat to the CPI(M) but themselves should get at least three seats in the Malabar area where the CPI(M) was stronger. The result was that the United Front had only a very short period to conduct an organized election campaign.

Despite all this the Kerala electorate gave the United Front 117 out of the 133 seats. If the Right Communists who were forced to accept the united front tactics in 1966-67 had accepted it in 1964-65, a United Front Government could have been formed in Kerala two years earlier. But the Right Communists and the RSP which stood with them made this impossible then and helped the imposing of President's rule on the people of Kerala for two years. Still, because of the new approach that they adopted after the blow dealt to them in 1965 the people forgave them for their mistake in 1964-65 and hoped that they would, at least in the future, adopt such policies as would strengthen the United Front and weaken the Congress.

Before examining how far this hope has been fulfilled and if it has not been fulfilled what it is due to, one factor has to be emphasized. And that is that the United Front took shape not only through the struggle on general ideological political organizational issues but through the struggle between the Marxists and revisionists on specific issues connected with the building of the U.F. itself. There were different approaches to issues like the aim of the U.F., the forces that should be included in it, the enemies which it should fight, the structure and form of the Front, the principles to be accepted in the matter of division of seats, etc. and on all these issues there were constant conflicts between Marxism and revisionism. And these conflicts were openly put before the people. It was because all this was done in front of the people that the Right Communists had to correct their mistake. For instance, on the question of attitude to the Muslim League, though there had

been lots of discussions between the parties, without the experience of 1965, the Right Communists and RSP would not have corrected their mistake.

III

The thesis of strengthening unity through struggle is as correct since 1967 as it was till then. As will be discussed later, it is clear that there are differences not only between the Right Communists and the CPI(M) but between many constituents of the U.F. No doubt many of them can be settled through mutual discussions. But issues which each party considers to be of basic importance cannot be solved through such mutual discussions. Public debates (ideological struggles) will have to be conducted on them. There is nothing wrong in holding such public debate and conducting such ideological struggles. They are only natural wherever united fronts for achieving a common aim are formed by parties based on different ideologies and outlooks. Only thing to be guarded is that they should be conducted not to weaken but to strengthen the U.F.

This implies that the constituent parties which conduct such public debate and ideological struggles should do so with mutual respect and confidence. It should not be forgotten that the objective of the ideological struggle on issues where there are ideological-political differences is to evolve with the help of the people a policy acceptable to the whole U.F. Precisely because of this, even while expressing frank opinions about the views of other parties, it should be with a friendly and fraternal attitude. Always to be kept in mind is that there is an opposition party here ever ready to utilize in its own selfish interests the differences and conflicts between the constituent parties of the U.F.

CPI(M)'s Approach

In short, each party while it takes its own independent stand on issues which it considers to be of fundamental importance, should be careful to see that it does nothing which adversely

affects the unity of the U.F. We claim that the CPI(M) has such an approach. If there has been any mistake anywhere, we are only too willing to correct it. It is our hope that other constituent parties will also adopt this approach.

It is on this matter that the CPI(M) cannot agree with the approach of the so-called "extremists". The truth is that at every stage there has been a confrontation inside the Party between their anti-united front approach and the Party's Marxist-Leninist approach and on every occasion it is the Party's Marxist-Leninist approach which has won.

Mid-term Elections

It has been mentioned earlier how the CPI(M) in Kerala had even at the time of the split with the revisionists called for a united front including the revisionists to fight the impending mid-term elections in the State. The approach of that appeal, that of united front, was subjected to inner-Party discussion and criticism. Inside the Party the view appeared that the fight against the revisionists was more important than the fight against the Congress and hence no place should be given to the Rightists in the non-Congress front. Some comrades argued for this line both at the State Party Conference in Alleppey and the all India Party Congress in Calcutta. There were full discussions on the question in both the places and on the basis of these discussions the Party Congress through a separate resolution made clear its policy regarding the Kerala elections. The Party Congress by an overwhelming majority adopted the line of united front including the revisionists.

Central Committee's Decision

Not only in the Kerala election in 1964-65, the same question came up later regarding the general election in 1966-67. The question was again raised whether it would be correct to include the revisionists in the U.F. But the Central Committee which was elected by the Party Congress, when it evolved its tactics for the Fourth General Elections, ex-

tended the understanding of the Party Congress regarding the Kerala mid-term elections to the all-India level. The election strategy evolved by the Central Committee was one of considering the Congress as the main enemy, of exposing before the people parties like the Jana Sangh, etc. which had adopted with some variations the same basic policies of the Congress and of building united fronts consisting of all parties and organizations willing to give up anti-Communism and unite to defeat the Congress. And on this basis, as in Kerala in 1965, the Party tried to build united fronts including the revisionists in West Bengal and other States in 1966-67. (If this effort did not succeed in many States as in West Bengal, the reason was the same as in Kerala in 1965.)

Two Sides of the Same Policy

It is as important to form the non-Congress united front and maintain it as to clearly state the independent stand of the Party on basic issues on which there are differences with constituent parties including the Rightists. These are two sides of the same policy. This approach evolved by Marx, Engels and Lenin was later adopted by the Communist International. The Chinese Communist Party's successful strategy was its continuation.

What can be dominantly perceived in the 20-year Kuomintang-Communist alliance is this "unity and struggle" and the expert use of both. The CPC at no stage gave up the struggle against the Kuomintang leadership. But even while conducting the struggle it had sincerely striven for unity. Ultimately, two armies led by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party declared open war. A few months before the beginning of this civil war, the CPC from its Congress raised the slogan of a "coalition Government" between the Kuomintang and the C.P. A Coalition Government if possible, civil war if necessary—this was the stand of the CPC.

In concretely and scientifically examining issues, all Marxists accept historical materialism as their guide. Marx and Engels are the first teachers who gave form to this theory

and applied them to the situation existing in Europe during their life time. Lenin went forward on the path which they had opened, and basing himself on the principles formulated by them he conducted his revolutionary theoretical and practical activities. Hence the statement "Leninism is the continuation of Marxism". Stalin went forward on the path opened by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Mao Tse-tung followed Marx, Engels, Lenin and also Stalin. Thus Marxists of each generation use the inheritance from their predecessors to carry on their practical revolutionary activity and in their turn leave their own experience as inheritance to the next generation.

But just as Russia, which Lenin examined had its own peculiarities and China which Mao analysed had its own peculiarities different from those of Russia, today's India has its own peculiarities different from those of both Russia and China. Hence to blindly copy here everything that Lenin and Stalin did in Russia or Mao did in China is to challenge the very essence of Mao's contribution. And that essence is to apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the peculiarities of one's own country. To copy in India all that Mao did in China in the same way is to raise Mao to the level of a god and throw away Mao's contribution in practice. Lenin showed how Kautsky committed this crime against Marx.

Law of Contradictions

The law of contradictions in relation to the work of the united front composed of various classes against a common enemy is, as Mao has clearly stated, "unity-struggle-more unity." The participants in the U.F. are interested in vanquishing the common enemy. So what is basic to them is unity. It is in the interest of each constituent to work to development is unity and strengthen it. At the same time, though subordinate to the struggle against the common enemy, there are mutual contradictions between the various constituents without solving these contradictions the unity

of the front cannot be strengthened, cannot even be maintained. And to find the solution there has to be struggle between these constituents— not in a way to strengthen the common enemy but in a manner to weaken it.

It is through this constant process of unity and struggle that a revolutionary front of many classes advances from victory to victory.

Any Marxist Party which seeks to organize a revolution on this basis has first to find answer to the question : Who is the main enemy? Any error in answering the question will adversely affect revolutionary strategy.

We do not have to deal here as to how Mao Tse-tung dealt with this question at every stage in the history of the Chinese Revolution. If we take the case of India, up to 1947, imperialism was India's main enemy and in the anti-imperialist united front the bourgeoisie also had a place. Hence, the Indian National Congress, the political party of the bourgeoisie, had a place in the united front. The law which governed the relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat then (between the Congress and the Communist Party) was "unity-struggle-more unity".

Anti-Congress Struggle

This situation changed after 1947. The bourgeoisie became the ruling class, compromised with the feudals and a bourgeois landlord state came into existence. Inside the bourgeoisie, the main partner in this state, a monopoly section began to develop in collaboration with foreign monopolists. And they began to get the upper hand more than any other section in the state. In this situation it became clear that the main enemy is the Indian big bourgeoisie and its political representative, the Congress, because under their rule national interests were being sacrificed as a result of collaboration with foreign monopolists and the rural poor were being attacked as a result of the compromise with the feudalists. The only way to protect the interest of the working class and peasant masses was to wage the struggle against the

new ruling classes and their political representative, the Congress.

• It became the task of the proletariat and its Communist Party in this struggle against the main enemy to rally in the democratic front along with the workers and peasants all those sections ready to co-operate with the working class—not only the peasantry and the middle classes but also those sections of the bourgeoisie willing to fight the growing Indian monopolists and foreign monopolists who in collaboration with them were exploiting India. But the relation between the working class and the Communist Party and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois sections from the other classes which come into the front is not one of unity alone; it is one of unity and struggle and the law which governs this relation is “unity-struggle-more unity”. Hence the anti-Congress front does not develop in a straight line. In its onward march, on occasions there will be temporary and partial setbacks. When there are setbacks, the task is to reduce its impact and duration, the task is to foresee the twists and turns and avoid the dangers.

IV

With this perspective, the CPI(M) was able to adopt the approach of conducting the struggle against revisionism and at the same time forging united front with the Right Communists in the anti-Congress struggle. This enabled the Party to evolve a scientific policy which combined “unity and struggle” with the revisionists in the period from 1964 to 1967. To strengthen the anti-Congress struggle it is absolutely necessary to fight uncompromisingly against revisionist ideology and activities. But there is a basic contradiction between the revisionist leaderships’s opposition to anti-Congress struggle and the fundamental interests of the ranks of the revisionists which constitute a section of the toiling people. It is with this understanding that the Party, while it conducts the struggle against revisionism has the perspective of mobilizing the ranks of the revisionists also as a part of

rallying all the anti-Congress forces. That is, the Party does not compromise with the revisionists for fear that without such compromise the anti-Congress struggle will be weakened nor does it keep the Right Communists out of the anti-Congress front in the name of “uncompromising struggle against revisionism”. As pointed out earlier, during the Kerala mid-term election in 1965 and the general elections in 1967, the Party had adopted the line of including the Right Communists in the United Front and at the same time, as a part of the process of building up that Front, openly opposing revisionism in the ideological-political-organizational sphere.

Great Success of This Approach

The 1967 election results registered a great victory for this approach of the Party, they also showed the bankruptcy of the revisionist approach. The Kerala and West Bengal Governments dominated by Left forces came into existence. In both these States, the CPI(M) secured more seats than any other Left or democratic party. This position which the CPI(M) secured in two States was not secured by the Right Communists in any State. These are all significant developments. It became clear that in the two States where the Communist Party was gathering strength before the split, it was the CPI(M) which represented it.

To cover this up, the Right Communists tried to get the “honour” of being in the Ministries in three States—Bihar, U.P., and Punjab. And what was the result? The revisionists had to give up a basic position of theirs in the ideological struggle with the Marxists—the position of uncompromising struggle against parties like the Jana Sangh, Akali, etc. The same people who in 1965 in Kerala sabotaged the United Front in the name of uncompromising struggle with the Muslim League did not hesitate to become junior partners in Governments with Akalis and Jana Sangh in 1967. Can political bankruptcy, opportunism to get into Ministries be exhibited more nakedly?

Let that be. In the new situation which developed after the 1967 elections, how do things stand between Marxism and revisionism? Does the principle of "unity-struggle-more unity" still remain valid or has the struggle inside the U.F. ceased because of the formation of the non-Government as a result of the process of struggle since 1964? Has any new law of contradiction of "unity-more unity" replaced the law of "unity-struggle-more unity"?

Every person who believes in contradictions will say that it is wrong to pose the question this way, because it is a basic principle of the law of contradictions that everything in the world moves on the basis of conflicts between contradictory forces. Hence, anyone believing in contradictions will know that contradictory forces exist in the United Front formed in Kerala, that conflicts between them are inevitable and that these contradictions can be solved only through conflicts.

Instability in Kerala Since 1952

There is one factor in Kerala which covers up these realities. Since the first general elections in 1952 political and administrative instability has continued to exist in Kerala. Crises and continuous changes in Government have affected the lives of the people. The people were regretting that because of the Congress attitude of "not being able to rule, at the same time not allowing any one else to rule, political instability has become an incurable curse". From the experience of the 1954, 1957, 1960 and 1965 elections, they had been looking forward to a Government of a party or coalition of parties which could win the majority of seats. They saw the 1967 elections as the opportunity for this. Unlike in all the other States, even before the elections, seven parties formed a United Front on the basis of a minimum programme. And that Front won 117 of the 133 seats and a Government stable for the first time since 1952 has come into existence in the State. The people expected that the Front would be able to govern for five years without any difficulty. The constituent

parties of the Front have only to maintain the unity they forged before the elections, then Kerala will have a stable Government for the first time—this was their evaluation of the election result.

They considered it treason even to hint that even in this situation contradictions continued to exist inside the U.F. and that there would be conflicts between these forces. The enemies of the U.F. tried to spread demoralization among the people who had placed their trust in the U.F. by exaggerating the inevitable differences and conflicts inside the Front. There was reluctance in the beginning to give expression to the differences among the constituent parties themselves. And when these differences became accentuated and began to be aired, there was an uncontrolled expression of views and on their basis, attacks and counter-attacks.

This, at times, reached to a dangerous extent creating alarm in the U.F.'s friends that the U.F. and its Government would crack up and glee in the enemies of the Front. But on each such occasion temporary patchworks were made and unity safeguarded. But since there was no clear understanding about the relations between the various constituent parties of the Front, conflicts again raised their head. Instead of a principled struggle helpful to defend unity, the approach of disrupting unity through attacks and counter-attacks was adopted. This in an extremely intense form has been seen in the last two months in the U.F.

The CPI(M) wishes more than any one else to find a solution to this crisis. We have no intention of either going out ourselves or throwing any constituent out of the U.F. as is being propagated by the enemies of the U.F. whether outside or inside the Front itself. As has been made clear earlier, if any Party gets out of the U.F. on its own or tries to oust another party from it, that will be a betrayal of the pledge to the people. Those who are interested in the further development of the U.F. have to avoid this, find solutions to the conflicts that have recently arisen in the U.F. and further strengthen it.

See the Reality

But it is useless to make good intentioned statements that charges and counter-charges by the various constituents should be ended. The problem cannot be solved even by discussing the issues which have led to the "charges and counter-charges" and reaching an understanding about them. It is necessary to accept certain realities about the character of the U.F. and the relations between its constituents and arrive at mutual understanding on that basis. What I am attempting here is to place the views of the CPI(M) which will help this process.

First, as before 1967, since then also the non-Congress front is an alliance of various classes and sections whose party interests are in conflict with each other and hence differences and conflicts between them are inevitable; but there is another contradiction which is more important than the conflicts between them and that is the contradiction between Congress rule and the people; the objective of taking forward the victory won against Congress rule in 1967 and forming a non-Congress Government at the Centre itself unites the anti-Congress forces.

Kerala and West Bengal Governments —Instruments of Struggle

Second, there are two distinct views on how to take forward the United Front Governments formed on the basis of the unity of anti-Congress forces. One of the two views is that of the CPI(M).

The Party looks at the victory of the non-Congress Front in Kerala and the formation of the non-Congress Government as only a small part of the struggle that has to be waged against the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes and their state on a countrywide scale. A new opportunity has been created for developing the organized strength of the toiling people who, under the leadership of the working class are fighting against the class enemies; this has to be utilized to strengthen the organized strength of the masses— this is the evaluation of the Party of the 1967 March election victory

and of the Kerala Government. And hence the Party's Central Committee stated that the Governments of West Bengal and Kerala must be looked upon as instruments of struggle

The Other Approach

As against this approach of the CPI(M), there is another approach inside the U.F. itself. The non-Congress Governments that have been formed are not to be used as instruments of struggle, the occasion for that struggle is on the eve of the next elections; what is to be done today is to use whatever powers are there to do whatever good things that can be done. If more good things than the Congress did or could do can be accomplished in these five years, that will naturally result in gaining strength for the U.F. (not only in this State but in other States also). As a result, in the next elections, the strength of the Congress would be reduced and that of the U.F. enhanced. The attempt to gain more strength by running a good administration after the election victory and through this gain even more strength and a bigger victory in the next elections will be defeated by the CPI(M) tactics of agitation along with administration—this is the second approach which has taken shape in the U.F.

The difference in the two approaches is a difference between the ideology of two classes which participate in the U.F.—the ideology of the working class and that of the bourgeoisie (or petty bourgeoisie). The first is the ideology of revolution; it is the approach of establishing a new state of the toiling people after smashing the bourgeois-landlord state through revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the working class, it is the strategy of using to the utmost the bourgeois parliamentary system in the activity to attain this objective. This strategy is directed to win majorities and get office wherever possible and utilize it to develop the revolutionary forces.

The second approach is that of making only some changes in the present state instead of smashing the bourgeois-landlord state and establishing a new state through the

revolutionary struggles of the masses, it is a strategy which makes the bourgeois parliamentary system and elections under it all-important, it is the practice of functioning the majority and office that have been won subject to the rules and traditions of the parliamentary system.

V

Third, the same difference as on the issue of combining "administration and agitation" can be seen on the question of Centre-State relations also. The approach and line of the CPI(M) on this question is also very clear. The position today is that in a fully centralized state (at the Union level), as a result of the policies evolved and pursued by the bourgeois feudal ruling classes, it is impossible for the Government of any State to find solutions to the basic problems confronting that State. Hence, for a State like Kerala to find solutions to its chronic problems the policies of the Centre themselves have to be changed. And it is the task of the United Front and its Government to exert pressure for this policy change.

Not only the CPI(M) the United Front as a whole has accepted this reality. The policy statement adopted by the constituent parties of the U.F. before the elections had stated this clearly.

On the question of food, too, the policy statement had said :

"The Government will demand of the Centre to provide in time all the rice requirements of the State's people at prices within the capacity of the poor people of Kerala and will seek the co-operation of the people to exert the necessary pressure on the Centre. It is our opinion that to solve the food problem, substantial changes have to be made in the policies at present pursued by the Central Government. For instance, it is necessary to bring wholesale trade in foodgrains into the State sector, ensuring that small traders and co-operative societies are not adversely affected, guarantee fair prices to the cultivating peasants while at the same

time organizing distribution in such a way as to make food available to the consumers at low prices. All this cannot be done by a State Government alone, specially the Government in a deficit State like Kerala. What the Kerala Government will do is to exert pressure on the Centre to concede the demand that Kerala should get the rice it needs at low prices."

It follows from this that if it is impossible for the Kerala Government to solve the food, unemployment and other problems facing the State, and the Centre has to be made to find solutions to them, a struggle with the non-Congress Government and people of the State on one side and the Central Government on the other is inevitable.

But there are elements inside the U.F. who the moment they hear about struggle against the Centre become afraid or get worked up and abuse the CPI(M) for stating this truth. But even they have at times to participate in anti-Centre struggles (e.g., the Kerala Bandh of September 11, 1967) and even while opposing the concept of struggle against the Centre, they have to make statements that "they are not against struggle, they are only against struggle organized by the CPI(M) alone", etc. That is, they are in the unenviable position of having to pose as being not anti-struggle even while slandering the CPI(M) as the only exponent of struggle against the Centre.

Fourth, not only on issues like "administration and agitation," "anti-Centre struggle", etc. mentioned here, but on many other issues also like industrialization, attitude to labour, etc., there is a basic conflict between the working class approach and bourgeois or petty-bourgeois approach. Naturally this conflict finds expression inside the United Front, too. Even on questions like decentralization of power, official language and education medium, etc. conflicts are taking place all over the country between the interests of the working class and peasant masses and the approach of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. This also gets reflected inside the United Front.

Ideological Conflict

Fifth, it is clear from all this that in such circumstances, ideological conflicts will take place inside the Front. It is also clear that they cannot be confined to the four corners of the United Front. Many questions come up daily in the sphere of administration like the food policy, the Kerala Government should pursue and the place of control and de-control in it, the basic principle of taxation, role of the private sector, especially foreign monopolists, in industrialization, how to strengthen working class struggle and the role of the police and labour departments in it and so on. There will also be such differences naturally on the question of the place of Malayalam, Hindi and English in education and administration. All these differences cannot be covered up. Inevitably, there will be open debates and ideological conflicts on them. But to portray all this as the weakness and disintegration of the United Front will not conform to reality. On the other hand, it will be wise to accept these differences and conflicts as reality and come to commonly acceptable positions on issues on which there are differences.

The Rightist Line

Special mention has to be made here of the differences and ideological conflicts between Marxists and Right Communists. The SSP, Muslim League and other parties do not claim to be Marxists, they also openly declare that on questions like state, revolution, etc., theirs is a position of opposition to Marxism. The position of the Right Communists is different. It is while they claim that they stand firmly by Lenin's teachings on State and Revolution, that they demand "administration and agitation cannot go together, either stop agitation or give up administration". It is while they claim to stand by the Leninist principle that collaboration between Indian and foreign monopolists is harmful to India's national interests, that they also adopted the approach of holding talks with Japanese monopolists as the best way to in-

dustrialize Kerala. They have accepted the slogan of nationalization of wholesale trade in foodgrains, but that has not prevented them from propagating that rice prices have gone up in Kerala because of the checkpoints to prevent movement of rice from one district to another. In short, they have landed themselves in the position where they swear by Marxism-Leninism but advocate bourgeois-petty bourgeois policies and organize campaigns on that basis.

This is what is behind the Right Communist attacks on the CPI(M) in general, and its Ministers and leaders like P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan in particular ever since the formation of the non-Congress Government in Kerala. It is not necessary to go into the details of these attacks here they have been stated on many occasions earlier. It will not be correct to think that these attacks are being made because of any special enmity to certain individuals. It will not also be correct to see it as an attempt to take revenge for the shattering blow they received in 1964-65. More important than all this is the conflict between the revolutionary ideology represented by the CPI(M) and the bourgeois-petty bourgeois ideology which the Right Communists represent. Their principle that administration and agitation cannot go together, their insistence that only after the Kerala Government has accomplished certain specific things can the struggle against the Centre be launched, their approach to food, industrial and labour policies—it is all this that forces them to take a stand against the CPI(M). Their attacks on the CPI(M) is only a part of this basic conflict in ideology.

Seventh, because of this, whenever bourgeois-petty bourgeois ideology in any form appear from the side of the Right Communists or any other constituent of the U.F., the CPI(M) cannot compromise with it, it has the duty to expose before the people the danger which such ideology entails to our democratic system. If the Party fails to fulfil this responsibility, it will be betrayal of the revolutionary working class movement.

It is in this regard that in the period from March 1967 to

August, the Kerala State leadership of the Party, the Ministry and I personally committed mistakes. What the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee did was to correct these mistakes. It has to be emphasized that the Central Committee (Madurai) Resolution of August 1967 and subsequent resolutions, while correcting this mistake corrected another mistake also. Another wrong tendency had begun to raise its head inside the Party, the tendency of disrupting the United Front itself and sacrificing the election gains of the people in the name of correcting the mistake of abandoning the ideological struggle inside the United Front. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee corrected this mistake, too, when it evolved the policy.

Thus while the CPI(M) insists that differences which crop up on issues of fundamental differences should not be covered up, the Party is also vigilant that the method of giving form to this conflict should not lead to the disruption of the U.F. This means not only that no party either on its own leaves the Front or others oust one party from it. The Party is emphatic that the method of discussion and struggle should be such as to help the United Front as a whole to reach a commonly acceptable position.

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