

# NEW YEAR, NEW STRUGGLES AHEAD

## Editorial

NINETEEN sixty-five is here. Another year begins.

What are the New Year prospects for the Indian democratic movement, for the working masses of our land?

What must be the New Year pledges to be taken by those who seek to build a new India, from which the misery and poverty, the exploitation of the capitalist path has been ended for all time?

1964 ends with the decisions taken by the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. It is these decisions—and above all the glorious new Programme of the Party—which blazon the road forward for the Indian people in 1965.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI not only illumines the path ahead, the way to the Socialist India of the dreams of our martyrs; it gives confidence to India's toiling people that this goal can and shall be reached soon.

The Seventh Congress has set out tasks, which brook no delay. The New Year pledges of the democratic movement are pledged to implement the decisions of the Seventh Congress, to build on its outstanding successes.

New struggles are ahead. The Seventh Congress has outlined an immediate platform of action—action in which it seeks the support of all democrats in the country.

This action envisages carrying forward to ever new heights the struggles waged by the working masses during 1964.

The slogan of "Bharat Bandh" is a rallying cry which brings together in struggle all sections of the Indian working masses.

The most immediate national campaign which opens with the New Year

is the campaign in support of the Communist Party and the united front it seeks to build in Kerala to fight the coming elections.

The democratic movement in all parts of the country must throw itself into this campaign. The election struggle in Kerala is not the struggle of Kerala's toilers alone—it is the struggle of the entire Indian people.

A vast panorama of struggle open up before us in 1965: the battles for food, against high prices, for dearness allowance, the new mass movements of the peasantry, the fight against communalism and for national integration, the popular actions for peace, against the nuclear "umbrella" and "shield", against imperialism, for militant and unwavering adherence to the policy of nonalignment as amplified at the Cairo conference.

1965 is the year of the Fortieth Anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of India. The end of the year will see celebrations to mark this important event in the life of the nation.

By that time, the results of the Seventh Congress must be seen in a far bigger, stronger and more united Communist Party and in the forging of closer links, through united action and struggle, among all the national democratic forces in the country.

1965 opens with the echoes of the Seventh Congress still ringing in our ears. It will end with the celebrations of the Fortieth Anniversary of the CPI.

In between lie days of struggle, of action, of patient organisational work to strengthen the Party and the mass organisations, to build the national democratic front.

Into battle, now.... There is no time to lose.

# new age

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 1 New Delhi, January 3, 1965 25 Paise

## CPI Fortieth Anniversary

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India which concluded its session on December 23 adopted the following resolution:

THE Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India resolves to celebrate the Fortieth Anniversary of the foundation of the Party in December 1965.

The Party Congress directs the new National Council to set up committees to prepare for the functions to be orga-

nised in connection with the Fortieth Anniversary.

The Congress is confident that the observance of the Fortieth Anniversary and the preparations for it will be carried out in a way befitting this great occasion in the life of our Party and the working masses of our country.



## CPI VII CONGRESS ADOPTS PROGRAMME

It was amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and jubilation that the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India adopted the new Programme of the Party.

All the delegates and members of the Presidium stood up to applaud the adoption of the Programme.

The fraternal delegates also joined in the jubilation.

These are pictures of the Presidium and the plenary session of the Congress as they acclaim the adoption of the Programme.

(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR)





## CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

# Splitters' Lies On CPI Membership Nailed

Following are excerpts of a report submitted by the Credentials Committee to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and passed by the Congress unanimously:

**R**EPRESENTING a membership of 1,32,848 including 25,086 members recruited after the expiry of the date of renewal of Party cards for 1962, a total number of 581 delegates and 259 observers and invitees are participating in this Congress of the Communist Party of India.

Delegates to the Congress were elected by the state Party conferences in accordance with the decision of the National Council that one delegate was to be elected for every 200 Party members on the basis of the membership of 1962, excluding those who have joined the rival party.

As per this decision of the National Council, the state conferences elected 564 delegates on the basis of a membership of 1,07,762. Party members in the Central Headquarters Branch elected five delegates. Members of the CEC and CCC could participate as full delegates in ac-

cordance with the Party Constitution.

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

Two hundred and fifty-nine observers were elected by the state conferences or selected by the state councils and the National Council in accordance with the decision of the Triumvirate meeting of the National Council.

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

The bulk of the delegates, 407 out of 514 belong to the age group 35-55. Similarly, as regards the observers, 115 out of 187 belong to this age group. In the age group below 25, there was not a single delegate and only three ob-



Indrajit Gupta and C. Rajeshwar Rao (below) Address the CPI Seventh Congress

ervers. In the age group above 55, there were 30 delegates and 10 observers.

Bulk of the delegates are members of the Party for more than 16 years. Two hundred and ninety-six delegates joined the Party before 1948, 24 delegates have been Party members for more than 30 years. Among the observers, the largest number belongs to the group that has joined the Party in the post-independence period.

An analysis of class origin of the delegates shows that delegates of working class origin are only 47 in number and those who came from the class of agricultural workers are even smaller—only 20. The largest number of delegates, 400, came from the peasantry and the urban middle class.

The same features are to be noted among the observers. Among them, those who come

from the working class are only 32 and from those of agricultural labourers seven. And 137 out of 187 observers came from the peasantry and the urban middle class.

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

While the high degree of education of the delegates and observers is a matter of satisfaction, perhaps it would have been better if we could have a larger number of delegates from our Party members who work in the fields and factories. But we find that among the delegates, only three are actual workers and 65 are cultivators.

Likewise, among the observers, only four are actual workers and 27 cultivators.

Overwhelming majority of the delegates—443—are whole-time functionaries of the Party or mass organisations. Among the observers too, 101 are whole-time functionaries.

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

Analysis of delegates on the basis of their position in the Party organisation shows that vast majority of them belong to the various state councils and only seven of them belong to the lowest rung of the Party organisa-

tion—the branches. Analysis of delegates with regard to terms of imprisonment and periods spent underground on account of their revolutionary activities is a matter of great pride.

Four hundred and fifty-two out of 514 delegates and 122 out of 187 observers have suffered imprisonment. Sixteen delegates have been in jail for more than 10 years, 42 delegates from 5 to 10 years and 224 delegates from 1 to 5 years.

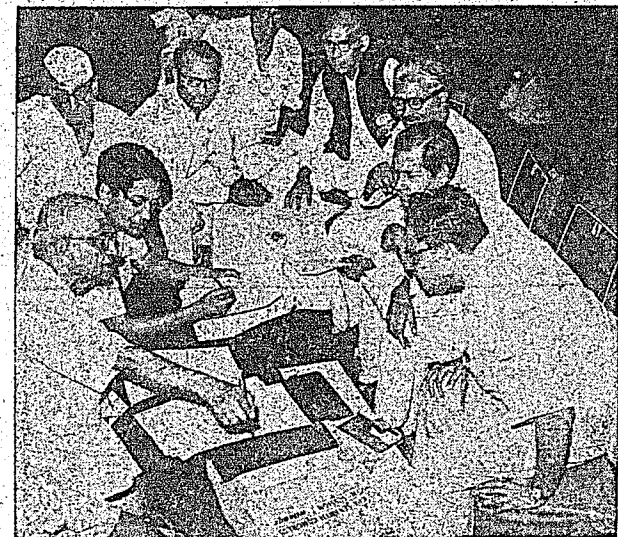
Two hundred and sixty-two delegates have suffered the rigours of underground revolutionary activity. Twenty-two of them remained underground for more than five years and 240 of them for one to five years. Among the observers as well, four remained underground for more than five years and 39 from 1 to 5 years.

This proud record of years in jail and years underground undergone by vast majority of the delegates

\* ON PAGE 16



Indrajit Gupta and C. Rajeshwar Rao (below) Address the CPI Seventh Congress



Discussions between sessions; below: Seventh Congress of CPI Adopts the Party Constitution



## CPI VII Congress Resolution

# KERALA ELECTIONS

Last week NEW AGE published the draft of the resolution on Kerala elections which was before the Party Congress. We are publishing the full text of the resolution on Kerala elections as adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India:

Following the defeat of the Congress Ministry and imposition of President's rule in Kerala in September 1964, the people of Kerala are again faced with a mid-term election early in 1965, for though there were reports that the elections were likely to be postponed the Government of India has now declared that the elections will take place as scheduled earlier.

**T**HE unprecedented food crisis that has enveloped the state during the last few months has already demonstrated what the people are going to suffer in the absence of a popular administration closely alive to their needs.

In the context of the preparations for the Fourth Five Year Plan, this absence is all the more keenly felt because there will be no body commanding the confidence of the people to fight for a just share of the Plan allotment to the state as well as for a hand in the shaping of it in accordance with the needs of the people.

A government representing the interests of the workers, the peasants, the middle classes, the intelligentsia and the patriotic people united in and dedicated to the task of establishing a stable government and overcoming the economic backwardness of the state is the supreme need of the hour.

The Congress Party cannot give the people such a government. Blinded by anti-communism and the greed for monopoly of power they encouraged all the communal and casteist forces in the state, formed all sorts of unprincipled alliances with such forces in order merely to win electoral successes and maintain their rule.

The coalition ministry that came into power in 1960 was the result of such alliances. Immediately after coming to power they began to take steps reversing the progressive popular measures of the Communist-led ministry in a reactionary manner, and against the interests of the people. Corruption, maladministration, inefficiency all became rampant.

Ultimately, the ministry itself fell as a result of the fierce quarrel among the communal groupings which were competing to control it.

In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Com-

munist Party to join hands with all the progressive, patriotic forces in the state in a firm united front so as to give a shattering blow to the Congress at the polls and form an alternative ministry capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the people of the state.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI notes with satisfaction that efforts are being made by some of the leftist parties in the state to form such a united front based upon a minimum programme and these efforts have been widely welcomed by all progressive people in the country.

We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that, of late certain negative developments have taken place.

The communal elements who have broken away from the Congress and who claim to represent two socially and economically dominant communities have come together to form a new party under the name of Kerala Congress. Now they have forged an alliance with the Muslim League also. The Swatantra Party has also entered the field and they have already declared their readiness to support this alliance.

The "Kerala Congress" (rebel Congress) and the Muslim League, apart from the fact that they seek to divide the people in the name of religion and caste, their role had always been very reactionary whether it be in the matter of land reforms, Education Act or state-trading in foodgrains.

Therefore, the task of the left forces at present is not so simple as it used to be in the former days. These left forces have to unite and fight to prevent the Congress coming back to power.

At the same time, they have to conduct the fight equally vehemently against such reactionary communal combination as the one represented by the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

That is why the Kerala state council of our Party has repeatedly made it clear that it will join only a united front of all demo-

cratic and progressive forces, groups and individuals and that it will have no truck with reactionary communal groups such as the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. The Seventh Congress of the Party endorses that stand.

Any compromise with such elements will only help to



Backroom at Ajoyghoshnagar: Preparing Documents

The Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to reiterate that the Communist Party has always stood and fought for the just democratic rights of the Muslim and other minority communities and the Party will continue to fight for those rights.

It is unfortunate that the SSP and the rival Party are taking an equivocal stand on this question. The SSP has not yet declared its willingness to join the Left United Front. They are willing only to have adjustments in the matter of seats and this they are prepared to have not only with the left parties in the state but with all opposition parties including the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. It is deplorable that the rival party is trying to follow such a line.

Further when at a time Hindu communalism is raising its ugly head in many ways and undermining the secular nature of the state, strengthening of the Muslim League will not help to safeguard the interests of the religious minorities. On the other hand it will accelerate revival of Hindu communalism.

Therefore, safeguarding of the interests of the Muslim community can be done only by strengthening the secular forces in the country. We appeal to the Muslim community to give serious thought to this matter.

Keeping a view of the serious danger of communal reactionary forces outside the Congress gaining in these elections, apart from those within the Congress, the Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to point out that the only correct path for all progressive democratic forces

strengthen reaction in the country and will deliver a disastrous blow to the whole democratic movement.

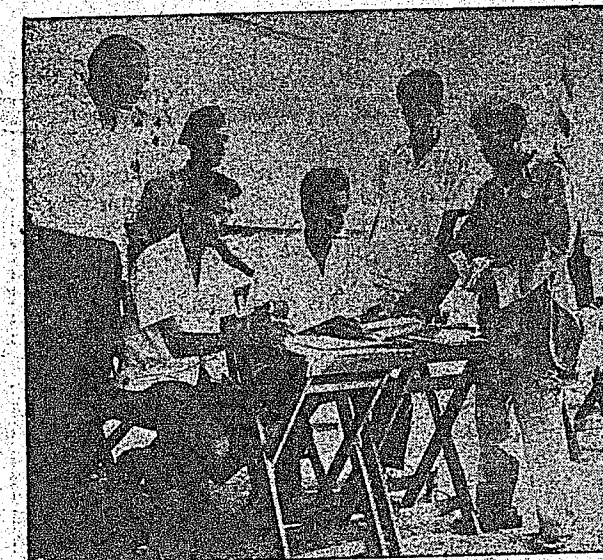
The left democratic forces in Kerala are stronger than many other parts of India and they can be fully confident of winning electoral success provided they stand united on a minimum programme of development for the state and relief to the people together with a principled stand on key issues of national significance.

The Seventh Congress makes a fraternal appeal to the SSP and the rival Party to retrace their steps from the slippery and dangerous path they are contemplating and join hands with the Communist Party, the RSP and all other democratic and progressive forces to forge a firm united front for the purpose of delivering a shattering blow not only to the Congress but to all types of reactionary combinations by whatever name called and give the people of the state an administration that will faithfully serve the needs of development of its backward economy, as well as give relief to its people.

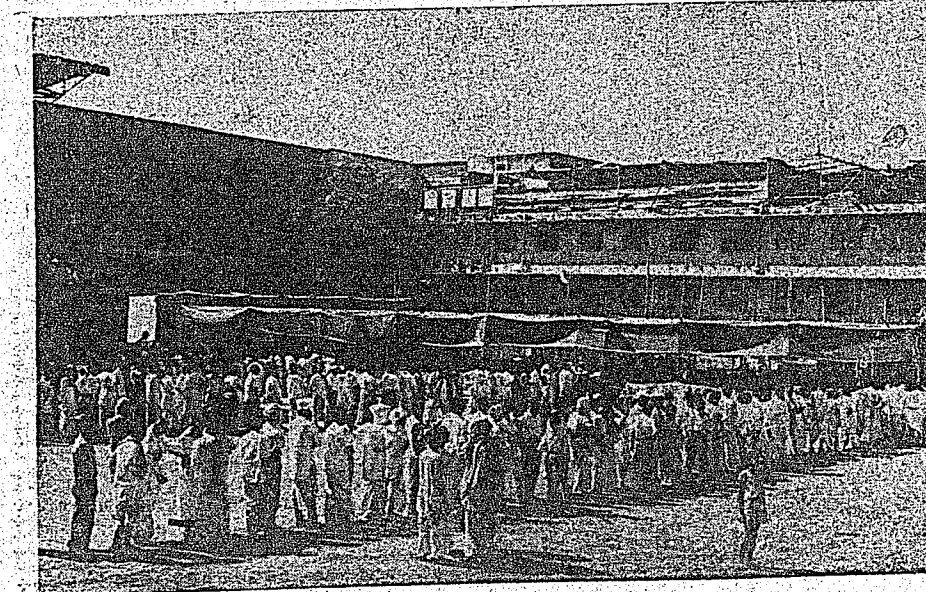
The Seventh Congress of the CPI calls upon the people and all Party units in the country to give all support to the Communist Party in Kerala state in its principled efforts to form a united front of all left democratic forces in the state.

It calls upon all the Party members and sympathisers to help the Party in Kerala in all ways. The coming fight in Kerala is not a fight of the people of Kerala alone. It is a fight of all the Communists

try.



Camp Post Office at Ajoyghoshnagar; below, delegates queue up before the Dining Hall



**NEW AGE**  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

### Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly Rs. 12  
Half-yearly Rs. 6  
Quarterly Rs. 3  
Foreign: Yearly Rs. 20  
Half-yearly Rs. 10

All cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age

Managerial Office

7/4 Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi  
Phone: 271002 & 271794



# KERALA ELECTIONS : National Council Appeals For Funds

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which concluded its two day session in Bombay on December 26, has issued the following statement, appealing for funds for fighting the Kerala mid-term elections:

ON February 15 this year the people of Kerala will go to the polls once again in a mid-term election.

In this forthcoming election a number of crucial issues are at stake.

It will decide whether the chronic political instability that has been the bane of this problem state will come to an end and whether Kerala will have a stable government capable enough to tackle the serious problems facing it.

Even now as the election is approaching, Kerala is in the midst of an unprecedented food crisis.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan which will have to solve some of the serious problems of this state is at the preparatory stage at this moment.

Only a popular government, alive to the needs and interests of the people and which is really capable of meeting the challenge posed by these problems can be a stable government in Kerala in the context of present-day reality.

The President's rule cannot meet the needs of the people of Kerala. Its handling of the food situation in the recent weeks more than proves this fact.

That the Congress Party in the state cannot provide such a government is also established by the record of Congress rule since independence.

Gold for Kerala Election Fund: When the appeal for funds was made at the Party Congress two women delegates, Gita Mukherjee and Bani Dasgupta donated gold ornaments. More such donations would be most welcome.



The National Council of CPI wants to assure the entire Party membership and those vast democratic and progressive sections of our people who are extremely eager to see a democratic victory in Kerala that the National Council and the Kerala state council of the Party will spare no effort to achieve the unity of the left democratic forces in the state whatever be the difficulties.

Despite the overwhelming majority in the state legislature, it has been the basic cause of instability in Kerala because of its factional squabbles and reactionary anti-people policies.

It goes without saying that the reactionary communal group that split away from the Congress Party and formed the 'Kerala Congress', which has now entered into an alliance with the Muslim League, cannot provide a stable government.

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India is entering the election fight for a government that represents the interests of the workers, peasants, middle-classes, intelligentsia and all other patriotic and democratic sections of the people of Kerala.

Such a government alone can solve the complex and difficult problems faced by the state.

There is every possibility of formation of such a government in Kerala by forging a left democratic united front through an alliance of the Communist Party, the rival Communist Party, RSP, SSP and democratic groups and independents which can defeat the Congress at the polls.

The National Council has no doubt that our Kerala comrades will face this severe test successfully and come out of it with flying colours. But they need the support of the entire Party. Hence we appeal to all Party members and sympathisers: Mobilise and send all possible help to Kerala. Send money, jeeps and cars, microphones etc.

At the Party Congress in Bombay, following the discussion on Kerala elections, an appeal was made to all the delegates for funds. This appeal was responded most enthusiastically and a promise of Rs. 75,000 from among the delegations was obtained.

The National Council urges the Party units and members to maintain the same spirit and enthusiasm in the coming weeks in the collection of funds and other requisites for the Kerala election.

We appeal to all friends of the Party: Donate all you

can to the Kerala election fund. We appeal to the broad democratic masses who realise the dangers of continuing the Congress monopoly of power or the communal forces dominating the political scene of the country: Strengthen the hands of the Party in its struggle for a united front in Kerala; help the Party and its allies to win a majority in this election by contributing your mite.

★ For a Left Democratic United Front in Kerala!

★ For a Left Democratic Victory in this Election!

Send your contributions to the Communist Party's Kerala Election Fund.

Donations may be sent directly to:

C. Achutha Menon  
Secretary  
Kerala State Council  
of CPI  
TRIVANDRUM

## RS. 75 THOUSAND PROMISED AT CPI VII CONGRESS TOWARDS KERALA ELECTION FUND

The discussion on the resolution on Kerala mid-term elections at the Seventh Party Congress was concluded by a fervent appeal for funds. Readily came the response.

Leader of one state delegation after another came forward with their promises. It is the minimum they have promised and it is hoped, the total will exceed Rs. one lakh when the drive for funds takes full swing.

Amounts promised at the Congress

Andhra	Rs. 15,000
Maharashtra	Rs. 10,000
Madras	Rs. 7,500
West Bengal	Rs. 6,000
PHQ Branch	Rs. 5,000
Punjab	Rs. 5,000
UP	Rs. 5,000
Bihar	Rs. 5,000
Karnatak	Rs. 2,500
Madhya Pradesh	Rs. 2,500
Delhi	Rs. 2,000
Assam	Rs. 2,000
Gujarat	Rs. 2,000
Rajasthan	Rs. 2,000
Orissa	Rs. 2,000
Comrades working in international organisations	Rs. 1,200
Goa	Rs. 1,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Rs. 75,700</b>

Andhra has promised also to send a jeep and two microphones.

The Seventh Party Congress endorses the following resolution of the National Council on the alleged 'Dange Letters':

IN March 1964, a widespread campaign was launched by the leaders of the splitters and disruptors of our Party, on the basis of the discovery of the alleged 'Dange Letters' in the National Archives, and their publication in the CURRENT, suggesting that Comrade S. A. Dange was a British spy or agent.

The National Council of our Party strongly repudiated this charge in its meeting dated April 10, 1964. It stated that in its opinion, 'not even a prima facie case has been made out that the letters are genuine'.

Nevertheless, in order to the appearance, content and style of the alleged letters and the discrepancies revealed therein, the suspicious and dubious circumstances under which these letters were brought to light, the notorious British police methods of forging documents in order to discredit revolutionary

# CPI VII Congress Resolution on Alleged 'Dange Letters'

1964. It could not complete its investigation earlier because of various handicaps under which it had to function, including the difficulty of having access to the papers concerned in the National Archives.

The Committee's report is not unanimous. There is a majority report signed by five members, viz., Comrades S. V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, C. Rajeswara Rao, Bhupesh Gupta, Achutha Menon, Sohan Singh Josh and Hiren Mukherjee and a minority report signed by two members, Comrades Bhupesh Gupta and Sohan Singh Josh.

The signatories to the majority report have come to the conclusion that "The examination of the alleged letters of Dange shows that there are sufficient grounds

to doubt the genuineness of the objectionable letters of Dange and Nalini. We have also to take into consideration the fact that Comrade Dange categorically denies having written these letters. Taking these things together, we can say that only on the basis of the appearance, content, style, etc., of the letters, their genuineness cannot be established; on the other hand, it has to be questioned.

They state furthermore, that: "On the basis of these factors and even more, on the basis of known facts of Dange's long, sometimes provocative, and always prominent public career, and on the basis of the evidence before us, we come to the conclusion

that the letters are not likely to be genuine. We therefore, accept Dange's denial that he has not written them."

The majority report holds firmly and categorically that no member of the Commission believes that Dange has ever been an agent of the government. It adds: "Some may feel that there was a moment of weakness but this is not borne out from the whole of Dange's political life of almost half a century."

The signatories to the minority report also say: "We do maintain that there is no proof whatsoever in the files that Comrade S. A. Dange at any time acted as a British agent or was a British spy. The repudiation by the National Council of this charge, therefore, stands fully justified."

The minority report, however, says that: "After thus carefully considering all the relevant materials and subject to the limitations from which the present enquiry has suffered, we have come to the conclusion that it does not stand proved that any of the four 'Dange letters' is forged."

But it adds: "If on the strength of the evidence, we do not adjudge the letters forged, neither are we prepared to declare that they are genuine mainly in view of Comrade Dange's denial. We would not like to condemn Comrade Dange without being one hundred per cent certain about the genuineness of these letters and without satisfying ourselves that there does not exist an iota of doubt about their genuineness."

It may be noted that both the reports are of the view that persons who got these alleged letters published in the CURRENT and who subsequently carried on a slander campaign on their basis, were motivated by a desire to discredit Comrade Dange personally and to lower the prestige of the Party.

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

The National Council repudiates indignantly the foul propaganda carried on by the splitters and other enemies of the Party that Comrade Dange has been an agent of the British or Indian government."

## Work Report of

# CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

We are presenting to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India a brief report of the work done by the Central Control Commission since the Vijayawada Congress in 1961.

AT Vijayawada the following five members were elected to the Central Control Commission—Comrades S. V. Ghate, Abdul Halim, Uddham Raju Raman, P. Narayanan Nair and Hajrah Begum.

During the period under review, the main assignment of the CCC was the enquiry into the functioning of a parallel centre referred to it by the National Council at its meeting in June-July 1963.

In the process of the enquiry only three members of the CCC took part. Comrade Uddham Raju Raman was in jail for a brief period and on his release had informed the CCC through a letter that because of his illness he could not at that time join in the work of the enquiry but would do so when he had recovered his health. In actual fact, the Commission never received his cooperation. Comrade Halim was in jail continuously for some months and on his release, in November last, informed the Commission that under medical advice he could not join in any active work of enquiry. At the time when the final draft of the report was being prepared, Comrade Halim was in Delhi and he informed us that he could not sign the report since he had not gone through it.

Thus the work of the Commission was carried on by the three comrades, viz., S. V. Ghate, Narayanan Nair and Hajrah Begum. In some cases, the Party units concerned referred to us for the interpretation of the Party Constitution in such matters as the rights of suspended members or the rights of state or district units to take action against members belonging to the National Council or higher bodies.

It may be of interest for the comrades to know that one Pande who was residing in No. 4 Windsor Place and whom the previous CCC had found to be a suspect in connection with the 'leakage enquiry' has since been revealed in the Russian sailor's case to be an agent in the service of the American government.

The CCC had at its meeting on August 8, 1961 adopted and circulated to all state units a set of rules for functioning of the Control Commissions in the centre and in the states but it has to be noted that in general there have been difficulties in co-

ordinating the work of the CCC with state control commissions, as well as other Party units.

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

It should be mentioned here that the period under review was an extremely complex one in which on the one hand there was a growing defiance of discipline and flouting of established Party norms and standards and on the other, under the plea of saving Party unity, there was a hesitation on the part of leading comrades and committees to take disciplinary actions.

Under the present Constitution, the CCC is precluded from initiating proceedings on its own in cases of violation of Party norms and discipline and can act only if an appeal or reference is made to it by the committee concerned.

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

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

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

tained if those who are fighting for the disciplined functioning of the Party do not carry on a principled struggle against incorrect political trends.

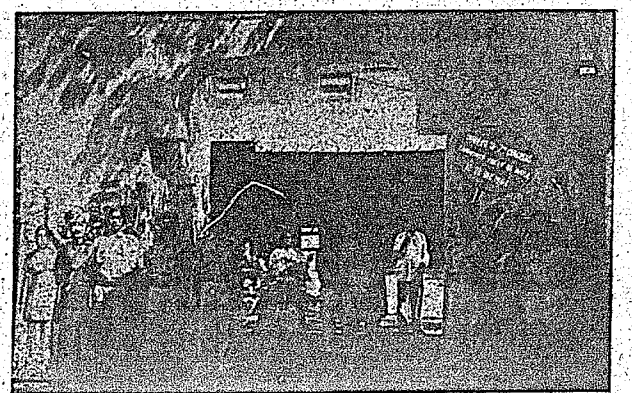
Furthermore, neither can the struggle be waged against incorrect political trends nor will the enforcement of correct norms of Party organisation and discipline be successful unless the entire Party is moved into vigorous practical action in the direction of developing and strengthening the mass movement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

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

Lastly, we would recommend that the Central Control Commission to be elected at the Seventh Party Congress should maintain liaison with state control commissions through holding

periodic conferences with their members and with their cooperation, working out the interpretation of the Party Constitution and frame rules for the safeguarding of Party democracy and maintenance of Party discipline.

The main gate of Ajoy Ghosh Nagar





Following is the full text of the Organisational Report adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India at its session on December 22:

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

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

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

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

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

Thousands of Party members attained martyrdom in these innumerable struggles of our people. Many more suffered behind prison bars. Masses behind the Party braved repression of the British as well as Congress regimes. In the country, our Party occupies the second position, coming next to the National Congress. This position the Party acquired following the general elections in 1952 and it continues in that position ever since.

### Communist Ministry

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

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

Along with this our Party defended the economic interests of our masses, through the launching of big all-India mass movements such as the Great

# ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

Petition and March, the four-stage all-India struggle of the AITUC for bonus and linking of DA with cost of living index and the all-India satyagraha against rise of foodgrain prices. The last one was conducted after the split in our Party.

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

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

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

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

### Parting of Ways

As early as the Meerut session of the National Council in 1959, where there was a sharp difference of opinion on the India-China border question, some of the leaders of the splitters had threatened a parting of ways.

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

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

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

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

This process reached a decisive stage with the Chinese aggression in October 1962 when the National Council adopted the line of national defence against the Chinese aggression. The present leaders of the splitters' party, except a few, not only opposed the

National Council line, but also decided to form a parallel party from top to bottom within the CPI for sabotaging that line and putting their adventurist line into practice.

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

"The border events of October-November 1962 confronted the Party with an unprecedented situation. Political tension and anti-Communist fervour in the country had reached the highest peak; the ruling party and all the reactionary parties were trying to queer the pitch against our Party. Mob frenzy was roused and directed against the Party in many places. Party offices were attacked in different centres, including the Party's Central Office which was set on fire. Different political and ideological trends within the Party had also got aggravated. It was in such a situation that the National Council met from October 31 to November 2, 1962, to discuss the situation and decide on the line of action. After heated discussion and sharp cleavages of opinion, the resolution of November 1, 1962 was adopted by a substantial majority.

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

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

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

### Directing Centre

To work out this political and organisational line and to see to its implementation, an all-India directing centre was set up. Comrades Copaluri and Ramdas were in charge of this centre and Comrades Surjeet, Rama-

murti and Sundarayya moved to the states organising the necessary apparatus to carry out this decision.

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

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

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

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

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

### Open Defiance

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

The National Council naturally rejected this preposterous ultimatum.

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

All the while, the National Council adopted an attitude of patience, leniency and persuasion towards these comrades despite their disruptive activities with the hope that they would uti-

mately see sense. But its hands were forced when these comrades walked out and declared that they are the CPI and started preparations for a rival party congress. Even then they were not expelled from the Party. They were suspended from the Party and removed from positions of responsibility.

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

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

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

### Rival Party Launched

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

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

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

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

The split in our country has harmed the Kerala state unit of our Party, which is faced with a mid-term election for the state assembly, the most democratic movement, the camp of reactionary forces is so disoriented and the Congress which has misruled the state is so much discredited and divided, that the united CPI could have easily defeated Congress in alliance with other progressive forces and headed a progressive democratic government in the state. Even now if all the Left state parties come together it is possible to defeat the Congress and establish a progressive democratic government in

the state. Our Party is striving its best to bring about such a unity and fulfil the earnest wishes of Kerala people for the establishment of the non-Congress progressive government.

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

While Chinese aggression and their factional intervention remain the single

## ADOPTED AT THE VII CONGRESS OF THE CPI

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

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

### Indian Situation

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

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

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

Party but only to be forgotten soon after.

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

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

It is well-known that our Party has for some time been divided on certain important questions. Even when particular resolutions are adopted by the various units of the Party, these resolutions are interpreted in different ways by different sections of the Party. Differences cover some basic issues which have been under discussion in the international Communist movement. There are, however, several other issues which touch the economic, political and cultural life of our own people. Furthermore, differences once arisen, in the absence of organised

Party but only to be forgotten soon after.

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

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

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

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

Yet another serious defective feature

State	1962 Membership			Strength in Assemblies				
	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided		
Andhra	22094	11774	1008	7206	55	31	23	1
Assam	2100	481	—	1000	—	—	—	—
Bihar	13235	1245	—	1720	12	12	—	—
Delhi	1123	*100	—	*100	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	431	187	—	139	—	—	—	—
H. Pradesh	200	70	—	121	1	—	1	—
J & K	—	—	—	38	—	—	—	—
Karnatak	964	300	—	—	3	1	2	—
Kerala	11473	*9000	4006	3700	30	19	10	1
Maharashtra	7898	500	700	—	5	4	1	—
Goa	56	—	—	62	—	—	—	—
M.P.	2300	—	—	200	2	2	—	—
Manipur	825	—	—	200	—	—	—	—
Orissa	4022	150	300	—	4	4	—	—
Punjab	7124	2200	200	400	8	6	—	—
Rajasthan	1870	400	—	—	5	3	1	1
Tamilnad	15015	4300	2000	4000	2	2	—	—
Pondichery	—	—	—	—	12	4	—	12
Tripura	—	—	2840	—	—	—	—	—
U.P.	9917	1700	—	5000	14	12	2	—
W. Bengal	7560	8000	\$2000	1200	48	12	30	16
P.H.Q.	55	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	107762	40392	13048	25086	205	112	72	21
Strength in Parliament (Lok Sabha)	—	—	—	—	32	16	11	5
(Rajya Sabha)	—	—	—	—	11	5	4	2

\*Estimated figures. †Centrists. ‡Sitting in Rivals' block.

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

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

\*ON PAGE 8

PAGE SEVEN



# ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

\*FROM PAGE 7

sists of comrades who have recently broken away from sectarianism. The table given above shows the relative strength of both the parties among Party members on the basis of 1962 membership and among the legislators. This will give a broad idea about the respective position. Where 1962 membership is not available—as in the case of Tripura, Manipur—1960 figures are taken as the basis. In the case of West Bengal also 1960 membership is taken as basis because some thousands refused to renew in 1962 due to opposition of the rival party leaders there.

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

At the same time, it has to be recognised that almost 30 per cent membership of the Party going with the splitters is a very serious matter. Persistent efforts must be made to win over as many as possible of the comrades who have gone with the rival Party. Notwithstanding the slanderous propaganda being resorted to by the splitters, we must adopt a patient, reasonable and persuasive attitude without in any way giving up the principled fight against the wrong positions.

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

Regarding those comrades who have refused to join the splitters, but have not yet made up their minds about joining the Party, we should try to draw the bulk into the Party, firstly, by taking a very fraternal and persuasive attitude towards them; secondly, by seeking their cooperation in the mass organisations where we jointly work; thirdly, by drawing them into our campaigns and struggles; and fourthly, by assuring them through our policy and practice that there is full freedom for the expression and consideration of political and organisational differences inside the Party within the framework of normal party discipline among them.

## Party Organisation

Even though our movement has suffered a temporary setback because of the split in our Party, if we regroup our forces and mobilise the masses on the basis of a correct political and ideological understanding, our Party can register successes. We can expose the hollowness of the revolutionary phrasemongering of the splitters before the people and win over sections from the disorganised state of our Party—the indiscipline, alien class habits and methods and wrong style of work that have struck deep roots into our organisation, especially from 1952.

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

**1. INDISCIPLINE AND VIOLATION OF PARTY FORMS:** The first rude shock to discipline in our Party dates back to the period of 1948-51 when an extremely harmful adventurist political and organisational line was pursued by the then leadership of our Party. Till then our Party was running on the basis of blind faith and loyalty to the leadership

which was shattered to pieces because of the great harm that was caused by that adventurist line. Party organisation and mass organisations got disrupted. Scant respect for Party forms and discipline from top in the name of democratic centralism, looseness in discipline and ideas of liberalism developed in the Party.

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

## New Experience

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

It is true that our Party's position in these institutions was used to strengthen the mass movement and positions of our Party to some extent. But we have to admit that we have not used this opportunity to the fullest extent because of lack of correct understanding of the Indian political situation and looseness in discipline that has set in in the Party after 1948-51 period.

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

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

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

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

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

After the attainment of independence, the Party has entered a new period in the history of our country. In this new period, new tasks and new fronts of activity of a complex and manifold nature have opened up for the Party. Work in the legislatures, panchayats, municipalities, development work and constructive work in the rural areas; work in the cooperative movement; work of a specialised nature among the intelligentsia and professional classes—such manifold new spheres of activity have opened out. In old mass fronts like the student front, the nature of work has radically changed.

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

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

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

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

**2. LINKS WITH MASSES AND STATE OF MASS ORGANISATION:** Our Party's links with the masses except in the case of the working class, are not close. Even in the case of the working class, we are very weak in the key industries like railways, mines, plantations, etc.

During all these years beginning with 1952 though in some states big struggles were conducted in the countryside, some states remained outside the picture altogether. Besides, even where movements were launched there was lack of sustained activity guided by a clear perspective.

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

## Unique Struggles

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

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

- (i) Choosing of a correct issue vitally affecting the life of the people throughout the country.
- (ii) Evolution of a correct slogan to solve the issue involving a radical shift in government policy and involving concentration of fire against a specific section of vested interests.
- (iii) Mobilisation of the entire resources of the Party, activating even the lowest primary units for the national campaign launched.
- (iv) Evolution of forms of struggle which could enable direct participation by broad masses of people—a judicious combination of

forms understood by them since the days of national movement with forms evolved in course of class battles.

(v) A correct approach to unity in which while the Party sincerely called for cooperation of all democratic forces on the common issue and struggle, it launched the struggle relying on its own strength and welcoming participation by others as the struggle unfolded.

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

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

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

## Mass Mobilisation

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

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

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

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

banks, stock exchanges and foodgrain markets.

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

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

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

Along with this our Party has played a big role in the great bandh series in Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal in unity with other parties. These mass actions have enhanced the prestige of our Party. During this period, our Party conducted some struggles and ran some campaigns in different states. We can confidently say that for the first time in the last ten years our Party has been most active on an all-India plane and forged new links with the masses.

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

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

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

## Mass Fronts

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

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

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

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

ing such mass movements in their respective places.

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

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

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

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

Unless this state of affairs regarding mass organisations is corrected and functioning mass organisations are built up, it is impossible to build a real mass movement capable of defeating the anti-people policies of the government and helping masses to improve their living conditions, thus fulfilling the political tasks that are placed on the shoulders of our Party at the present time.

## The Gap

**3. GAP BETWEEN MASS INFLUENCE OF THE PARTY AND PARTY ORGANISATION:** With regard to this problem, it is better to quote the following extracts from the resolution adopted by the CEC on September 15, 1964:

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

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

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

It is only the negligence of our Party leadership that is responsible for keeping them outside the Party. These militants have got immense experience of mass movement, love for our Party and readiness to undertake work given to them. What is lacking is political education. Hence they must all be taken in at once as candidate members and arrangements have to be made for their political training.

This fact is more glaring when we compare the proportion of Party members to the electoral strength of our Party

with that of Communist Parties in other countries like France, Italy, Indonesia, where the Parties have become mass parties.

	Party members	Ratio of Party members to votes
Italian C.P. (1960)	1,800,000	6,080,000 1:3.4
Indonesian C.P. (1959)	1,500,000	8,000,000 1:5.33
French C.P. (1954)	506,250	5,001,618 1:10
C.P.I. (1959)	178,718	12,166,160 1:60

Another interesting fact has to be noted in this connection. There used to be a sectarian resistance to enrolling militants from among the toiling sections under the plea that the quality of membership would go down because they lack political education and consciousness. But a break was made at the time of Amritsar Congress and Party membership went up to 218,532. But since then membership has been falling and by the Vijayawada Congress it had come down to 178,718 and by 1962 it came down still further.

The above-mentioned figures are of years when the Party Congresses were held. In other years, when Party Congresses are not held, membership is still less because Party committees do not evince much interest in renewing membership or enrolment of new members. The reason given for the fall in membership is that the political level of Party members is low and hence they do not evince much interest in attending branch meetings and they become inactive. The conclusion is drawn that it is not only useless but even harmful to enrol masses of militants into the Party because it is much better they remain outside the Party rather than come in and go away after getting demoralised.

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

## Party Education

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

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

If we have to build a mass Party without continuous mass activity, it may be general mass issues or day-to-day problems. Party members get bored with endless discussion on political questions without mass activity and cease to attend meetings.

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

c) The political level of Party members

bers and militants has to be raised through local mass schools and political pamphlets as well as by regular reporting on decisions of higher Party committees and reviews of campaigns and business-like discussion on political issues.

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was another strong opinion, which is now represented in the rival Party, which also wants to have a two-tier system, but wants the institution of the councils to go. They argue that the conception of wider bodies like councils to be supreme bodies is a revisionist organisational concept, which helps liberalism to grow and strikes at the very root of centralised leadership. They argue that a revolutionary party must have compact leading bodies like committees and secretariats for centralised leadership.

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

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

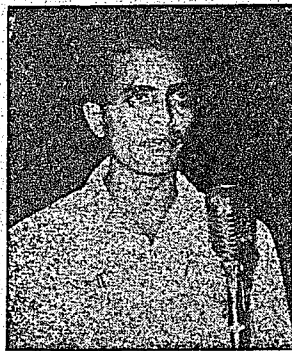
With regard to this matter, the following broad directives have to be followed:

- i) At all levels, councils consisting of leading cadres are a necessity.
- ii) In provinces like Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, etc. where the Party has no big mass membership, council and secretariat are enough. We can dispense with the executive.

In major provinces like Kerala, Andhra

\*OVERLEAF  
PAGE NINE





\*FROM OVERLEAF

Pradesh, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab etc. we can have a three-tier system.

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

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

(v) In the functioning of the three-tier system clear definition of the functions between secretariat, executive and council has to be made. Otherwise, there may be confusion and duplication of work.

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

"The Council's function is to be confined to— (i) the discussion of new political developments and issues of such overriding importance as can be dealt with only in the more representative Council and not left to the Executive;

(ii) hearing the report of and taking decisions on the work carried out by the Executive Committee and each of its members, particularly to find out whether and how far the jobs assigned to the Executive as a whole and to its individual members have been carried out;

(iii) if, in the view of the Council, the report finds the work either of the Executive as a whole or of its individual members unsatisfactory, remove such members from their position or remove the Executive itself and elect new members or new Executive.

Functions

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

"The Executive is to function like the old District, State or the Central Committees, subject to the policy-making and reviewing functions assigned to the National Council in the above paragraph. In other words, they take decisions on day-to-day political and organisational questions which shall be final unless reviewed and reversed by the Council."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besides these other factors as discussed in pages 11 and 12 of the report have also been responsible for the Centre not being built up.

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

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

Firstly, to coordinate work of different departments;

Secondly, to attend to the urgent political and other general mass issues like

food problems that may not wait for the CEC meeting;

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

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

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

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

These departmental committees have

of these will always remain oral because they are not written and over these quarrels take place as to what actually the decision was.

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

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

ciency of Party committees and comrades.

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

(ii) Root out the evil of individual functioning; Establish the norm of collective functioning and criticism and self-criticism.

The evil of individual functioning has developed to alarming proportions during the last ten years, after the smashing up of the Party norms during the period of extreme adventurism in 1948-51. Taking individual decisions and implementing them on one's own, making serious political and other commitments without reference to committees, defending one's own wrong decisions and weaknesses, an attitude of liberalism and not criticising others' mistakes so that they may adopt the

same attitude to oneself, gathering some younger comrades around oneself are some of the manifestations of individual functioning.

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

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

By collective functioning not only the work of the committees can be

carried on efficiently but there are greater opportunities for individuals to develop their capacities and correct their mistakes. Hence this evil of individual functioning has to be rooted out and collective functioning has to be strengthened. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism has to be wielded properly if our Party has to function effectively. Decisions have to be taken collectively and in implementing them individual responsibility has to be assigned.

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

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

tion. In exceptional cases two functions can be assigned.

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

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

"All the more true is this at the level of leading committees of the Party. The requirements of cadres as well as the strong and weak points of particular comrades may lead to the transfer of one particular comrade, who has done well in a particular department and whose services are expected to improve the work of another department. Conversely, a comrade who has done particularly badly in the field assigned to him, may be given chance in another field and help to improve himself if there are reasons to believe that he was a misfit in the field originally assigned to him. But such transfers should not be lightly made and should be made only on the basis of proper review of the work turned out by him."

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

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

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

We are using very little of these possibilities for developing the movement. On the other hand, for doing all routine jobs also, we use whole-timers. Under these conditions, it has become a habit for one whole-timer to take too many jobs on his head and not doing any job properly.

The practice of utilising a whole-timer for all routine work has to go if our Party has to work properly and expand. No mass Communist Party can ever function without drafting part-time capable cadre into the day-to-day functioning of the Party. But if work has to be taken from these part-time cadres, the Party committees and whole-timers have to work in a planned and businesslike way. Then alone capabilities of part-timers could be utilised properly.

6 CULT OF PERSONALITY: The CPSU did a great service to the international Communist movement by raising the question of Stalin's cult and boldly fighting it out in its Twentieth Congress. Thereafter, the Comferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 dealt with this problem and gave a clear lead to the world Communist movement to take measures to eradicate it of this most pernicious evil which had acted as a brake on its development.

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism does not believe in either gods or individuals with superhuman powers. But all the same, a god in the person of Comrade Stalin was created in the world Communist movement whose word was bible. The story did not end here. Lesser gods were created according to the conditions obtaining in different countries, subservient to this all-pervading world god. This cult of the individual is a ladder into which different types of bigger gods and lesser gods were fitted at different rungs from top to bottom.

It is true all individuals are not endowed with the same capacity and some individuals rise above others because of their extraordinary capacities and qualities and are recognised as leaders by others. History abounds in such examples. The Communist movement is no exception. Marx, Engels, Lenin are such extraordinary geniuses of the international Communist movement. Comrades Stalin, Khrushchov, Mao, Togliatti, Thorez and such other great leaders rose in the international Communist movement. In the same way, leaders arise in other Communist Parties also. But if conditions were created wherein they put themselves above the collective, that is, the leading committees, they do more harm than good to the movement.

The great geniuses of the world Communist movement—Marx, Engels and Lenin never put themselves above the collective as Comrade Stalin did.

It is also true that we respect and love leaders but it must not develop into adulation where one would lose one's own individuality and uncritically accept whatever the leader says. This lesson of world Communist movement on the cult of personality was not taken seriously by the CPI. We satisfied ourselves by accepting this very formally and passing resolutions in our Party Congress and National Council and state council meetings approving the decisions of the world Communist movement on this matter. We did very little to examine the history of our own Party to find out how Stalin cult affected our own movement, as well as what form the cult of personality had taken at different levels of our Party.

On the other hand, an opinion gathered ground that the cult of the individual is not an internal problem for the CPI because of the horrible mistakes committed by different sections of its leadership at different periods of Party history.

But this is a mistaken notion as is proved by the experience of the serious inner-Party struggle and the split in our Party. It is true the leadership as a whole or sections of it did not command that much confidence from the ranks throughout the country. But individual leaders are demigods for sections of Party members in their respective areas. This has played a very harmful role in the inner-Party struggle and the cult of personality was developed consciously in some cases by attributing all sorts of things to the leaders in order to win over more politically backward sections of Party members. Now it has become a common thing to attribute the building of the Party in provinces, districts to individuals rather than to committees

\*OVERLEAF

ORGANISATIONAL REPORT





# ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

\* FROM OVERLEAF

at the head of which these individuals are.

At the lower level, in the absence of proper functioning of the branches and local committees, individual functioning manifests itself in the worst form.

The causes behind this state of affairs are, apart from the wrong political line pursued by the Party, the pernicious system of individual functioning that has been dealt with earlier, political backwardness of Party members and cadre. Under these conditions, it became possible for leaders to build up their personality over the head of the committees, gather cadre and Party members behind individual leaders who follow them, uncritically. Even now we have to make a detailed study of our past history and assess how and to what extent the personality cult had affected the Party. Unless this institution of cult of personality is fought, tooth and nail, and the supremacy of the collective is established, it is very difficult for the movement to advance.

a) The evil of individual functioning should be rooted out, the method of collective decisions and individual responsibility in implementing them should be firmly established. Also one leader should not be put in charge of too many responsibilities. One must be given at the most two functions.

b) Though we talk so much about criticism and self-criticism and promotion of capable cadre, it is only in our Party that changes in leadership are rarely done. When once a comrade is elected to a post, he is not changed unless he proves himself thoroughly useless or betrays the Party. Result is that the particular comrade, as well as others, develop a psychology that he is indispensable, and he tries to perpetuate his position, sometimes using anti-Party methods. By chance if he is removed, he gets subjective, develops all sorts of complexes and becomes incapable of adjusting to the new situation. The result is that a few leading comrades are very well known to the PMS and people throughout the country and when some of them go off their heads, there is utter confusion among them.

## Eternal Leaders

Hence a system of running Party leadership and changing comrades in leading positions must become a normal affair.

c) Another evil in our Party is that in the all-India centre, as well as state centres, the leaders who have committed big blunders continue to be eternal leaders. Only in exceptional cases they are removed from key positions but kept in the leading committees. In the past, if one made self-criticism and purified himself like a sinner bathing in the Ganges to wash off his sins, it was sufficient to get a new licence to commit more blunders. Now-a-days even that type of formal self-criticism is not needed because we have thrown this weapon of criticism and self-criticism into the dust-bin after political controversies sharpened in the Party.

It neither helps the Party nor the comrade concerned to keep a leading comrade who commits serious blunders in the same key position. If he is removed from that position and given some practical work among the masses, it would help him to understand and correct his mistakes.

Another thing has also to be noted down in this connection and that is that the mistakes committed by comrades are not allowed to be known to Party members or masses. We allow the mistakes to be piled up behind the curtain and only when the particular comrade goes so rotten that it becomes indispensable to throw him out of the Party, we reveal all his sins suddenly. The Party members and masses are taken aback and in some cases it leads to the Party's position being misunderstood.

Hence, in all cases where serious blunders are committed, it is necessary

to relieve the responsible leading functionaries of their responsibilities and give them some other jobs where there is an opportunity to learn and correct oneself from the experience of practical work. It is also necessary to let their blunders known to the Party members and in some cases masses also. This must be made a normal practice inside our Party.

d) It is admitted generally that in our Party, as in several other CPs, the fundamental principle of democratic centralism was interpreted in a way that democracy got restricted and bureaucracy and authoritarianism developed. But when an extremely adventurist political line was thrust on the Party during the period 1948-51, as a reaction to the harmful consequences of that adventurist line, looseness of discipline and liberalism developed in the name of inner-Party democracy. It is true that some form of inner-Party democracy and political discussions through Forums was introduced. But the system of organised inner-party democracy was not developed as a channel for expression of opinions of comrades on issues facing the Party. As a result, looseness in discipline, gossip, disobeying Party resolutions and such other things still remain to a great extent in our Party.

## Frank Opinion

For developing inner-Party democracy, our Party has not only to hold conferences at regular intervals, as enjoined upon us by the Constitution but we have to organise inner-Party discussion on big mass, political and organisational issues that arise and conduct discussion. This will provide proper channel for free and frank expression of opinion of Party members. This must be made a normal practice in our Party.

e) Above all, the political level and consciousness of Party members and cadre has to be raised through giving them ideological and political education, which is the surest guarantee against cult of personality. In that case, the cadre and Party members will not follow leaders through blind faith but will help them correct themselves when they go wrong.

In the same way, the mass behind the Party also has to be made politically conscious through mass meetings and otherwise so that they may also develop political faith instead of blind faith in the leaders.

**7 FINANCIAL POSITION OF OUR PARTY:** The financial position of our Party is, to say the least, deplorable. No proper system was ever set up during the last 12 years for collection of Party membership dues, levies of MPs and MLAs, Party fund collections and tapping other sources of income like bookshops and publications. The financial position of mass organisations is also in a deplorable state. Excepting the TUs, other mass organisations do not make collections at all. Even the TUs where collections are made, are in financial difficulties. Often proper budgeting or accounting is not made.

This state of affairs has reached a climax with the serious difficulties that have arisen in the Party during the last few years and split.

The result is Party units and mass organisations are in perpetual financial crisis. They take loans. When that has also reached a saturation point and no loans are available, the whole times suffer. They take some private job to make a living. In this way a good number of wholetimers are compelled to leave their posts and consequently the activities of the Party and mass organisations get crippled. Only those who have property or rich well-wishers to support or Members of Parliament and legislators, as long as they are endowed with these responsibilities by people, would survive as whole-timers.

This leads to a lot of heart-burning when comrades who served the Party selflessly are forced to become part-timers because of financial difficulties.

Another bad practice in the Party has been to get loans also for fighting the elections. Collections from people

are not generally made when the election issue is hot and people are in a mood to pay. After the elections are over, the load of the loans hangs heavily on the shoulders of the candidate or those who got them with the result that effective comrades have to strain all their energy in clearing those loans and the routine work of the Party suffers to a great extent.

This state of financial chaos and anarchy has to stop and the system of Party finances has to be put on a firm foundation if our Party has to survive, not to speak of expansion. The following programme has to be implemented firmly by the separate organisational departments that has to be set up at different levels as one of its special tasks:

i) Every Party unit should have a treasurer whose job it is to keep control over collections and spending of the funds, keep the accounts and submit them periodically to the unit concerned. Every paisa collected by anybody should first be handed over to the treasurer of the concerned unit.

ii) Every unit must prepare a proper budget of income and expenditure which has to be adhered to by Party units.

iii) It must be the special task of the department of Party organisation to see that Party membership dues are collected every year. This is an important source of income. Even after the split, about 100,000 Party members are with the Party. If the recent call of the CEC for enrolment of fresh members is fulfilled, we will have another lakh candidate members. On the whole the Party will get two lakh rupees yearly if membership dues are collected strictly.

## Party Funds

Every year the state councils have to give a call for collection of Party fund from masses, sympathisers and members of our Party and conduct a campaign which is led by the members of the National Council. This must be made a regular practice every year.

Every Party committee must make arrangements to keep in regular contact with the rich sympathisers in professions and business as a source of income. They must be regularly given political information so that they may feel that they are a part of the Party. It has been a general practice to approach such sympathisers only when we want money, which is resented by them very much.

The levies on MPs and MLAs are to be fixed, taking each individual's needs into consideration and the levy fixed must be collected strictly.

iv) Mass organisations also must make it a point to collect funds for their functioning. TUs must set an example to other organisations in this matter. If they enrol members into their organisation, it will be a source of income.

Also, whenever they take day-to-day issues of the people, funds must be collected on that basis, especially when people get benefit out of that movement.

v) At the time of the election, our units must make it a point to collect funds. In the case of general elections, the National Council must give a call for an election fund and conduct an all-India campaign, which will fetch good results. The reports of these collections must find a place in our Party journals regularly so that Party committees get enthused.

**8 PARTY JOURNALS:** The position of Party journals is also not encouraging. Of course, the serious differences in the Party and the subsequent split is one of the important reasons for this state of affairs but not the only reason.

The main reason is that the Party committees have not realised fully the role of Party organs as propagandists and organisers of the Party. It is a pity that there are many Party units which do not get Party organs at all. Then how is it possible to keep in

contact with the day-to-day political and practical life of our Party by Party units and comrades?

The position of the journals of the National Council, NEW AGE Weekly and NEW AGE Monthly is no better. The circulation of the weekly has remained almost stationary with some fall since the high point reached during Kerala elections. The monthly has only recently been revived and its circulation figures are still very much below what they can be.

From the peak figures attained in the years of 1958 and 1959, the circulation of NEW AGE weekly fell substantially since 1960. What is encouraging, however, is the fact that despite the split in the Party, the circulation has not fallen. The circulation figures for 1963 has not only been maintained this year, but in fact has increased slightly. But the fact remains that since 1961 the circulation is very low.

Comrades might argue that the reason for this is due to the bad editing of the journals. While we agree that the political content and get-up of the journals could be improved much further, we do not agree that this is the main reason. The Central Secretariat will do all it can to improve the journals, politically and technically.

Unless and until the Party committees take upon themselves the task of popularising Party journals among people and run a campaign for increasing their circulation, no appreciable change can take place in the situation. In order to increase the circulation of the journals, our Party must take the following steps:

i) The secretariats of the National Council and state councils should take steps to bring about all-round improvement of Party journals. One way is the Party leaders regularly writing articles on current political and mass issues. District and taluk leaders can help by contributing write-ups about campaigns run by the Party to the state journals.

The central and state leadership must, immediately after the Party Congress, plan out effective steps to improve the quality of our Party journals, both as regards their content as well as to make their get-up, lay-out, news-features etc. more attractive and effective. For this, the style of work of the editorial boards must be radically improved (regular meetings of the board to plan out the dummy and to constantly improve the paper on the basis of check-up and self-criticism through collective discussion and individual responsibility, proper division of work and specialisation among members of the editorial board, etc.).

The all-India centre and each state committee must fix up a member of the secretariat to function as the fulltime editor of the Party journal. He must be made responsible to the respective secretariat for the quality of the paper.

## Journalists Meeting

The Secretariat of the National Council should call a conference of all editors of Party journals, correspondents of NEW AGE Weekly as well as other leading comrades dealing with Party journals and publications to discuss how to bring about improvement of the quality of Party journals and publications, both with regard to political content and technical standards.

ii) Every locality in town or village where there is even one Party member or sympathiser should get at least one copy of the state journal. All Party members and sympathisers who can afford should be encouraged to subscribe individually to the journals.

In the same way the circulation of central journals also has to be increased. In every town/village centre agencies for the sale of the journals have to be set up and regular checking up must be made by Party committees.

iii) An all-India campaign has to be run by the National Council as soon as possible to improve the circulation of the Party journals.

The necessity of bringing out a Hindi weekly journal from the Centre

was felt by the Party many a time but it could not materialise. However, the demand and necessity for such a journal have grown with time due to the needs of the movement in Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and several important big cities of India where a vast number of Hindi knowing population lives. The journals of right reactionary and communal parties are creating a lot of confusion among the masses against the CPI and democratic movement.

In order to counteract the reactionary politics of dark forces and take progressive and Communist policies to the masses, a Hindi weekly is needed.

## 9 PEOPLE'S SERVICE CORPS

Before 1948, our Party had the tradition of a trained people's corps to help people in distress—like epidemics, fire accident, flood havoc—in melas and such other occasions. It used to help the Party in conducting meetings, demonstrations and conferences and constructive work in villages and towns. This tradition of a trained volunteer corps has not been revived since the Party became legal in 1952. Only temporary arrangements are being made to meet the situation as it arises. Hence our Party is neither able to help the people in cases of calamities in time and effectively, nor conduct meetings, processions and conferences in an organised manner. It is very necessary for the Party to have a trained people's service corps capable of discharging all the above-mentioned jobs.

a) A separate department for organisation of the people's service corps has to be set up under the supervision of the department of organisation at all levels of the Party. To begin with, it may set apart one comrade for this job who is capable of discharging this responsibility.

b) A training course and a plan of training leaders of the people's service corps has to be drawn up and training given to these leaders.

c) Every local Party unit must form a people's service corps with energetic young Party members and militants of the locality or village.

**10 ATTITUDE TO THE RIVAL PARTY:** The split in the CPI is a settled fact. The split-away section has held its Party Congress at Calcutta in the first week of November 1964. Now the question arises as to what attitude we take towards the split-away section.

We would have recognised them as a separate party if they had not claimed that they themselves are the CPI and tried to get recognition in Parliament, legislatures and with the Election Commission for the election symbol reserved for the CPI. If they take some other name for their Party and agree for a separate symbol, we are prepared to call them by that name. Otherwise, we will call them by the name of Rival Communist Party. We will not be bothered by the epithets that they use like Dange-clique, tailists, etc. against our Party. People will make them ultimately see sense.

## Our Attitude

In spite of all the disruptive, uncommunitarian, nauseating methods and language some of the rival Party leaders use, which is being aped by a good number of their cadres, we should adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. A good number of Party members, cadre and even some leaders were swept away by the Left demagoguery, falsehoods spread about certain leaders of our Party, spy-mania created by these slanders and by parochial and local chauvinist feelings. These are the ways of the Left adventurist and dogmatists, as is proved by the practice of the world leaders of this trend, the leadership of the CPC.

The rival party leaders have elevated slander against our Party leaders and character assassination almost to the level of tactics. They in some states have declared the CPI as a reactionary party and have given a call for its total annihilation. They have

declared that their main task is to fight out the CPI. Unless we clearly understand the politics and philosophy behind their tactics we will fall into the trap. They want to create and maintain a permanent tension between their ranks and our membership. If there is no such tension and if their members are allowed to think coolly and in a dispassionate manner, the rival party leaders fear that they cannot retain even those who have temporarily gone with them. We must be patient in explaining to their ranks and try for united actions on all people's issues and other political campaigns. Such a fraternal attitude will help their ranks and the people following that party to understand whose policies are correct and are helping the movement.

Only world events and experience of the movement will show what is right and what is wrong. Arguments and correct approach will help the Party members, cadres and even some leaders to understand the lessons of the movement and change their mind.

This does not mean that we will not fight their wrong and harmful ideological and political understanding or their disruption of mass movements. We will fight their disruptive activities in every sphere, consistently and concretely, of course in a patient and fraternal way. This attitude alone will help us to make them see how their ideological, political and organisational positions are wrong and harmful.

The slander of the rival party leaders that the National Council is following a policy of talismism to the Congress, class collaboration and anti-struggle, has been disproved to some extent by the Great Petition and March to Delhi of last year, the four-stage struggle of workers and middleclass employees for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index and finally the all-India satyagraha launched by the Party after the split against rising food prices. These movements and struggles which became a resounding success because of correct slogans, form of struggle and tactics adopted which was in consonance with the prevailing mood of the masses, have also exposed to some extent the hollowness of the Left demagoguery of the leaders of the rival party.

## Correct Line

More of such all-India and statewide movements and struggles will go a long way in making the masses, rival party members and cadre, even some leaders, to realise the correctness of the political line, forms of struggle and methods pursued by our Party. We can successfully fight this bitter struggle with the leaders of the rival party in the political field only by building a strong mass movement and unity of the democratic forces.

The leaders of the rival party have started earnestly to split the AITUC because it is the only line organisation. It is very difficult for them to split the movements like peace, friendship organisations, Afro-Asian solidarity etc. With regard to the other mass organisations, there is nothing to split at present because they are virtually defunct. But when actually they will be revived, the problem of safeguarding their unity will arise.

In the case of mass organisations, our general line is that it is harmful for people if they are split and we must strive our best to keep the unity of these mass organisations. We can do this best by not only adopting correct slogans, forms of struggle and methods but also correct attitude towards unity of these mass organisations.

We give below extracts from the Central Secretariat document on the splitting activities of the rival party in the TUs, which should serve as a guide to the comrades on other fronts in fighting the splitting activities and preserving the unity of mass organisations:

Reports go to show that the sectarian splitters are out either to capture the AITUC for themselves or split it after gathering sufficient votes in it. They speak of not dividing the mass organisations. But it is only a smoke

screen behind which to prepare for the capture or split.

Hence Party members in the trade unions and STUCs must not remain complacent and must be firm in giving a rebuff to the splitting activities in the TUs and AITUC.

It is reported that in all major centres and unions, the splitters are active. They are trying to remove Party leaders from the official posts in the TUs and replace them by their own men. They enrol false membership or make false records to make a majority in the delegation to conferences or executives. In one case they called a fictitious meeting of a few of their men and termed it as a meeting of the executive of the union and changed the secretary who was our Party member. In another case, their man defalcated with subscription money and when their so-called TU branches were refused any further supply of subscription books, they printed their own books in the name of the union and collected money and membership. In managing committees, when they find that our Party members who are a majority are not present in full number, they pass decisions arbitrarily and try to capture office.

Only world events and experience of the movement will show what is right and what is wrong. Arguments and correct approach will help the Party members, cadres and even some leaders to understand the lessons of the movement and change their mind.

## Favourite Tactic

Another of their favourite tactic is to float small unions on the basis of small factories and get them affiliated to the AITUC and the STUC.

The trend today is to organise big industry-wise unions. But these small unions are organised and registered in order to get the minimum delegates allowed under the AITUC constitution to the sessions and swamp the AITUC Congress with their delegates drawn from these small and bogus unions. In one state conference, we found that all the leading DC secretaries of the splitters' wing had appeared in the conference from such small unions and tried to derail the TU conference into Party political controversies. Their game however, failed due to the genuine rank and file worker delegates. In some places some unions are suddenly engaged in arranging visits and meetings of people like A. K. Gopalan under the plea of enlisting help of MPs. But when they visit the place, the occasion is used to carry on splitting activities. Party has to see that MPs and MLAs make themselves available for TU work and for helping in strike struggles etc. whenever needed.

Thus there are a number of dishonest practices which they resort to, all of which we need not describe here. All this should make our comrades aware of the fact that all sorts of nefarious methods are being used by the anti-Party men in the AITUC to disrupt or capture the organisation. One should not be deceived by their hypocritical talk of keeping the unity of the TUs.

Hence Party members should undertake the following tasks:

(i) We must lead trade union struggles boldly but in our own way without falling a victim to adventurist provocations.

(ii) When and where to strike or not to strike and how to settle disputes is now well-known to our Party members who have seen the AITUC line in action in these years. That line has proved successful and yielded good results and gains to the working class. In this we should not be sidetracked by the sectarian criticism or abuse.

(iii) In the conduct of struggles, we should not refuse to cooperate with any section of TU leadership. We should not disrupt TU unity because of political differences, even with the splitters. At the same time, we must pursue our line and convince the workers about its correctness.

(iv) We must not, however, be blackmailed in following a wrong line in action or organisational set up under the threat of split in TU unity. We should take all the issues to the membership and the masses and not keep issues within the narrow circle of executives only.

(v) In view of the split in the Party, we must establish Party fractions in all TU organisations. While decisions on TU work must first be discussed and

decided in the TU fraction, our decisions must not be imposed on the TU executive where non-party masses are members.

(vi) The Party fractions at the State levels should immediately review the TU situation vis-a-vis the activities of the splitters and direct lower units to take concrete measures against disruption.

(vii) Every factory or establishment must have Party fractions or groups to guide TU work of the Party among the workers.

(viii) Vigorous drive to enrol new members from among workers should be undertaken through the TU fractions.

(ix) Attention should be paid to the politicalisation of the managing committee or executive members of unions; political activity of the leading TU cadres must be attended to with particular care.

(x) Special attention should be given to work among those industries or trade unions which are not affiliated to the AITUC.

The threat of split is not only on national level but on international level also. The Chinese leadership, with the help of their supporters, is trying to split the WFTU. They try to obstruct the working of the executives of the WFTU in all possible ways. They are trying to set up a separate Afro-Asian centre of TUs under their domination. They have issued statements attacking the General Secretary of the WFTU and have openly threatened to split.

In pursuance of their general line in the international field, the splitters here also will try to split the trade unions and the AITUC when they will find opportunity.

If we follow our line with firmness and correct understanding and keep with the masses and at the head of their struggles, we can save not only the unity of the AITUC but extend it further. In the recent bandh struggles, TU unity has advanced to some extent which also had some sobering effect on some of the splitters. Further united actions will unite the working class and TU leadership still better.

## Our Conviction

It is with this faith that we must work in the TUs and other mass organisations.

It is indeed a great tragedy that not only is the Party split but even the unity of mass organisations is today in danger.

It has been our conviction that only a strong and united Party can be the rallying point of all progressive forces for the democratic revolution. We have therefore always held that any division or split inside the Party has to be avoided and could be avoided. We have, therefore, always emphasised what is common, what unites all Communists. Unfortunately the leaders of the rival Party wish to emphasise what divides us and have chosen the path of abuse, slander and split instead of principled debates on the basis of democratic centralism inside the Party to settle issues. They have forced this great division inside the Indian working class movement and barred all prospects of unity in the near future.

In this difficult situation the Party has no other option but to consolidate its ranks and go forward with firmness and confidence. While the rival leaders speak revolutionary phrasology, it is the Party which has been at the head of all militant working class and peoples' movements in the past eight months. While they emit fire against the present government, it is the Party which has succeeded in mobilising the broadest section of the people against its anti-people policies and against vested interests and reaction. While they are talking of peoples' democracy and even more radical goals, it is the Party which is forging real sanctions, building unity of progressive forces in action. The Party has a correct mass line tested in practice, correct slogans guiding the movement to force basic changes and a clear political perspective.

There are a large number of Party members at all levels, most of them working in mass fronts, who have not yet enrolled as Party members; nor have they joined the rival party. The Party TU work must first be discussed and



# FRATERNAL DELEGATES

## Franco Calamandrei, CP Italy

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party have welcomed the opportunity and considered it their fraternal duty to send a delegate with the warmest greetings from all Italian Communists to this Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, to this assembly of the representatives of the most advanced and most determined among the forces on which your great country, India, can rely for its national and democratic march towards socialism.

YOUR struggle here and our struggle in Italy are geographically thousands of miles apart, and in different sectors of the world battlefield of revolution.

You wage your battles in a crucial point of the fight for conquering and consolidating independence to the oppressed and exploited peoples, giving it economically and politically a more and more advanced content.

We wage our fight in one of the strongholds of the capitalist system in a country of mature capitalism, of state monopoly capitalism, for bringing workers into power and transforming society there.

But the main foe is common to us and you: monopolies in our countries and abroad, their international system, imperialism. Common to you and to us are the great main aims of peace, democracy and socialism.

And though different may be our conditions, though necessarily diverse the ways of our struggles, the sake and the advance of revolutionary forces throughout the world today are so much interconnected that to know and to compare each other's experiences, is increasingly helpful for all of us.

As I already mentioned in my brief salute at the opening session of your Congress, our Party in Italy has just come out of nation-

problems, imbalances and bottlenecks.

As Comrade Togliatti stressed in his last writing, before death, democratic planning is viewed by us as a new form and a new way of struggle for advancing towards socialism. On our road, we do not see any separation, any wall, between the democratic and the socialist stage of advance, but on the contrary, a link and, more than a link, a continuous union, of the two.

On the ground of the struggle for democratic planning, that union takes a more definite and more direct shape. Economic and political matters, questions of economic power and questions of political power, find a deeper interrelation.

Establishing control and a growing measure of decision by the people in the field of economic development, cannot go without increasing the power of the working class and its allies at all levels of the society and of the state.

Building up economic democracy cannot be divided from far-reaching expansion of political democracy.

It so arises, as again Comrade Togliatti stressed in his last writing, "the possibility of the conquest by the labouring classes of positions of power in the frame of a state which has not changed the bourgeois nature" and hence the possibility of "struggling for a gradual transformation of that nature from inside."

Certainly, as any revolutionary road, this road requires ever-growing unity of the working class and democratic forces, and an unceasing struggle of the masses. Anti-communism in Italy is losing ground to unity all the time, and our line of advance to socialism through the

expansion of democracy plays a decisive part in wearing out and removing prejudices and barriers.

In the Socialist Party, even more so after the result of elections, not only in the rank and file but also at the top, the left-wing forces are coming out vocally for a breakaway from coalition with Christian Democrats and for political unity with us.

Also among Social-Democrats and left-wing Christian Democrats, cooperation with Communists on political issues is less and less considered as something not feasible. As for the struggles of the masses, the electoral campaign itself was strongly marked by them, mainly by a national railway workers' strike which lasted one full week.

For the coming months, a stronger and larger wave of economic and social mass movements is rising, which may well prove decisive to pull out the Socialists from the present government to open the way to a new coalition on anti-monopoly and democratic planning lines.

The road of advance we have mapped, also, and uppermost requires a mass Communist Party, that is, a party which by its largeness, its articulation, its inner-democratic life, its contacts with all strata of the people, may have a constant initiative for positive solutions of all vital problems of the masses, may build up unity and effectively lead the mass movement.

It is significant on this point that, in the framework of the good electoral results on the national scale, we had some negative or limited results just where the Party lags behind in developing, such features.

This year we have increased our membership by recruiting 190,000 new members, to a total of more than 1,800,000. But we are not satisfied with this, we

badly need a much larger organized force, and a steady improvement of decentralising and of inner democracy.

Our line in the struggle against the mistaken thesis and the splitting activities of the Chinese Communist Party has always been that they must be opposed and defeated in such a way as to make it possible to re-establish unity of the whole movement at a higher level.

It is, we think, a matter of exhaustive, probably long, debates to go deep into the questions of development of the fully correct strategy of peaceful coexistence promoted by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and for more and more actual political initiatives aimed at carrying further that strategy and winning for it more and more successes.

It is a matter of enriching such debates and articulating such initiatives along the diversity of experiences which the Communist and Workers' Parties and liberation movements have reached in their worldwide responsibilities.

We are ready to play our part in this task through bilateral and multilateral contacts and through larger meetings of Communist Parties, which will be more fruitful for the sake of unity, the more carefully they are prepared.

We think also, judging from our own though very limited experience in this respect, that on the ground of a thorough debate and of political initiative, it would not be difficult to defeat splitting groups where they arose and to regain all who among them are not corrupt.

But, above, the ideological contrasts and the untiring effort needed to defeat dogmatic and sectarian errors, we feel it urgent for our movement to look for ways and forms of united action among all its sectors against the immediate threats to peace from the

# GREET CPI VII CONGRESS

## Ruben Avramov, CP Bulgaria

On behalf of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people we convey to you, the delegates at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and all its members, most cordial fraternal greetings.

WE, the Bulgarian Communists, follow with great interest and solidarity the struggles of Indian people, of all your democratic forces, for strengthening the national independence of your country, for the country's further democratic and progressive development, and for consolidation of world peace.

The Bulgarian people cherish a feeling of deep respect towards the great and talented Indian people, towards their heroic struggle against imperialist oppression and reaction, towards the Communist Party of India and its selfless struggle in defence of the vital interests of the working class and working-peasantry, for its important contribution in the efforts for the preservation of unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement.

The Indian people have in the Bulgarian people a true friend, who for centuries, like the Indian people themselves have suffered under foreign oppression and have fought for freedom and independence, which was achieved at

the cost of numberless sacrifices.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria our people are now successfully implementing the great ideas of socialism and communism, for which their best sons and daughters have dreamt and fought.

Comrades, you are discussing major issues, set by the existing real situation in India, which are of great significance to the further activities and struggle of the Communist Party of India.

We are confident that this Congress will take such decisions which will correspond in the best way to the interests of the Indian people and the unity in the ranks of your Party.

We have studied with particular interest your Draft Programme and we note with satisfaction how thoroughly you are discussing the ques-

tions of vital importance to the Indian people—the building up of a broad national front of all democratic and progressive forces in the country against the reactionary forces and imperialism.

The idea of the great son of our people, Georgi Dimitroff, for the establishment of broad peoples' democratic fronts has not lost its significance today, too; it finds an ever-growing confirmation in the practice of many fraternal Parties which are fighting for the unity of the democratic forces in their countries.

Dear Comrades, we wish you every success in your difficult but glorious struggle in defence of the vital interests of the Indian people against capitalist exploitation, in the building up of unity of the working class, of all national democratic and patriotic forces in India, for the further strengthening of national independence, for the progressive and democratic development of India, for the consolidation of peace in the whole world.

## BIG EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY BY WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Fifty-three Communist and Workers' Parties from all the six continents expressed solidarity with the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. Fraternal delegates from 24 Parties actually took part in the Congress while 29 more conveyed messages of greetings.

FRATERNAL delegates present at the Congress were from Communist and Workers' Parties in the following countries, besides some which also sent fraternal delegates: Algeria, Austria, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Haiti, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Mongolia, Soviet Union, Sudan, Syria, United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Tunisia.

Partial view of a procession marching towards Shivaji Park on December 20



NEW AGE

# MESSAGES TO VII CONGRESS OF CPI

## IRAN

ON the occasion of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India we have the honour to convey to you and through you to all peace-loving Indian people, our heartiest congratulations.

We had decided to send to your Party Congress a delegation from our Party but the Indian government has refused to grant us visa.

We are convinced that your Party Congress will work out a political line which is in conformity with the concrete conditions of India and through which you will overcome the present difficulties caused by the activity of the splitters.

We wish you success for your Congress and your Party.

Friendly greetings.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
Tudeh Party of Iran

## LEBANON

IN the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon as well as all Communists and democrats of our country, we warmly salute the Seventh Congress of your Party and the Communists, democrats and working-class of India.

Your Congress is meeting at a crucial time

in the life of your country. The American and British imperialists are intensifying their intrigues and the domestic reaction is also on the offensive for changing the traditional policies of India which are appreciated by the forces of peace and progress of the whole world—policy of nonalignment, peace and peaceful coexistence.

Your Party, loyally defends the interests of the Indian people successfully along with other democratic forces of the country in the grand struggle to prevent the offensive of imperialism and reaction.

We are confident that the working class of India, with its rich experience and tradition of struggles will overcome all difficulties which it encounters in its way and will achieve triumph in the decisive struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

We are confident that your Seventh Congress will constitute a precious contribution in that direction. At the same time, it will deal a powerful blow to the anti-party group and their dogmatic and adventurist line which constitutes a flagrant violation of the positions adopted by the international Communist movement at the two Conferences held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

The Lebanese Communists understand and deeply appreciate the long-established relations

of friendship and fraternal collaboration which your Party has with the great Party of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the international Communist movement on the basis of the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in developing which the Communist Party of India has won the sympathy and respect of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world.

We wish, dear comrades, great success in the work of your Congress, for forging a national democratic front to take your country towards socialism.

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

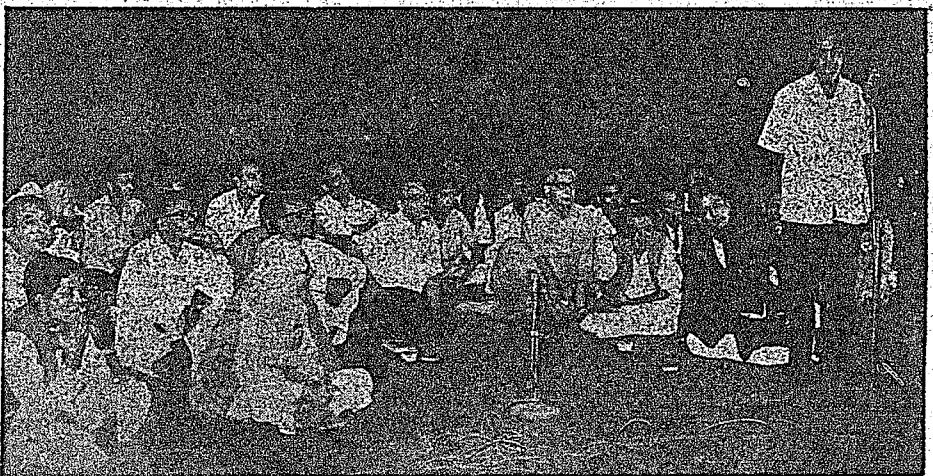
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
Communist Party of Lebanon

## MEXICO

WE send our warmest greetings to the Seventh Congress with the full confidence that this Congress will achieve great successes for the Communist Party of India, the vanguard of the Indian people in the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace, under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and unity of the international Communist movement.

MANUEL TERRAZAS  
Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Mexico.





An important study on  
Indian Working Class Movement

### INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

by Gopal Ghosh

(Price: Rs. Two)

Available with:  
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE  
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

A Cultural evening was organised in honour of the Seventh Congress of CPI, where Sahir Ludhianvi (top) and Ali Sardar Jafri (above), among others, recited poems. Below, the Latin American fraternal delegates render a folk song

## NATIONAL COUNCIL ELECTS CENTRAL EXECUTIVE AND SECRETARIAT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India which concluded its two-day session on December 26 in Bombay elected the following members to the Central Executive Committee:

1. S. A. Dange
2. C. Rajeshwar Rao
3. G. Adhikari
4. M. N. Govindan Nair
5. Romesh Chandra
6. Z. A. Ahmad
7. Yogindra Sharma
8. Bhupesh Gupta
9. N. K. Krishnan
10. N. Rajasekhar Reddy
11. Tammareddy Satyanarayana
12. Manali C. Kandaswamy
13. K. Damodaran
14. P. K. Vasudevan Nair
15. Ramakrishna Pati
16. Bhowani Sen
17. Indrajit Gupta
18. Phani Bora
19. Indradeep Sinha
20. Kalishanker Shukla
21. B. K. Gupta
22. Avtar Singh Malhotra
23. Sohan Singh Josh
24. H. K. Vyas
25. S. G. Sardesai

The National Council unanimously elected the following comrades as office-bearers of the Party:

Chairman: S. A. Dange  
General Secretary: C. Rajeshwar Rao  
Secretaries: G. Adhikari  
M. N. Govindan Nair  
Romesh Chandra  
Z. A. Ahmad  
Yogindra Sharma  
Bhupesh Gupta  
N. K. Krishnan

Treasurer: S. V. Ghate

The Chairman, the General Secretary and Secretaries will together constitute the Central Secretariat of the Party.

# ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AND MOTIVATED

## CPI Secretariat Condemns Arrest Of Rival Party Leaders

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on December 30 on the countrywide arrests of rival Communist Party leaders:

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has received with shock and revulsion the news about the countrywide arrests and detention under the DIR of the leaders and workers associated with the rival Communist Party.

Ever since the DIR came into force over two years ago, the government has been using it for suppression of its political opponents and the mass movements of the working people.

By its actions, the government has dealt yet another major blow to democracy and indeed the elementary agencies of our public life.

In this connection, it cannot be missed by anyone that arrests in Kerala have taken place on the eve of the mid-term general elections.

It is becoming increas-

ingly clear that the more government fails to tackle people's problems such as high prices, food, the more it breaks from the democratic moorings and goes in for attacking the country's democratic movement.

Our Party strongly protests against these wanton arrests and condemns the action of the government as brazenly anti-democratic and politically motivated.

This anti-democratic and authoritarian behaviour on the part of the government spells grave dangers to democracy.

Hence all those who cherish freedom and democracy cannot but feel deeply perturbed about such frequent assaults on fundamental rights and civil liberties.

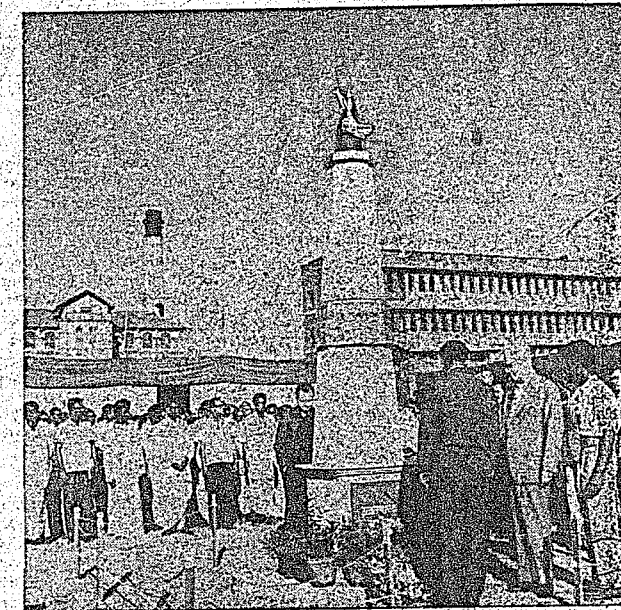
The Communist Party of

India earnestly appeals to all right-minded people, all democratic organisations in the country to raise their voice of protest against these arrests and detentions of political workers and demand their immediate release.

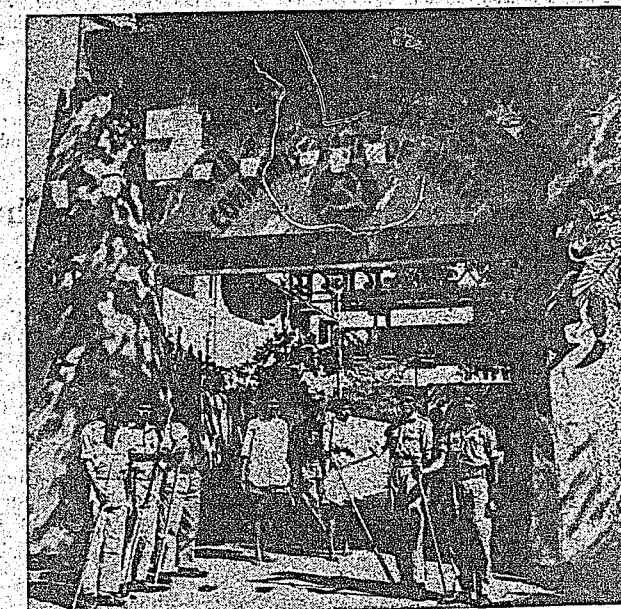
The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units and Party members to take all necessary initiative in voicing this demand.

★

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, M.P., a member of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India met Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri on December 30, on behalf of the Secretariat of CPI and conveyed to him the Communist Party's strong protest against the arrests of the Left Communists throughout the country and requested him to reverse the undemocratic policy of the government.



At the Martyrs' Memorial erected at the Purandare Stadium (Below) Volunteers at the entrance of the Stadium



## RPI SATYAGRAHI'S DEATH IN CUSTODY

### Punjab CPI Council Demands Judicial Enquiry

The Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India has demanded a judicial enquiry into the death of a satyagrahi of the Republican Party of India, while in jail custody.

A statement issued by the state council secretary on December 29 says:

The Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India learned with grief the sad news of death of a young Republican Party satyagrahi, Ram Parkash, while in jail custody.

The Republican Party office alleged that Ram Parkash was beaten by the Police while offering satyagrah on December 15, 1964. Due to this beating Ram Parkash was not feeling well since the evening of that day.

The Deputy Commissioner says that Ram Parkash died a natural death on December 29, while he was admitted to the Civil Hospital on December 22, 1964. This statement cannot satisfy public opinion.

Even if a part of the Deputy Commissioner's statement is ac-

cepted, that Ram Parkash was admitted to the Civil Hospital on December 22, the callous attitude of the jail authorities is quite evident. Ram Parkash was sent to the Civil Hospital on December 22 only while he was sick since December 15 evening. We are further pained to learn that the body of the deceased has not been handed over to the relatives so far. This attitude of the authorities is highly condemnable.

All these circumstances justify the demand that a judicial enquiry into this sad incident be held forthwith.

We further demand that an judicial commission headed by a sessions judge be appointed for it and Republican Party be provided with all facilities to produce relevant evidence in the case.

## A Journal of Solidarity, Information and Analysis AFRO-ASIAN and WORLD AFFAIRS

Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Afro-Asian and World Affairs

Founder President: Smt. RAMESHWARI NEHRU

Editorial Advisory Board:

Dr. TARA CHAND, M.P. Smt. ARUNA ASAF ALI  
Chairman Director of the Institute  
Dr. MULK RAJ ANAND Dr. S. N. VERMA  
Professor M. MUJEEB Dr. P. N. SAFPUR, M.P.

PUBLISHED IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER  
Single copy Rs. 2.00 Yearly: Rs. 8.00 (post free) By Regd. Post Rs. 10.00

Reduced subscription rate for members of the Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Peace movements and for all bonafide students: Yearly—Rs. 5.00

The December issue contains:  
Hiren Mukerji This was a Man; Y. M. Dadoo India's Role in the Struggle against Apartheid; Satya M. Rai Disarmament Negotiations Upto Date; H. G. Pant European Neutrals: The Finns; Aswini K. Ray The Soviet Union and the Colonial Problem at the U.N.; G. S. Bhalla Patterns of Public Sector in Underdeveloped Economics (Discussion); Nand Lal Gupta China's Foreign Policy: 1958-62 (Discussion); Anirudha Gupta India's Attitude to Nepal: An Analysis and Book Reviews.

Contents of the Third Issue: B. N. Ganguli The U.N. Conference on Trade and Development; Gunnar Myrdal Priorities in the Development of Underdeveloped Countries and their Trade and Financial Relations with Rich Countries; Yadu Nath Khama Nepal in the Afro-Asian Movement; Andrzej Skowronski Development of the Idea of Denuclearised Zones; Hiren Mukerji Towards the Second Non-Aligned Conference; African Missions in India The Struggle for African Independence and Continental Unity; S. N. Mukherjee Afro-Asian Studies in India and Book Reviews.

Contents of the Second Issue: E. J. Hobsbawm The End of European World Domination; Szymon Chodak Single-party and Socialism in the Building of Modern African Political Systems; R. C. Pradhan The United Nations and the Portuguese Colonial Questions—Problems and Prospects; Martin Luther King The American Negro Shall be Free; K. R. Singh Morocco since Independence—A Study of the Political Cross-currents; R. S. Sharma The Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists—A Retrospect; Vanita Sabhikhi The United Nations and the Struggle against Racial Discrimination in South Africa; Kiran Mishra The International Outlook of Indian Nationalism and Book Reviews.

Contents of the First Issue: Editorial We Dedicate Ourselves; Professor Linus Pauling Science and Peace; Harsh Deo Malaviya International Trade and the Problem of the Underdeveloped Countries; Professor J. D. Bernal Need there be Need? Sisir K. Gupta Political Issues and Political Forces in Pakistan; Ahmed Hassan El-Feki Afro-Asian Solidarity and the United Arab Republic; Lalpat Rai Pan-Americanism—A Brief Survey; Anthony Greenwood Non-alignment and the Struggle against the Cold War; Hari Sharan Chhabra Kenya—A new nation is born and Book Reviews.

14 Theatre Communication Building Connaught Circus New Delhi  
Telephone: 43650



## National Council Resolution DHANUSHKODI DISASTER

The following resolution was adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India which concluded its session in Bombay on December 26:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound sorrow at the disaster that has overwhelmed the people in Dhanushkodi and other areas of Rameshwaram Island resulting in the loss of hundreds of lives and severe damage to personal and public property including the destruction of the mile-long

\*FROM PAGE 2

and observers clearly prove that this Congress represents the tried and tested leaders of numerous class struggles, that the Congress represents the fighting masses of our country.

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

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

The Credential Committee would like to refer to a complaint that was sent by a Party member pointing out some irregularity in the election of delegates by the Central Party Headquarters Branch. By careful examination of the facts, the Credentials Committee came to the conclusion that there is no substance in the complaint and that the election of delegates by the Headquarters Branch was valid.

In conclusion, the Credential Committee would like to report that 42 delegates from 24 fraternal Parties from all the six continents of the world are present in this Congress. Their presence demonstrates the unshakable bond of unity of our Party with the international Communist movement.

Pamban railway bridge between the mainland and the island.

The National Council expresses its deepest sympathy to the affected people and appeals to all Communists and to the people of our country and the government to give all help to the victims of what is nothing short of a national disaster.



**MAKE IT A HABIT . . .**  
**... TUNE INTO**  
**RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL**  
The Voice of the German Democratic Republic  
beaming to South East Asia

We transmit daily on short waves

From 7.00—7.30 hrs. GMT on 15240 Kc/s = 19.69 m  
From 12.00—13.00 hrs. GMT on 15240 Kc/s = 19.69 m  
From 14.00—15.00 hrs. GMT on 9530 Kc/s = 25.50 m  
until 28.2.1965  
and from 1.3.1965  
on 11795 Kc/s = 25.43 m  
From 15.30—16.00 hrs GMT on 9530 Kc/s = 31.48 m



# ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

\*FROM PAGE 13

will have a differentiated approach to these comrades and is confident that they will soon join and strengthen the ranks of the Party.

The Party is confident that the mass of Party members who have been carried away by Left demagogy will see the gap between their words and deeds and through their own experience in the coming period reject the path of disunity and rejoin and strengthen the ranks of the Party. Our correct approach to them in mass organisations and movements will greatly help this process. We have to work with this confident perspective.

## The Beginning

**11** HOW AND WHERE TO BEGIN? In the foregoing pages of this document, the present state of our Party organisation and the tasks that are to be fulfilled in order to rebuild our Party as a disciplined and strong organisation capable of leading the Indian people are described in detail. But the problem that arises is: How and where to begin?

The Party has during the last ten years several times passed resolutions pinpointing the serious defects affecting the Party organisation but no serious and sustained efforts were made to remove these defects. That has engendered a sense of frustration and cynicism inside the Party. If the Party is to translate the proposals made in the present organisational report into practice, it is necessary to evolve concrete guarantees for their implementation. From that point of view the following steps should be taken:

**2** The all-India Party centre and the Party centres in various states must be thoroughly reorganised so that they become real leading bodies imbued with a collective spirit and capable of fulfilling the manifold tasks visualised in this report. A beginning must be made at the Party Congress itself.

**b** A separate department for Organisation to be set up from top to bottom, as has been explained earlier, for improving the organisational structure of the Party.

**c** The selection and promotion of new cadre and removal of those who are ineffective at all levels in a planned manner must not be left to scattered initiative at places but should be decided in accordance with guiding lines to be formulated in this respect. The new National Council elected at the Party Congress shall address itself to this task and formulate such guiding lines at its first meeting.

**d** A central inner-Party journal to deal with problems of ideology and problems arising in the mass movement, current political questions and organisational problems, has to be started by the Organisational Department. State councils also can run such journals, wherever possible. These inner-Party journals will help the Party for the expression of opinion of the cadre on mass political and organisational issues facing the Party and will help to pool experience.

**e** A Hindi weekly to be published from the Party Centre.

**f** The state councils of the Party shall meet within two months after the Party Congress in special session devoted entirely to problems of Party organisation in the state and take concrete organisational decisions to implement the proposals made in this report. Every state committee shall send a report of such meeting to the National Council.

**g** A separate department for Party Education has to be set up both in the all-India Party centre and state centres, in order to discharge one of the most important and urgent tasks of political education of cadres and also train them for discharging the responsibility of different fronts. It will also help the state committees in giving political education to the Party members and militants.

## Party Schools

It will discharge the following responsibilities:

- 1) Run a permanent Central Party School for training advanced cadre and teachers for the schools in the states.
- 2) Run a permanent Central School for training cadre from Hindi-speaking states.
- 3) Help state committees to organise schools for the experienced cadre who did not have the benefit of modern education. The state committee have also to make arrangements for training branch secretaries.
- 4) Publish such popular pamphlets and books on Marxist theory, Party Programme and other topics for the education of the Party members and militants.

**h** The state councils shall also convene meetings of comrades working on the kisan, agricultural-worker front with a view to chalk out a mass line for the rural areas and take steps to revive the Kisan sabhas and build agricultural labour organisations. Report of decisions taken shall be sent to National Council.

The Central Secretariat basing itself on these reports from states shall convene a meeting of important kisan front workers from all over the country with a view to evolve a general line on this front and to revive the kisan organisation.

**i** An all-India meeting of the cadres on the women's front, women cadres working in class-organisations, Party leaders in charge of women's front as well as leading comrades from trade unions and kisan sabha.

**j** Similar meetings of student comrades from all over India shall be held in May 1965 to finally resolve the questions facing the student movement for many years.

**k** The Secretariat of the National Council is to call a conference of Party editors and leading Party journalists and editors of Party publications.

**l** National Council is to appoint a commission for writing the history of the Communist Party of India.

## Mass Campaigns

The following all-India Party and mass campaigns have to be conducted in order to galvanise the Party and masses into action.

**1** An all-India campaign for toning up the Party organisation—for enrolment of new Party members, for strengthening the functioning of the Party branches (electing branch committees, secretaries, setting up of offices, minute books, etc.), for discussion of this report in the committees and drawing up necessary lessons from it, for tightening the discipline etc. The question of tightening discipline and strengthening observance of Party norms has to be implemented from the Central Secretariat downwards if it is to become effective.

**2** An all-India Party fund campaign for collection of Rs. 10 lakhs has to be conducted beginning with January 1965 and ending with April. The state councils to decide the month suitable for their respective states for the launching of the Party fund campaign.

**3** An all-India campaign for increasing the circulation of Party journals has to be conducted in March 1965.

**4** All-India Mass Campaigns:

a) It is certain that the food crisis and the phenomenon of rising prices are going to remain one of the most crucial

problems in the coming period. Hence the campaign for food and against rising prices has to be a continuous thing until we succeed in forcing the government to take up wholesale trade in foodgrains in full measure and organise distribution of food and other necessities of life.

b) Bonus and DA campaign for workers and middle-class employees as evolved by the AITUC has to be conducted vigorously.

c) An all-India campaign to increase food production has to be run in the rural areas in the months of April, May and June 1965. The aim of this campaign is to concretise the Party's agrarian programme and move the rural masses. This campaign has to be properly prepared by meeting one or several branches together as the case may be and preparing a concrete plan of action on the burning issue of that locality such as wasteland, repairs of water sources, raising of bunds for the flood waters, construction of feeder roads etc. The units have not only to apply pressure on the government but have to participate by putting physical labour wherever it is possible and needed.

This campaign is two-fold: one is to help the peasantry to fight for facilities to increase production of foodgrains and the other is to help the agricultural labourers and poor peasants to get possession of fallow and waste-lands lying with the government for cultivation and increase of wages of agricultural labourers. Such a comprehensive campaign in the rural areas will not only help the rural masses but also help our Party to shake off the lethargy that has gripped it in rural areas for the last ten years.

Comrades, we have passed through a most serious crisis—in a way more severe than even the one we faced in October 1962. It is to the credit of the loyalty of our members, their steadfastness and devotion that we have emerged out of it and regained our initiative. Our Party has been able to commence the process of overcoming the longstanding defects which have been impediments in our further growth.

The national political campaigns on burning problems of our people, linked to questions of social policies like the March of September 13, 1963 and the all-India satyagraha have put the Party on the map in a big way. It has given us the confidence in the possibilities of the situation and our capacities.

## Crisis Passed

In this Seventh Congress, we have adopted a Programme which will not only be our guide but can be and has to be made a big instrument for educating the entire Party.

We have in this Organisational Report taken note of some of our most serious failings and, what is more, we have outlined some concrete steps which should enable the Party to make significant improvement in our organisation.

Of course, it would be naive and idle to expect that everything now would be all right. On the contrary, most serious efforts will have to be undertaken to build mass campaigns and fight struggles to eradicate the serious defects in our organisation, determinedly educate the Party, speedily expand its organisation and learn to move the masses to intervene in the national scene. All this requires determined efforts and lot of correct and all-round rectification.

We have however to realise that if we properly carry forward what we have achieved in the pre-Congress discussions and at this Congress, and set about to undertake the tasks we have outlined, we can make rapid strides forward. The crisis of the capitalist path of development, the fact that people are more and more searching for an alternative, the possibility of winning the largest sections to the goal of national democracy and the favourable world developments—all indicate that our Party can have and has a possibility of a most rapid advance.

Let us, comrades, then devote ourselves to these tasks, with hope and confidence.

# NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Although several years have passed since the liberation of the former French and Portuguese enclaves in India, these enclaves have been kept as separate Union territories directly under the Central administration of the Government of India.

It is obvious that the aspirations of the peoples who freed themselves from imperialist rule after heroic struggles was to reunite with their linguistic states and wipe out the backwardness of these territories and enjoy full democratic rights and growth with these states.

This Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India is of the opinion that these

former foreign pockets be integrated with the neighbouring states on the basis of language in the interest of fuller national integration and democratisation.

On the basis of this principle, this Congress asks for the integration of Pondicherry and Karaikal with Tamilnad, Mahe with Kerala, Yanam with Andhra, Goa with Maharashtra and Diu and Daman with Gujarat.



Much work was done in commissions at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. Above is a view of one of the Commissions in session. Below, S. A. Dange addresses the Congress.

## CPI VII CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

## RPI STRUGGLE FOR LAND

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India offers its warm support to the struggle launched by the Republican Party of India for the demands of the landless people and other backward classes, such as distribution of waste-lands to the landless, provision of housing sites and cheap housing, education and other just rights.

ANY struggles have been repeatedly launched in the past, on occasions in co-operation with other left and democratic parties. Assurances have been given by state governments, and as often broken or only partially honoured.

This Congress of the CPI records its strong protest against the repressive mea-

sures taken by the government against the movement including the use of DIR against some of its leaders, the arrest and conviction of hundreds of satyagrahis and the ill treatment given to them in the jails.

It demands that government should immediately open negotiations with the leaders of the movement to bring about a satisfactory settlement of their demands.



# 800 YEARS LEIPZIG FAIR ANNIVERSARY FAIR

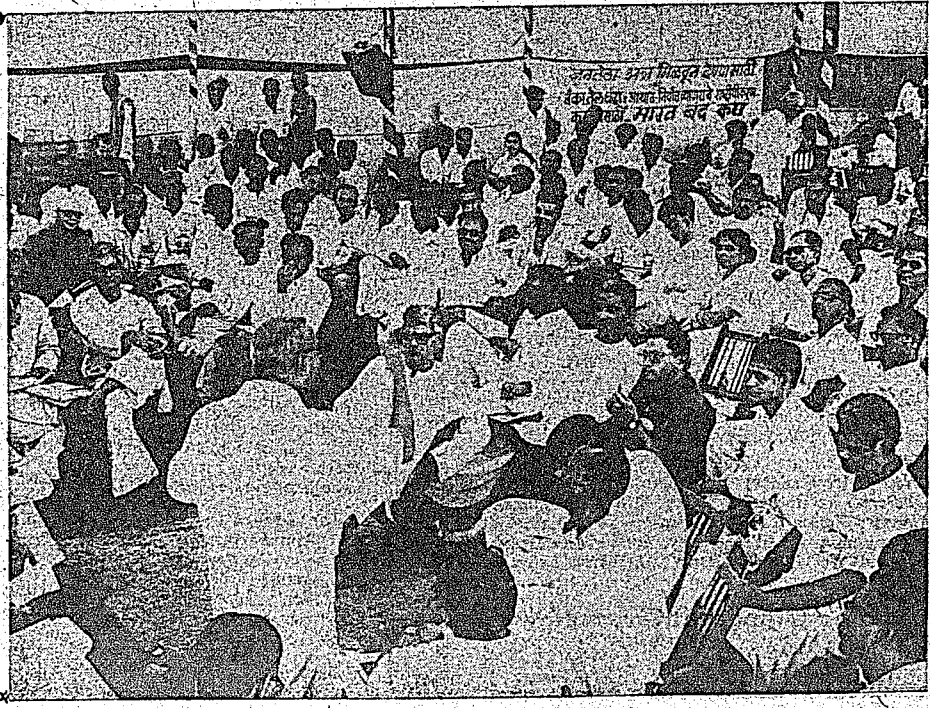
28<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY - 9<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1965

Leipzig Fair today is the most important commercial event in the German Democratic Republic and the biggest Fair to be held in the socialist countries. More than that, it is the great centre of unhindered world trade, specially valued by the newly developing nations for the role it plays in expanding their international trade ties. A visit will enable you to secure an unequalled picture of modern production on a world scale, and survey all the latest developments in manufacturing techniques.

Information and Fair Cards can be obtained from: **LEIPZIG FAIR AGENCY IN INDIA**  
 P. O. Box No. 1993, BOMBAY 1 • D-7 Nizamuddin East, NEW DELHI 13 •  
 34-A Brabourne Road, CALCUTTA 1 • "Prem Niwas" 14 Besant Avenue, Adyar  
 P. O. MADRAS 20 or at the frontier of the German Democratic Republic.

**9,000 EXHIBITORS FROM 70 NATIONS AWAIT YOU!**

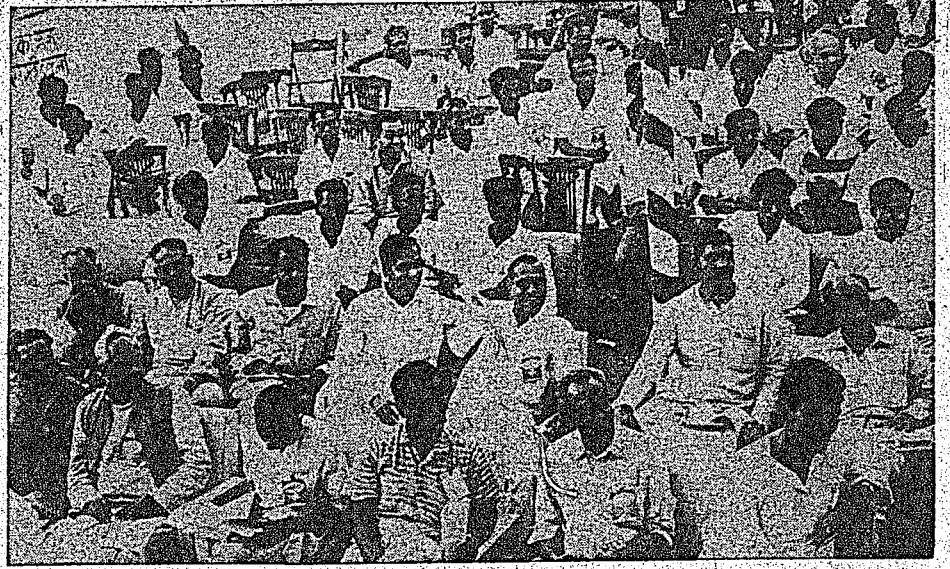
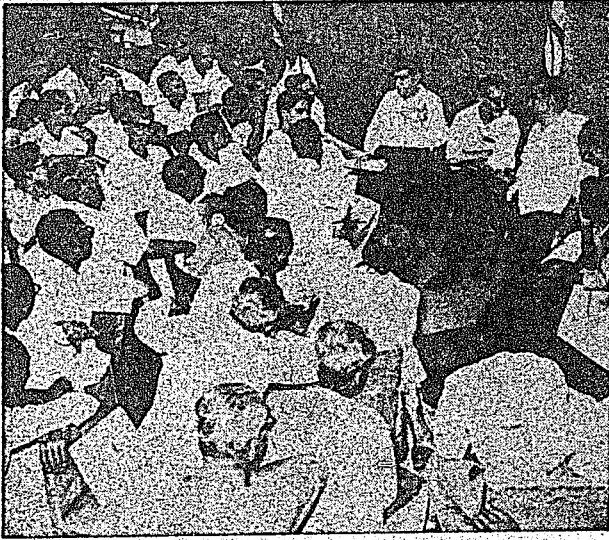
\*\*\*\*\*  
 To provide opportunity to all delegates to express themselves on the issues before them, work on the important documents were carried out in commissions at the Seventh Congress of CPI. Here, the Commission on the Political Resolution is seen in session. Pictures of other commissions are on page 19 and the back page.  
 \*\*\*\*\*



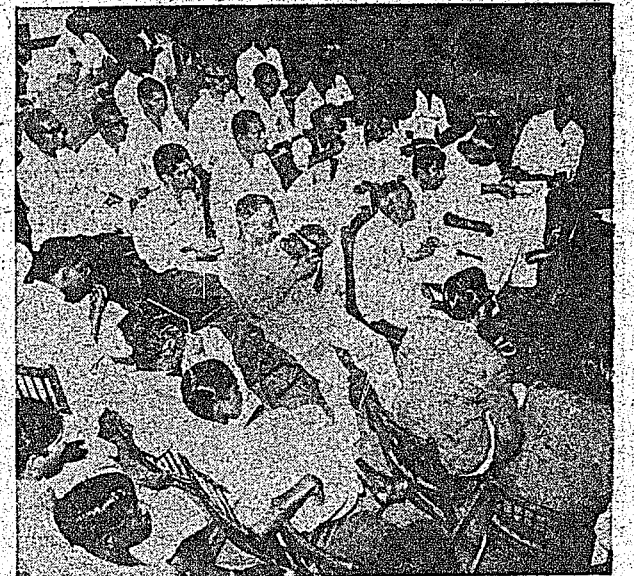
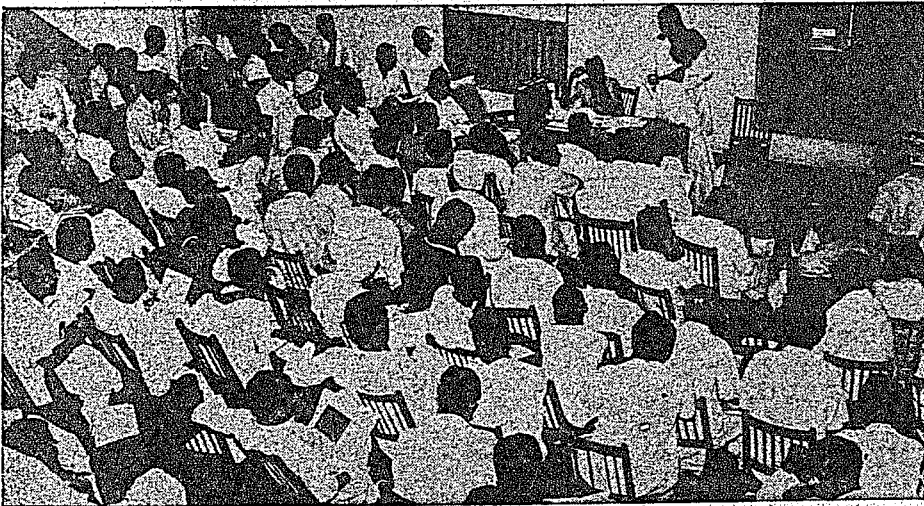


REGD. NO. D597

Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR



SCENES FROM CPI VII CONGRESS



*held at  
Booth Centre*