

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA



*Adopted at its meeting
in Bombay, March, 1953.*

FOUR ANNAS

Delhi
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
1953

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

This Resolution was adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting of March, 1953, in the light of the discussion in the Extended Plenum held at Calcutta in December, 1952 and in the light of further discussion in the Central Committee. It is to be made the basis for immediate work and for discussion at the forthcoming Party Conferences.

Central Committee

1. In the first week of October, 1952, appeared Comrade J. V. Stalin's classical work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, a work which armed the international working-class movement with a clear understanding of the world situation, of the basic laws operating in Socialist and present-day capitalist societies, of the tasks ahead and of the way these tasks are to be carried out. Events that have taken place since then have brilliantly confirmed the analysis made in this work and in the documents of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union guided by and based on this work.

2. The unity of the Socialist world has been further consolidated, its might has further increased, further advance has been made along the path to Communism in the U.S.S.R. The world-wide mourning on the occasion of the sad death of Comrade Stalin — the brilliant continuer of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin and leader of progressive mankind — was, at the

same time, a most impressive demonstration of the solidarity of the Socialist and democratic forces, their determination to strengthen the battle for Socialism, democracy and peace, their determination to carry out the behest of their departed leader.

The deepening crisis of the capitalist system finds direct expression in declining production even in America and Britain and in decline in volume of international trade. Inside the imperialist camp conflicts and contradictions have sharpened still further — as revealed in the inability of the American imperialists to make the bourgeois governments of Europe accept all their terms for the formation of a "European Army", in the British Commonwealth Conference and its appeal to America to reduce tariffs, in the exclusion of Britain from the America-New Zealand-Australia talks. A number of dependent, semi-colonial countries which in the past obediently carried out the orders of the American imperialists are now, under the pressure of masses and in face of growing economic-political difficulties, showing signs of resistance. The trade agreement between Ceylon and China, between Egypt and the Socialist countries, the nationalisation of tin mines by the Bolivian Government, the measures taken by Burma against the Kuomintang bandits, the refusal of Iran to yield to threats, are some indications of the change that is taking place. Nehru's concern at the attempt to include Pakistan in the MEDO, his condemnation of the NATO are also significant pointers.

3. The liberation movement of the enslaved peoples has recorded new victories as in Vietnam, has extended and deepened and is striking heavy blows at the entire colonial system. The struggle intensifies in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. All efforts on the part of the British to crush the struggle of the people of Kenya have failed. Malaya continues to defy the British. The

fight for human rights continues in South Africa. The struggle against colonial oppression rapidly spreads, embraces all progressive sections of the colonial peoples, increasingly assumes the character of war of national liberation in several countries, with the Communist Parties playing a growingly important role. The struggle gets more and more closely linked with the world struggle for democracy and peace. The rapid advance of China in every sphere exercises profound influence over the countries of Asia and Africa, over the entire colonial world.

4. The immense successes registered by the World Peace Movement, its ever-broadening sweep, were demonstrated in the Peking Conference and in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held at Vienna, the most representative of all Peace Conferences ever held, whose declarations embodying the world-wide aspiration for peace, are finding increasing support from all strata of people in all countries, including India, where the Peace Movement has made significant advance in recent months and is being joined by people belonging to all political parties and to all walks of life. The universal condemnation of the American move to use the Kuomintang troops for attack on People's China shows that not merely the broad masses but even a number of bourgeois governments view with apprehension measures calculated to extend the flames of war. The bold and concrete proposal made by Premier Chou En-lai to end the war in Korea has evoked such universal response that even the American imperialists, who only a few weeks ago talked about making Asians fight Asians, have had to reckon with it and re-open negotiations.

5. All this, of course, does not mean that the drive towards war has already been halted or the war plans have been given up. On the contrary, that drive continues, those plans continue to operate — as seen in the

attempt to intensify the embargo on trade with China, the increased American aid to the French imperialists in Vietnam, the ruthless measures of the British in Kenya, the pressure by America on European countries to speed up their "defence" preparations, the provocative acts by British and American air forces over Democratic Germany and Czechoslovakia, the American attempt to frighten peace-loving people by successive atom-bomb explosions, etc. The war danger is still great and the struggle for peace continues to be the key task, a task that has to be continued with even greater vigour. For, it must not be forgotten that the crisis of imperialism is getting deeper, the fiasco of their policies is making the imperialists more desperate and attempts to solve the crisis by means of war will be intensified. At the same time, the fact must be noted that the difficulties in the path of imperialists have increased, the contradictions in their camp have sharpened, the dependent countries show more and more resistance, the colonial liberation movement has spread and become stronger, the fight for peace has won the support of immense sections—all of which *increase* the possibility of maintaining peace, increase the possibility of ending the war in Korea, increase the possibility of giving the Peace Movement a still broader sweep, of isolating the most adventurist elements in the imperialist camp and of foiling their plans.

6. The cessation of war in Korea, the banning of atomic weapons and germ warfare, the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers will immediately lead to the easing of international tension, the utilisation of world resources for peaceful purposes and the development of world trade. This will help all peoples, including the Indian people, to rebuild their economy. It will lead to a steady fall in the prices of necessities of life and be a big step towards mitigating

the present situation of starvation, high prices and scarcity.

7. India's struggle for peace is inseparably linked with the struggle for India's full and unfettered national freedom which means, first and foremost, freedom from control of the British, who continue to be the dominant imperialist power in India. Only as a fully independent country can India make effective contribution to the cause of world peace and act as a bulwark of freedom and democracy. India's continued membership of the British Commonwealth, the holding of key positions in India's armed forces by British officers and "advisers", India's participation in the so-called defence deliberations, the granting of training and transit facilities on Indian soil for Gurkha soldiers recruited by the British—all these not merely constitute infringement of our national sovereignty and restrictions on it, but also a grave danger to peace. Britain is not merely an imperialist power; Britain is also the partner of American imperialism in the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc and is herself waging war against the Malayan and African peoples. Further, British control over India's economy, keeping her backward and dependent, facilitates the penetration of American imperialism into India, converts India into an arena for the conflicts of the imperialist powers and enhances the danger of India being dragged into war. Hence it is essential to intensify the struggle for a break with the Commonwealth, for the expulsion of British officers and "advisers" from the Indian Army, for liquidation of all vestiges of British control over our economy through the confiscation of British capital. While carrying on general campaigns on these issues, each concrete manifestation of subservience to and link up with the British must be exposed and people rallied against it. The forthcoming coronation of the British Queen

is an occasion when mass opposition must be organised against India's participation.

8. While waging this struggle against British imperialism, and as an inseparable part of the fight for peace and defence of national sovereignty, India must also resist the rapid penetration of American imperialism that is taking place in various spheres. Aspiring to secure world domination by unleashing a world war, the American imperialists are striving to bring the Government of India under their control by means of "aids" and agreements and are also linking themselves up with extreme reactionary elements and with Right-wing Socialist leaders. They are buying over corrupt politicians, securing control over a number of newspapers, poisoning the cultural life with decadent literature and films. They are carrying on a virulent campaign of lies and slanders against the U.S.S.R., New China and People's Democratic countries through agencies like the "Democratic Research Service" and "Freedom of Asia" societies. They are also penetrating into some vital sectors of India's economy like oil and are trying to get a foothold in strategic industries. A large number of American specialists have been imported although there is no dearth of suitable Indians for the work. They have even been granted diplomatic immunity and are paid huge salaries. A vigorous campaign of exposure against all this, as well as against the importation of American agents in the garb of "experts", has to be carried on.

9. The struggle for peace has to be directly linked with the democratic and anti-imperialist traditions of our national movement—which expressed themselves in the stand taken by us on the issue of fascist aggression in Abyssinia, Spain and China—with the demand that the policy of the Government of India today must be the continuation of that policy. We have yet to undertake

a concrete and thorough exposure of the policy of the Government of India in relation to the war in Korea. Immediate and broadest mass mobilisation is needed behind the demand that the Indian Government must give full support to Premier Chou En-lai's proposal. It must be clearly recognised that it is not enough to rouse the people against those moves of the imperialists which threaten to *extend* the war. As long as the war in Korea continues, the danger of extension of the war, the danger of the world being taken by surprise and plunged into war will remain. Hence the need to rally the people behind the slogan that the Government of India must demand immediate cessation of war in Korea. Equally important is the task of rallying the people for the demand to stop transit facilities to the British and the French in their predatory war against the Malayan and Vietnamese people.

The vicious propaganda carried on against the Soviet Union and China by imperialist agents and Right-wing Socialists must be combated, a powerful movement built for friendship with these countries. The spontaneous homage paid to Comrade Stalin by all sections of the people in India shows the volume of sentiment of friendship with the U.S.S.R. that exists in our country—a sentiment which is a powerful asset in the struggle for peace and democracy. The tributes paid by delegates who visited the U.S.S.R. and China also show the immense possibilities that exist of broad mobilisation and consolidation of the friendly sentiment of the Indian people for the new world against which the imperialists are striving to unleash war.

10. An integral part of the struggle for peace, as well as for national independence and national sovereignty, is the struggle for the development of trade relations with Socialist and democratic countries. The one-sided trade of India, its link-up with the crisis-ridden

economy of Britain and America, the unequivalent trade imposed on India by these countries, are leading to the deepening of the crisis of Indian economy, failure to get the much-needed capital goods and perpetuation of our colonial conditions. The Government of India hypocritically declares that it has "no objections" to the development of trade with the U.S.S.R. and China, but that it is for individual businessmen to establish such relations. The fact, however, is that no large-scale development of trade between India on the one hand and the Socialist and People's Democratic countries on the other is possible unless trade agreement is arrived at a *governmental level*. This is precisely the kind of agreement that was reached between People's China and Ceylon—an agreement which has been of immense benefit to the Ceylonese people. This agreement resulting from the visit to Peking of a Trade Mission, headed by the Trade Minister for Ceylon, enabled Ceylon to procure rice from China and sell rubber to China on mutually advantageous terms. Hence it is necessary to give wider publicity to the trade agreement between Ceylon and China, to explain how the agreement came about, the role played by mass organisations and the common people in this. (See *New Age*, March 1953.)

11. With the deepening of the world capitalist crisis and the shrinking of the capitalist world market, the exploitation of colonial and dependent countries by imperialists has been intensified and they have become arenas of sharp conflicts among the imperialist powers, above all, between Britain and America. India, where British imperialism continues to hold a dominant position and where American imperialism is effecting fast penetration, is one of the main arenas of this conflict.

12. As a result of India's trade and economy being linked with imperialist powers who are interested in keeping her backward and dependent, India is ruthlessly

robbed and plundered. Through British investment in key sectors of India's economy, through British control over exchange banks, insurance and shipping companies, through imperial preference and India's membership of the Sterling Bloc, Britain continues to drain away the wealth of India. The weapon of unequivalent trade is wielded both by Britain and America to further impoverish the Indian people, deny them capital goods and ruin their industries. The steep fall in the prices of commodities which India exports, without a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities that she has to import from Britain and America, has accelerated this process, has ruined vast masses of people, especially the primary producers, the peasants. Huge quantities of raw materials have to be exported at ruinous prices to meet the interest and profit charges of British capital in India, to pay for the food imports from America, to pay for military equipment, rolling stock and other goods which India has to buy. This is leading to an ever-widening gap between exports and imports, squandering of the sterling resources and increasing dependence on foreign powers. The entire economy is cracking up.

13. India's main export commodities—jute and tea—are facing a catastrophic situation. The price of raw jute has fallen steeply hitting the peasants. The deepening crisis in capitalist countries and India's tie-up with their economy have led to the sealing of part of jute looms, reduction of hours in the jute mills, and closure of a large number of tea gardens. The British, who dominate these industries, are trying to solve the crisis at the cost of the workers.

14. Crisis manifests itself not in these industries alone, but in practically every industry—especially industries producing consumers' goods which constitute the bulk of our industries. All these years, the Indian Government, controlled by landlords and monopolists colla-

borating with imperialism, argued that the crisis of India's economy was a crisis of *under-production*, that there was scarcity because there were not enough goods, that the way to India's prosperity lay through "harder work", that what were needed were not basic social changes but more sustained labour. "Produce or perish" was their slogan. All these myths are being exploded by hard reality. The handloom industry, which produced over one-third of the cloth consumed in this country and which supported nearly 10 million people, is facing extinction because it is unable to dispose of the cloth that has been produced. The large-scale textile industry, which maintained itself by the ruination of the handloom industry and by huge exports, whose production has not reached even the 1938 figure, is already facing difficulties due to the accumulation of stocks. This is happening when the per capita consumption of cloth stands at less than 10 yards as against over 16 yards in 1938. In other words, long before even the 1938 level of consumption has been reached, symptoms of a crisis of "over-production" are visible. Same is the situation in sugar, footwear, coir, engineering and many other large and small industries.

15. Mass unemployment is becoming the characteristic feature in all industrial centres affecting not only the industrial workers but also middle-class employees. The British and Indian monopolists are resorting to restriction of production in order to maintain high prices, increased work-load and rationalisation, forced leave and shorter hours, lock-out and retrenchment. The attack on the working class has been intensified. The Government has come to the rescue of Big Business by heavy reduction of export duty, direct subsidy of Rs. 4½ crores out of State Exchequer to the sugar magnates, reduction in the price of sugarcane. It has abolished the food subsidy, withdrawn cheap foodgrain concession to tea-garden

workers and resorted to drastic curtailment of credit facilities during the busy season to bring down prices of raw materials. It has refused to promote a price policy which would enable the people to buy manufactured articles at cheaper rates. It has even refused to take measures to prevent foreign monopolists who have invested capital in India from competing with and killing Indian industries. It has permitted free flow of foreign goods which are ruining many Indian industries. All this further deepens and intensifies the crisis.

16. At the root of the crisis of "over-production" lies the catastrophic crisis in our agrarian economy. The production of foodgrains per acre has sharply declined, according to the Report of the Planning Commission itself. Famine conditions have become chronic in many parts of the country. Scarcity conditions prevail in vast areas. With prices of commercial crops having fallen steeply, with subsidiary industries like handlooms having been ruined, the distress of the peasant masses has intensified. Indebtedness of the peasants has increased to colossal proportions. Tens of thousands of peasants have sold away and are selling away their land, their cattle and all their belongings at incredibly low prices due to scarcity and famine conditions. Their properties are passing into the hands of rapacious landlords and moneylenders. On top of this, the Government in many States resorts to coercive measures and sells away by auction the lands of peasants who are unable to pay arrears of land revenue and debts.

The crisis in agriculture is also seen in the huge accumulation of stocks of fertilisers with the State and Central Governments because the pauperised peasant masses are unable to buy and use them. This is leading to further stagnation and decline of agriculture.

All this has meant a rapid shrinking of the home market and the complete collapse of the market in many

areas. The fact that food prices continue to remain high due to shortage of production, the fact that the mass of the people have to spend the bulk of their income to purchase food, the fact that the prices of manufactured articles are kept at a high level—all these further intensify the crisis.

The agrarian crisis has grown into a national crisis. It has meant shortage of food for the nation, shortage of raw material for the industries, widening gap between exports and imports, increased dependence on foreign powers and increased threat to our national freedom and sovereignty. It has facilitated the penetration of aggressive imperialist powers into our country.

17. Thus, at the end of the six years of Congress rule, the country faces a situation as serious as ever in its history. This situation is the direct result of the policies of the Nehru Government—of its refusal to break with the British Commonwealth and confiscate British capital, of its refusal to undertake basic agrarian reform. The much-boosted Five-Year Plan which is being implemented by the Government does not mean a reversal of these policies. It is a continuation of those very policies and an effort to solve the crisis at the cost of the people and in the interest of foreign imperialists, Indian monopolists collaborating with them and landlords.

18. Refusal to mobilise India's resources in money, which have accumulated and are accumulating in the hands of the princes, landlords and monopolists, refusal to stop the drain of India's wealth by the imperialists by means of unequivalent trade and export of huge profits of British capital invested in India, have made it impossible to undertake really big plans for the rapid development of India's industry and agriculture, so very urgently needed to overcome centuries of backwardness

and arrested development, and fight poverty, unemployment and famine.

The demagogic claim that the Five-Year Plan seeks to create a firm basis for India's economic development by first concentrating on the improvement of agriculture is belied by the last two years of its operation. The Plan refuses to make fundamental democratic transformations in land relations, which alone will smash the fetters on agricultural production and release the creative energies of India's millions of peasants. The land policies advocated in the Plan will lead and are leading to large-scale evictions of peasants from their lands. All these will accelerate the pauperisation of the peasantry. The Plan provides for the continuation and execution of a few irrigation projects which had already been undertaken by the State Governments as part of the post-war reconstruction schemes planned by the British imperialists. Even those projects in the Plan which, taken by themselves, are useful, are proving so costly to build, thanks to bureaucratic inefficiency and rampant corruption, thanks to the employment of a large number of costly American "experts" and refusal to utilise and encourage the talents of Indian engineers and technicians, that the bulk of the people will not be benefited from them.

The Plan leaves the entire field of industrial development to private capital. But just because it not only fails to solve the problem of the internal market but actually intensifies it, and also because of its abject dependence on British and American imperialism for capital goods, there cannot be any real industrialisation. On the other hand, as the experience of the last two years of the working of the Plan has clearly demonstrated, these policies cannot even prevent the stagnation and under-utilisation of existing production capacity and save the existing industries from collapse. Under the Plan, the imperialists and monopolists are free to intensify their attacks on the workers and our people and other indus-

trialists. They are free to continue to make huge profits by the systematic loot of the entire people and to mount attacks on the workers by freezing wages, dearness allowance and bonus, by rationalisation and other methods of intensification of labour.

Above all, the financing of the Plan is to be done by increased taxation on the common people, by foreign borrowing and by deficit-financing. All this would lead to increasing burdens on the common people, and to increased grip of the foreign imperialists and Indian monopolists on India's economy.

In a number of States, even the execution of the schemes already undertaken has come up against the wall of lack of finances, and work on many schemes has been slowed down, and many more minor irrigation schemes have been altogether abandoned. The crisis reflects itself in the budgets of the States and the Centre, which have already become deficit. It reflects itself in the steep fall in the passenger and goods traffic earnings in the railways as a result of which even the programme of rehabilitation of the railways to a level that the existing volume of passenger and goods traffic can be effectively served is being given up.

19. In every sphere the Government continues the reactionary policies of the past. It refuses to abolish the princely States and reconstitute the provinces on a linguistic basis on the false plea that this will lead to the break up of the unity of the country. It refuses to concede the demand of Part 'C' States for representative government. It increases the cost of education compelling many students to discontinue studies and making it impossible for the poorer classes to receive education. It permits foreign concerns in India to discriminate against the Indian personnel and treat them as inferiors in relation to Whites. It postpones enactment of the Hindu Code Bill. It spends colossal sums for the mili-

tary and police and gives repeated concessions to Big Business but has no money for the upliftment of the people. It imposes new burdens on the people on the plea of financing its plans and projects. It re-enacts the Security Measures in the teeth of popular opposition and wants to set up, as in Bengal, special tribunals to try political cases. It resorts to ruthless terror to suppress the people whenever all other methods fail and the masses refuse to take the new burdens lying down.

20. Against these policies and methods of the Government, against the growing offensive of landlords and monopolists, against the attempt to shift the burden of the crisis on the people, mass resistance has grown rapidly during the last one year. Innumerable struggles and mass actions have taken place in this period—greater in volume and intensity than at any time since August, 1947. Actions have taken place not merely on economic issues and against tax burdens, but also for civil liberties, for linguistic provinces, for cheap education etc. The participants in the struggles have been not merely workers and peasants, but also students, teachers, patwaris, sweepers, Government employees, policemen, merchants, industrialists, etc. Further, struggles are breaking out even in areas like Saurashtra where the democratic movement has hitherto been weak. Almost in every struggle broad popular sympathy was revealed. Working-class struggles have not only been numerous but in many of them workers following different trade unions stood together and fought together. The unemployed workers' immense demonstration at Calcutta rallied workers belonging to various organisations and was supported by all sections of people. Doggedly fought peasant actions have taken place in several provinces together with mass demonstrations of peasants in cities. Mass organisations of workers, peasants, students are growing all over the country and united factory com-

mittees have been formed in several places. Popular urge for unity is also expressed in united famine relief committees. In Bengal the opposition parties have organised a number of joint demonstrations. Popular opposition to the Government expresses itself in the speeches of Communist and democratic deputies in the Legislatures, where even many Congressmen have started taking a critical attitude towards several of the measures of the Government.

21. A specific character of the struggles today is not merely that they are the result of worsening condition of the life of the people but that they are taking place in the background of growing isolation of the Congress, its rapidly weakening mass influence. Vast numbers of those who hitherto followed the Congress evince sympathy for the struggles and even directly participate in them as in the linguistic province movement in Andhra and anti-sales tax agitation in Bombay and Saurashtra. In several States Congressmen have opposed the tax measures of the Government and sharp conflict has developed inside Congress Committees on the policies of the Government. In the Praja-Socialist Party—whose leadership has abandoned all pretence to Marxism, is pursuing an anti-struggle policy and is striving for coalition with the Congress—a growing number of rank and file are getting drawn into united action. Due to its weakening position and due to growing mass opposition, the Government has been compelled on several occasions to concede popular demands, to beat retreat and refrain from carrying out its anti-popular measures. The fact that in the budgets presented in February-March this year, there has been generally absence of fresh taxation proposals, despite growing deficits, is entirely due to the opposition to taxation measures of the last year. In many instances sentences of death on political prisoners have been commuted, punitive police posts removed and

political prisoners released. In many centres working-class and peasant masses have been able to beat back the economic offensive and win concessions.

22. The deepening economic crisis, the worsening conditions of the people because of the policies of the Government, and the growing opposition of the people against the policies of the Government, have their repercussions inside the ruling classes and their party—the Congress Party. Conflicts between the Central and States Governments over allocation and share of the revenues are growing, despite the increase in the States' share as a result of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. The reactionary stand of the Government over the question of formation of linguistic states, together with the significant victory of the Andhra people, not only have given impetus to the movement for linguistic states, but has led to many Congressmen coming out openly against the policies of the Government and the Congress leadership. As a result of the abolition of the office of Rajpramukh in Kashmir, the demand has been more and more loudly voiced even by Congress elements for the abolition of the office in all the States where it exists. The growing discontent of the masses is also intensifying the conflicts among the factional groups inside the Congress. As a result, vacillation and indecision grows in the ruling class.

23. What we are witnessing today is not merely the maturing of an economic crisis, but along with it the initial stages of the development of a political crisis. The conflicts that are developing within the ruling classes and inside the Congress are but the symptoms of that political crisis that is developing. The various methods adopted by the Congress — manoeuvres like de-control, minor concessions, attempt to create illusions through the Five-Year Plan and community projects, etc.

—are all getting rapidly exposed. The Congress finds it already difficult to rule in the old way—on the basis of promises for the future. With the deepening crisis, with the development of mass opposition to the present policies of the Government, conflicts will sharpen on the issues as to which policies to follow or with whom to forge alliances, etc.

24. The weakening influence of the Congress, however, has not, in all areas and States, led to a corresponding strengthening of the democratic forces. In several parts of India, where democratic forces are comparatively weak, communal parties, allied to feudal reaction, have also gained ground and are striving to divert mass discontent into disruptive channels. With the demagogic slogan of sanctions against Pakistan, they utilised the just indignation of people against the communal policies of the Pakistan Government. Utilising the sentiments of the people for the unity of India, they mislead them into the belief that the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir is disruptive of this unity and with the slogan of “full accession” they seek to reimpose on the people of Kashmir the rule of the Maharaja and to nullify the Agrarian Reform.

The activities of these communal reactionaries constitute a menace which should not be under-estimated. They have far-reaching plans of a counter-revolutionary character—plans to impose on the Government even more reactionary policies, both in the national and international spheres. There are powerful groups inside the Congress sympathetic to them, who, frightened by the growing opposition of the masses, would like the Congress to compromise with the communal reactionaries in order to build a “united front” against the democratic movement. Ruthless and systematic exposure of the communal parties, and united front of all democratic forces, including Congressmen with progressive views,

to wean the masses away from the “movements” launched by them must be undertaken in order to combat this menace.

25. The recent talks initiated by Nehru with Jayaprakash Narayan with a view to form a coalition with the Praja-Socialist Party are the result of the growing crisis inside the ruling classes. Nehru, who only a year ago refused to countenance the idea of a coalition and claimed that the Congress alone represented the country, took the initiative for such a coalition because of his realisation of the growing weakening of the mass base and influence of the Congress.

In the face of the failure of the Congress, by its manoeuvres, to prevent the weakening of its influence, it is an attempt to widen its influence in order to continue its reactionary policies directed against the people and the democratic movement.

The P.S.P. leadership is also anxious to effect such a reactionary coalition because it is also facing a crisis and all the manoeuvres of the leadership—the Praja and Socialist Parties’ merger, etc. — have only accentuated the crisis instead of resolving it. It seeks to camouflage its reactionary aims by putting forward a programme. But the programme itself exposes its reactionary aims. It does not demand the abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It does not ask for reduction of rents and occupancy rights to the peasants. Instead, it asks for compulsory consolidation of holdings, which will only lead to large-scale eviction and expropriation of small holders. It does not demand the recognition of trade unions but compulsory amalgamation of trade unions under Government auspices. It does not demand minimum wage, stoppage of retrenchment and unemployment relief, but speaks of trade unions becoming socially responsible agencies. It does not demand

linguistic states or greater provincial autonomy; instead, it negates them with the demand for units based on language and also administrative, financial and economic convenience, and of regional (multi-state) Governors, regional High Courts, etc. It keeps silent over the question of repeal of repressive Acts.

With the record of breaking of all its pledges to the people by the Congress, and with the policies it is pursuing, no coalition with it can be thought of by any party that is interested in serving our people and fighting for democracy. Equally wrong is it for anyone to think that such a coalition can fight the communal reactionaries. For, communal reaction derives its strength from the anti-popular, anti-democratic policies of the Government and it cannot be fought successfully without simultaneously fighting and defeating the reactionary policies of the Congress Government.

26. Experience of the last one year shows that the ruling classes cannot shift the burden of the crisis on to the masses without launching a ferocious attack on their democratic rights and civil liberties. This is precisely what is being now advocated by the most reactionary sections and elements in the Congress — sections and elements many of whom sympathise with the forces of communal reaction and would like the Congress to forge "united front" with them with the object of launching a vigorous attack on the people, suppress mass organisations and the Communist Party. The struggle for the defence of civil liberties, the struggle to end the repressive and anti-labour laws and measures, therefore, acquire immense importance in the present situation.

27. It is necessary to abandon all complacency about the present situation and get rid of erroneous ideas with regard to the development of the mass movement. As already stated, numerous struggles have taken place in recent months, but it will be a mistake to focus at-

tion only on them, to select examples of the big struggles, collect them together and make this the basis of the assertion that the mass movement has already extended far and wide, has already reached a high level. Such methods will lead to wrong conclusions and wrong tactics. The growth of the mass movement cannot be measured merely in terms of individual struggles, strikes and demonstrations or the number of participants in these struggles. There is no doubt that, with the worsening condition of the people, struggles will break out in all parts of the country. Despite this, however, the mass movement as a whole will remain weak unless these individual struggles are co-ordinated, fought vigorously and in such a manner as to bring about the broadest democratic mobilisation, united mass organisations built on their basis and led so as to become part of a developing nationwide struggle for reversal of the policies of the Government. With the maturing of the economic crisis, with the maturing of the political crisis, the issue of replacing the present Government by a Government of the United Democratic Front will assume increasing importance. It is this perspective that has to guide us today in our entire activity.

28. It must be remembered that, despite its weakening mass base, the Congress has still immense influence and is by far the single most powerful political organisation in the country as a whole, that our effective influence is still confined to limited areas, that our position in the working class, and especially in major industries, is still weak, that mass organisations, though stronger than before, are not yet either sufficiently strong or sufficiently widespread, that a powerful democratic front has yet to be built, that the Party itself has yet to overcome the weaknesses which prevent it from carrying out the role of unifier and leader of the democratic movement. It would be a dangerous illusion,

therefore, to think that mere deepening of the economic crisis and mere worsening of the condition of the masses will give rise to a powerful mass movement.

29. The three inseparably linked tasks on the carrying out of which will depend the success of the democratic movement are—the building of the Democratic Front, the building of mass organisations, the building of the Party. In the measure that these tasks are carried out in an integrated and co-ordinated manner, the attempts of the Government to shift the burden of the crisis on the people will be defeated, the mass movement will strengthen, grow and achieve its aim.

30. The growing burden on the people, the worsening condition of their life, the increasingly anti-popular policies of the Government both in national and international spheres, as well as the attempt of communal reactionaries to utilise the popular discontent for disruptive purposes, make it essential that all democratic and progressive parties and elements come together. The possibilities of such unity are immense today and a key task of the Communist Party is to translate these possibilities into reality. This demands, above all, the abandonment of sectarian outlook and sectarian methods—in relation to slogans, in relation to attitude towards non-Party elements, in relation to method of running mass and democratic organisations. The very fact that the Communist Party has acquired a key position in the political life of the country, the very fact that it is looked upon as the most powerful force in opposition to the Congress, demands that the Party acts as the unifier of the people, gives expression to their deep urge that all democratic forces must come together and fight unitedly in defence of their rights and demands. The galvanising influence of United Front even on a limited basis was revealed during the elections and every effort must be made to see that United Front between opposition par-

ties is forged, even in areas where it has weakened since then. Further, the development of the United Front movement involves drawing into struggles and into common activities the large mass of Congressmen, P.S.P. followers and progressive individuals. Too little of this has been done as yet. The tendency to look upon all those who do not yet support all our slogans or participate in mass actions organised by us as reactionary, the tendency of not evolving such forms of activities into which all who want to serve the people and relieve their distress can be drawn, the tendency to ignore concrete issues on which immediate unity irrespective of political views is possible—all these tendencies persist and hamper the development of a broad United Front movement in every province and every area.

31. Further, the development of the United Front through the widening of the mass movement is hampered because of the abstractness of our agitation, the habit of substituting concrete exposure by general denunciation, the indulgence, quite often, in stereotyped speeches in Assemblies, Parliament and from public platform, stereotyped writings in our papers. Too often we speak only for those who are already convinced that the present Government is a reactionary government. Too often we fail to make use of existing legislations—Tenancy Legislation, Social Security Act, Payment of Wages Act, etc.—to ameliorate the conditions of the masses and secure for them concessions, forgetting that these legislations have been enacted as the result of mass struggles and are a weapon in the hands of the people. Too often the tendency is to narrate only the hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed "reformist illusions," while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that

unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that each success won by the people, no matter how small, is widely publicised and made the basis for further advance. There is also the tendency to pay scant attention to such work as adult literacy, cultural and sports activities, co-operatives, medical relief, etc.—work which is absolutely essential, work which can mobilise vast sections and enable the Party and mass organisations to forge close links with the people. It is very often forgotten that in Tripura, one of the most powerful bases of the Party today, it was on the basis of a literacy campaign that the Party grew in the first stage. Similarly, in Malabar literacy campaign played a big role in the growth of the Party and of the kisan movement.

In areas where famine conditions prevail not only is it necessary to demand relief from the Government and organise relief on the basis of unity of democratic organisations, but it is also necessary to mobilise the people for such work as deepening of wells, repair of tanks, etc.

It is necessary for every Provincial Committee to undertake a critical examination of the plans and projects undertaken by the Government in the province, make a factual and concrete exposure, put forward the demand for such projects as will help the people, and mobilize them for their implementation.

It must be noted that, despite the various laws that have been enacted, the untouchable masses are in practice denied equal rights even now. Hitherto many Party units have paid little attention to this issue. It is necessary not merely to agitate for more comprehensive laws against untouchability, but also to wage a concrete battle against all forms of discrimination.

32. Struggles for the immediate demands of the people through all forms—petitions, signatures, strikes, hartals, demonstrations, marches, civil disobedience, etc.

—struggles against the attacks of the Government and the landlords and monopolists are the most important tasks facing the mass movement and the most effective weapons for building the democratic front. Through these struggles are to be built the mass organisations with their units embedded in the people. In these struggles will be trained and steeled cadres coming from the masses.

The rapidly deteriorating situation on the agrarian front where big struggles are looming ahead demands that utmost attention is paid by every Provincial Committee to the task of strengthening the Kisan Sabha organisations and forming agricultural workers' associations wherever necessary. Broad peasant unity has to be built in action against eviction, against unjust taxes, for reduction of rent, for moratorium on debts, for adequate wages, for relief against famine and drought, for fair price for agricultural products, for specific irrigation projects and similar demands.

Working-class struggles, especially struggles in major industries, against the offensive of monopolists acquire increased significance in the present situation. Vigorous defence by the working class of its rights, vigorous struggle by the working class against retrenchment, wage-cut and other forms of attack encourage all classes and sections to wage their own battles. Also mass action by the working class gives form and direction to the growing radicalisation of the people as already seen in several provinces. It is a most powerful weapon to forge the Democratic Front.

On the working-class front, despite the growing struggles in the recent past, despite the growing sense of unity of the working class, the full unfolding of the trade union movement is prevented by the existence of parallel unions in the same factory and industry. The fight for trade union unity and for the realisation of the slogan of "One union in one industry and one central

trade union organisation" has to be waged. The existing united factory committees must be strengthened, and such factory committees must be organised in every industry. In the struggles that are breaking out more and more, the question of united resistance to the offensive of the Government and employers will come to the fore, and must be fully utilised by the setting up of joint elected committees for the conduct of struggles and negotiations. The question of recognition of unions assumes tremendous importance and must be fought for. An integral part of the struggle for recognition of trade unions is the struggle against the Industrial Relations Acts in Bombay, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh. The development of a wide movement against the Acts in these States in particular and in the country generally is a major task on the working-class front.

There is a widespread tendency to neglect important and vital industries in industrial areas and to concentrate on small and diffused industries. This tendency must be given up and the Party units must immediately undertake planned work in major and important industries.

The problem of combating mass unemployment has become a key problem before the working class. The development of a wide movement, by means of rallies and conferences, marches and demonstrations, hartals and strikes, is the most important task. United committees for fighting retrenchment and unemployment must be organised. Such a wide movement cannot unfold itself fully, unless the organised working class employed in factories are brought into the movement. Apart from mobilisation, it is of utmost importance that relief and solidarity campaigns are organised.

In these campaigns and struggles, political consciousness must be inculcated in the working class—the consciousness of its role of hegemony. It must lead to the working class coming out in action in support of the struggles and demands of other sections of the people--

peasants, students, industrialists and merchants. This will forge popular unity and defeat the attempt of the Government to crush the struggles of workers as well as other classes in isolation.

33. Each struggle, each campaign, each mass action must be used not only to popularise slogans but also and above all, to build organisations— of workers, peasants, students, youth, women. It must be remembered that one of the main reasons why the growth of mass movement is lagging behind the growth of mass discontent is that such organisations are still weak and in many places non-existent. It must be remembered that united mass organisations form the basis of the Democratic Front and that without such mass organisations being formed all over the country, it is impossible to develop a countrywide mass movement.

In the past a key weakness of organisations of workers, peasants and other classes has been the weakness of the basic units like factory committees, primary kisan sabhas. The strength of mass organisations depends not only on their total membership but on the manner in which this membership is organised—above all, on the firmness and organised functioning of the basic units. Without them neither the mass base of the organisation can be expanded nor even the existing base activated. Hence the necessity to focus attention on this work and draw into organisational work rank and file workers, peasants, agricultural labourers.

Further, the waging of struggles and the conducting of campaigns have to be co-ordinated with the work of increasing the circulation of Party journals and sale of literature. At present at all levels and in all units of the Party there is total under-estimation of the importance of this work—an under-estimation which springs from idealisation of spontaneity, from minimisation of the role of consciousness. This expresses itself in the

tendency to look upon the work of sale of journals and literature as not the work of the Party as a whole and of all its units but only of comrades specifically entrusted with that work. This tendency must be sharply combated.

34. The Party has also to bring to the forefront in every State alternative immediate slogans and demands which will rally all democratic sections, parties, groups and individuals, unite them and become the common programme of the United Front. In order to ensure the democratic participation of our people in all activities in the State and in order to unleash their creative energies, the programme should demand the repeal of all repressive laws and the release of all political prisoners, the immediate formation of linguistic states, the abolition of the office of Rajpramukh, the break up of the former princely States and the integration of their various linguistic regions into the adjoining linguistic states, the abolition of all distinctions between Part 'A', Part 'B' and Part 'C' States by the conferment of full legislative and executive powers on the elected representatives of Part 'B' and Part 'C' States, and the abolition of the Upper Houses in the States as well as at the Centre.

The programme should include the banning of the import of all those goods that compete with the indigenous goods. We should demand a ceiling to be put on profits—of six-and-a-quarter per cent as was accepted by the Congress itself. We should demand that all export of profits by foreign firms be banned and that the profits of the industry be ploughed back into the industry determined by the Government. Prices, wages and profits in protected industries should be fixed. Minimum wages must be fixed statutorily in all industries and unemployment relief must be afforded to the unemployed workers. We should demand that long-term trade

agreements be concluded with the Soviet Union and other democratic countries.

A number of trade unions have already formulated proposals whose implementation would help the industry. It is necessary to do this in relations to all industries and to concretise these proposals further, to popularise them vigorously among the workers as well as among the general public.

In the field of agriculture, we should demand that the compensation that is being paid to zamindars and jagirdars be stopped immediately, that all rents paid by peasants to landlords be substantially reduced, that all evictions be stopped and all peasants evicted from land be reinstated, and that the landlords shall not be given the right of resumption of cultivation. We should demand that the tax burdens on the peasants be reduced.

The programme should include the demand that military expenditure be reduced by 50 per cent and that expenditure on Security and Administrative Services be substantially reduced, both at the Centre and in the States.

We should demand that, with the resources thus mobilised, a big programme of irrigation and development of industries be immediately undertaken by mobilising the creative energy of the people, by encouraging the talents of Indian engineers, technicians and workers.

35. It must be admitted that, despite the fact that many Party units have recently taken up the question of struggle for peace seriously, there is still a gross under-estimation of the key importance of this task. There is widespread belief among the masses that due to the immense sentiment in favour of peace in India, due to the widespread sympathy of the Indian people for the U.S.S.R. and China, and due to the declared policy of the Nehru Government of remaining neutral in case of war, the danger of India being dragged into

war is not serious. Such a belief is wrong. It is based on an under-estimation of the desperate measures which imperialists and their agents will adopt in case of a serious international crisis or when their war plans have advanced further. Reliance on spontaneity in this, as in other matters, will be fatal. What the situation demands is *active* mobilisation of the Indian people for peace, active mobilisation of the organised working class and peasantry in the peace movement, transformation of the vast peace sentiments into a powerful *movement* for peace and a network of peace committees, enlisting of the people of India to play a positive role in stopping the existing wars.

Failure to do this will mean not only failure to discharge our international duties, but also betrayal of national honour and interest.

36. The imperialists and reactionaries are fully conscious that trade wars and conflicts between India and Pakistan enable them to further tighten their grip on these countries and hence they do their utmost to embitter relations between the two countries.

It is a victory of the progressive forces that, despite all the attempts of the imperialists and feudal reactionaries, both outside and inside the Congress, an Indo-Pak Trade Pact has been arrived at.

But the Party must be vigilant and take the lead in fighting for maintaining and strengthening this Pact, forging peaceful relations in all spheres, opening up ways of freer movement and cultural intercourse between the two countries. It is along this path that imperialist conspiracies against peace and democracy can be fought, reactionary communal forces defeated and democratic unity of the people ensured.

37. The work of our comrades in the State Legislatures and the Parliament has strengthened the mass

movement. Nevertheless, it has suffered for lack of co-ordination with the mass movement and struggles outside. This weakness must be rapidly eradicated by our comrades inside the Legislatures by bringing to the fore the issues of the mass movement in such a way that our legislative work is a reflection of and a direct aid to the mass movement outside. For this purpose, it is necessary not only to undertake concrete exposures of the policies and legislative and executive measures of the Government, but also ourselves initiate legislation on the burning problems of the people. The introduction of such Bills can and must become the rallying point of a wide mass movement in support of them.

Our comrades have been returned to many Municipalities, Local Boards and Panchayats. Despite the limited powers that these bodies enjoy, it is necessary to pay serious attention to them and utilise all possibilities for helping the people. The Provincial Committees must help in the drawing up of programmes for whose implementation our comrades must fight.

38. Despite the growth of the general influence of the Party, our effective organised influence is confined, in almost all States, to a few areas and districts. Without a countrywide Party, without a wide Kisan Sabha, without a firm base in the most important working-class areas, it is not possible to grow into a countrywide national-political force. While strengthening our position in the areas where we are already a force, it has become urgently necessary to spread to new areas and sectors. Provincial units must carefully and urgently plan out and execute this task.

It is necessary to create mass political literature and transform our newspapers into national-political journals, reporting not merely struggles in their own provinces, but in other provinces as well.

The fulfilment of all these tasks demands the rapid strengthening of the Party and the undertaking of political education as a key political task. For, the development of the Party is the key factor in determining the growth of the mass movement. It is of utmost importance that the entire Party be armed with the perspective of the fast maturing of a profound economic and political crisis, of the struggles that are looming large and of the perspective of co-ordinating them into the political struggle for the replacement of the present Government by a Government of the United Democratic Front. The Party must acquire a correct understanding of the direction in which things are moving, a sense of urgency, revolutionary zeal and passion and give up all complacency and sense of self-satisfaction.

The Party must become the decisive national force—politically, geographically and in a class sense—i.e., by Party units in each area and State acting as the leader and organiser of the people, by the Party spreading to new areas, and by its basing itself and drawing its main strength from the working class and the toiling peasants. Advance is to be measured no longer, as in the past, in terms of the “general political influence” nor even in terms of mass mobilisation on specific issues only, but in terms of the growth of organisation in general and growth of the Party in particular, in terms of circulation of literature and newspapers, in terms of collection of funds, in terms of the strengthening of mass organisations and the Party itself.

It is only through such all-round growth that the Party will be able to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the people.

RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANISATION

The Extended Plenum of the Central Committee in its meeting of December, 1952, discussed the Organisational Resolution placed before it by the Central Committee. On the basis of those discussions and in the light of further discussion in its meeting held in March, 1953, the Central Committee has finalised the following draft. It must be made the basis for immediate re-organisation of Party work and also discussion for the Party Congress.

Central Committee

1. The general elections and the developments that have taken place since then have sharply brought out the key role of the Communist Party in the present situation. During the elections, it was seen that, while discontent against the Government and the desire to replace it by a popular government was widespread, strong opposition to the Congress could be put up only in those areas where the Communist Party had already become a strong force and led big struggles. It was also in these areas that lakhs could be set in motion against the Congress Governments and the elections developed into a mass political campaign. In areas where either there was no Communist Party or the Party was weak, the democratic opposition to the Congress also proved to be weak and generally ineffective. In several such areas, the discontent of the people was utilised by communal and feudal reaction to strengthen its own position at the cost of the Congress. The elections, therefore, not merely showed widespread opposition to

the Government, but also revealed the fact that this opposition can be transformed into a mass democratic movement only if there is a strong Communist Party.

2. This is also revealed by the events of the post-election period during which opposition to the Government has spread to new areas and to all strata of the people. In the innumerable struggles and mass actions that have taken place in this period, it has been seen that for effectively guiding these struggles, for uniting the broad masses in support of these struggles, for building mass organisations on the basis of these struggles, strong units of the Communist Party are absolutely essential. In the absence of strong units of the Party, mass discontent with the Government either does not grow into a powerful movement or reactionary and communal elements succeed in giving popular discontent a wrong direction, divert it into disruptive channels. The Jammu Prāja Parishad agitation, which has become the rallying point of forces of extreme reaction, is an instance.

3. It is obvious, therefore, that the growth of the democratic movement does not depend merely on the deepening of the economic crisis or the growth of popular discontent. It depends on the form and direction that is given to this discontent, the manner in which the masses are led, the extent of democratic unity that is forged, the slogan round which the people are mobilised. This demands, above all, a strong and disciplined Communist Party, entrenched among the people, especially among the basic masses—the workers and peasants—and able to forge popular unity in action. The growth and success of the popular movement depends today, first and foremost, on the Communist Party and its growth—ideological-political and organisational—its strengthening in areas where it exists, its spreading to areas where it does not exist, the correctness of its

slogans, the maturity of its leadership, the degree of political-organisational unification of the Party, the quality of its cadres at all levels and in all areas. Of all factors that determine the growth and strengthening of the democratic movement, this is the most important and even decisive factor. Because of the rapidly maturing crisis in the country and because of the frantic efforts of imperialists to spread the flames of war, this factor has acquired all the greater importance.

4. The Communist Party is looked upon today as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress, as the vanguard of the struggle against the Government, as the unifier of the democratic forces. It has already acquired a key position in the political life of the country. In recent months, the Left Socialist Group, the U.P. R.S.P. and a section of the Kamgar Kisan Party have joined the Party, thereby considerably strengthening the Communist movement and the position of the Party. Large numbers from the Socialist Party and followers of the Congress have joined the Party, many more want to join. There is a big swing towards the Communist Party, and the Party has acquired great prestige and authority among the masses. It is already a major force. From this situation it has got to go forward and become the *leading force* of the nation. To the extent that the Party is able to do this, to that extent it will be able to advance the movement for full freedom, democracy and peace.

5. In order that we may carry out this task, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the difficulties that have to be overcome, the nature of the problems that have to be solved.

In the main, the problems confronting the Party today are problems connected with the growth of the mass movement, growth of the influence of the Party, growth

of the responsibilities that the Party has to carry out. The organisation of the Party has not kept pace with this growth. There is thus a tremendous and even growing gap between the influence of the Party on the one hand and its effective organised strength on the other. The concrete form in which the problem presents itself is a problem of cadres. In every State, the Party is unable to cope with the immense tasks facing it because of lack of cadres. This difficulty, however, has been further aggravated because legacies of the inner-Party development after the Second Party Congress have not yet been fully liquidated due to which the Party has not been able to mobilise fully even its existing strength.

6. It should not be thought, however, that all that is needed to strengthen the Party and enable it to carry out its tasks is to restore the functioning as it was before the Second Party Congress. It must be remembered, firstly, that because of the position it has acquired, the Party today has to act as a national-political force and the organisation has to be one which enables the Party to play this role. It must be remembered, secondly, that the question of a proper kind of organisation is closely linked with the question of (1) struggle against bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies; (2) classes which form the main base of the Party; (3) principles of democratic centralism of which criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, is a vital part. However, as we all know, in these respects the situation inside the Party, even in the pre-Second Party Congress period, was highly unsatisfactory. In fact, many of the shortcomings from which we are suffering today are due to the fact that certain basic weaknesses were allowed to persist throughout the history of the Party.

7. In his connection, one should note what Comrade Stalin stated about the manner in which the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union grew into a mass Communist Party:

“The principal task in the first period of development of our Party, of its Russian section, was to create cadres, Marxist cadres. These Marxist cadres were manufactured, forged, in our fight with Menshevism. The task of these cadres then, at that period—I am referring to the period from the foundation of the Bolshevik Party to the expulsion from the Party of the Liquidators, the most finished representatives of Menshevism—the main task was to win for the Bolsheviks the most active, honest and outstanding members of the working class, to create cadres, to forge a vanguard. In this respect, the struggle was waged primarily against tendencies of a bourgeois character—especially against Menshevism—which hindered the formation of cadres and their fusion into a single unit, as the core of the Party. At that time it was still not the immediate and urgent task of the Party to establish extensive connections with the vast masses of the working class and the toiling peasantry, to gain control over these masses, to win a majority in the country. The Party was not yet mature enough for that.

“Only in the following stage of development of our Party, only in its second stage, when these cadres had grown, when they had become the core of our Party, when the sympathies of the best elements among the working class had already been won, or almost won—only then did it become an immediate and urgent task of the Party to win over the masses, *to transform the Party cadres into a real mass workers' party*. During this period the core of our Party was obliged to combat not so much Menshevism as the ‘Left’ elements within the Party, the ‘Otzovists’ of all kinds, who were attempting to sub-

stitute revolutionary phraseology for a serious study of the distinctive features of the new situation which arose after 1905, who by their over-simplified 'revolutionary' tactics were impeding the conversion of the cadres of our Party into a genuine mass party, who by their activities were creating the danger of the Party becoming divorced from the broad working-class masses. It need hardly be shown that had the Party not resolutely combated this 'Left' danger, had the Party not overcome this danger, it could not have gained control over the vast toiling masses."

(Stalin: *On Training and Consolidating Marxist Cadres in the National Republics and Regions*, Report delivered on June 10, 1923.)

8. It is obvious that in our country today the tasks that the Bolshevik Party carried out in two stages—the task of forging cadres and the task of winning over the masses—have to be carried out *simultaneously* and in an integrated manner. Unless the Party leads masses in their daily battles, it cannot draw them towards itself. At the same time, unless the best elements from the masses are drawn *into* the Party, are trained and developed, and the Party itself, as an organisation, strengthened, the mass movement will suffer in tempo and sweep. For us, therefore, both the tasks are equally important. Nevertheless, we have to be conscious of the fact that the difficulties we are facing are rooted in our past. The Bolsheviks could grow into a mass party in the second stage precisely because in the first stage they had, through determined struggle against alien trends and alien ideologies, forged a sufficiently strong, sufficiently firm and sufficiently large Marxist-Leninist core of proletarian cadres. This was not done by us except to a very limited extent. A determined struggle was not carried on by us against bourgeois, petty-bourgeois

and feudal ideologies in the mistaken belief that our revolution being a national democratic revolution, such ideological struggle is not a factor of key importance for the development of the Party in our country. Again, the bulk of our Party members came from the middle-classes, both in cities and in rural areas. This was inevitable in the initial period. But these Party members were not developed ideologically, nor were they used, in a planned way, to inculcate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the working class and toiling peasantry. While as the result of our Trade Union and Kisan Sabha activities and our anti-imperialist and Socialist propaganda, we drew towards ourselves the finest elements from these classes, we generally paid little attention to their ideological-political development, failed to transform their elemental anti-capitalist and anti-landlord hatred, their democratic anti-imperialist consciousness into *Socialist* consciousness. Thus we failed to forge them into cadres of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Not that this work was not done at all, but it was done in a totally inadequate manner and to a very limited extent.

9. Another of our weaknesses was that Marxist-Leninist principles of Party organisation were not consistently applied. The Lenin-Stalin methods of functioning a Party play a big role in forging cadres, in raising their consciousness, in promoting their growth. However, democratic centralism was understood and practised by us in a formal manner. Democratic centralism implies not merely subordination of lower committees to higher committees and of minority to majority. It also implies collective functioning, active participation by the entire Party and all its units in evolving and concretising of slogans and tactics. This demands criticism and self-criticism on the widest scale, especially criticism from below. It is thus that correct tactics are evolved, mistakes get rectified, the Party gets more and more unified

and cadres grow in maturity, develop initiative and capacity for leadership. Comrade Stalin taught: "We understand democracy as the raising of the activity and class consciousness of Party masses, as the systematic attraction of Party masses in practice, not only into discussion of work but into leadership of work." The prevalence of the "leader-follower" pattern inside the Party, in all our phases, the prevalence of the practice of broad political questions being discussed only in higher committees and lower units concerning themselves only with "immediate practical work" and implementation of directions given from above, led to the arresting of the growth of cadres and their fossilisation.

10. All this it is necessary to grasp today in order to take firm steps to liquidate our weaknesses. The question of the building of a mass Party must not be understood in a narrow sense as merely a question of recruitment of new cadres. Recruitment, of course, is vital and necessary, but together with it are necessary the reorganisation of the Party on a proper basis, the drawing of the entire Party into the task of evolving policies, the undertaking of Party education and the nursing and promotion of cadres. Then only the cadres recruited will grow and mature. It is through all this that the basis will be laid for the development of a mass Party.

11. Despite the considerable improvements that have taken place in the inner-Party situation and in the functioning of Party units in recent months, it must be admitted that the Party as an organisation is still in a seriously defective state. Leading Party Committees—from the Central Committee to the District Committee—do not yet function as *leading committees*, rapidly evolving slogans and policies in a fast-developing situation, helping the lower committees to solve the problems confronting them, intervening where necessary. The

Polit Bureau and the Provincial Secretariats, on whose effective functioning depends, to a great extent, the work of the Central Committee and Provincial Committees, have not yet been able to organise the work of their own members and function collectively. Functioning is still individual, i.e., individual members of the PB and Provincial Secretariats are "in charge" of particular fronts—the PB and the Secretariat leaving the guidance of the front almost entirely to these comrades. Quite often Fraction Committees exist on paper and the PCM in-charge functions for them. In some other cases Fraction Committees are practically autonomous bodies with little guidance from the corresponding Party committee. Same is the position in many districts also. The number of comrades working in the All-India and most Provincial centres is too small to carry out even the minimum tasks that the Centre has to discharge. Hence the lower committees and fronts do not get the guidance and help they need. All this results in lack of co-ordination, lack of plan in work, lack of effective leadership.

12. It is not enough to argue that all this is due to lack of cadres and immensity of work. That, of course, is true. But even the shortage of cadres cannot be overcome without proper organisation of the *existing* cadres at all levels of the Party—from CC to cells. For this, it is necessary, first of all, to get rid of certain erroneous notions. It is necessary to understand that Party organisation and Party building are the key tasks today and that these tasks will not get carried out automatically as a result of mass work and mass activity—even of the most intensive type. There is a widely prevalent notion that the Party is built "from below", the notion due to which even members of leading committees pay scant attention to the work of their own committees and prefer to devote themselves exclusively to work in particular areas, or on particular fronts—in their "own bases".

This notion is totally wrong. It has nothing to do with principles of Party organisation. *The Party is a sum and system of organisations and the strengthening of the Party means, first and foremost, the strengthening of the Party organisations*—their being built up in such a way that they can carry out their political and organisational duties. This demands not merely that a sufficient number of CCMs, PCMs and DCMs are available for the proper functioning of these committees, but also that a sufficient number of other cadres are available to help them in their work. Without this no real improvement is possible. Without this Party work at all levels will suffer and Party units will fail to become what they should be—*political leaders* of the masses in the areas where they work.

13. Some comrades who regret the present state of affairs argue that the weakness of our organisation is due to "lack of political unification". They—their number is few—argue further that due to this, the time has not yet come to enforce strict discipline in the Party, enforce observance of Party forms. These comrades are mistaken. The fact is that sufficient basis for political unification has already been laid and a large measure of political unification has already been achieved on the basis of various documents of the CC and PB and as the result of experience of mass work. To argue that as long as "full political unification" is not achieved, one should be permitted to violate Party forms and Party rules should be held in abeyance or at least "relaxed"—to argue like this is to betray utter ignorance of what political unification means and how it is achieved in a Communist Party. Political unification is achieved as the result of *collective work* by the Party, through Party *units* applying the general line of the Party to the given situation and further concretising, amplifying it in the course of activity, through constant discussion, criticism

and self-criticism, through regular review of lessons of struggles, etc. And for this strict adherence to Party forms and strict discipline are essential.

14. This, of course, does not preclude the existence of differences on many concrete questions. Such differences exist and will arise in future also, particularly in view of the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to be resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as is very often done today) but by sharply formulating them and by means of discussion, by means of principled inner-Party struggle. Comrade Stalin taught: "It may be said without exaggeration that the history of our Party has been a history of inner-Party conflicts, a history of resolving these conflicts and of gradually strengthening the Party in the process of resolving them," and "that the resolving of inner-Party differences by means of struggle is a law of development of our Party." But principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party, can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms. Also real strengthening of Party discipline takes place through inner-Party struggle to root out wrong tendencies, wrong outlook, wrong tactics.

15. The question of full restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline should not be isolated from the question of proper organisation of the work of the Party. In fact, the main aim of restoration of Party form and enforcement of discipline should be to organise Party units at all levels in such a way that they are able to discharge their duties and responsibilities effectively. It is obvious that unless on the basis of restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline, Party Committees in general and leading Party Committees in particular—the Central Committee and Provincial Committees—are able to organise their own work in such a way

that they can help lower units with concrete political lead, prompt slogans and solution of difficulties, co-ordinate and guide work, intervene where necessary—the Party will not get fully unified and even real discipline will not get restored. Help and guidance are essential because of the complexity of the situation and also because, due to shortcomings in our work in the past, most of the lower units in every province are very weak. At the same time, help and guidance must have as their object the development of *initiative* by the lower committees, they must be helped to grow so that they may solve the problems facing them.

16. This means that the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees have to function as real guiding and leading political bodies. It is they who have to set the example and show how the entire Party has to be organised from top to bottom so as to discharge its tasks.

With regard to the Central and Provincial Committees, the practice must be as follows:

- a) The Central Committee must meet at least once in three months;
- b) The PB must meet once every month, and it is obligatory for all PB Members to attend the meeting;
- c) At least five Members of the PB must work at the Party Centre;
- d) The PB should tackle the problems of the mass movement by discussion with members of the All-India Fraction Committees which must meet periodically;
- e) In Provinces, all major political-organisational problems should be dealt with by the PC which must meet at least once in two months;

- f) Problems of mass organisations and of mass movements should be, when they are of a basic nature, decided by the PC in consultation with Provincial Fraction Committees. Other problems should be tackled by the PC Secretariat in consultation with Fraction Committees;
- g) At each meeting of the CC and PC, the PB and Secretariat should make a report of the work done; and
- h) There must be regular check-up of work done.

17. As regards districts and taluqs, they should have Secretariats only with the approval of the PC.

18. The Provincial Committee should hold extended meetings of PCMs, DC Secretaries and Fraction leaders for reporting. The same should be done when the PC reports on major political and organisational decisions taken by it or reviews major campaigns. Reporting from higher committees to lower committees and from lower committees to higher committees is essential for real unification of the Party.

19. General Body meetings held for reporting should not become a substitute for cell functioning, which will happen if the GB meetings become forums of discussion. Only questions can be asked and clarification sought in GB meetings, which, as far as possible, should not be confined to Party members alone but should also include sympathisers. Cell functioning must become the normal feature of Party life and the present practice of holding GB meetings should be gradually eliminated.

20. The District Committees must undertake the task of scrutinisation of the entire existing membership

and revise the Party rolls, if needed, under the direction of the PCs. It must be seen that every Party member carries out his tasks and obligations as laid down in the Party Constitution. It is especially necessary to emphasise the following:

A Party Member must—

- (1) Pay Party dues and levies;
- (2) Attend meetings of his unit regularly;
- (3) Accept Party discipline — decisions of higher committees and of majority in his unit — and carry out the work assigned;
- (4) Keep Party secrets and not indulge in loose talks or gossip about inner-Party matters outside his unit;
- (5) Work in a mass organisation (unless exempted for special reasons) under Party's guidance and pay the dues of the mass organisation of which he is a member; and
- (6) Submit reports of his work to the unit.

Names of those who do not conform to the above criteria, despite every effort of the unit, should be removed from the Party rolls after informing them and giving them opportunity to explain their conduct and they should be considered no longer as Party members.

21. It must be emphasised that the aim of scrutiny is not to purge the Party, but to improve the functioning and to activate the entire membership. For this, and for extending work, it is also necessary for the Party Committee to evolve multiple forms of activities—educational, cultural, sports, etc. Assignment of work should be done, not bureaucratically but after taking all concrete factors into consideration. Nevertheless, it is necessary to ensure that those who cannot be activated

in any way and for any type of organised work, which helps the Party and the movement, do not remain Party members.

22. Names of those who do not pay Party dues and levies for three successive months or do not attend three successive meetings of the unit without leave for the same period, should be removed from Party rolls and they should be informed. The decision taken by any unit to this effect is subject to endorsement by the higher committee to which the comrade concerned can appeal.

23. All Party units must complete the scrutiny before *July 1, 1953*.

24. Simultaneously with this, vigorous efforts should be made by all units to enrol new members into the Party. The criteria for new members should be the same as laid down above.

25. The urgent *necessity* and immense *possibility* of rapid expansion of the Party must be kept in mind. Along with other reasons, one main reason for the failure of the Party to grow is the deep-rooted sectarian attitude on organisational matters—both with regard to those who have been in the category of “militants” for a long period and with regard to new members seeking admission into the Party. This sectarianism must be abandoned in order that the Party may grow and carry out the immense tasks confronting it. At the same time, utmost vigilance has to be exercised against the swamping of the Party with undesirable elements. A policy of rapid promotion of cadres must be initiated.

26. Special care must be taken to enrol members from the working class and toiling peasants and special attention must be paid towards their *ideological deve-*

topment. Without this we cannot become a real mass working-class party.

27. As far as possible separate cells should not be formed of candidate members and candidates should be placed in the same cell as full-fledged Party members. Where, due to absence of Party units, cells have to be formed with candidate members alone, special attention must be paid by PCs and DCs and Local Committees towards their functioning and development.

28. The present chaotic and planless method of work must be abandoned. Fixing up of targets and quotas with regard to sale of Party publications, Party papers and Marxist literature, with regard to enrolment of members to the trade union and other mass organisations, with regard to collection of Party Funds, with regard to collection of signatures to the Peace Pact Appeal, etc., and the checking up of work done by each unit and by each member, regular discussion on work done and how to improve it—all these must become the normal practice of every unit of the Party.

29. Each unit must impose a regular levy on its members in consultation with each and taking into account his capacity to pay. The DC must pay at least 10 per cent of its income to the PC and the PC 10 per cent of its income to the CC. Every Party member must, besides paying dues and levies, collect funds for the Party.

30. Communist MPs and MLAs must submit accounts of their pay and allowances to the CC and PCs respectively. The CC will decide what contributions the MPs will make to the CC and the PCs will decide what contribution the MPs and MLAs will make to the PCs and DCs. Both the CC and the PCs in deciding on

the levy will take into consideration the requirements of the MPs and MLAs for themselves and their families.

31. On the question of disciplinary actions and rights of Party members, the following procedures should be followed. When taking disciplinary action against comrades, every unit must ensure that rights of Party members are not infringed upon:

- (i) When action is taken against a comrade by his own unit, the comrade should be allowed to attend the meeting where his conduct is being discussed;
- (ii) When action is taken by a higher unit, the comrade concerned should be given opportunity to explain his conduct before the unit or its Secretariat, either in writing or by personal appearance if he insists on it. The comrade, however, cannot demand that he should be present when his conduct is being discussed and decision on it is being taken;
- (iii) Party Committees are authorised to remove comrades from positions held by them in case of serious reports against them as a precautionary measure and pending enquiry;
- (iv) In the case of published writing by Party members, when no reason exists to doubt their authenticity and authorship, if such writings harm the cause of the Party and the movement or go contrary to the policy and programme of the Party, higher Party Committees are entitled to express their criticism and disapproval either in inner-Party documents or in the open press, even without getting prior explanation from the comrade concerned. Where, however, *disciplinary* action is taken for pub-

lished writings, the comrade should be given opportunity to explain his conduct.

32. Enforcement of the above rules is essential, but together with that it is necessary to end resolutely the unhealthy attitude, trends and practices that persist in many Party units and among many comrades—cynicism, tendencies towards forming of groups, indulgence in loose talk, mutual bickering, etc. Such things are always harmful and disruptive, but they are more than ever so today because of the immensity of tasks that the Party faces and the vast number of people who are being drawn towards the Party. Anti-Party trends, attitudes and practices not merely weaken the unity of the Party and prevent mobilisation of its strength, but also repel the new elements that want to join the Party. All Party units must exercise utmost vigilance and ensure that these harmful tendencies are rooted out.

33. It is necessary to put an end to the divergence between decisions and their practical execution—a divergence which can be seen in the work of every unit of the Party. Many decisions are taken which often remain on paper. This is sometimes due to the fact that all factors are not soberly assessed when taking the decision and afterwards when it is found that the decision cannot be implemented, it is quietly dropped. Quite often the failure to implement decisions arises from not taking decisions seriously, not creating organisational guarantees for implementation of decisions. Such things breed cynicism, create contempt for decisions, give rise to frustration and helplessness, and strengthen tendencies of indiscipline and disruption. It is essential, therefore, that each meeting of every unit starts with a report from the Secretary explaining what decisions were taken in earlier meetings, how they were implemented, which decision could not be implemented and why. Without such check-up, no progress is possible.

34. The full unfolding of criticism and self-criticism is an imperative necessity in order to root out the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party is suffering today. In this, criticism from below is of great importance—criticism not merely with regard to political formulations, but also with regard to organisational methods and policies, personal habits and deeds that harm the Party, weaknesses of Party journals, etc. Such criticism, it is necessary to emphasise, should be free and frank and at the same time helpful. Criticism from below must not only be permitted, but actively organised and encouraged by higher committees. Bureaucratism manifests itself today quite often, not in the old form, but in the form of scant attention paid to criticism from below—an attitude which discourages criticism.

35. With a view to answer questions on Party policy, clarify issues, review campaigns and also get suggestions and criticism from comrades and units, the Central Committee has started issuing *Party Letters*. Such *Party Letters* are being issued by the Bengal Committee also. All Provincial Committees must do the same.

36. One of the gravest weaknesses of the Party today is that lower units, and especially cells, have not yet been drawn into active political life of the Party, into the task of live political discussion. In these units and even in DCs generally only such immediate issues as allocation of work, tasks in relation to campaigns, are discussed. Questions of broad politics—policies and methods of the Government, tactics of united front and attitude towards other parties, work of the Party in the Legislature, defects of Party journals, etc.—are left for discussion in higher committees only in the mistaken belief that they alone are “competent” to discuss such questions. At best, lower committees demand from higher committees that on such and such issue “the line”

should be given—without themselves discussing what the line should be and sending their view to the higher committee. Lower committees express themselves on political issues only when discussion on such issues has already taken place in higher committees and lower committees have been asked to express their opinion. This practice must be ended. It is necessary that lower committees are encouraged not merely to participate in political discussions but even initiate them.

37. Another weakness is that even in respect of the area in which the Party units like DCs, Taluq Committees and cells function, they generally discuss only such subjects as are directly connected with the fronts and spheres where the Party is already active. Developments taking place in other parties, the methods to draw Congressmen, PSP followers and others into joint work; local issues like sanitation, water supply, primary education on which broad mobilisation is possible, are either not discussed at all or discussed in a cursory, desultory manner leading to no practical activity by which the Party can broaden out, forge popular unity and link itself with the masses. This prevents Party units from becoming leaders of the masses in areas where they work.

38. Still another shortcoming is the absence of plan in work which is revealed in inadequate utilisation of the capacities and talents of cadres. Quite often effective agitators and organisers are allowed to sink themselves in particular spheres merely because they started work there, while, at the same time, major industries, areas and fronts where far greater results can be achieved, are neglected. The tendency to move in a groove, to follow routine pattern, not to evaluate, from time to time, the progress achieved as a whole and to modify methods of work accordingly, is widespread at all levels of the Party.

39. There is also the prevalent notion of considering that the task of Party building is the specific task of higher committees only, and not the task of *all* Party units and *all* Party members. There is the tendency which can be described as “frontism”—comrades working on particular fronts thinking that they are carrying out their Party duty *solely* through work on the front. These comrades do not understand that a Communist working in a trade union, for example, has to be not merely a good trade unionist (which, of course, is essential) but also a populariser and builder of the Communist Party. In this connection, the following observation of Comrade Togliatti should be noted:

“Another shortcoming to which serious attention should be drawn is the all-too-frequent practice of carrying out the Party policy only in the course of large-scale undertakings, campaigns, conferences. In the day-to-day concrete activity, in the day-to-day intercourse between Communists and non-Communists and in the current activity of the branches, it is often difficult to see the line of the Party, to see elaborate organised activity of the Party which would help to convince, to win over and to increase the number of Party members, sympathisers and citizens who would understand us and who would contribute to our activity. We must find ways and means to eliminate this shortcoming which hinders our struggle for working-class unity and peace.”

(For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!, 28-11-52)

40. Party building, it must be emphasised again and again, takes place in sharp struggle against theories of spontaneity, theories which often manifest themselves in recognising the importance of every kind of activity—except such activity as builds the Party itself, as streng-

thens the Party organisations, as brings new members to the Party, as helps the Party to overcome its organisational and financial and other difficulties. The formula that the Party is the highest form of organisation is repeated quite often but its implications are not understood. It is not understood that in the final analysis the work of each unit and each comrade is to be assessed by the extent to which it helps to draw the masses towards the Party, and the best of them into the Party. This is the acid test of the effectiveness of our work as a whole and it is this test that must be applied continuously and systematically by every unit when reviewing its work, when checking it up, when evolving ways and means to improve work. In other words, progress is to be measured not merely by the growth of "general political influence" but by the growth of mass organisations, circulation of newspapers, collection of funds and, above all, growth of the Party itself.

41. In view of the immensity of tasks confronting us, the question of Party education acquires great importance. Several Provinces have already run Party Schools. It is necessary that every PC should form an Education Sub-Committee and this Sub-Committee must run both short-term and long-term schools—on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as on Party policy. The Central Committee must prepare a study syllabus on Marxism-Leninism and make it available to the PCs as soon as possible. Emphasis must also be laid on the task of self-education. At present even the bulk of Party Members coming from the intelligentsia pay scant attention to their own study. Many of them do not read even the current publications of the Party and the international journals.

42. Further, it must be remembered that in order that the Party may acquire a firm base in the working

class and peasantry, education of cadres from these classes is a key task. This task, in view of the general cultural backwardness of the country, involves not only education in Marxism but also, and as a step towards it, *general education*, general raising of their cultural level, including literacy. This task had to be undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party also, as it had to train a large number of cadres coming from the ranks of the peasantry.

43. Together with all this, and as a part of the task of strengthening the Party, it is necessary for each *individual* comrade to improve his own functioning, to re-examine his own work, to remould his own life. Collective functioning *helps* each comrade to carry out this task better but no amount of collective functioning, collective check-up, collective discussion can be a *substitute* for conscious effort by each comrade to raise his consciousness and improve his work.

Naturally, all the weaknesses and defects in our organisation cannot be removed in a short time. It demands not merely adoption of certain resolutions and issuing of certain circulars, but prolonged, sustained efforts. The point to grasp is that a serious beginning has to be made in this sphere—the most neglected sphere hitherto. The political aim of the Party, as put forward in the Party Programme, will not be realised unless the Party puts before itself an organisational aim also—its growth into a mass political Party—and makes a sustained effort to realise that aim steadily in the course of its work. The rapidly maturing economic and political crisis in the country makes the serious undertaking of this task all the more urgent. On our ability to carry out this task will depend the success of the movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

First Printing: May, 1953

Reprinted: June, 1953

OF ALLIED INTEREST

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Adopted by the All-India Party Conference,
October 1951.

3 as.

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