A 8 the Red Flag is solemnity hoisted to announce the commencent of the Seyenth Congress of the Communist Party of India, the millions of tolling people who support the Party will remember with pride and gratitude the sacrifices of the martyrs who gave their lives to see the Party grow into a strong, militant force in the service of the people.

The finest men and women from all the outstanding streams of the national liberation movement joined to oreate and build the Communist Party.

In the years since independence, the same passionate devotion to our country and our people, the same zealous hatred for imperialism and exploitation, the same unshakable confidence in the unity of the working masses of the whole world, the same belief in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the triumph of the international Communist, movement have drawn to the Party's ranks the best sons and daughters of our people.

Here at this Seventh Congress will be the veterans of a thousand a struggles—of great strike actions of the working class, of kisan marches and satyagrahas, of vast movements on the most burning issues, of demonstrations and mass actions against imperialism and for peace.

Each one of the delegates will have taken part in the mighty all-India actions of the last year and a halfthe mightiest on a national scale in the history of our Party-the Great March and the Great. Satyagraha, the Bandh' strikes in state after state and in the unceasing campaign for food and against price rise.

With each passing year the Party has marched forward. The period since the Sixth Congress has teen one in which the severest blow at the Party's growth lass been sought to be given by those who have left the Party and established a rival party.

The delegates to the Seventh Congress, as they hammer out a new Programme for the Party, as they discuss the ideological questions facing the international. Communist movement, as they make their contributions to the finalisation of the political and organisational reports, will pledge thmselves to do all in their power to strengthen the unity of our Party and equally the unity of the international Communist movement.

Imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism, the Seventh Congress will be a landmark not only in the history of our Party and our country but in the history of the entire worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism,



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Great March, September 13, 1963

Vol. XII No. 50 New

New Delhi, December 13, 1964

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#### Ajoy Ghosh signing the Moscow Statement

What is the perspective facing us in India? Conditions are becoming increasingly favourable for the development of a powerful united mass movement and also for winning many demands of the people. For years, for instance, the government had turned down the demand for a Second Pay Commission. Yet, within a few months after the second general elections, when the demand was raised, backed by the threat of a general strike of post and telegraph workers and broad mass support, the government had to agree to the dominat Income that poort months have with agree demand. In every state, recent months have witnessed successful struggles on many issues.

N these struggles, as well In such a context, national as in the struggle for advance is possible only if correct policies, our Party our Party is able to carry out shall strive to unite all de-the three-fold tasks that con-front it— try, including those in the Congress.

Congress. Possibilities of such unity rossibilities of such unity are growing. There are many spheres of common activity in the service of the people in which all pat-riotic elements can come together. together.

At the same time, we have to remember that democratic masses who follow the left parties and have already taken an advanced position have to play a special role in initiating many struggles and activities, in conducting them with vigour and determina-

#### UNITY OF LEFT FORCES

The unity of the left forces -left parties and progressive individuals-continues to be an important weapon to build

broad democratic unity. Our Party, therefore, will inten-sify efforts to forge such

The period ahead is not

tions of a deeper crisis—the crisis of bourgeols policies which we analysed in our Palghat resolution. As the

crisis matures, sharp and swift changes in the situation

Reaction in its effort to solve the crisis at the cost of people and in its own way,

people and in its own way, may resort to desperate mea-sures—scrapping of the pro-gressive features of the Plan, attempt to suppress demo-cracy, attempt to reverse foreign policy with a view to secure imperialist aid.

It would be sheer illusion,

therefore, to think that peaceful path means a path of smooth advance, free from crises, free from con-flicts, free from determined

battle to defend democracy.

may take place.

MMMMMEP DI

SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD !

mocratic unity:

🛧 and, above all, the rearing of a mass Communist Party.

Of these three closely in-ter-related tasks, the key and decisive one at the present moment is undoubtedly the mass Party, for on our suc-cess in building such a Party will depend the unity and effectiveness of the entire democratic movement.

Amritsar Congress, apart from the adoption of the Constitution, was to focus attention on the shortcom-ings and defects in Party organisation and evolve ways

The main purpose of the

for the overcoming of these weaknesses is the creation of the Party.

and means to overcome them

speedily. Certain decisions in this connection have been taken by the Special Congress, deci-sions embodied in the Respinonly one of partial struggles but of sharpening conflict over policies. The crisis of the Plan and the crisis in the Congress are both manifesta-It is the duty and response tion on Organisation which was printed in last week's

It is the duty and respon-sibility of all units of the Party, but above all, of the Party, the National Council, the Central Executive Com-mittee and the Central Secre-

nism and its application to the specific conditions of our country, political unity on the basis of the Resolu-tion adopted in the Cong-ress and its further deve-lopment, organisational unity on the basis of the new Constitution of the Party and establishment of

BUILDING

Central Executive Committee

Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat and by laying down precise rules for their, functioning, Amritsar has taken a major step in the direction of build-

ing such a Centre. The building of a mass

decisions and their imple-mentation, between Com-munist principles and day-

historic mission. All this must inevitably be

- 3

a long and continuous pro-

mradely and fraternal By electing the National to take the initiative and set sphere in all units of Council and forming the an example. a comradely and fraternal the Party.

The organisational problem has many aspects. It was not possible for the Congress to discuss all of them. But one aspect that came up sharply during the discussion is the dearth of effective leadership at all levels and also of effective cadres. Our movement has grown. Our responsibilities have grown. But our leadership,

especially the central leader-ship and the leadership in the majority of states, has not grown correspondingly in maturity, capacity and effectiveness. Our methods of work- ab-

sence of specialised study, of individual responsibility on the basis of collective decisions and regular check-up-have intensified this weak-ness while neglect of the key task of Party education has meant acute paucity of

#### LACK OF CLARITY

## Further, there is lack of ideological clarity on many issues, lack of common understanding on many prob-lems, lack of that unity of will and action which dis-

tinguishes a Communist Party and constitutes the main basis of its strength. Besides this, there are other serious weaknesses as well. Our effective strength, except in the states of Kerala.

Andhra and West Bengal, is still small. The weakness of the Party is especially mark-ed in the Hindi-speaking areas where live nearly 40 per cent of our people. No ground, therefore, exists

for complacency. We are stronger than ever before. But our strength even to-day is meagre in relation to the tasks that the Party has to carry out. The most important task

an effective all-India Party Centre which will act as the national-political Centre of

NEW AGE

Top: Ajoy Ghosh with Harry Pollitt. Below: Ajoy Ghosh with M. Suslov



# MASS PARTY

necessity.

ing burdens on the people, attacks on their standards of life and democratic liberties and rampant corruption in every sphere, it is from us that lead is expected for genuine national policies and for struggle against the evils that beset our economy, our epolitical and social life.

With the Congress regime getting discredited, it is on Kerala that popular hopes and aspirations get more and more centred, to demonstrate how a people's government can tackle people's problems in a people's way.

Above all with the crisis of the present Congress leader-ship deepening, the need for a new alternative national leadership which will unite all that is best in our coun-try and of which our Party

That is why the building up of our Party as a mass Communist Party has become a task of such decisive importance. This is precisely what the Political Resolution of the Amritsar Congress

section:

emphasises in its concluding "The fulfilment of these

rally the popular masses by its initiative in every sphere of national life and by its resolute leadership of the mass struggles. be an important consti-

The above are extracts from an article which Ajoy Ghosh wrote on the de-

eisions of the Amritsar Congress in the NEW AGE weekly of May 18, 1958

## AJOY GHOSH : 'How I Joined The Party'

RETURNING **R**ETURNING from Karachi I started working in the Mazdoor Sabha of Cawnpore and reading whatever books I could get.

For a few months I was in touch with Roy—I knew nothing about the differ ence between Royism and Communism and looked with him as the real character of Royism became evident to me.

In 1931 I was arrestét again on trumped up char-ges and during the year and a half in prison I devoted myself to studies.

By a strange coincidence Sardesai who had come to Cawnpore was arrested and kept in the same barpeasantry, a political force. Repression has failed to smash, slander has fail-ed to check its growth. rack with me for some weeks. Discussions with him finally clarified my ideas and I came out o In its ranks I have found

jail: a confirmed Commu nist in 1933.

Twelve years have pass ed since then, twelve year which have seen might changes in our land and in the world as a whole. The Party that I joined

The Farty that I joined in 1933 has grown from a tiny group to its presen stature, an organisation with its units in every par of the country, entrenched in the working class and



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tariat to ensure that these decisions are loyally imple-mented.

Essential for this is the strengthening of the unity of the Party-ideological unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leni-nism and its application to

cess. But a beginning has to be made here and now. And that beginning must take the

Communist Party is no easy ciplined as a Communist task, It will entail hard and Party should be persistent work. It will de- For discharging our tasks,

persistent work. It will de-mand the overcoming of we have to become, in our the divergence between own consciousness, what we words and deeds, between have already become in the

mmmin **Bu**mmmmmin

AJOY GHOSH

to day practice. Above all, due to lack of this conscious-it will demand the ideolo-gical remoulding of the Party and its being inspir-ed by consciousness of its historic mission. Tremendous responsibi-lities rest on the shoulders of our Party. With fissipa-

top-from the central and state leaderships of the Party.

cies growing in the coun-try, alongside with mass radicalisation, it is to our Party that people are in-creasingly looking for the maintenance and streng-thening of the unity of the demourtie memorit form of combatting of indi-vidualism and establishment of discipline in the Party. This has to start from the democratic movement and of the country. In this, as in every other With the growing difficul-matter, it is they who have ties of the Plan, the mount-With the growing difficul-

an example. We are undoubtedly the

most disciplined Party in the

country. This is admitted by

everyone—especially our opponents. But we cannot rest content with that. We

are, as every Party member

knows, far from being as dis-

consciousness of vast sections of our people. Many of the shortcomings in our work are

of our Party. With fissipa-rous and disruptive tenden-

cies growing in the coun



tuent is becoming a historic calls upon every unit and Party member and all friends of the Party to exert their best endeavour to build up such a mass Communist Party, all the time expanding to ever new areas and ac-quiring new strength from the people.

> "The members of the Party must come out as the staun-chest defenders of the interests of the people and the

democratic tasks cause of national advance depend on the emergence "They must prove of the Communist Party as selfless work, initiative and a mass political force—a sacrifice that the Communist Party which will unite and Party is the most uncompro-mising fighter for world peace and defender of our national independence, the builder of independence, the builder of the unity of the entire nation and the organiser of the masses in their onward march "The Special Congress of towards socialism and a joy-the Communist Party of India ous and prosperous life."



men and women, many of them simple workers and peasants, fired with the same passionate love for the country and the same burning hatred for impe-rialism that characterised Bhagat Singh and the finest of my comrades in the terrorist movement and the same selfless devotion to the cause--men and women whom one can be proud to claim as com-rades, with whom it is a joy and an honour to work. (BHAGAT SINGH AND HIS COMRADES', 1945)







Ajoy Ghosh at the Vijayawada Congress of CPI



Ajoy Ghosh at the Palghat Congress of CPI

PAGE THREE

## MADHYA PRADESH **CPI CONFERENCE**

#### From B. K. Gupta

The Madhya Pradesh state conference of the Comminist Party of India met at Bhopal from November 26 to 29. This was the third state conference in the reorganised state of Madhya Pradesh since 1956 and was by far the most well attended and iruitful conference.

manner.

Ierence. MEETING in the context of cracy, National Democratic Party and the continuing racter of the Congress govern-efforts of splitters to create ment but wanted redrafting some dent in the Madhya Pra-desh unit, where so far the splitters have been receiving rebuff all along the line, the success.

success. Ti was attended by 140 de-legates and observers re-presenting a membership of 2300-an increase of 300 over last year's member-ship. C. Rajeshwara Rao, attend-ed the conference on behalf of the central secretariat of the CPI. manner. Similarly, en the question of the class alliance in National Democratic Front delogates suggested that the core of such an alliance of the santry, should be made ex-plicit and categorical, pointed and unambiguous.

the CPT

The proceedings of the con-The proceedings of the con-ference were controlled by a cism was that the Draft presidium consisting of Sha-kir Ali Khan, Ram Chandra form is reformist and one Sarvate, Diwakar, P. K. Tma-kur and S. D. Mukerji. right deviation in the CPI.

kir All Allan, Sarvate, Diwakar, P. K. Than kur and S. D. Mukerji, In an illuminating and bri-Uliant exposition of the na-ational and international situ-ation which constitutes the sion all amendments were withdrawn and a unanimous-but are a thorough discus-sion all amendments were withdrawn and a unanimous-but are a resolution suggest-in a greed resolution suggestground to the evolution of the CPI's Draft Programme, ly agreed resolution suggest-ing the following improve-ments in the Draft was pass-Rajeshwara Rao explained the class character of the Ineđ, the class character of the In-dian government, the role and nature of its policies and the strategic slogan of national democracy and the class alli-ance of the National Demo-bring out the strategic and tactical formulations of the tactical formulations of the democracy and the class alli-ance of the National Demo-cratic Front as contained in

the CPI's Programme. Thereafter the delegates spoke on the Draft Program-me submitting it to a critical Staff in a systematic manner. Draft in a systematic manner. Such factual aspects and points which are unnece-ssary in a programmatic doanalysis, offering their sug-gestions and amendments and at times making scathing criticism of some of the formu-

ations in the Draft. Forty delegates participated 3 should bring forth in a n the discussions and their categorical and powerful in the discussions and their criticism broadly fall into two categories:

Those who by and large supported the basic for- littles as a result of Congress ations of national denio- governments' policies and its

capitalist basis of development which impose severe burdens on the people.

Spirit al

R.

4 The growing danger of right reaction and com-munal forces in and outside the Congress, in line with the understanding of the Vilavawada Congress resolutions should be brought forth emphatically and more particularly the source and fountain-head of reaction. The monopolists and the vaci-

llating and compromising policies of the Congress, which strength-en the reaction, should be power-fully nailed down in the Draft.

5 The Draft Programme should emphasise the role and in-I emphasise the role and in-fluence of monopoly in state pover. Though the monopolists have

Though the monopolists have so far not become the decisive force in state power, in collu-sion with international reaction and dying feudalism the mo-nopoly capitalists are stricing to become the decisive force in become and as a result the nopoly capitalists are stricing to become the decisive force in state power and as a result the struggle for policies and the inner contradictions in the rul-ing bourgeois class is develop-ing and will become more in-tensified in the ensuing period. This coefficient and the cor-This cardinal fact and the cor-responding formulations should be driven home in the Draft.

### Path

The non-capitalist path of de-velopment will lead to restricting the growth of capitalism and ex-ploitation—this aspect must be stressed in a thoroughgoing man-Draft in a systematic manner.

6 The alliance of the working-class and the peasantry shall constitute the axis, the founda-tion of the class alliance of Na-tional Democratic Front and in the government of National De-mocracy the alliance of working-class with the peasantry shall play an effective role—this point should be incorporated in the chapter dealing with National Democratic Front. sary in a programmatic do-cument but are required in Political Reports and Resolu-tions should be deleated.

7 In the chapter dealing with the achievement of national independence and the period thereafter, the role of the mass

movements should be clearly brought forth so as to make it clear as to how the strength of the mass movement and the

1. TA.

the nature of contradictions among them, as also how the va-cillations of the bourgeoisie would have to be overcome?. All this the

and set to be overcome?. All this should be made explicit.
9 The fact that the government of national democracy by removing or replacing the present bourgeois government cannot accomplish the tasks of the National Democratic Front and that the present government cannot accomplish those tasks of the revolution should be emphasised.
10 The bogus nature of Constant democratical-ideological plane and sear should be emphasised.
11 It should be categorically shall oppose in a determined manner the anti-national policies of the categorical should be emphasised.
11 It should be categorically shall oppose in a determined manner the anti-national policies of the governments policies, the main tasks of the categorical shall be to fight against the anti-prole policies of the governments
12 The question of defence
13 The question of defence
14 The question of defence
15 K. Gupta as secretary of the above two reports to the national policies of the governments and seven-member state council, 21-member stat

ment. **12** The question of defence and security of minority community should be properly laid down in the Programme.

With the abov etions for improvements in the Draft. Pro-gramme the state conference of the CPI approved the strategi Draft Prothe CPI approved the strategic and tactical formulations contain-ed in the Programme.

and tactical formulations contain-ed in the Programme. The conference was also of the opinion that in the Preface or Forword to our Programme, our objective of establishment of socialism should be mention-ed and the present stage of our revolution—the national demo-cratic stage—as a transitional period and a stepping stone to socialism be clearly formulated. With the adoption of this reso-lution on Draft Programme, the conference proceeded to discuss political and organisational re-ports of the state council. B. K. Gupta, Secretary of the state council presented the above two reports and with some

seven-member secretariat, with B. K. Gupta as secretary. It also elected 12, delegates to the Party Congress.

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PATNA: The Bihar state conference of the Communist Party of India, held at Muzaffarpur from November 28 to December 3, approved the document on ideological differences in international Communist movement and supported the proposal for holding an international conference of the Communist Parties with a view to forge unity and solidarity in the international Communis movement.

**The immediate task of the deligerence of the conference was to launch a massive struggle culminating in Bihar Bandh' and Bharat Bandh'.** The conference was conducted by a seven member presidium consisting of Karyanand Sharma, Chandrasekhar Sinha, Chaturanan Misra, Bhogendra Jha, Seobachan Singh, Suraj Prasad and Nripen Banerjee.

Singh, Suraj Prasad and Nripen Banerjee. Two hundred and fifty-nine delegates and 48 oistlors repre-senting 13,451 Party members attended the conference. A ship by the credentials com-mittee revealed that the splitters had be and head to a make ship by the credentials com-mittee revealed that the splitters had be an advectory of the members ship by the credentials com-mittee revealed that the splitters had be an advectory of the members ship by the credentials com-mittee revealed that the splitters had be an advectory of the members ship by the credentials com-mittee revealed that the splitters had be an advectory of the members had be advectory of the members had be an advectory of the members had be advectory of the me mittee revealed that the splitters had not been able to make much headway in the state, as claimed by them. Out of a total membership of 14,480 in 1962 only 1,245 have joined the split-ters organisation. C. Rajeswar Rao, member of the antal secretariat, who addressed

central

SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD ! VE BRUUR =DELHI CPI= CONFERENCE

#### By OUR CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: The Delhi provincial conference of the Communist Party of India was held on December 4 to 6. It was attended by 150 delegates and observers representing a membership of 1,200.

THE proceedings of the gles in defence of the inter-conference were conduc- ests of the tolling people. The movement against the rigorous Morarji bud-

ted by a presidium of five members namely Y. D. Shar-ma, Radhakishen Dwarka-nath Baghi, D. D. Atal and get culminating in the Great March of September Baldeo Singh. The conference accepted 13, 1963, the struggles of all

the main formulations of the Draft. Programme of the Communist Party of India, but suggested certain amendments with a view to streng-then some portions in the Draft\_

It adopted unanim the political-organisational report present by the sec-retary, M. Farooqi, on be-half of the provincial coun-

While reviewing the deve-lopments of the last four years, the report pointed out how the Party in Delhi over-came the serious situation created by Chenese aggression in October-November 1962 and complicated by the role of the 'left' splitters,

The Party took & correct and and mobilised its folstand and mobilised its fol-lowing, particularly among the workers, on the basis of defence of the country and defence of the policy of non-alignment. This helped the Party in beating back the offensive of the forces of right

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in August 1964, the cam-paign for nationalisation of banks and state trading in food grains-all have dealt heavy blows to mono-polists and the forces of right reaction. These campaigns, movements and struggles have created a new consciousness among the masses and fa-vourable factors for the growth of the Party, The recent period has been

sections of the working-class, the mass campaign against rising prices and the Great Food Satyagraha

a period of great struggles in Delhi and the Party has been in the forefront of these

The report laid down the constration of unity and demonstration of unity and tasks for building up mass organisations of workers, pea-sants, students, youth and Delhi unit

The task of building a strong Communist Party in . the capital of India, drawing its strength from the workminimize of the forces of right its strength from the work-reaction. Ing class and other sections The correct line followed of the tolling people has been by the Party also prepared placed as a major task of the ground for building up Communists in the coming mass movements and strug-

à

PAGE FOUR

NEW AGE



THE REAL PROPERTY AND

Food Satyagraha Scenes in Madhya Pradesh and in Tamilnad (below)



manner the limitations im-

posed on India's economic development and its possibi-

Non-Capitalist

clear as to how the strength of the mass movement and the strength of the socialist camp has succeeded in weakening the vaci-llations and compromising policies of the bourgeoiste. The present co-relation of class forces and the shifts that has

class forces and the shirts that has to be brought about should be clarified so as to enable a correct understanding on the question of National Democratic Front. What would be the rela-

8 What would be the rela-tions between the classes constituting the National Demo-cratic Front and what would be



#### From K. GOPALAN

creating the ideological controversy.

All amendments were put t An amenoments were part to vote and rejected by overwhelm-ing majority. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority, with only seven dele-gates voting against it.

The resolution endorsed the document of the National Coun-cil and supported the proposal for holding an international confer-ence of Communist Parties.

The discussion on the Draft Programme was initiated by Yogindra Sharma, member of the central secretariat. The conference central secretariat. The conference devoted three days for the discus-sion on the Draft Programme. Sixty-five delegates participated in the discussion and nearly 150 amendments were moved.

The discussion and amendments The discussion and amendments mainly centred round the role of national bourgeoisie, class charac-ter of the present state, stage of evolution and leadership of the national democratic front.

Some comrades emphasised the need for underlining that the need for underlining that the national bourgeoisie compromised with British imperialism due to the fear of rising tide of anti-imperialist struggle.

On the other hand, equally

A large number of delegates ticizated in the discussion ful. constructive suggestions to improve the work of the Party and the mass organisations

The delegates particularly emphasised the need to orga nise political education of Party members and ideologi-cal-political training of the cadres through Party Schools. The conference made suggestions for strengthening the work of the all-India Party centre

The conference adopted a resolution demanding a democratic setup for Delhi and condemning the atti-tude of the central government in denying a legislative assembly to the capital

Six delegates and four ob-servers were elected by the conference to the Party Con-gress. The delegates are Farcood, Y. D. Sharma, Prem Sagar Gupta, Madan Mohan, H. L. Parwana and B. D. Joshi

The conference elected a 65-member provincial coun-cil which later elected M. Faroodi as its secretary. The election of the secretariat and and executive committee were postponed to a date after the Party Congress.

Delhi unit of the Party in only a very small way, not more than 10 per cent going more than 10 per cent going over to the side of the split-ters. Some of them have now returned to the Party fold. Not even one member of the provincial excutive committee in Delhi has left the Party to join the left Communist Party.

NEW AGE

emphatic were some other comrades who held that it would comrates who held that it would be unrealistic as well as secta-rian to assume that our political independence was incomplete because the power was transfered by a compr

Indradeep Sinha, who moved an amendment on the class charac-ter of the state said that it was ter of the state said that it was the state of national bourgeoisie and landlords. He sought to re-place the formulation of the Draft on the class character of the state by "the Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie in which landlord class also is a partner". The amend-ment was rejected by an over-whelming majority.

Another amendment on the same subject was moved by Gurubaksh Singh. He sought to replace the para by the following: "The state in India is the organ by to of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords led by the big bourgeoisie." This amendment was also lost with only 10 voting in favour of it.

#### Amendment Withdrawn

An amendment moved by Chaturanan Misra on the stage of revolution sought to reject the idea of NDF and NDC and adidea of NDF and NDG and ad-varice the alternative as "socialist revolution". For the success of the socialist revolution, he advocated the idea of People's Democratic Front and People's Democratic Government. The amendment was lost with only nine voting in favour of it.

After considering the above amendments relating to basic issues of the programma the con-ference decided to refer all other ference decided to refer all other amendments without putting them to vote to the National Council for its consideration.

The conference adopted a

resolution approving the basic formulations of the Draft Pro-gramme relating to the character of the present state, stages of revolution, national democratic front, national democratic goo-emment and its tasks and peaceful path. The conference ho ever felt that some amendme are required in the details.

The amendments proposed to the Party, constitution was consi-dered by the conference and the were put to

The proposal for abolishing the candidate membership was reject-ed by the conference by an over-whelming majority. Amendments to retain the post of Chairman and three-tier leadership were endorsed by the conference.

All other amendments were referred to the National Council without putting to vote.

Political and organisational recouncil were conference by ports of the state co placed before the con Bhogendra Jha and Jagannath Sarkar respectively. After brief discussions both the reports were referred to the new state council for thorough consideration, due to lack of time. These reports would be finalized at a special meeting be finalised at a special meeting of the state council immediately after the Party Congress.

The conference, however, de-cided upon immediate tasks to build a broad-based, united mass movement.

The conference elected 66 dele-gates and 25 visitors to the 7th Party Congress. It elected a 101-member state council. The new state council at

council. The new state council at its first meeting re-elected Indra-deep Sinha as its secretary. It also elected: a 24-member executive committee and a secretariat con-sisting of Indradeep Sinha, Jagan-nath Sarkar, Sunil Mukherjee, Ali Ashraf, Bhogendra Iha, Chandra Sekhar Sinha, Karyanand Sharma and Krishna Chandra Chaudhuri.



Yogindra Sharma initiates discussion on the Draft Programme CPI at Bihar state conference. Below, a view of the delegat



PACE FIVE

## **KERALA STATE CPI CONFERENCE**

#### From S. SHARMA

TRICHUR: The Kerala state conference of the Com-munist-Party of India which began here on December 2, concluded on Sunday with a mighty demonstration signifying the strength and influence of the Party among the toiling masses of Kerala and a mammoth rally attended by two lakh people. HE big demonstration, drew many appreciative com-the biggest in the history ments from the press and f Trichur in many years, political observers and, as has

**T** HE big demonstration, drew many appreciative com-the biggest in the history ments from the press and of Trichur in many years, political observers and, as has



A view of the Presidium of West Bengal Conference of CPI CALCUTTA: Confounding the pundits of a section of the monopoly press who gave the verdict that the Communist Party has no base in West Bengal and all mass following of the Party had gone with the 'left', and the splitters, who claimed that they have finished off the Party in West Bengal, nearly a lakh people gathered at the Monument Maidan on December 5 to hear the out come of the 5-day West Bengal state conference of the Communist Party of India and also to hear S. A. Dange, Communist Party of India and also to hear S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, who was the principal speaker of

the day. From Barrackpore

the day. THE compact gathering com-posed mostly of organised working class from all over the state. Along with them came peasants organised under the red banner and also the intelligentsia and middle-class. The large num-ber of women was another notable feature of the gathering. It was a true representation of West Bengal. Workers came from Calcutta's engineering, chemical, tortile and other industries, as well as ports and docks and the office employees of banks, insurance and commer-cial houses, coming in huge pro-cessions from Garden Reach, Behala, Kidderpore, Ballygunge and other places and municipal and tram workers in uniform joined to swell their ranks.

from Dum-Dum to Naihati came

far as Kerala is concerned the splitting away of the 'leftists' has not caused any significant erosion of its strength and it was the big-gest that the town had witnessed after the "libera-

witnessed after the "libera-tion struggle". Trichur city and suburbs were profusely decorated with red bags, festoons and arches; over 20,000 men and women marched in the procession with thousands of red lisation which marked the flags, led by uniformed end of the pre-Congress con-volunteers. ferences of the Communist



Flag Saluting at Kerala Conference of CPI

One thousand red volun-teers from Trichur had brou-ght in four main processions from four corners of the dis-ters from four corners of the dis-trick the districts in Kerala. Among those who addressed the rally were Hiren Mukherjee and M. trict, strengthened by rivu-lets of people from neigh-bouring districts.

bouring districts. Over 70 buses and cars de-corated with red flags and banners came from districts, from Cannanore to Quilon, carrying more people. to the rally. It was a spectacular mobi-

Kalvanasundaram.

The state conference. attended by 484 delegates representing a membership of over 15,000 embodied the self-confidence and unity of will of Communist Party members in Kerala who have remained loyal to the Party of martyrs with its great record of struggles,

\* ON PAGE 15

# SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD ! Bombay Gets Ready For CPI VII Congress



A part of Rally at Vijayawada Congress, Below, Martyra Column at Flora Fountain, Bombay

1

WEST BENGAL CPI **CONFERENCE ENDS** From AJOY DASGUPTA

Representative batches came Representative batches come from far away north Bengal's peasant belts and tea gardens. A large number of processions came from all over Calcutta where also the workers and city poor formed the core. There were the workers of Jay Engi-neering Works who fought the heroic strike battle of 5% months call, a ten months hack

from Dum-Dum to Naihati came from Dum-Dum to Naihati came processions of workers under the banner of respective branch or local committees of the Party. With them joined the refugee population from Ashokenagar, Bel-gharia and others and peasants from Haroa, Sandesh Khali, Hasan-abad, Basirhat and the immortal Kawkdwip. Altogether 24-Parganas poured in nearly 10,000 organised work-ers, peasants, middle-class, with a large number of women who came in a colourful procession from Sealdah railway station. Sealadh railway station. Seans from North Calcutta came workers in suburban factories and came in buses or on foot. Workers

and aduterators, backed by reac-tion, domestic and foreign, in the wide context of changed world situation when national liberation forces were marching forward and when socialist camp was daily exercising more decisive influence in the development of world events:

events. Sen said that the Programme laid before the people of India a way forward to replace the present way forward to replace the present government by a government of the National Democratic Front and the present state by a state of National Democracy. which will curb foreign capital, nationalise banks and wholesale trade in foodgrains, eliminate the unholy trinity in the countryside, and smash the power of black money. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, was

and chine a

S. A. Dange addresses rally. at Calcutta

given a big hand by the audi-ence when he rose to speak, and when he called for unity and struggle of all democratic forces against the agents of monopolists and unscrupulous capitalists for immediate relief to the people and eventually to "Bharat Bandh" of workers "Bharat Bandh" of workers joined by peasants' action of no rent, no taxes in the countryside, he was equally lustily cheered.

Dange began by severely cri-ticising the President of India for accepting a decoration from the Pope and the Prime Minister for standing in a queue to sign the Visitor's book of the British Queen Mother. Such actions by Indian leaders lowers the prestige and





TRATEMPER 13, 1964

#### From OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 9: Bombay, the cradle of India's working class movement, is getting all dressed up to play host to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, beginning here on December 13. Preparations are in full swing as zero hour approaches, and hundreds of volunteers are working round the clock to make the Congress a big success.

ONE hundred and fifty to the area round the Con-volunteers in smart khaki gress venue, uniforms and red scarves are on fulltime duty in the work Meetings are being held for the Party Congress, Ano-ther three hundred volun-teers are working part-time.

Today, the great pandal has begun to be erected in Purandare Stadium, the venue of the Seventh Congress.

The Congress site is to be named AJOY GHOSH NAGAR, The main gate is to be named after Parshu-ram Jadhav, the textile worker who was martyred by police bullets in the famous general strike of 1928 1928.

Other gates will be named after celebrated figures in the country's working class movement who died at their posts: Karnail Singh, V. D. Chitale, R. K. Bhogale, P. Jeevanandam, Sudesh Pande, P. Kri-shna Pillai, Rahul Sankritvavan, Survakant Wagle

Already, forty thousand rupees have been collected from Bombay city alone for the Congress fund. The bulk of this came in small donations from the workers.

December 10 is payday for the textile workers in the city and another mass collection will take place on that day.

About fifteen thousand rupees have been collected from the rest of Maharashta. Much more is expected to be collected in the coming days.

All over the city, sands of posters have been put up announcing the Party Congress, One lakh leaflets have been distributed so far. Banners and flags have been raised every-where, giving a festive look

Meetings are being held daily in different parts of this great city to win support for the Congress and collect funds. Some of these are at-tended by as many as five to eight thousand people.

The public rally, planned for Sunday December 20, is expected to be the biggest ever demonstration of Bombay's and Maharashtra's love and support for the Communist Party.

About 600 delegates are About 600 delegates are expected to attend the Party Congress, They have been elected on the basis of one delegate for 200 members, based on the 1962 embership.

The composition of the state delefations show that all the revered leaders of the working class movement, heroes of many a grim struggle are being sent by the Party members as delegates to this Seventh Congress of the CPI

The number of delegates attending this Congress goes to prove beyond doubt that the claims made by the splitters about their strength in each state and on an all-

**XON PAGE 15** 



Maca Rollies Amritsar Congress and Madurai Congre (below) of CPI



NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN



strate before Parliament for Food, September 7, 1964

Experienced and steeled in the battles fought in the defence of the rights and demands of the working-class, the peasantry, the middle-class-in fact, in the struggles for better conditions for the entire toiling people-the. Communist Party of India during the last three years since its Sixth Congress at Vijayawada established a new landmark in the path of mass struggles in our country.

Never before the struggles were so organised, so widespread and so well-responded to. A new enthusiasm and a new consciousness had been generated among the masses and consequently the battles have been of a much higher order-their fruits more significant and substantial. The working class, the peasantry and the middle-class in their struggles evoked far greater sympathy from the other strata of the people.

Perhaps, this new landmark is not discernible by the usual data; its unique features can only be gauged in the measure of impact it had in the life of the people. The

measure of impact if had in the life of the people. The struggles have been closely identified with the people and fought not in isolation but in unity. The three years have seen a large amount of unity in the ranks of the toilers that transcended the trade union affiliations and the Party banners. We, Communists, pride ourselves because there has not been one significant struggle during this period in which the Communists had not played an important role; in fact, most of the struggles were carried on, fought to victory or partial success, under our guidance and leader-ship. We, who have the most glorious record of struggles

ship. We, who have the most glorious record of struggles in defence of the rights of the common people, carried further our noble tradition during this period.

What were the special features of these struggles during these last three years?

impossible to enumerate ie details of these struggles within the limited scope here; nevertheless some of these can highlighted.

The three years since Vijaya-wada were significant with deve-lopments that brought about a new think-

ing in the political atmosphere of the country. At the end of 1961, the tempo around the third general elec-tions grew and naturally the toiling people threw themselves into the battle for electing their

representatives. It is not that there have been

Vijayawada to Bombay EST MASS 

significant struggles during period.

In October 1962 came the Chinese aggression on our bor-ders and the country rose as one man for the defence of its independence and integrity. The toiling people suspended their movement and dedicated themselves to the task of de-fence and development of the motherland.

not reciprocated by the emplo vers

#### **Capitalists**<sup>9</sup> Treachery

The employers sought to fat-ten their profits out of the extra work done by the workers, the government stood as a helpless spectator and could not enforce the rigorous codes on the em-ployers which the workers had

ployers which the workers had voluntarily accepted. On top of it, it appeared that the brunt of burden for the defence and development of the country was to be borne by the toiling classes of the country while those who could pay more were being allowed to go un-scathed.

scathed. The imposition of new taxes and levies, the shooting rise of prices created a condition where the toiling masses could not tolerate the situation lying down. They renounced the voluntary restraint and took to the path of struggle. But this time the form of

the path of struggle. But this time the form of struggle was different and uni-que. This was the struggle phase now historically recorded as the Great March and Great Petition. And this new form of struggle provided a very broad platform to the toiling people in consoli-dating their unity and move-ment.

dating ment. Since ment. Since September 13, 1963 the technique of peaceful protest has been applied with ever more vigour, phase by phase the strugglges were brought up to higher pitch.

NEW AGR

At the same time the Party took up the issue of Dowry Prohibition Bill and our mem-bers in Parliament and the women's movement in the try fourth There followed a period of Great Bandhs, countrywide hun-gerstrikes, demonstrations and satyagrahas. And now, the Party is considering the question of Bharat Bandh in cooperation with other + parties and trade with other • parties and tra-unions of different affiliations. nions ot different attiliations. The struggle of the working-class against the high-handed-ness of the employers after the Vijayawada Congress of

bers in Parliament and the women's movement in the coun-try fought successfully to have the bill adopted by the House. In the months of June and July 1961 came the struggle of the Amaravath peasants, follow-ed closely by the kisan agitation in Tamilnad. In. September the

= by = SADHAN MUKHERIEE

our Party began significantly West Bengal teachers took to the on May 1, 1961. path of agitation for better work-The management of the Swa-ing condition. eshi Mills in Kanpur imposed a In the same month, the Allon May 1, 1961. The management of the Swa-deshi Mills in Kanpur imposed a lockout that day as a reply to the workers' demand for normal shift hours which were being

India Trade Union Congress called upon the workers to organise their ranks and strive the workers' demand tor normal shift hours which were being staggered by the management. At the same time an agitation At the same time an agitation secure better wages an

At the same time an agitation of the textile workers was un-leashed throughout the country against the bill enforcing recom-mendations of the wage board which sought to impose a vir-tual ban on the workers depriv-ing them of the right of collec-tive bargaining. The last three nths of th year were replete with struggles of the workers throughout the country, the struggle for the defence of civil liberties in Punjab, the agitation of the Kerala peasants for tenancy rights, which went on for 43 days.

IIIIIIII STALLARD STALLARD



In the parliamentary elections, the Party secured 10.08 per cent of the votes polled. This was an improvement figure when 9.78 per cer vement over the 1957 when the Party secured per cent votes.

In the third general elections, the toiling masses elected a large number of. Communists who were wellknown in the mass movement. Their election indi-cated the confidence the Party cated the confidence the Party candidates had earned of the toiling people. They expressed the bitterness against the Con-gress misrule by defeating the Congress candidates. gress misrule Congress candi 12

Meanwhile, the upw curve of prices went higher and higher and the tolling masses found it more difficult to meet both ends with greater their real wages. erosion in Battles for

Immediately after the Great March and Great Petition, came the national campaign of the toi-lers, consolidating the gains of the Great Petition. The three-phased programme of national campaign embraced widest sections of toiling peo-ple irrespective of their trade union affiliations and brought about new change in the charac-ter of the working-class move-

ment. It is during this period the Party took up the demands of the goldsmiths and campaigned for their succour against the retrograde effects of the Gold Control Order.

Another significant and well-responded campaign of the Party, which is still being car-ried on is the campaign for nationalisation of banks, exportof the



onus and other benefits steadi-

Some of the important struggles fought during 1962 were those of the workers of the Heavy Electricals Ltd, Bhopal, the struggle of the newspaper employees, bank employees, dock workers of At lgrains etc. This campaign been supported by the est sections of the people.

The new year of 1964 began with an all-out campaign against the entry of Seventh Fleet into 'the waters of the Indian Ocean. time. the



Great March, September 1963

who for the first time since ion of Goa into India.

later part there During were the anti-tax campaigns in a number of states, huge demons-trations of the peasants, anti-land Andhra Pradesh etc. Then came the bonus struggle of the textile workers of Bombay.

While the struggle were picking up tempo, there came the Chinese aggression and the agitations were suspended voluntarily.

The thread was picked up again in 1963 and throughout the coun-try the Party called on the peo-ple to launch mevements in de-fence of their rights and also to take recourse to political actions. take recourse to political actions. Thus, a two-pronged campaign

The Party effectively carried on the struggie against the reac

campaign for reduction in prices, increase in wages, dearness allow-ances and bonus, and for na-tionalisation as decided by the all-India conference of trade unions in Bombay in December, began in full swing.

January 12-13 were observed throughout the country as the all-India Demands Day through mass meetings, processi demonstrations.

The Party then took up along with the trade unions the ques-tion of correction of fraudulent indices by which the workers were being deprived of their dearness allowance amounts. The Chairman of the CPI warned nent in January 1964 that indices were not

Great March, September 1983 ور وحق ا DECEMBER 13, 1964



Marmagoa Dock Workers' Strike, 1962

by the end of January, to begin for a wage board. This was the minimum first industrywise action in West factory, a public sector undertakers would resort to direct action. In the following months, this troubles flared up again and there on June 12 to press for their brought about substantial results and indices were corrected in a number of states. The transmission of the plant. The workers of Ahmed-abad in June voted en bloc for a states.

In Andhra Pradesh, at the In Andhra Pradesh, at the same time, began the prepara-tions for a massive protest ag-ainst the additional land levy which the Congress govern-ment sought to impose on the peasants. This agitation which took the form of satyagraha has been the biggest mass campaign in the state and people from every 'walk of life and belonging to various poli-tical parties participated in it. It continued for several months.

In January, the Bonus Com-mission appointed by the Govern-ment of India to evolve a new bonus formula submitted its re-commendations. Though the recommendations fell far short of what the trade unions demanded, they were accepted by the trade unions since it gave something to all workers. But government under pressure from the management. delayed the acceptance.

The banks and insurance em-ployees observed January 31 as their demands day.

#### NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

On March 7, throughout the On March 7, throughout the country began demonstrations and wearing of badges on the 11-point charter of the National Campaign Committee of the toilers. About 50,000 went on hungerstrike on these demands. Millions of toilers took part in the demonstrations. The third phase of the national campaign, namely, satyagraha before Parliament on April 6 to 8 was called off. was called off.

The agitation of the toiling masses which was sweeping the country throughout its length and breadth received a set back when the hydra of communal frenzy was whipped up and a massive massacre followed in several parts of the country resultant of the communal without in Fact Balaiton several parts of the countr resultant of the commune killings in East Pakistan.

A most important part of the national campaign during this period was the participation of women workers in the movement in large numbers in various places country.

On April 16, the metal and engineering workers of West Bengal jointly resorted to a token strike to press for their demand



NEW AGE

were lockout and strikes in the plant. During this period, the workers of Jay Engineering in Calcutta resorted to their historic strike which lasted for 165 days. On May 20, a general strike was observed throughout West Bengal as a protest against price rise and anti-labour policy of the govern-ment. The textile workers of Ahmed-abad in June voted en bloc for a general strike for their demand of rise in wages, adequate bonus and cent per cent dearness allowance. This decision was carried out successfully. The Party took up the question **•** ON PAGE 14 ment.

• ON PAGE 14



Women Trade Unionists on Hunger Strike at Amritsar, March 1964



Action of Trade Unions, March 1964-In Bengal and Orissa (below) Strike West Hunger



PAGE NINE



Weaving the Flag from the Blood of Martyrs



Volunteers from Kerala begin their march to Goa; (Below) V. D. Chitale leading a batch of volunteers into Goa, January 1955





**RIN Strike**, February 1946



Food Satyagraha: Volunteers in Police Van, Calcutta, August 1964

#### THIS IS THE PARTY

streets of New Delhi echoed to the lusty slogans raised by a hundred thousand volunteers: it was the Great March

standards of me. Few can forget that un-forgettable afternoon when Champaran ..., Bardoli.... Forgettable afternoon when Champaran ..., Bardoli.... row npon row of humanity, drawn from all parts of the great subcontinent, marched through the streets of Delhi to Parliament House. Among them were Sikh kisans from Punjab, factory workers from Bombay textile workers . . Bombay, office employees of The famous conspiracy Delhi, women volunteers from cases . . Kanpur ... Lahore Andhra and Tamilnad

Etched sharnly in the mind stands the elderly Sikh kisan, white beard flowing down to his waist, holding the Red Flag aloft and marching with as firm steps as any eighteenvear-old lad in the procession .... The mind races back to the years gone by—years of great struggles, of matchless roism, of undaunted sacrifices

Memory is flooded with events and men, and women too. Events which wrote glorious chapters in the his-tory of India's freedom movement; men and women who by their unstinted courage and sacrifice of life inspired thousands to come forward and give all they had to the heroic battle for freedom and the welfare of India's teem-ing millions.

The Ghadar heroes who the Gnadar heroes who collected arms and money and came all the way from the Americas to their home-land, with the solemn deter-mination to free their country and be known as citizens Gata Maru, the ship that in police firing ... blood their loyalty to carried them to the shores of Final stages of the free-India, only to be swallowed dom struggle ... A continu-by the open mouths of the ous npsurge of masses ... The first general election British goals .... The last pillars of the forts ... Communist Party emerge Bhagat Singh who walked of imperialism crumblinf a Free India ..... Kama tata Maru, the ship that

• N a sunny afternoon in gan "Inquilab Zindabad" on Barracks in Bombay ... the September 1963 the his lips, whose very name strike spreads to all parts of streets of New Delhi echoed blew across the country like the country ... Madras ... to the lusty slogans raised by a thunderstorm driving Karachi ... Calcutta ... a hundred thousand volun- hundreds of thousands of Indian regiments refuse to

The long hunger marches of neasants

The glorious strike actions Bombay textile workers .... Meerut ....

Kayyoor...The name still rings bells in the hearts of kisans in the remotest cor-ners of the country. They may not know where Kayyoor is, but the name is symbolic to them for four of their brothers who smilingly clim-bed the gallows to assert the right of the kisan to live. Comes 1942. Quit India....

The mass upsurge following the arrest of the national leaders....The slogan which brought millions into action against the British imperialists....

Many more names still lin-Many more names still inn-ger in mind....the Chitta-gong Armoury Raid... The wisp of a college girl in Cal-cutta who shot at the colonial ruler ...

lakhs more in India . . .

swept the country for the Workers and peasants take release of the INA prisoners. up the challenge . . . Hun.... The INA battle cry taken dreds of martyrs affirm with up in Calcutta . . . 36 killed blood their loyalty to the

battlefield . . . men . . . men ...

reganised by the Communist Party of India to protest aga-inst the crushing taxes, the soaring prices, the falling standards of life. Few can forget that un-The great satyagrahas... Rardoli...

Kashmir lits up sparks elsewhere . . . Hyderabad . . Alwar . . . Bikaner . . . Mysore Travancore ....

Punnapra-Vavalar of th autocratic ruler of Travan core are held at bay by the workers of two talues... Another chapter in the glorious traditions of the India working class ....

The great Tebhaga ment of the Bengal kisa santal kisans who asserted their right to two-thirds of the crop which they raise.

At long last, freedom come at midnight August 14-15 Workers and peasants ac claim their victory with ope hearts. But the struggles fo a better life have not ended

Telengana . . . The immon tal saga of the Andhra per tai saga of the Andhra pea sants who established thei ownership on land which rightly belongs to them... Police rushes to the help o the zamindars... firings... repression ... manhunt . The struggle of the Warl Delhi Chalo! ... The battle kisans in Maharashtra for cry raised by the INA ... their right to cultivate the which was later taken np by land ... More repression ... Police zoolum let loose The great movement which all parts of the country . ent ar

British goals . . . The last pillars of the forts . . . Communist Party emerge Bhagat Singh who walked of imperialism crumbling . . . as the second biggest politic to the gallows with the slo- The RIN strike . . . Castle party in the country . . .



Many more struggles of the

workers, peasants, toiling masses for better living and

This is the history of the

Communist Party. It is the

Party of martyrs; the Party which grew into the mighty movement it is today through

struggle, inheriting all that was best in the national

working conditions . . .

Act . . .

movement.

The struggle for linguistic Kerala Agrarian Relations states ... Bombay, the centre of struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra . . . the workers who gave their lives for the linguistic state of Maharashtra

The Goa freedom struggle .... Unarmed volunteers march into Goa from all parts of the country, undaunted by the bullets of Salazar's army or tortures in jail . . .

movement it is today through the sacrifices of innumerable martyrs; the Party which grew drawing into it the best sons and danghters of India, imbibing the glorious tradi-tions of India's freedom The second general elec-tions . . . Kerala people elect a Communist-led government ... its dismissal by the union government and the all-India protest which followed . . .

A spate of working class actions . . . The Jamshedpur strike . . . Port and dock wor-kers' all-India action . . . Railway workers' strike . . . Let us pledge anew that the sacrifices of the martyrs will not be in vain; we will carry forward the Flag which they held aloft proudly till they fell on the way ... Kalka firing . . .

Innumerable kisan strug-gles . . . Punjab anti-betterment-levy agitation . . . the movement in defence of -Pauly V. Parakal



nissal of Communist Ministry in Delhi Protest Against Dis Kerala, August 1959



Andhra Kisan Satyagraha Ag ainst Additional Land Levy, February 1964



Artist's Impression of Heroic Struggle of Telengana Peasants

S. A. Dange Addresses Great March Rally, Parliament Street New Delhi, September 13, 1963



## **GPI Gongress Evokes** Interest Abroad to refute the ideas of Marx and Lenin on the friendship and fra-ternity between nations, of their rapprochement, under socialism." The formation and develop-

Soviet-Czech Leaders Affirm Decision **On World Communist Meet** 

MOSCOW: The attention of political observers and representatives of fraternal parties here is turning to the VII Congress of the Communist Party of India which meets in Bombay next week. N view of the key position that India occupies in the inter-ational arena, the period of deli-eration and debate, decisive con-grances and decisions which the world Communist movement has Note the two parties and debate, decisive con-grances and decisions which the communist parties and Workers' Par-ties, preparations for such a

N view of the key position that India occupies in the inter-national arena, the period of deli-beration and debate, decisive con-ferences and decisions which the world Communist movement has entered lately, the Congress of the CPI has acquired added interna-tional significance for the entire

movement. Delegations from numerous fra-ternal Parties are going to attend the Congress and the CPSU is sending a high power delegation led by Boris Ponomaryov, secre-tary of the Central Committee a leading theoretician who an important role in the ational relations of the Commist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the over-

Communist and Workers' Par-ties, preparations for such a meeting must continue and it cannot be indefinitely delayed. The CPSU position still is that to abandon the world conference will be certainly wrong in today's situation. But there is no insistence

here on any rigid timetable for the preparation and for this pur-pose the wishes of the partici-paints to the preparatory work will be taken into account. pose

be taken into account. The recent visit of the Czecho-slovak state and Party delegation led by President Novotny to Mos-cow demonstrated full unanimity

Delhi Youth demonstrates for demands



Scenes from Andhra Kisan Satyagraha, February 1964



of the majority of fraternal Parties that at a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties a joint dis-cussion should take place of the changes that have occurred since the last meeting in 1960, new phenomena should be generalised and a programme platform work-ed out by which seperate Com-munist and Workers' Parties would be guided within the framework of the international Communist movement."

of the international Communist movement." The responsibility for maintain-ing unity rest on all Parties, Novotny said. And he was obvi-ously expressing his disapproval of the Chinese leadership's conti-nued polemics and attacks and opposition to world meeting when he said: "Sporadic actions, even when called positive factors, are insufficient unless followed by genuine efforts to restore fraternal relations, or if their positive signi-ficance is at once nullified by new groundless attacks. Such actions cannot be regarded as a construc-tive striving for unity since they cannot be regarded as a construc-tive striving for unity since they push away and complicate the active and positive rectification in the world Communist movement". Collective consultations were the only road leading to success, Novemus vaid.

tny said. Novotny said. The Communist Party of Cze-choslovakia highly valued and fully supported the efforts of the CPSU at strengthening the unity of the socialist community and the inter-national Communist movement, at overcoming the present differences, the President of Czechoslovakia

mphasised. Brezhnev in his speech de-clared that the militant solidar-ity of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czecho-slovakia, the friendship of the two peoples "offer a fine exam-ple of fidelity to the great ideas of proletarian internationalism." of proletarian internationalism." The slogan of the Czechoslovak people was "For ever with the Soviet Union."

Societ Union." Referring to the unity of the socialist countries Brezhnev said: "It stands to reason that at times complicated problems arise in the relations between the lands of so-cialism which are not easy to colve These are name which fail relations between the lands of so-cialism which are not easy to solve. There are people who fail-ing to see the historic prospects, make haste to draw false conclu-sions from this. Lately bourgeois propagandists, playing up the dif-

The formation and develop-ment of an alliance of free nations was a great and lengthy process, the CPSU first secre-tary said. It was complicated by the very fact that altogether new, unknown-to-history trails of inter-state relations, were being blazed, and no small num-ber of diverse survivals of the next remained in the consciouspast remained in the conscious-ness of the people as a legacy of the ocerthrown exploiting system and had to be overcome. system and had to be overcome. A great deal of effort, patience and discretion was required in order to gradually and consist-ently build up new relations between peoples who had taken the road to socialism.

the road to socialism. Referring to relations with Cze-choslovakia Brezhnev said: "Our friendship has stood the test of time". The two countries help each other in economic develop-ment to their mutual advantage. This growing cooperation in all fields leads to a rapprochement between peoples of socialist coun-tries; it a historic necessity and would irresistibly make its head-way. way.

#### ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

And President Novotny referring And Fresident Novouny retering to the same subject emphasised: "We view the rapprochement bet-ween our and Soviet economy as something more than an exte of cooperation; we regard it first of all as a transition to qualitatively more progressive forms of cooperation based on the inter-national division of labour, the coordination of economic develop-ment plans, the specialisation of production, the coordination of scientific and technical activities the "

Thie economic This economic integration was an indispensable process of concentration of forces in over-taking and surpassing capital-ism; it strengthened the com-mon forces of socialist countries. Not a single country had ac-Not a single country had ac-complished so much progress in such a short period of time as the Soviet Union, Novotny said. "We believe in the greatness of the Soviet people, in their creative force and are convinced that in future to the idea of computing future too the idea of comm will guide the Soviet people to new victories".

new victories". The policy of peaceful co-existence was again emphasized

#### Scenes from Andhra

mitted outrages in the much-suffering land of Congo. They had now cast off the camouflage of the





Demonstration against increase in land tax, Lucknow



Andhra satyagraha against Additional Land Levy; Below: How government dealt with the agitation-A scene before Secretariat in Hyderabad





PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

MASOOD ALI KHAN by the leaders. Soviet Union firmly adhered to it, Brezhnev said. It was because of this policy the Soviet Union came out against those who violated peace-ful coexistence; it gave a rebuff to the provocatione of imperialists to "The world socialist system; the

~From

international working-class the national liberation move s the national liberation movement t represent three great revolutionary forces today. They rely now not only on noble and just ideas, but vast material might as well. Co-operating in an anti-imperialist front these forces are capable of paralysing the aggressive actions of imperialism and colonialism, of achieving a stronger peace and bringing about for free social progress. the provocations of imperialists, to their encroachments on the peace-ful life of socialist countries, on the freedom of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

and

Asia, Africa and Latin, America, it rendered the just struggle of these peoples all round assistance. Brezhnev strongly condemned imperialist adventures in Vietnam, Cuba and the Congo. Referring to unon cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of this fratemal so-cialist country and is ready to give assistance. The imperialists had com-its side. The colonialists had com-its side. The colonialist colonialist colonialist colonialists had com-its side. The colonialist colonia The Soviet Union firmly sup-ported Cuba and were solidly on its side. The colonialists had com-

UN

now cast off the camouflage of the UN flag. Despite the onslaught, the Congolese did not lay down their arms. They had given the interventionists a worthy rebuff and continued their struggle against the imperialist aggres-sors and their agents; for the freedom and independence of their country. In the long run the imperialists will suffer a complete fasco, Brezhneo said.

# 'Nuclear Shield' Nonsense

## Shastri's London Visit Tarnishes Indian Image Again

Who gave the Prime Minister the bright brainwave about the socalled "nuclear shield", which he is re-ported to have put forward with so much 'modest' gusto in London? Of course, you must not call it a New Delbi, had given a stirr-"shield"-for "shield" is a naughty word, even naugh-tier perhaps than "umbrella".

must say frankly that this gested guarantees by both the "bright idea" appears to Western powers and the be one more from the same Soviet Union, fertile brain, which put across Authoritative content of the same size of the same set of sion from the Cairo Confer-ence to Peking to persuade Chinese leadership to give up its plans for a nuclear-test explosion.

The mission proposal, put forward by our Prime' Minister, without any prior consultation with other in-fluential delegations at Cairo-even the most friendly amongst them, was a damp squib. It was rejected with a contempt which was disastrous to India's pres-

I have it on the highest authority that this proposal made at Cairo was made without any authority from the Cabinet—and for that matter, without examination on the highest level by the External Affairs Ministry it-

It appeared then too that someone interested in putting down India's prestige in the nonaligned world had pushed the Prime Minister into mak-ing a proposal, which was to be rejected summarily.

Now once again, we have the Prime Minister coming forward with a brainwave, which was not seriously ned by governme and not put forward as official policy in the most re-cent foreign policy debate in Parliament, Again, this proposal has not been dis-cussed with friendly anti-imperialist Afro-Asian countries or with the socialist countries as far as one can gather.

It is no accident that the first open exponent of this idea of a "nuclear shield"the nuclear powers guaran-teeing protection to the nonnuclear, countries -was Minoo Masani of the Swatantra Party (and the closest among the hymn-singers to the God of the Dollar) in the Lok Sabha. As a variant of the hated "umbrella", Minoo sug-



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Soviet Union, Authoritative sources sug-gest that the US imperialists are behind this proposal be-to "justify" the retention of the nuclear weapons as a so-called "deterrent", Needless to would be if this movement, are behind this proposal be-to "justify" the retention of the nuclear weapons as a so-called "deterrent", Needless to would be if this movement, are behind this proposal be-to "justify" the retention of the nuclear weapons as a so-called "deterrent", Needless to would be if this movement, are the the source the the source the the source the the terrent the source the the source the the source the the terrent the source the source the the source the source the the source the sou say, the US and British press are whooping with delight over the fact that the Prime Minister of nonaligned India has swallowed—hook, line and sinker—this dangerous pro-posal, and put it forward as India's "own" contribution to neacel

What is most regrettable about the whole affair is that the putting forward of this proposal in London, has destroyed at one blow the excellent reputation the Shastri government Shastri government won by its attitude to

New Delhi, had given a stirr-ing call for worldwide efforts in this direction. As a result of that call the New Delhi Appeal was formulated and unanimously adopted at the conference

would be if this movement, which in a way owes its inspiration to this world conference in New Delhi, finds that at the very fountain of its inspiration, the Government of India has now had second thoughts and is now putting forward a proposal, which can act as an excuse for the imperialist powers to elay progress towards armament

The Indian people have the duty to act to prevent these dangerous moves in the field of diplomacy and international affairs.



the nuclear question fol-lowing the Chinese test.

The Prime Minister's total opposition to the clamour for making an atom bomb and equally to the demand for the acceptance of the "umbrellar" had won for him personally and for his gov-ernment respect and autho-rity all over the world. Now instead of concentrating on the urgent task of eliminat-ing nuclear weapons and ensuring their prohibition, Shastriji has joined the imperialist powers in their dangerous efforts to direct the attention of the people from the question of disarmament to that of retaining a "deterrent" of some sort "pending

#### CONVENIENT HANDLE

I have no doubt that the Chinese leaders will be able to utilise this wrong step taken by the Prime Minister in London, to attack India with greater results than ever before.

It is to be hoped that better sense will prevail with the the Prime Minister and the Government of India, and they will throw away the stinking corpse of the "um-brella", "shield" or whatever

you may like to call it. The only answer to the nuclear threat is the complete banning of nuclear weapons.

Shastriji's London visit has done nothing to raise India's prestige. Throughout his visit, Shastriji said nothing about the key issues of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is by no means clear what discussion took place with the British Prime Minister regarding the Congo or South-East Asia. There is however nothing to suggest that he conveyed in any way Indian concern and disapproval the support given by the Bri-tish government to the UStish government to the US-Belgian aggression in the Congo, and of the connivance of Britain in the US imperialist intervention in Vietnam,

The British press has been gloating over the Prime Mi-nister's cordial behaviour in the reception given him by the Federation of British Industries. His attitude has been contrasted with that of Nehru, who, newspapers re-mark, would probably not have agreed to hobnob with these representatives of the looters of the wealth of so many countries of Asia and Africa including our own

The more one read results of the London reads the the more the conviction grows that this visit should never have been made and that its only result has been to tarnish India's image once again—an gradually image that beginning to get back its original brightness

> (December 7) PAGE THIRTEEN



Food Satyagraha, August 1964-Peasant Women Court Arrest in Calcutta

## **BIG RALLY AT** CALCUTTA MAIDAN

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honour of all Indians and India

Referring to the condition of the people, Dange said they were facing the problem of unemploy-ment and high prices and scarcity. Ministers at the centre and in states often say that they would catch the unscrupulous trades, but the reality was that those persons had caught the ministers in their net and ministers should make all efforts to get out of the nets.

Expressing pride in the devc-lopment of modern and heavy industry in India, he said that a new, technically trained working class was emerging in India and getting dispersed in wide areas bringing about a new awakening nemone the masses. the masses,

He sharply differed with those He sharply differed with those who felt sorry for the development of new factories in India and saw in them the rise of capitalist power; they did not see that this gave rise to a working class who would, taking the lead of uniting the masses bring about a revolution and would utilise those very fac-tories and machines for the bene-fit of the people.

The Seventh Congress of the Party would work out the Programme, which gives a long term view of the path forward as well as a tactical line and immediate line of action to solve the crisis facing the people of India.

Dange then gave a perspec-tive of actions: one day "Bharat Bandh" action by workers and no tax and no rent action by peasants in several areas in the model of the Bardoloi satya-craha

"When the government has failed to protect the Constitution which enjoined reduction of dis-parities in income and breaking up economic power, by promoting the course of five year plans are concentration of economic in the course more concentration of economic power, we have the right to act against this government" he said.

In this action the Communist Party called on all patriotic forces, including Congressmen and those who have left the Communist who have left the Communist Party to join together. He made a passionate appeal that even if we cannot march together, let us march seperately but strike toge-

Coming to India's way forward he said that Indian Communists would have to find their own path

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of revolution and imitation of any other path would not do. India had peculiar problems as well as advantages which would have to be taken into account in formu-lating the Indian path of struggle and the task of the Seventh Congress of the Party is to do that.

Sommath Lahiri in his speech pointed out the advance made by the Communist Party during the last two years, from the in-cident when some tried to create disturbance in a meeting to be addressed by Dange, to this day when a lakh of people hears him as the leader of the Communist Party of India. He called on the gathering and the people of West Bengal to march forward with confidence in their strength.

with confidence in their strength. The delegates session which ended late in the night of Decem-ber 3 adopted the main strategic slogans of the Programme, but wanted the Draft to be strength-ened in several respects. After discussing the Political-Organisa-tional report, the Conference adopted a resolution on immediate tasks on various mass fronts and the building of the Party. It gave the call for doubling Party mem-bership within a year, improving standard of the weekly organ and strengthening the financial position.

strengthening the innancial position. Resolutions were adopted on struggles and demands of the college, secondary and primary school teachers, congratulating the two-and-a-half lakhs of jute work-ers on their united strike on De-cember 1, on the food situation, condemning the imperialist ag-gression in Congo etc. The dele-gates marched to the consulate offices of USA and Belgium and the British High Commission and presented a memorandum based on the resolution. Another resolu-tion was passed on communal. tion was passed on con harmony.

The conference unanimously elected a state council consisting elected a state council consisting of 77 members. It elected 38 dele-gates and 23 observers to the Seventh Party Congress. At the closing session, S. A. Dange made a speech-giving the background to the Draft Programme and also the perspective of chargeles abad the perspective of struggles ahead.

He said that the term mono-poly is to be understood in a wide sense and not in a narrow sense. He pointed out how the absense of alloy steel plant was holding up decelopment of machinery and other industries and how Tatas who got the license for setting up an alloy steel plant sat over it for six

years and then expressed their inability to build it. This was sheer sabotage. Such was also the sabotage in the Heavy Engineering Works at Ranchi.

Dange said that working class should react strongly against such acts of sabotage against the advancement of Indian in-dustry and economic independ-ence and the ministers who ence and the ministers who were either ignorant or are agents of monopolists or foreign interests must be pushed out of the government by workers

S. A. Dange also addressed a press S. A. Dange also addressed a press conference attended by a large number of pressmen and elaborated the points contained in his speech in the delegates session and the open rally. He said that differences between the Indian Party and the Chinese Party would not auto-matically vanish if there is a rap-proachment between the CPSU matically vanish if there is a rap-proachment between the CPSU and the CPC. He said there were particular points, such as Chinese aggression on Indian soil which would have to be solved. Here again he emphasised that the general line of the world Com-munist movement would not be changed to suit the CPC, it would have to fall in line with the line of the world movement to bring about unity. about unity,

The newly elected State Council met on December 6 and elected Bhowani Sen as secretary. The executive committee and the secretariat will be elected at a meeting to be held on January 9 1965, it was decided.

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of food, both its shortage as well as high prices, and called for a nationwide action for effective nationwide action for effective price control, nationalisation of banks, state-trading in foodgrains, foodsupply to scarcity areas, against hoarders and profiteers and against pro-boarder policies of

There was a statewide general strike, a joint action of trade unions, in Kerala on July 31. On August 12, the whole of Maha-rashtra state was 'bandh'. UP fol-lowed the 'bandh' action on August 18. Coa followed the ac-August 20.

MATAIR DEDTY SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD ! LNU/LA

From the very inception of the struggle for people's food, the Party received a massive mass support and people moved into action in state after state. From August 24 to 28, throughout the length and breadth of the country, thousands courted voluntary arrests offering satyagraha before the banks, food-godowns and government offices. About 80,000 satyagrahis took part in this cam-paign, out of whom more than 27,000 were arrested. The total mobilisation lakh people. covered about 20

September 25 was observed and bonus demand day protesting against government's retrograde the

fulfilment of national democra-tic tasks. And, above all, these actions created the atmosphere for the broad unity of demo-cratic forces for a change in the government's price and food policies for further resolute action against people's enemies.

modification of Bonus Commission report and October 2 was observed

a foodgrains trade nationalisation day. In a number of States on

September 25, there were general strikes.

The Party assessed these ac-tions as having prepared millions for the actions which are yet to come in the wake of historic bandh' actions in several states

bandh' actions in several states by creating enthusiasm, hope and confidence in the working people in every corner of the country. These actions helped to strengthen and unify our Party and prepare it better for the coming struggles in the service of the people and in

It is with this glorious record the representatives of the Party-unity, who have led these struggles, are meeting in the Seventh Conunity, who have led these struggles, are meeting in the Seventh Con-gress of the Party. It is at this Congress the trusted leaders of mass struggles will discuss their action lines and formulate policy for the coming struggles, which will be bigget and greater in their sweep and dimension, and embrace larger sections of our people.



Food Satyugraha Scenes, at Hyderabad and Shillong (below)



DECEMBER 13, 1964



On Right: Dange Addressing the National Council

## **Bombay Gets Ready**

\*FROM PAGE 7 India plane were 'all mere wishful thinking on their part.

The large majority of the Party members are still loyal to the Party and are with the National Council of the CPL On a rough estimate as many as one lakh twenty thousand of the Party members have remained with the Party.

Two Hundred and fifty observers will also attend the Party Congress from all the

About 20 fraternal Com minist and Workers Parties are expected to send their representatives to the Party Congress, thereby affirming their solidarity with the

Many others have sent messages of greetings. Meanwhile members of the National Council of the CPI have arrived in Bombay for the Council. The session of starts today at the Telugu Samaj Hall. the pre-Congress session of the Council. The session

Communist Party of India

On the agenda of the Natio nal Council meeting are: procedural issues connected with the conduct of the Congress, report of the com-ission on the alleged Dange letters, review report of the National Council to be placed before the Congress, organisa-tional report and delegates to the preparatory committee meeting for the world Com-munist conference.



and Palghat Sessions at Madural Congre Congress (below) of the CPI



**TECHNEER** 13, 1964



## TRICHUR BALLY BREAKS RECORDS

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achievements and service to the people, rebuffing the challenge of splitters.

The four-day conference and its deliberations exhibited a spirit of dedication and resolve that the Party will outlive the present phase of split. and it was growing stronger every day.

From the point of view of the number and percentage of delegates attending the session, it broke all records of. previous Party conferences held in the state.

Running like a thread throughout the proceedings of the conference was the deep concern of Party mem-bers and followers that the prestige and unity of the Party should be upheld at any cost.

Simultaneously there was serious heart-searching and self-criticism to unravel mis-takes in policy and practice and correct them through collective effort

A presidium consisting of K. C. George, T. V. Thomas, P. K. Chathan Master, K. P. Gopalan and Koya Kunhi Naha guided the delebrations

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cal questions lasted four hours and 20 comrades participated in it

Delegates felt that the CPI should reiterate its agreement with the declaration of 81 Parties and that the next world meet of Parties should examine and amend the same on basis of the experience of the last four years' develop-ments in the world arena.

The conference was unanimous in its forthright condemnation of Chinese Communist Party's viola-tion in spirit and practice of the collective declaration of the world Communist movement leading to griev-ous split in Communist Parties.

Discussion on the Draft Programme lasted over 14 hours and 30 comrauss participated in it. K. Damodaran introduced the Draft Programme along with amendments made by the National Council.

Many amendments were moved by delegates. While agreeing generally with the perspective placed before the Indian people by the Draft Programe, of shattering the monopoly rule of the bourgeoiste and replacing it by a government of national democracy pledged to take the country to socialism, the conference also adopted am-endments designed to remove crtain inadequacies and con-fusion inherent in the Draft.

🖌 For instance, one amendment said that in the section dealing with the Programme of the NDG, it should clarified that bureaucracy would be done away with and replaced by elected councils at all levels leading to decen-tralisation and democratisation and active participation of people.

Secondly, the conference opined that in India we have states like Kerala which are backard compared to others and planning should be envisaged and implement ed to do away with these disparities and enable all states to develop at the same rate and tempo.

The discussion on ideologi-al questions lasted four of the government of nours and 20 comrades parti- national democracy should be to restrict the hold of monopoly over, national economy with a view to eliminate it.

> A review of activities of the Party in the state was presented by C. Acthu-tha Menon, secretary of the State Council, He answered the main criticism of the splitters that the Party has turned into a bourgeois social democratic party, afraid of and turning away from mass struggles. He highlighted the many actions and struggles of toiling people led by the Party during these years.

The report touched on the lessons of the split in the Party in the state and reasons

Inadequacy and neglect of political-ideological education of entire Party, cult of blind hero worship of individual aders, attitude of iliberalism and compromise exhibited by Party leadership towards factional and splitting activities in the beginning-all these had contributed to the split taking a serious turn

The report pointed The report pointed out that the biggest reality to-day was that the Party as a whole and in Kerala also was able to overcome the was ame to overcome the shock and confusion, of split quick enough by going to the people, organising their struggles and leading their movements embracing

The conferences from branch to district level culminating in state conference was proof of growing unity and strength of the Party which was emerging again as unifier and leader of democratic forces in the state on the eve of the poll.

The conference adopted resolutions on the present political situation and tasks, on Congo, on atomic blast by China etc,

Seventysix delegates and 25 observers were elected to the Seventh Party Congress. A new 101-man state council was also elected.

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## LEFT SPLITTERS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### By C. UNNIRAIA

The Kerala state committee of the Communists who lit away from the CPI and set up a rival party, meeting Ernakulam last week repeated their earlier policy reso-tion that they firmly stand by their decision to work r an electoral understanding with the Muslim League the forthcoming elections in Kerala. They are not con-nt with justifying their stand by raising the question of the forthcoming the forthcoming the forthcoming the communist the forthcoming elections in Kerala. They are not con-nt with justifying their stand by raising the question of the forthcoming the 'split away from the CPI and set up a rival party, meeting at Ernakulam last week repeated their earlier policy resolution that they firmly stand by their decision to work for an electoral understanding with the Muslim League in the forthcoming elections in Kerala. They are not content with justifying their stand by raising the question of "practical politics", of securing maximum number of seats for the left democratic front. They have gone a step further and have buttressed their stand with political and ideological justification.

N left democratic front has adopted a stand like this. All others have made it unequivocally clear that they are opposed to any alliance or understanding or ad-justment with the Muslim League. Why? Because they as democratis realise the dangers involved in such an approach-from the ideo-logical, political and even prac-tical standpoint. For such an adjustment with

tical standpoint. For, such an adjustment with the Muslim League will not stop with increasing the seats of the left front alone; it will simul-taneously help the Muslim Lea-gue as well to increase the num-ber of their seats. And as for the Muslim League it has openly de-clared its resolve to go hand in glove with "rebel". Congress not only to rout the Congress but to form an alternative government. an alternative government.

What has the resolution adopted at the Calcutta congress of the rival party got to say on the sub-ject? It is interesting to quote it: "The congress notes that the new group of rebel. Congressmen has group of rebel Congressmen has entered into an alliance with the Muslim League and is seeking alliance with SSP and other nonaliance with SSP and other non-Communist parties. The congress hopes that the people of Kerala and all progressive political parties in the state will realise that a non-Congress government formed of such an alliance will not be able to solve any of the problems facing the state." the state

But their own state unit today advocating an "electoral under-anding" which in effect will help crease the seats of the axis of increase "rebel" "rebel" Congress and Muslim League which is trying to resurrect anti-Cor anti-Communist united front 1959-60 and which even ac, ding to their Calcutta congress

The meaning of this stand is clear. They do not propose to attach any importance to their own congress resolution on Kerala elections. They have no Kerala elections. They have no regard or consideration for the views and opinions held by like-minded left progressive parties and individuals. They will go ahead with coming to an electo-ral adjustment with the Muslim League which has openly formed a reactionary alliance with the "rebel" Congress.

"rebel" Congress. It would appear that the split-ters' party is keen on only one thing, that is, to realise their only aim in the coming poll of getting as many seats as possible for them exclusively, whatever may be the consequences of their tactics, even if it would mean breaking the left united front and helping in effect the "rebel"-Muslim League reac-tionary combination.

tionary combination. But the funny part of the whole affair is the attempt of the rival party leadership to parade this as the desire and aspirations of the people of Kerala. Who does not know that the people of Kerala have a little more democratic sense and political enlightenment? How can they forget or ignore their own experience during the last two decades of such alliances etc.? In the first general elections in do good to the people.

Bengal Bandh September 1964—A view of one of the busiest streets in Calcutta

Party.

In the second general elections, that is in 1957, also the Mislim League fought and defeated the Congress. But in 1959 the Muslim League joined hands with the Congress in organising the "libe-ration struggle" and ousting the Communist Ministry which had safeguarded the just interests of the Muslim religious minority. This is the record of their con-

This is the record of their con-duct when they were in oppo-sition to the Congress, having won the seats dejecting Con-gress candidates. But in 1959-61 when they were backing the coalition ministry and later when they broke away from the coalition and went into opposi-tion, the Muslim League lead-ership took up positions against the interests of the common people including the toiling majority of Muslims.

Who does not know that Muslim League was the only party that did not react to the people's suf-fering when during the past three, four weeks food prices shot up and all political parties moved into action against the bungling by the central and state administrations.

In the realignment of political forces that have taken shape in Kerala during the past few months one thing is patent and that is that both the Congress on the one side and the "rebel" Congress-Muslim League axis on the other repre-sent anti-people reactionary inter-ests and needs to be routed if the mod of the maintime is a side of the ests and needs to be routed if the good of the majority is to be safe-guarded. The task of the progres-sive democratic forces is to pre-vent the coming into power of both these forces. To that end what is needed is the unity of Communist, socialist and other progressive democratic forces, groups and individuals and a government that is based on this unity and seeking to carry out democratic measures designed to ocratic measures designed to

Therefore in the concrete poli-tical economic situation obtaining in Kerala, the only principled stand that the progressive demo-cratic parties can take is, what has been outlined in the plenum reso-lution of September 1964 of the extended meeting of the Kerala state council of CPI. It is wrong to seek alliance or adjustments with Muslim League. At the same time there is no question of seeking an there is no question of seeking an understanding with or helping the Congress with a view to defeating the Muslim League.

the Muslim League. All the constituent parties and units of the Left Democratic Front barring the rival party have taken the above stand. Yet the rival party leaders cry from housetops that they alone are sincere about building the united front!

building the united front! The political ideological raison d'etre that the splitters advance in support of their stand regarding adjustment with the Muslim League is even more fantistic. It appears that they do not consider it their task to oppose "all that has semb-lance of communalism or support" all that is secular" in the contest between the former of completion all that is secular in the contest between the forces of secularism and communalism! They ask, have we not an ultra reactionary party like the Swatantra among the so-called secular forces?

Yes. It is a fact that there are reactionary parties among secular parties and forces. But who is pleading support for them in the name of their secularism? When there is neither secularism and there is neither secularism and the party concerned is reaction-ary what then should be our attitude? The Muslim League that ganged up in Madras with the Sustantra Party—the party of right reactionaries—and has today allied with the "rebel" Congress—a party based on Nair-Catholic commund reac-Nair-Catholic communal reac-tion-has proved beyond any shadow of doubt to be a reactionary force by its programme and its alliances.

Then how can one justify even an electoral adjustment with the League which is not secular by any stretch of imagination and which has ganged up with nonsecular forces?

#### DOUBLE TALK

There is yet another point rais-ed in the splitters' resolution on the same subject. They "cannot apply the same standards in judg-ing communal movements and poli-tical parties working on a pro-gramme which hits and hurts the interests of religious minorities and socially backward communities on the one hand and, on the other, movements that raise and fight for movements that raise and fight for nd of religious minorities ward communities. One backward has got to fight communalism of both the hues and colours, at the same time we have got to fight for the interests of backward com-munities and religious minorities".

party based on religion1 The way to fight for the just demands and interests of the Mus-lim religious minority is to seek electoral adjustments with the Muslim League which today has ganged up with leaders of com-munal organisations working on programmes which hits and hurts religious minorities and backward communities1 (The meaning and significance of the Muslim League growing up with "rebel" Congress im religious minority is to seek electoral adjustments with the ganged up with leaders of com-munal organisations working on programmes which hits and huts religious minorities and backward communities! (The meaning and significance of the Muslim League growing up with "rebel" Congress backed by Church and Mannom, the arch enemy of reservation to backward communities, can none else than this). The ways of the rival party are strange in deed!

It will be useful to recall the speech of Ajoy Ghosh in the National Integration Conference conveaed by late Prime Minister



Bonus Morcha in Bombay

Nehru in 1961 September. He said :

"In our view all democratic forces in general and the organised forces in general and the organised democratic movement in particular have an important role to play in defeating the forces of communal reaction. Any opportunist associa-tion or alliance with these forces on the part of any secular party would be a positive disservice to the cause of national integration. When I say communal parties, I have in mind all communal parties whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

come popular revulsion and step up their disruptive activities."

It is well to recall what E.M.S. Namboodiripad who as the Gene-ral Secretary of the CPT wrote in a note for discussion in the Na-tional Council meeting of the CPI in October 1962 : ON PAGE 19

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#### This contribution to the Forum reached us a little late and therefore could not be published last week.

the act of independence, of the present state and the Government of India; it makes a basically correct assessment of the present co-relation of class forces in the country; and finally it puts forward a correct central strategic slogan for the present period, namely that of national democracy.

N these respects the present from the Draft, and have consi-Draft makes a clean break derably improved its text. Fur-from the dogmatic position of the ther amendments are still needed. 1951 Programme.

from the dogmatic position of the internamentitients are still needed. 1951 Programme. However, as it stands today, the Draft is more of a combina-tion of a Programme and a poli-gramme. It seems it would have been a better idea to have started with a Programme embodying the mathematic are still needed. The amendments to Chapter I have rightly included the references to the post-war strug-gles of the people on the eve of national independence and the various forces that constituted the national liberation movement the mathematic are still needed. with a Programme embodying the main theses, the main line of the main theses, the main line of arguments, conclusions and an operative part charting out the main tasks, together with a poli-tical report containing all the data, all the arguments in support of that Programme, to our heart's content.

beart's content. -For, in its present-form at a number of places the Draft suf-fers from a number of defects: among them are the following: it becomes repetitive; its main line of argument tends to get lost in details of a secondary nature; tis rather too frequent figure-quoting gives a lopsided presen-tation; and it does not pay suffi-cient attention. The amendments adonted by

formulations. The amendments adopted by two chapters has succeeded in the recent Trivandrum session of the National Council have repath from that of its contradic-moved a number of shortcomings

This chapter has yet to be nit-ther improved by mentioning the role of the Party and the work-ing-class in the national-libera-tion struggle and by deleting repetitive and rather poorly-drafted passages from it.

This chapter has yet to be fur-

at that stage.



Two scenes of the Bombay Bandh, August 1964



DECEMBER 13, 1964



PACE STYTERN

# **COMMENT ON DRAFT** The Draft Programme of the Party which is now under discussion is basically a correct programme be-cause it makes a basically correct characterisation of the act of independence of the property of the prop

The amended section 12 can quite as well start with the state-ment about the aim of the na-tional bourgeoisie after securing, the state power. All those refer-ences to its "far-seeing represen-tatives" and its 1938 National Planning Committee while fac-tually correct are really not so essential to the main theme under consideration here. For, if this reference has to remain then it could well be argued that refer-ences to the Gaya Congress ses-sion of 1922 should also be there, and to the 1931 AICC Bombay session should also be there, and so on and on we go, elaborating upon the subject.

#### Capital Investments

The amended section 17 (also renumbered) gives figures of the capital investments in 1950-51, and those of the aggregate paid-up capital in 1960-61 in the state and the private sectors in order to show the progress in the field of industrial development.

ot industrial development. First, these figures as printed in NEW AGE. need re-checking. And it should also be remem-bered that 1951 was the first year of the First Plan in which the ratio of capital investments in the two. sectors was 50.50.

two sectors was 50.50. Second, industrial development be better measured by taking the increase in the production and the consumption of such basic materials as steel, coal, electricity, oil, sulphuric, acid, aluminium etc.

Third, the same section a later on talks of the development be-ing "a slow halting process, ex-tremely painful-for the masses in terms of their suffering and re-sulting in a miserably low rate of economic growth.....etr". But no economic growth.....etc". But no figures are given here, no statis-tics offered.

tics offered. The growth of monopolies, as also the growing differen-tiation within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie are among

so. On the contrary, the combin-ing of these two chapters would make the analysis more coherent and concise, and rid it of repe-titions. The amended section 12 can quite as well start with the state-reper bout the aim of the nagested quite important amend-ments, improving upon the Draft. However, while 'pillorying the monopoly groups it is stated that they in the economic sphere, "...seek to annul the dominant role of the public sector..."

role of the public sector..." This is factually a wrong

The state sector is, of course, the most important and decisive form of state capitalism in India. And it would be the main lever with which a national democratic government would dislodge the monopoly bourgeoise from its strategic position in the economy of the country. But the state sec-



statement because the state sec-tor is as yet far from having the dominant position in the national economy. The state sector's con-the state sector's con-the state sector's condominant position in the national economy. The state sector's con-tribution to the national income was a mere 2.8 per cent in 1950-51; by 1959-60, it has risen to 4:1 per cent. The state sector enterprises gave in the year 1960-61, about 10 per cent of the en-tire industrial production of the country. country.

country. So, what the monopoly groups seek to do is to harness the state sector in their service.

Not only that. It is also the state-capitalist economic policy that they seek to harness, and have considerably harnessed in their service.

their service. While considering the contra-diction of the capitalist path of development in India and the process of differentiation in the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to consider the entire process of the development of state capitalism as such and not take the state sector alone.

try; b. the state capitalist econo-mic policy of the government-taxation, fiscal, foreign trade po-licy etc., regulating the economic

As for the second main form, in the super-tax rate of inter-corporate dividends for Indian and foreign companies, the abo-lition of wealth tax and excess dividend tax etc., indeed a num-ber of such measures—are ins-tances of the government's con-cession to the monopoly bour-received geoisie.

However, state capitalism can and must serve the needs of the national economic development of the country. It was used under the dictatorship of the proletariat by the Soviet state in its early years, in the interests of socialist construction and for weakening the positions of capitalism. It was used by the people's democracies as such and not take the state sector alone. The main forms of state capi-talism in India are: a. the state and the mixed sec-tor in the economy of the coun-try; h the state canitalist. econo-try; mations.

#### Simultaneous Fight

That is why it is necessary simultaneously to fight against the concessions to the monopoly groups and to put forward con-crete demands for the use of state capitalism in the interests of the national economy, and as an *alternative* to the expansion and extension of the monopolies.

A correct and comprehensive definition of the state and the government is exceedingly important for the Programme. The definition must contain all the essential elements from which the basic economic, political, so-cial policies of the government are derived for the periodical consideration. consideration.

While the definition of the state of India given in the Draft is basically correct, it is neces-sary to bring to a focus at the same place the main elements of the governmental power also: to formulate properly at that point the idea that the present govern-ment of the country represents the idea that the present given given at the centre and at the state levels, along with the class in-terests of the national hourgeoisie; which is the leading force; the interests of the monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie and those of

•OVERLEAF

PACE SEVENTEEN

NEW AGE

# Comment on CPI Draft Programme

\*FROM PAGE 17
the capitalist landlords as well, with varying degrees.
Hence the considerable influence the big bourgeoisie is often and exercise of governmental composition, especially at the fourtation and exercise of governmental composition, especially at the same time, in order to geasantry. Hence also the specific features of the various state governments and those of the relationship between them and the Union government.
In chapter VIII, non-capita for fundia has been carefully defined the same time, in order to the union government.
In chapter VIII, non-capita for fundia has been carefully defined as an "intervening state" which

In chapter VIII, non-capita-list path of development for India has been carefully defined as an "intervening state" which "will create the pre-requisites for putting our country on the road to socialism". Its main features have also been carefully enu-merated as also the dynamics of the process, the resulting changes the co-relation of class form in the correlation of class forces in the country, "paving the way for the strengthening of the lea-dership of the working-class in the state and thus creating the condition for transition to the stage of construction of socia-lism".





development in India, the shifts in the co-relation of class forces resulting therefrom, and the working out of an alternative path in conditions of the new epoch, it is necessary to keep the follow-ing aspects of the situation in view:

nen on the march in Bombay (above), in Nilgiris (below) and Andhra (below right).



Textile workers at a rally (above) and conference of working women



the country". It is highly imprac-tical and quite dogmatic. What the national democratic governof statistics that need up, correction, or elimination

tical and quite crogman. the national democratic govern-ment would do is to dislodge completely foreign capital from strategic position in the economy t of the country, to control com-it pletely its entry into the country t in the interests of the develop-ment of national economy etc. er In section 97, a promise has ie- been made to distribute land to agricultural labourers and pos-me peasants free of cost". The Draft Programme has declared that the goal of India's future economic and poli-tical development is socialism, the basic requisites of which are "the social ownership, control and distribution, and the estab-lishment of a state of workers, peasants free of cost". The Draft Programme has declared that the goal of India's future economic and poli-tical development is socialism, the basic requisites of which are "the social ownership, control and distribution, and the estab-lishment of a state of workers, peasants and the middle classes headed by the working-class" (emphasis mine) This is quite correct for ou

Such distribution may be pos-sible at some places, but certain-ly not to all the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and at all places on an all-India scale in view of (a) the rural popula-tion composition, (b) its density, (c) its rate of growth and (d) the land availability. This is quite correct for our country. But the Draft goes on to add in the next sentence that, to add in the next sentence that, "it leads the working people to the establishment of a proleta-rian statehood..." etc. What leads? The goal, or the path? As the paragraph stands today, it would mean that the proletarian-statehood-in-contents, would lead to the proletarian-statehood-in-form."

And despite such concessions to 'forms, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta is all worked up, calling it revisionism and what not.

Instead of spending most of our energies in efforts to fit in newer and newer contents into old forms, would it not be much better to study the concrete, the real and the

The Party Congress should be able to pool together the expe-riences of its participants, and on the basis of their collective understanding of the present day realities, finalise a Programme that is meant to guide the ideo-logical, political and organisa-tional activity of the Party, en-abling it to play its historical role. In fact, the whole of section 97 needs re-writing, combining it with section 48 (from chapter V, 'Agrarian Question') which could be deleted from there, as it is mainly programmatic. There however the promises are more carefully formulated. But that chapter itself contains a number



DECEMBER 13, 1964

The changes in the Soviet leadership led to much speculation in the world as to the causes, motive forces and intentions that had prompted the retirement of-Khrushchov.





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ATTITUDE TO CHANGES

with internal policy. Questions of foreign policy did not enter into the discussions which took place about Khrushchov's position". Similarly, the report of the leader of the delegation of the French Communist Party to Moscow, Georges Marchais, pub-lished in L'HUMANITE of the November 9 exid that the Scota lished in L'HUMANITE of the November 9 said that the Soviet comrades considered that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the policies in the interna-tional Communist movement had been just and correct. It was in internal matters, above all in agri-culture that the wrong methods of work and leadership of Khrush-chov had negative consequences

unity in the world Communist movement are concerned the French Party's report also says that the Soviet leaders did not indicate any change. Apart from "certain exaggera-tions" of Khrushchoe which had not affected the application of a correct line, there were no mis-takes in basic policies. The Societ leaders said that all the documents which were multich. Societ leaders said that all the documents which were publish-ed such as the letters that were sent to the brather Parties on different occasions were entirely valid and unchanged. All of them had been approved by the Presidium of the CPSU. The report of Georges Marchais also declares that it is still neces-

## Splitters and the Muslim League

communal or religious interests coming up and seeking to appeal to their following to cast their political vote in a particular way".

solitical vote in a particular way". Unfortunately those who have left the Party, including E.M.S. are today hysterically calling for a reversal of this principled stand. But as far as the CPI is concerned it stands foursquare on the above policy and prin-ciple. We cannot compromise with forces who seek to divide and split people in the name of religions and community. Is it not our own hitter experi-

Is it not our own bitter experi-ence that if we compromise with such forces on the false illusion that we will by doing so be ad-vancing the interests of backward communities and religious vancing the interests of backward communities and religious minor-ities, we will only be reaping the whirlwind of a more dangerous politics of communal, religious re-action that will threaten the very existence of these backward com-munities and minorities? That is why the Communist Party has appealed to all the forces in Kerala who believe in demo-cracy and sprielium not to take or

Party has appealed to all the forces in Kerala who believe in demo-cracy and socialism not to take or encourage any step that will help directly or indirectly the disas-trous gamble that the official and the "rebel" Congress, the Church, Mannom and the Muslim League are separately and jointly engaged in ushering their corrupt rule over ing their comm of Kerala the people

Printed by D. P. Sinhs at the New Age Printing Press, Rani, Jhansi Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4 Asaf Ali Rosć, New Delhi, Phone: 54584 Editor: Roment Chandra. Editorial Office: Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi: Phone: 5378 Telegraphic Address: MARTRADL

**REGD. NO. D597** 







# FOR PEACE, AGAINST IMPERIALISM





TOP LEFT: "Hands Off Vietnam", Delhi August 1964; TOP RIGHT: Against Anglo-American Intrigues on Kashmir, Delhi May 1964; LEFT: "Seventh Fleet Keep Off Indian Ocean", Delhi January 1964; ABOVE AND BELOW: For Lasting Peace, Amritsar November 1963

