

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF
INDIA



**Adopted at the Extraordinary Party Congress,
Amritsar, April 1958**

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ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Since the Palghat congress of the Communist Party of India held two years ago, important developments have taken place in world affairs as well as in our national-political life.

I. Advance Of Peace Forces

THE forces of peace, national independence and socialism have grown more powerful than ever before and have been able decisively to halt again and again the most sinister and dangerous conspiracies of the imperialist powers. The epoch-making scientific advances in the Soviet Union, symbolised in the launching of the sputniks, combined with the resolute policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, of which the latest expression is the historic declaration on unilateral halting of nuclear tests, have thrown the imperialists into panic.

The growth of the world peace movement is evident in the increased strength of the existing movements and the fact that new organisations and movements have arisen challenging the policies of war and colonial enslavement. Several governments, particularly in Asia and Africa, have thrown themselves more and more resolutely on to the side of peace and independence.

The forces of peace, the people's movements and the peace-loving states, particularly the Soviet Union, combined to support the Egyptian people in repulsing the imperialist aggression against Egypt. Within one year, the same forces of peace had grown still more powerful and were able to prevent a similar conspiracy to commit aggression against Syria even before the aggression was started. The emergence of the United Arab Republic stands as a mile-stone in the advance of Arab nationalism. The Eisenhower doctrine has met with fiasco.

Asian-African solidarity has become a factor of vital significance in world affairs. The Cairo conference was a land-

mark in the struggle for peace and national independence. A people's movement for Afro-Asian solidarity has developed embracing millions in both the continents and enjoying the support of a number of governments.

The liberation struggles of the enslaved peoples have grown rapidly in intensity and volume. More countries—Malaya, Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia—have won their political independence. The national liberation struggle in Algeria is shaking French imperialism to its foundations.

All these developments have immensely aggravated the crisis of the colonial system which is rapidly collapsing.

The unity of the socialist camp which is of vital importance for the struggle for world peace and for safeguarding national freedom, has grown stronger. The bonds of solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism have been further cemented. The Moscow declaration of the 12 Communist parties as well as the peace manifesto of the parties of 64 countries of the world testify to this.

But the forces of war and colonial enslavement have not reconciled themselves to these defeats. They still pursue their policies of 'position of strength' and military alignments, or provocations and aggression.

The imperialist powers are now engaged in the most dangerous preparations for nuclear war.

Refusing to respond to the Soviet challenge and halt nuclear tests, the Nato powers, led by the USA, are completing plans for the setting up of nuclear bases all over the world. Asia and Africa are being drawn into these sinister plans through the recent Baghdad pact and Seato meetings, and the linking of these two pacts with Nato. In every country the US imperialists link themselves up with the most reactionary elements.

The latest example of imperialism's attempt to reimpose colonial rule is to be seen in Indonesia. American imperialists are openly instigating and helping with arms and otherwise the rebels in Sumatra against the Indonesian Republic.

Our country has played a positive and vital role in changing the world alignment of forces. Together with the socialist countries and the independent Asian-African countries, we have denounced the policy of military alliances and called for ban on nuclear weapons. We have supported and further strengthened and enlarged economic and cultural cooperation with the

socialist countries. We have pursued the policy of Afro-Asian solidarity and given Egypt and Algeria our support in their struggle for independence.

This independent foreign policy of India has aroused the hostility of the imperialists and set them to conspire against our country. The Baghdad pact and Seato constitute a threat alike to India and to all free nations of Asia. US dumping of arms in Pakistan is meant to intensify Indo-Pak tension causing diversion of resources from nation-building to defence. They resort to provocations in respect of Kashmir. Portugal continues to remain in occupation of Goa through terror and brutal repression of the people simply because of the encouragement it receives from the imperialists.

While continuing these measures of military pacts and military aid, US imperialism has recently decided upon large-scale financial 'aid' to India in an attempt to create a favourable atmosphere for its machinations and to put a brake on India's foreign policy.

The Communist Party supports the foreign policy of the Indian government and consistently works for strengthening it. The new imperialist manoeuvres against our independent foreign policy and the activities of pro-imperialist right reaction within our country demand that these imperialist manoeuvres are ruthlessly exposed and people mobilised against them.

At this moment, when imperialist war preparations are at their height and when the forces of peace are stronger than ever before, India can and must play a key role in the struggle for the early calling of a summit conference, for forging closer bonds of Afro-Asian solidarity through the holding of another conference of Afro-Asian nations; for the halting of nuclear tests; for the ending of colonialism in all its shapes and forms and for the defence of the national sovereignty of all peoples.

It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not come out in condemnation of US interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia and instigation of and aid to the rebels. So also there is hesitation to work for another Afro-Asian conference.

The sweep of the popular movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity must help to remove these hesitations so that India may play an even greater role than today in world affairs.

The safety and security of our nation and the plans for the welfare of the people depend on the fate of the world struggle for peace. In this world struggle, significant as has been the

contribution of the people and Government of India, they can make still greater and more important contribution. Despite the growth of the peace movement, despite the growth of the sentiments of peace and solidarity with the Asian-African peoples struggling for independence against imperialism, the peace movement has not unfolded the full possibilities that exist. The Party's activities in the struggle for peace have been weak. This grave weakness must be rapidly overcome and Party units and members must exert their best endeavours in mobilising the mass organisations and the broad masses of the people on all issues of peace and thus help in building a strong, powerful and widespread and united movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity.

II. Strengthening Of Democratic Movement

The events that have taken place in our country since the Palghat congress of our Party have on the whole confirmed the correctness of the analysis made by the Communist Party, as well as the line worked out by it.

The developments in Kerala where the democratic forces made a breach in the Congress monopoly of governmental power and established a government led by the Communist Party have attracted worldwide attention and constitute the single biggest event in our national-political life. But Kerala was no isolated incident. It marked the highest level reached by the democratic movement in the recent years, a movement which scored impressive successes in many parts of the country during the second general elections—as demonstrated in the victories of the Communist Party candidates from the major industrial areas, the serious weakening in the position of the Congress in a number of its former strongholds, such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat and the strengthening of the position of the left in several State legislatures and in parliament. The Communist Party with its 12 million votes has again emerged as the main opposition party in the country with added strength.

The process of mass radicalisation which manifested itself powerfully in these events has continued in the post-election period. Mass distress has intensified and not one problem faced by the people has been solved or even seriously tackled by the

government. The solemn pledges given in the election manifesto of the Congress were cynically violated as soon as the elections were over by the imposition of new and iniquitous burdens of taxation and inflation. With these burdens growing at every level and with the steep rise in prices, the condition of the people continues to deteriorate.

The growing radicalisation of the masses was seen in the powerful movement of the central government employees, headed by the post and telegraph workers which won broad popular support and secured the appointment of the second pay commission, the struggle for oil refinery in Assam which united the entire people, and numerous struggles and movements of workers, peasants, teachers, students, office employees and others, many of which have won important successes. It is seen in the emergence of the Aituc as the single biggest force in the organised trade-union movement and in the increasing united actions of the workers and office employees. The countrywide demonstrations of the working class on 27 March 1958, jointly organised by the Aituc, Hms and Utuc and other all-India federations symbolised the new advance in the struggle for trade-union unity. It is seen in the growing support to the Communist Party throughout the country. It is seen in the results of a number of by-elections in municipalities and local bodies. It is also seen in the widespread support, often transcending party divisions, for the Kerala government whose measures have won for it the goodwill of the common people in every State.

III. Decline Of Congress

THE Congress still wields very big influence in all States. But its hold on the people is weakening, its mass base is shrinking. The revelations in the Mundhra enquiry, dealing a heavy blow to the prestige of the government, have shaken the confidence of even many Congressmen in the professions of some of their leaders. Increasingly isolated from the advanced democratic masses, corroded from within by dissensions and factional squabbles, the Congress is in a state of political and moral decline, in a state of chronic crisis which has deepened after the general elections. In several States, these dissensions have become particularly acute, affecting even the ministries. Conflicts sharpen inside the organisation; progressive-minded Congress-

men, expressing their disapproval of many governmental policies and measures, more sharply than ever before, sometimes even in legislative assemblies and in parliament.

IV. Growth Of Reaction

It would be incorrect, however, to focus attention on these events alone. It is necessary to note that the growth of the Communist Party, of the left forces and of the democratic movement as a whole lags behind the growth of popular discontent against the government. Parties of communal and feudal reaction, like the Jan Sangh, the Akali party of the Punjab, and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, as well as separatist parties like the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam in Tamilnad are utilising this situation to consolidate their position and further their own disruptive aims. As the popularity of the Congress is waning, many Congressmen as well as many opposing the Congress, increasingly resort, during elections, to appeals based on caste and community which tend to divide the people along disruptive lines. These developments constitute a menace to democracy, secularism and Indian unity.

V. Crisis Of Plan

The political situation in the country is closely related to and arises, in a large measure, from the prevailing economic conditions. This is the third year of the second five year plan whose aims and objects were welcomed by wide sections of our people and by our Party. While rejecting the demagogic claim that the plan would build socialism, we supported its progressive features such as the emphasis on heavy industries, the extension of the state sector, greater stress on land reforms and increased expenditure on social welfare. In our opinion, the attainment of the targets of the plan would strengthen national economy and national independence. We have also laid bare the grave defects of the plan, namely, unwarranted and harmful concessions to big business, the excessive reliance on foreign capital, the method of raising resources by increasing the burden on the common people through iniquitous taxation and heavy resort to deficit financing, the dependence on the bureaucratic machinery. We warned that all this would 'endanger the realisation of even

the existing targets and make the future of the plan uncertain.' (*Palghat Resolution*)

Our warnings went unheeded. But they have proved correct. In the third year of the plan, the tempo of development instead of increasing has tended to slow down. The government has not only failed to carry out radical land reforms but has allowed mass scale evictions to take place. Food deficit has grown, giving rise to acute shortage in many areas, compelling more and more imports. Nor is the situation on the industrial sector reassuring. 'Despite sizeable additions to installed capacity in a larger number of industries,' as the government itself admits, 'the rate of growth of industrial production has tended to slow down' in the second year of the plan. In a number of consumer goods industries, production has actually declined. In the textile industry, our premier organised industry, many units have closed down, throwing thousands of workers on the streets, due to lack of purchasing power in the hands of the people who are fleeced by heavy burdens of taxation and mounting prices. Mobilisation of the internal resources lags behind the targets while reckless imports in the interests of the private sector have intensified the foreign exchange crisis. The private sector has reaped fabulous profits and made big investment, while many States have been forced to curtail and 're-phase' their plans under pressure from the central government.

VI. Activities Of Right Reaction

SEIZING upon the difficulties in which the Plan has landed, and frightened by the growth of the democratic movement and the Communist Party, extreme reactionary forces have intensified their activities. They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this a 'suitable climate' must be created.

These people have been carrying on vicious attacks against the public sector, demanding still greater concessions to the monopolists, both Indian and foreign. They are openly advocating almost an open door policy for penetration of foreign capital, particularly from the USA, while striving to sabotage trade with the USSR and other socialist countries. They demand the curtailment of social service measures under the plan, while trying to blackmail the government to change its fiscal and economic

measures still more to their advantage and to the detriment of the common people. They demand modification of the existing labour laws to suit their interests. These people openly express their hostility to radical land reforms.

The present crisis of the second five year plan which has resulted from the policies and methods of the government, is being exploited by these reactionary elements not only to sabotage the good features of the plan, but also to strengthen their position and secure changes in the political and economic life of the country in an anti-national and anti-democratic direction.

VII. Reliance On America

An important development in respect of the plan of big business is the heavy reliance they place on US economic assistance which is generally accompanied by designs and terms detrimental to the interests of our economy. This is an extremely dangerous tendency, considering the role American imperialism is playing throughout the world. The American imperialists constitute the most aggressive force in the world, making desperate efforts to expand at the expense of weaker nations. In Asia, especially, the American imperialists are attempting to replace the old imperialism and attack the freedom and liberty of the Asian nations. It interferes in the internal affairs of Asian countries and attempts to establish reactionary regimes suited to its own interests. Its role in relation to the liberation of Goa and Kashmir is seen by all. It has waged a persistent propaganda warfare against India's foreign policy. It demands the abandonment of the state sector and other progressive measures of the Indian government before opening its purse-strings. Acceptance under these conditions will only give it an economic hold over our economy and compromise national independence.

The present American recession with its big setback to production throwing millions out of employment comes as a warning against one-sided reliance of our national economy on the economies of imperialist countries. The recession affects the economies of all countries dependent on America and makes them unstable and insecure. India's national advance cannot be secure and smooth if it is subject to the ups and downs of American economy which, with its preponderance of production for war, undergoes violent fluctuations.

The anti-national line of these forces could be seen in the

utterances and activities of the former finance minister, T. T. Krishnamachari, then the report of the Birla mission, the recent resolution of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The line advocated by them spells disaster to the nation and its future. It would reduce our country to the position of dependence on the imperialists abroad and monopolists at home, add to the privations and miseries of the people, and facilitate suppression of democratic rights and liberties. So, they are endeavouring to turn back the wheel of Indian history.

These reactionary forces hold a strong position in our economic life. They have powerful supporters and representatives not only outside but also inside the Congress leadership and Congress governments. They have close links with many higher officials in all spheres. They control many of the largest newspapers in the country. Their capacity for mischief should not, therefore, be minimised.

In the interest of the defence of national independence, national economy and democracy, the Communist Party will, therefore, relentlessly expose these forces and combat their manoeuvres. The Party shall educate and rouse the people about the dangerous character of the activities of these forces. It shall strive to range patriotic elements in every party and the entire people against their policies. It shall support every step taken by the government that weakens these forces.

VIII. Fight For Progressive Policies

At the same time, it has to be remembered that these reactionary elements outside the Congress lack a popular mass base except what they are able to secure through reactionary parties by whipping up communal passions and backward sentiments. Their real strength lies in their link with the reactionary elements inside the Congress itself, which is securing increasing grip over the Congress organisation. Further, they have attained their present strength and dare to launch attacks on the progressive features of the second plan because of the support and encouragement from the weak and reactionary policies of the government itself such as the concession to private capital in the plan, the heavy dependence on foreign capital, the encouragement to seek agreement with foreign financiers and the monopolists, the delay in the implementation of agrarian reforms and the loopholes left for their sabotage.

It is precisely these policies of the government that have strengthened the position of these anti-national forces in our economic and political life and offered them opportunities to build their links with foreign monopolists and to resort to tactics of blackmail and pressure. The extreme right, therefore, cannot be defeated without a simultaneous battle, waged with determination and vigour, to defeat the anti-people policies of the government. Without such a two-sided battle, it is impossible either to defeat right-wing reaction or realise the targets of the plan.

Experience of the past two years has further shown that the policies and methods of the government cannot ensure the balanced economic development of the country and uninterrupted national reconstruction. They prevent mobilisation of popular cooperation for the implementation of the plan. They have failed even to guarantee the realisation of the inadequate plan targets. They constantly give rise to dislocations and crises. They create apathy and indifference among the people about the fate of the plan.

The Communist Party stands for the realisation of all targets of the second plan which are in the interests of the people without curtailment. It considers development of heavy industry in the state sector under the plan to be of vital importance for the future and freedom of the country. The targets of industrial and agricultural production as well as the provision for welfare projects and schemes far from being ambitious are inadequate. The Party, therefore, demands their fulfilment.

The concrete proposals on the basis of which the struggle has to be conducted to realise these objectives have been formulated in the Palghat resolution. The Party reiterates these proposals. In the industrial sector, while fighting for the rapid expansion of the state sector, the Party shall demand its efficient and democratic management, with effective participation of the workers. In this connection, the nationalisation of scheduled banks acquires great importance. So does the nationalisation of coal and foreign plantations, of individual concerns like Jessops and Telco, and the expansion of state trading; the Party stands for further strengthening of economic cooperation between India and the socialist countries in mutual interests. This becomes all the more urgent today in view of the US recession.

The great significance of this cooperation and its highly beneficial character have already been underlined in a number

of economic agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which India has entered into. The economic assistance from the socialist countries is offered on terms most favourable to India and it has helped in launching a number of vital industrial projects. In addition to the Soviet steel plant, these projects include mining machinery manufacturing plant from the Soviet Union and heavy forging plant from Czechoslovakia. Such economic assistance from the socialist countries, with its tremendous possibilities, is a very welcome development for our country and its future. It helps India to reduce her economic dependence and overcome her backwardness through rapid industrialisation. It is no wonder, therefore, that even some sections of the bourgeoisie who had been in the past opposed to economic aid from the socialist countries have now begun to acknowledge the vast potentialities as well as the superiority of the economic aid from these countries.

IX. National Campaigns

While reiterating the programme given at the Palghat congress, the Communist Party stresses the following important issues for immediate national campaigning.

- 1) Realisation of the targets of the plan in a democratic way;
- 2) Exposure of the plans of right reaction;
- 3) Opposition to penetration of American capital;
- 4) Nationalisation of big banks, wholesale trade in food-grains, expansion of state trading, establish national control over British and Indian monopolies, ceilings on profits of British and Indian monopolies, and effective state control over them in national interest;
- 5) Food crisis and the Party's proposals for its solution;
- 6) Radical agrarian reforms and democratic implementation of agrarian laws;
- 7) Against increased taxation and high prices;
- 8) Language question on the basis of the central committee resolution of October 1957;
- 9) The demands put forward by the national rally of 27 March 1958, by the trade-union centres and campaign for realising collective agreements on their basis;

10) Defence and extension of democratic rights and civil liberties;

11) Against corruption;

12) For summit conference, a second Afro-Asian conference, ending nuclear tests, and solidarity with Indonesia and Algeria;

13) Popularisation of the achievements of the Kerala ministry as well as the activities of our members of parliament;

14) Against casteism, communalism and untouchability;

15) Against the present rehabilitation policy of the government, for speedy rehabilitation of all refugees in grainful employment.

X. Mass Struggles & All-Sided Activities

WAGING the battle for the rebuilding of our country, the Communist Party bases itself on the urges and aspirations that have grown among the people for the betterment of their conditions and all-sided national advance. Conducting a sustained campaign for progressive policies and measures, our Party will boldly lead the struggles of workers, peasants, middle-classes and all sections of people against the ever-growing attacks on their standards of life by the vested interests and the government and for immediate improvement in their living conditions. As before, such campaigns and struggles continue to be tasks of great importance. Their importance will grow even more in the coming period. More and more struggles will have to be waged not only locally but also on a national plane. The struggles for agrarian reforms and for the immediate demands of the peasantry are of great importance in view of the critical food situation.

The organised working class, particularly in the public sector, while fighting for its just demands, should play an important role in combating corruption, bureaucracy and waste, as well as fulfil efficiently agreed norms of production.

We shall strive to ensure the active participation of the people in the projects and schemes of the plan so that they are implemented in a democratic manner, corruption and waste are combated and maximum benefit is secured for the people. We

shall strive to give concrete form to the urge for national reconstruction in every sphere — education, culture, health and so on.

In this connection, the importance of our work in local boards, municipalities and cooperatives has acquired a special significance. We shall strive to make them centres of popular service and democratise their administration. They can bring a change in the consciousness of the people and their attitude towards us.

To achieve this, it is necessary to build broad popular unity, develop the initiative of the masses. Every Party unit and Party member must acquire a *comprehensive and all-sided concept* of mass work, of defence of mass interests and they must abandon that narrow, and incorrect outlook which hampered the unfolding of multifarious mass activity in the past and which still persists in many areas. In this connection, the importance of the Party's effective participation in the social welfare boards, as well as of its work in mahila and youth organisations under the Nes needs to be fully grasped.

As an essential part of such activity, our Party will mobilise the peasantry to make full use of every facility to increase the production of food which has become an urgent national task.

XI. Build Mass Kisan Sabhas

ALL campaigns, struggles and activities have to be conducted so that the broadest possible unity of the patriotic and democratic forces is forged and mass organisations get built. Unless this is done, the tremendous mass awakening and mass radicalisation cannot be consolidated and made the basis for further advance.

Of decisive importance in this connection is the building of kisan sabhas, firmly established in rural areas all over the country. The failure to organise and develop kisan sabhas and agricultural labourers' unions, in spite of most favourable conditions constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement. Without resolute measures to overcome this weakness, the democratic movement will not get built and the Party will fail to become a decisive force in the political life of the country.

This must be made a part of the consciousness of the entire Party and the tendency to look upon work among the peasantry and agricultural labourers as the specific job of only a few cadres, the tendency to look upon peasant work as the work of

a particular 'front' and not the most important mass task of the Party should be resolutely overcome.

XII. Samyukta Maharashtra And Maha Gujarat

THE refusal of the government to grant the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat, in spite of the clearly expressed verdict of the people in the elections to legislatures and local bodies, shows that the powers-that-be will not change their decision unless compelled by popular pressure. The obstinate attitude of the government is adding to popular discontent. Our Party, while campaigning for this just and democratic demand, should stress the importance of unity and cooperation between the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Parishad. Basing itself on the unity of the two movements, our Party should, in cooperation with others, take initiative in forging mass sanctions to secure the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat. As hitherto, Party units in Gujarat and Maharashtra have to play a big part in this campaign.

XIII. Kerala Shows The Way

THE most outstanding event in recent years, as has already been pointed out, has been the formation of a Communist-led government in Kerala. It has given confidence to the people that the Congress can be defeated and a government representing the interests of the toiling people and pledged to serve them can be formed. The policies formulated by the Kerala government and the measures introduced during the one year that it has been in office have created a profound impression on the people of the whole country, won the sympathy of vast numbers of people in every State and emboldened certain sections of Congressmen to become critical of reactionary policies of the government.

Precisely because of this, every effort is being made to dislodge the Kerala government from office. Every possible tactic is used—provocation, attempt at bribery, campaign of lies and slanders, instigation of clashes and even murder. They have not refrained from joining hands with foreign plantation

owners and the dark forces of Catholic reaction, in spite of their protestations of secularism. In its blind anti-communism and abandoning all principles which it once professed, the State PSP, with the blessings of the all-India PSP leadership, has joined this unholy alliance.

Under pressure of these forces, the central government also has, on a number of occasions, adopted discriminatory measures against Kerala, as for example, the reference of the education bill to the Supreme Court.

Kerala evokes hatred and fear among forces of reaction, but it has come to symbolise the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people.

The Kerala experience has also shown that the verdict of the ballot box in favour of popular forces is not necessarily respected by the vested interests. It has to be defended by mass actions.

This imposes heavy responsibilities on our Party in Kerala—responsibilities that have to be carried out in a very difficult situation and within the framework of the present constitution. By seeking to implement the plan in a popular way, by unleashing the creative labour of the people to increase the production of food and industrial goods, by giving relief to the people to the maximum possible extent, by bringing the administration close to the people, by combating corruption, nepotism and bureaucratic high-handedness it has to demonstrate over and over again the correctness of our policies and prove that a government led by the Communist Party is the most effective instrument to carry on the task of national reconstruction. The Party has no doubt that the Kerala government will prove equal to the task.

Our ministry in Kerala has by its action, inspired confidence among the mass of people outside Kerala. Its declaration that the police will not be used against the people struggling for their legitimate rights and demands or against freedom for peaceful actions; the education bill; the measures to distribute government land and the agrarian bill; fixing of minimum wages for agricultural labourers; settlement of hundreds of industrial disputes by direct government intervention; the rise in the salaries of low-paid government employees like village officials and teachers; the minimum salaries drawn by the ministers—all this has profoundly impressed public opinion in other States.

The Party will step up the campaign to popularise the achievements of the Kerala government. The advance in Kerala can be made the basis for the general advance of the democratic movement.

XIV. Strengthen United Front

WITH the position that the Party and the left forces have won in the legislatures and among the masses, with the urge for united action getting demonstrated in practice in many places, with the growth of democratic forces inside the Congress, possibilities for democratic advance and popular victories in many spheres have increased immensely.

This necessitates the development of a united mass movement, extensive and powerful, through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activities, covering every area and firmly based on strong mass organisations. Only such a movement can defeat the plans of right reaction, bring about desired changes in government's policies, attain the aims and objectives of the plan and ensure all-sided national advance.

Striving to build such a movement, the Communist Party will intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in all parties. Of particular importance in this context is the coming together of left parties and also progressive independents.

The Communist Party and the democratic forces, in general, if they unite and undertake their mass tasks seriously right from now, can certainly expect to effect further breaches in the Congress monopoly of power. The process begun in Kerala can be carried forward towards the establishment of alternative democratic governments in some other States. This possibility exists and we must strive to translate it into reality.

The building of the unity of the left forces is not an easy task. The dominant leadership of the PSP and the Socialist Party continue to pursue their policy of keeping the masses divided. They strive to keep their cadres away from any united mass activity. Thereby they can not only prevent effective mobilisation against the policies of the government and consolidation of mass radicalisation, but also help the growth of feudal and communal reaction in several areas where all the left parties are individually weak. In Orissa, the PSP allies itself with the

Ganantra Parishad, the reactionary party of ex-rajahs. In Kerala, it has resorted to the vilest slander and calumny against the ministry led by the Communist Party and joins hands with the dark forces of the Roman Catholic oligarchy and landlords in a desperate bid to uproot the ministry. It is to be noted that this attitude of the leadership has deepened the crisis in the organisations and increasing sections are opposing this disruptive line and even breaking away. In contrast, wherever they have carried on united front activities, as in West Bengal and in Maharashtra, the democratic movement has been strengthened.

This serious obstacle has to be overcome by combining firm ideological-political struggles against such parties, while developing common actions with these parties and their followers. Such united common actions are not only desirable but have indeed become a reality in many fields of mass activity.

But important though the united front of left parties is, we cannot today confine ourselves to the efforts to build such united front alone. In many areas, independent progressives, many of whom are former Congressmen, wield considerable influence. The Party has to draw them into united activity, not merely during election and such other work, but also into the work of mass organisations.

There is common ground for united activity between the masses following the Congress and our Party for defending and popularising India's foreign policy, realising the aims and targets of the five year plan and ensuring that maximum benefits are secured for the people under its schemes and projects.

The growing radicalisation of our people could not but have its own impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of the vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress who sabotage all agrarian reforms, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values and morals which once the Congress cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people by the Congress ministries, the never-ending wrangles over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement and the electoral victories of the left gives rise to disillusionment and facilitates political differentiation inside the Congress. The progressives inside the Congress are worried by the crisis of the plan and the attack upon it from the right. They are getting apprehensive of the rise of the parties of communal and feudal

reaction, which they know are growing at the cost of the Congress in some areas.

Our Party welcomes the growth of these democratic forces in the Congress. Adopting a friendly and fraternal attitude towards them, it will seek their cooperation in the interests of the people and the country.

XV. Ideological Struggle

OF the millions of people who are entering the arena of struggle for a better life, a big majority is under the influence of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies. The dominant leadership of the Congress tells them that capitalism will be abolished and advance to socialism made by merely building certain industries in the state sector accompanied by welfare schemes. They say that socialism can be achieved without a mass movement leading to the attainment of power by the working people. The masses are told that the struggle for improvement of their living standards and democratic rights are anti-national and disruptive of national economy. They are told that the reforms necessary for national advance can be achieved gradually by governmental action alone, aided by such campaigns as gramdan. They are told that Marxism is outmoded and class struggle alien to Indian traditions.

Some of the left parties scoff at the movement for peace, spread slanders against the Soviet Union and attempt to create distrust in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Forces are active which utilise the waning influence of the Congress and its ideology for caste and communal consolidation, often giving the popular urge for development a distorted and disruptive direction. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras State openly preaches separation from India on the basis of a false racial theory. The discontent created by the policies of the government in respect of language and linguistic States is used by interested elements to whip up chauvinism and provincialism.

These developments underline the importance of sustained, systematic and all-sided ideological struggle by the Communist Party, a struggle conducted on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and its application to every sphere. This has become imperative in order

to consolidate and strengthen the democratic movement, bring it increasingly under the leadership of the working class and maintain the unity of India without which no progress is possible.

XVI. Mass Communist Party

THE fulfilment of these democratic tasks and the cause of national advance depend on the emergence of the Communist Party as a mass political force—a party which will unite and rally the popular masses by its initiative in every sphere of national life and by its resolute leadership of the mass struggles.

The special congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon every unit and Party member and all friends of the Party to exert their best endeavour to build up such a mass Communist Party, all the time expanding to ever new areas and acquiring new strength from the people. The members of the Party must come out as the staunchest defenders of the interests of the people and the country. They must prove by their selfless work, initiative and sacrifice that the Communist Party is the most uncompromising fighter for world peace and defender of our national independence, the builder of the unity of the entire nation and the organiser of the masses in their onward march towards socialism and a joyous and prosperous life.

ON PARTY ORGANISATION

The Communist Party of India has emerged as a major force in the political life of our country. It is the main party of opposition in parliament as well as in the State legislatures of W. Bengal and Andhra. It heads the government in the State of Kerala. It has become the single biggest force in the working class. In every part of the country, the influence of the Party is growing. The membership of the Party has more than doubled in recent months.

But the Party continues to suffer from serious weaknesses—ideological, political as well as organisational. Some of these weaknesses were dealt with in the organisational report which was placed at the special congress of the Party held in Amritsar. Pointed attention to these and other weaknesses was drawn by the delegates who spoke at the congress.

It is evident that without combating these weaknesses, the Party cannot discharge the immense responsibilities that confront it. Serious and sustained efforts have to be made, therefore, to overcome the shortcomings, to strengthen the unity of the Party and to develop it into a mass Communist Party.

This is a task to which all units of the Party have to pay immediate attention. But the key role has to be played by the central organs of the Party—the national council, the central executive committee and the central secretariat. While the general tasks of these bodies have been laid down in the Party constitution, certain tasks have to be given top priority.

1. The most important of these is *Party education*, so that unity of outlook and action develops in the higher and middle leadership of the Party and a beginning is made in the direction of development of cadres. The centre has to prepare a syllabus and also help to organise Party schools in States and zones.

2. The *New Age* Monthly must play an important role in raising the ideological-political level of the Party, by giving studied articles on economic and political developments, on lessons and experiences of the mass movement, on Party building and on theoretical matters.

The central leadership has to take steps to improve *Weekly New Age*.

It has to plan out publications on current matters and on major problems.

3. Guidance by the Party on current issues has to be ensured by well-prepared meetings of the national council and regular meetings of the central executive committee.

4. On major political issues, the central executive committee and the secretariat will guide the parliamentary executive committee, which shall be responsible for all parliamentary work, including discipline of MPs.

5. A sub-committee of leading comrades on the trade-union front has to be formed.

6. In view of the decisive importance of work among the peasantry and agricultural labour and in view of the neglect of this work by the Party for a long time, a subcommittee of leading comrades on the kisan front has to be formed and the Party centre has to pay special attention to the task of rebuilding the organisations of the peasants and agricultural workers.

7. Effective measures have to be taken to overcome the neglect of the struggle for peace by Party units.

8. The work among women, students and youth has to be vigorously organised. State and district committees have to pay serious attention to this. In order to help work, discuss common problems and evolve policies, the Party centre should convene meetings of leading comrades working on these fronts and form subcommittees wherever necessary and possible.

9. The need for strengthening the contact between the centre and the States is great. At the same time, only certain steps in this direction can be taken immediately such as, periodic visits to the States by the general secretary and other secretariat and CEC members, studying of reports sent by State committees, prompt reply to their queries, intervention when big problems arise and central guidance is needed.

Special attention needs to be paid by the centre to the

Hindi-speaking areas where our movement is weak. The centre has to take steps to start Hindi and Urdu weeklies.

The secretariat should plan out a programme of convening meetings of the State secretariats to discuss the major problems of the State and help in solving them.

10. We have been without a Party programme for several years—a document which applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Indian situation can arm the entire Party with a clear perspective. This has intensified ideological confusion. A draft Programme has to be prepared which the national council will circulate for discussion in the entire Party.

11. We have no unified understanding about the achievements and mistakes of our own Party since its inception. Comrades joining the Party in different periods hold divergent views about how the Party grew, what it achieved, what it failed to achieve in each period. Distorted ideas, based on lies and half-truths, on the role of the Communist Party in the national movement, prevail not merely in the ranks of our sympathisers and supporters but also inside the Party.

The broad general statement made earlier, viz., that the present status of our Party is the result of the cumulative work of the Party carried on during its entire history—this statement alone is not enough. What is needed is a unified understanding of the history of our Party, of its work. Such a task has become very necessary now. It is a difficult task and will take considerable time for completion. But a beginning should be made as soon as possible by collection of documents and discussions among leading comrades who played an important role in different periods of Party history.

12. The Party centre has to organise proper Party life for cadres working in the central office and in various departments of central work and decide about the form of organisation at the Party headquarters.

The sub-committees formed by the centre will not replace the committees of the mass organisations, nor issue directions to similar sub-committees in the States. Their function is to help the Party centre to study problems and enable the Party centre to give guidance which should be through the State committees.

The members of the central secretariat will divide up work among themselves, on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility for implementation of

decisions and regular collective check-up. The present practice of individual functioning, of no check-up has got to go.

Each member of the secretariat will be in charge of a specific department or departments of the central executive committee and be personally responsible for its functioning, for regular report to the secretariat, as well as implementation of the decisions.

The members of the secretariat will devote themselves entirely to central work. But they will be few in number and cannot, by themselves, carry out all the central tasks. Central work has to be done not merely by the members of the central secretariat but also by other members of the national council, above all, by members of the central executive committee.

Members of the central executive are not just State committee functionaries who attend CEC meetings when they can 'afford,' as several of our former PB members did. CEC members elected by the national council are responsible to the national council to see that the work of the centre is properly carried on. They have beside State, *central* responsibilities and they have to carry them out when called upon by the CEC to do so—e.g., visit certain States, conduct Party schools, prepare study and other material, write articles in the central journals, etc. They have to ensure that decisions of the national council and CEC are implemented by the State committees.

After each meeting of the CEC a report of the decisions, and their explanation will have to be sent to members of the national council.

Comrades will ask: what guarantee is there that all this will be done? Especially when, despite assurances, despite all the experience of the past which shows how the entire work of the Party suffers in the absence of a functioning Party centre, such a centre has not come into existence?

The only guarantee can be that the national council elected by this Party congress deems it to be its duty to ensure that such a centre comes into existence not only by electing a proper and competent central executive committee and a secretariat, but by effective control over their work by suggestions and criticism, not hesitating to remove those members of these bodies who fail to carry out their responsibilities and replace them by others.

Further, it has to be made a principle that the job which each comrade of the central executive committee and the secretariat has to do, the place where he is to work, is to be decided neither by the lower unit to which also the comrade may belong, nor by the comrade himself—though certainly they will have their say, but by the higher body.

State Committees

THE State committees have also to reorganise their work. There too a functioning secretariat occupies a position of key importance. But conditions in different States differ so much that it is not possible here to deal with their functioning and the manner in which it has to be done concretely. Nevertheless, certain general observations may be made.

— In most States, the real State leadership of the Party has come to mean two or three comrades only, which means excessive centralisation, leading to anarchy in practice and accentuation of the trend towards bureaucratism. It also prevents development of cadres. This needs to be remedied. No comrade should be given more functions, more responsibility than what he can effectively discharge. Responsibility for State work has to be divided up among all State committee members.

— The function of each secretariat member, including the secretary, should be clearly defined on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility and collective check-up.

— Meetings of the State committee should be properly prepared for, so that decisions may be promptly taken and who is to do what is also decided upon.

— Each meeting of the secretariat, State committee and State council should start with reading out of the decisions of the previous meeting and a report as to how and to what extent these decisions have been implemented.

— Report of each meeting of the State executive committee and of the council should be sent to the Party centre.

— Party journals should be regularly reviewed, discussion initiated in the entire Party as to how to improve their contents, increase their circulation to every area and place them on sound financial basis. Publications should be planned. The sale of Party literature must become a normal and essential part of the activity of every unit.

— The work done by the Party in the State legislature, in district and local bodies should be regularly reviewed and circulated in the entire Party.

— Above all, it is necessary to strengthen the contact between the State executive committee and the district committees. This requires the initiation and development of *Statewide campaigns* in the absence of which even intensive work would remain on a local and economic plane and fail to make an impact on the life of the State. The running of the journal has to be in such a way that it reflects the growing movement in the State and of all its areas. Regular visit to districts have to be made not only for mass meetings but also to discuss the concrete problems with district and local committees and their functionaries. Close personal and human contact with cadres has to be developed in the districts. Special meetings must be convened to discuss problems of work in local boards, municipalities, panchayats.

— In planning out work, *priorities* have to be given, keeping in mind not only the various problems but also the organisational strength of the Party. The practice of making big plans and afterwards quietly dropping them, should go.

For all this, functioning secretaries of the State executive committees are essential but it should be evident that secretariat members alone cannot do all these jobs. The responsibility for State work has to be borne not only by the secretariat, members but by all the State executive committee members as well.

Collective Functioning

In every unit of the Party, first of all in the secretariats of the central, state and district leadership, we have to organise work on the basis of collective functioning, individual responsibility and check-up.

This is lacking today. Collective functioning has come to mean interminable meetings. Individual responsibility has come to mean 'autonomy' and 'non-interference.' As for check-up, it is mostly absent. Such pattern of Party functioning can never lead to real improvement.

Every unit of the Party is *collectively* responsible for implementation of decisions both to the higher committee and to

the lower committees as well as mass of members. But inside the committee, inside the secretariat, the principle has to be applied of individual responsibility on the basis of collective decisions and collective check-up. This alone will make possible the implementation of decisions.

Activisation Of Entire Party

RADICAL changes are needed in the pattern of mass activity and style of mass work, so that the basic units of the Party, the branches, become the leaders of the people in their struggles for a better life and in all their activities.

Despite the position which our Party has come to occupy, there has been little change in our pattern of activity. Our practical activities are mostly confined to elections, conferences and local struggles, together with occasional campaigns. The normal work of the Party is carried on almost exclusively by whole-timers. Dearth of cadres on one hand and chronic inactivity on the part of the vast majority of members have become a characteristic feature of our Party life.

Exclusive reliance on whole-timers, many of whom get progressively divorced from the life of the people, also accentuates tendencies of subjectivism, dogmatism and sectarianism inside the Party. It creates two categories of Party members—active and passive.

The political resolution has stressed the need for all-sided mass work. This is essential in order to consolidate the mass movement and strengthen the base of the Party. Guided by the resolution, the Party has to unfold sustained activity in every sphere so that for every job there are comrades and for every comrade there is a job.

This requires careful study of the local needs, the concrete working of the schemes of the five year plan and the development programme of the government and active participation in them so as to ensure that the interests of the people are served. Without this, it is impossible even to build mass organisations. Many a time this has been emphasised and some advance has undoubtedly been made but as yet it is too meagre. An attitude of narrowness and sectarianism still dominates the outlook of the leading committees and cadres with regard to such work.

Emphasis on the activisation of the entire Party and of or-

ganising work for all its members does not mean minimisation of the importance of whole-timers. In an expanding Party, we need an increasing number of whole-timers, but precisely for this, it is necessary to ensure that their minimum needs are met, that they do not have to depend for their bare existence on friends and sympathisers. Adequate wages have to be paid to the whole-timers regularly. Wages for whole-timers should be considered one of the most important items in the budgets of the Party units. Medical aid for whole-time cadres also needs to be paid special attention.

Every State committee should immediately undertake a comprehensive review of the position of the whole-timers in the Party, the nature of the work they do, the wages paid to them either by the Party or the mass organisations, and evolve a policy on this important question.

Party Funds

THE critical financial position of Party units at all levels is not due to the unwillingness of the masses to contribute to the Party. It is due to the practice of not approaching the masses in a planned manner. Wherever such approach has been made, as in recent months in several States, funds have been collected.

At least for two months every year, a mass drive for Party funds has to be organised by State committees on a Statewide plane, the entire Party mobilised for this purpose and every Party leader, especially those who wield wide influence, must personally and directly participate in the campaign.

An important source of the income of the central and State committees is the levy collected from members of parliament and assemblies. In this respect, the situation today is highly unsatisfactory. A number of MPs do not pay their dues regularly. Some of them advance the plea that State and district committees make exorbitant demands on them. As for assembly members, in several States many of them, too, are in arrears. Such conduct on the part of several MPs and MLAs whose election was ensured by the devoted work of Party cadres and through the influence of the Party not merely intensifies the financial difficulties but also exercises a demoralising influence on the entire Party.

The State committees should also progressively introduce

the system of levy on a graduated scale on the incomes of other Party members.

Besides this, it is necessary to centralise the funds of the Party units, putting an end to the practice of individual spending. All funds collected by everyone for the Party have to be handed over to the treasurer of the unit, and spent in accordance with the decisions of the unit.

Party Education

THE need to organise education needs no stressing. Reference has already been made about an educational department to be organised by the central executive committee and preparation of educational material by it. With this as a basis, short-term Party schools—about seven to ten days—have to be organised in States. But though essential, this is not enough.

Education also involves the production of popular literature and the running of schools specifically for cadres of each mass organisation—especially trade unions and kisan sabhas, and also such things as generalisation of the experience of working in local bodies, cooperatives, social welfare centres, development boards, etc.

Party education must also have as one of its objectives the strengthening of the all-India consciousness of our cadres, consciousness which has grown less and less in recent years. Comrades of one State know little about what is happening in other States. We have to organise regular visits by Party leaders of one State to another, to report before State committees and cadres. State committees should translate their important documents and send them to the centre so that the centre may circulate them among all State committees.

A large number of Party members, coming from the working class and peasantry, need to be made literate and imparted general education. We must ensure that such education is organised by all units as an essential Party task.

Sufficient knowledge should be imparted to all Party members within a year so that they are able to read and understand the Party journal in the State and current national and international developments.

Expansion Of Party

NOTWITHSTANDING its growth, our Party even now is too small. Moreover, in most areas, it does not even exist. Even in States where the Party is strong—in many areas its organisation is extremely weak. Quite often, in one village we have a powerful base but in the adjoining village which falls in the same constituency, we have little following. This not only hampers the growth of the movement, but weakens the prospect of the Party in elections which have become an extremely important part of our political and mass work.

The State committees have to study the position concretely and undertake *planned extension* of the Party into new areas, planned extension of circulation of the papers, planned extension of Party activity. The difficulty in the way of such expansion is the unwillingness of local units to part with cadres as well as unwillingness of cadres to go to new areas. This has to be overcome.

Enrolment of new members into the Party has to be a part of the normal activity of the Party, as also of educating them. Special emphasis has to be given to the task of enrolment of members from the working class, poor peasantry and agricultural workers. It has to be noted that even though our activity in the working class has increased considerably, the number of workers in our Party, even in big industrial areas is relatively small.

Further, there is no systematic effort to train them, so as to develop them into cadres and leaders of mass activity, to promote them. The composition of our higher Party committees remains essentially non-proletarian which has intensified many of our weaknesses. Expansion of the Party must mean simultaneously conscious effort to overcome this weakness.

Agitation And Propaganda

As early as June 1954, that is, nearly four years ago, the central committee in its organisational resolution, stressed the importance of improving the quality of our agitation. Considerable improvement has taken place since then but the defects pointed out then have not been completely eliminated even now. Speeches are not carefully prepared, not only speeches in mass

meetings but sometimes even speeches in parliament and assemblies.

They are often marked by diffuseness, repetitiousness and hurling of slogans instead of explaining them, vehemence instead of logic and careful presentation of facts, stereotypedness and generalities which do not take into account the heightened political consciousness of the people. Explanatory work through individual verbal propaganda by all Party members in the course of day-to-day contact with non-Party masses is mostly absent.

Moreover the style of writing in several of our papers is jargonous and not lively, presentation of facts not adequate, insufficient attention is given to issues which agitate the minds of the people. Sometimes, the tendency is to fill up columns with full speeches and statements of Party leaders which could be easily condensed. Party leaders seldom write for our newspapers and expect that their speeches, often delivered without preparation, are adequate for the purpose.

Our resolutions suffer from many defects of the same type. Quite often, they are long, attempt to cover so many points, verbose, they lack precision and are not written in a popular way.

Serious attention has to be paid to these defects and steps taken to remedy them. We have to speak and write with the consciousness that we are growing into a mass party, a Party to which millions of people look for guidance, a Party the majority of whose members come from the working class and the peasantry.

Mass Organisations

A MASS Party is inconceivable without serious, sustained and determined efforts to build mass organisations, among all sections of people especially among the working class and the peasantry. Without such organisation, the influence of the Party remains vague and diffused. Without such organisations, the united front cannot develop. Without such organisations, cadres of the Party remain isolated from the people despite intensive activity and become 'general' political leaders of the bourgeois type and not grow into Communist leaders. Without such organisations which develop the self-activity of the masses, develop leaders from among them—not one problem which faces

us can be solved, nor the mass movement extended and raised to a higher level.

Hence it is that all the work of the Party, the many activities referred to earlier, has to be *directed towards* the building of the mass organisations. Every Party member, unless specifically exempted, should join a mass organisation.

Big developments are taking place on the working class front but many Party committees pay insufficient attention to them. The amount of *political* work among workers is meagre. Also there is shortage of cadres for trade-union work as well as for the undertaking of educational and other activities in working-class areas. Party committees in cities have to inspire an increasing number of comrades to devote, at least part of their time, to work among the proletariat.

As the political resolution has pointed out, of decisive importance is the need to overcome the weakness of the Party among the peasantry and to build up a powerful *kisan sabha*. Every State committee has to give most serious attention to this task, turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry, delegate sufficient number of cadres for it, arrange for their training and maintenance. Without this, the whole democratic movement will remain weak.

Within a year, the membership of the kisan sabha should be raised to 20 lakhs.

Targets And Slogans For A Year

EACH State committee after the congress has to work out a concrete plan of action for the State and place it before the State council for discussion and adoption. The plan should include:

- Doubling of the circulation of newspapers—central and State within a year.
- A target of enrolment into trade unions and kisan sabhas.
- Expansion of the Party into areas where it is weak.
- Collection of funds for specific purposes such as a proper press, building for Party office, etc.
- Wiping out illiteracy from inside the Party within one year.

— The number and titles of publications for the next one year.

On the basis of the plan and targets for the next one year, each district should plan out its own work.

The progress made in the attainment of the targets should be reviewed periodically.

Combat Individualism And Restore Discipline

WE have formulated the immediate organisational tasks before the Party. But past experience should teach us that all this will remain on paper unless a conscious and determined effort is made to bring about change in *practice*.

This has to start *from above*, from the central and State leadership. It is these committees and their members who have to raise their own consciousness, overcome the divergence between decisions and their implementation, between profession and practice, and set in every respect a model before lower units of the Party as a whole—modesty, tolerance, comradely behaviour, attention to criticism, and above all, *discipline* without which not one of the tasks can be carried out. It is with the combating of individualism and strengthening of discipline that the whole work of remoulding of the Party has to be started and discipline is to be strengthened, *primarily*, by example from above.

It has to be noted that taking the Party as a whole, our leadership has not grown in maturity and ability as fast as the growth of the movement. This creates big difficulties for the Party. Proper methods of functioning of committees can help to overcome this difficulty to a limited extent—but only to a limited extent. The leaders of the Party at all levels, especially in the central and State leadership have to increase their *individual efficiency* through self-study, specialisation, and proper organisation of their own work.

It is necessary to stress that the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party suffers cannot be overcome by certain procedural steps alone. These shortcomings and weaknesses are the product of continuous neglect of the fundamental principles of Party organisation. With a view to removing them, this extraordinary congress of the Party calls upon all units of

the Party, especially the national council, the central executive committee and the central secretariat:

— To conduct a campaign of improvement of Party work through a process of study, criticism and self-criticism. This campaign should be directed primarily towards the overcoming of individualism, restoration of discipline, bridging the gulf between word and deed and strengthening comradely relations.

— To set up appropriate machinery for preparation of Party programme.

— To conduct education throughout the Party on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

MOSCOW DECLARATIONS OF COMMUNIST & WORKERS' PARTIES

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India hails and endorses the peace manifesto of sixty-four Communist and Workers' parties as well as the declaration of the twelve Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. Both the manifesto and the declaration, permeated with the confidence in the victories the international working class and progressive mankind have won in the struggle for peace and socialism, mark the historic advance in unity of the forces of peace and socialism throughout the world.

The peace manifesto is a clarion call for further developing the struggle for world peace on the basis of broadest unity of all right-thinking men and women—of all people who want mankind to be freed from war and threats of war.

The extraordinary congress of the CPI pledges that it shall strive its utmost in mobilising our great people for the cause of world peace and in thus translating the noble objectives of the manifesto into a living reality.

The declaration of the twelve parties is a document of profound significance and embodies the experience of the entire international working-class movement. Correctly analysing the present-day world situation and reasserting the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, the declaration further carries forward the unity of the socialist countries as well as of their Communist and Workers' parties. It makes a historic contribution to the further strengthening of all Communist and Workers' parties and of their fraternal solidarity. By rightly characterising the present epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism, the twelve parties' declaration lays bare the decline of imperialism and points to the goal of socialism and Communism. The

declaration has thus ushered in a new stage in the unity of the international working-class movement and given it a priceless weapon for forging ahead with still greater strides.

The extraordinary congress of the CPI reasserts its unshakable faith in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Holding steadfastly to the banner of proletarian internationalism and true patriotism, the CPI pledges to prove worthy of the cause of Communism and play its rightful part in serving the people of India and in realising the goal of our present epoch—socialism and Communism.

ON HALTING OF NUCLEAR TESTS

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings and congratulations to the government and people of the Soviet Union on their magnificent initiative in deciding unilaterally to halt further nuclear tests. By this splendid and unique example, the Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its fervent desire for world peace and its readiness at all times to do all in its power to lessen international tension.

The Soviet Union had repeatedly expressed its willingness to enter into an agreement with the other nuclear powers for a halt to all nuclear tests. But the USA and Great Britain rejected these offers and deliberately continued to test their nuclear weapons. The imperialist powers paid no heed to the testimony of the world's most eminent scientists on the grave dangers to human health and life from the continuation of these tests. They spurned the openly expressed will of millions of ordinary people and the statements and resolutions of several governments and parliaments of the world, demanding an agreement to end nuclear tests.

The Soviet Union has now gone forward to announce its own unilateral decision in the matter. This courageous action can open up a new era of lessening tension and growing international cooperation, leading to disarmament and peace, if the peoples of the world can compel the US and British governments to follow the Soviet example and stop nuclear tests without further delay.

India is united in hailing the Soviet decision as a contribution of the utmost significance for world peace.

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon all units of the Party and all members and supporters to join hands with other organisations and individuals in a vigorous campaign, demanding that the USA and Britain respond forthwith to the Soviet initiative, so that the menace of nuclear tests no longer hangs over humanity.

ON ALGERIA

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India salutes the heroic people of Algeria, who are battling for their independence with courage and determination against imperialist terror, unsurpassed in its brutality in the recent history of the struggles of enslaved peoples.

French imperialism has already killed over five lakh Algerian men, women and children, driven out of their motherland another five lakhs, wounded and tortured lakhs more. The charge of genocide can rightly be levelled against the perpetrators of this infamous cruelty on the entire Algerian people.

The Algerian people are fearlessly combatting this savage onslaught, which flouts established international laws of warfare. Led by the lakh-strong liberation army, the struggle for independence continues relentlessly, every day bringing news of fresh acts of people's heroism, writing new stanzas into the saga of Algerian patriotism.

From all over the world now rises the demand for an end to this wicked colonial war, for the immediate recognition of Algerian independence.

In France itself, more and more sections of the population are coming out against their government's Algerian policy, demanding negotiations with the Front of National Liberation, on the basis of recognition of Algeria's freedom.

All honour above all to the Communist Party of France, which has all along stood in support of Algerian independence and against the colonial war of French imperialism, and has courageously faced slander and attack, but never wavered in its ceaseless campaign of solidarity with the Algerian people.

India is united in demanding that Algeria's independence be recognised here and now and that the governments of the world put pressure on France to accede to this demand.

India is united in condemning the Nato powers — and

especially the USA and Britain—for the aid they are giving to France to continue its war against the Algerian people.

The extraordinary congress extends its full support to the campaign launched on the initiative of the Cairo conference, for solidarity with the Algerian people. The congress calls upon all units of the Communist Party and on all its members and supporters to participate whole-heartedly in this campaign by holding meetings and adopting resolutions, by collection of material aid—money, clothes, medicines etc., — for the victims of French atrocities, and by all other possible means.

ON CEYLON INDIANS

THIS extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India views with concern the problems which thousands of Indians who have been, and are, in Ceylon are facing today.

The question of Indian or Ceylonese citizenship had come to the fore after 1947. Some of the Indians in Ceylon were given passports while a vast number of treated as of Indian origin continue as stateless persons. Those who have been given passports have been obliged to leave Ceylon in spite of their long stay and their trade or other occupations there.

The hesitancy and complete lack of understanding of the problem on the part of the Government of India far from helping to solve it only continues its aggravation day after day.

Thousands who have spent years in Ceylon and hailing mostly from the southern districts of Tamilnad and Kerala have returned to India without any employment and without any protection for their rights or trade or other legitimate interests. They have been uprooted from Ceylon and on return to India they face a completely bleak and uncertain future for themselves and their families.

This extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India urges that the Government of India should no longer continue to evade responsibility for those thousands of our fellow citizens.

This congress demands that the Government of India should come forward to rehabilitate them and extend to them all the facilities extended to refugees.

This congress of the Communist Party of India further demands that this great human problem must be solved with understanding and sympathy, without being allowed to deteriorate further causing untold suffering to thousands of Indian families.

This extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India urges that the eviction of Indians from Ceylon as is going on now must be stopped and that the governments of India and Ceylon should arrive at a firm and final settlement of the problems relating to citizenship rights on the one hand and rehabilitation on the other without any undue delay.

ON KERALA

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India extends its hearty congratulations and warm greetings to the Kerala State committee of the Party and to all Party members and sympathisers in Kerala, on their historical achievement in establishing the first Communist-led ministry on Indian soil. This congress of the Communist Party greets the millions of people belonging to all walks of life in Kerala whose sacrifices, struggles, tireless efforts and correct exercise of the franchise have made this victory possible.

This congress welcomes with deep feelings of pride and confidence, the progressive policies and measures executed by the Kerala ministry during its 12 months' existence in order to ameliorate the living conditions of various sections of the people and to extend their democratic rights, despite enormous difficulties and obstacles created by reactionary circles and vested interests. The record of the Kerala ministry has brought new honour to the Party's banner.

This congress calls upon all Party units, all members and sympathisers, throughout the country to mobilise popular opinion ever more firmly and actively in support of the policies and measures of the Kerala ministry and to ensure the defeat of all reactionary attempts to dislodge it from power.

ON EAST BENGAL REFUGEES

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the wanton repressive measures which the government of West Bengal has recently launched against East Bengal refugees to suppress their legitimate demands for rehabilitation, and terrorise them into submission to the discredited, anti-people rehabilitation policy of the government. This action in itself is the greatest condemnation of this policy.

Overwhelming majority of the four million displaced persons from East Bengal has not been at all rehabilitated and the unaccountable agony and suffering of these unfortunate men, women and children continue to grow every day. Their plight cannot but evoke the deepest sympathies of all and their problem is one that is eminently human as well as national.

Yet, these refugees are today subjected to frequent teargassing and lathi-charge, mass arrests and imprisonment at the hands of the government. The leaders and workers of their organisations as well as of the Communist and other left parties who have taken up their just cause, are being indiscriminately arrested. Many of them have already been detained under the Preventive Detention Act. The extraordinary congress condemns this repression and appeals to the whole nation to raise its powerful voice in protest.

Expressing its full sympathy for the just cause of the refugees, the congress calls upon the government to change its present attitude and policy towards the displaced persons from East Bengal and accept their just demands. It demands immediate release of all those who have been arrested in connection with the movement of the refugees. The congress, in particular, expresses its indignation at the use of the Preventive Detention Act. It seems that by so attacking the left parties, the government wants to wreak its vengeance on them for the political and

moral defeat it has recently suffered at the hands of the democratic opposition, following the resignation of the judicial minister.

The extraordinary congress urges upon the government to convene a conference of the representatives of the refugees and the leaders of all political parties to discuss urgent questions of rehabilitation with a view to working out a correct rehabilitation policy which, above all, must be acceptable to the refugees themselves and inspire confidence among them.

ON REFUSAL OF VISAS

THE extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India notes with deep regret and disappointment the refusal of visas by the government of India to the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia and France who wanted to attend this congress as fraternal delegates.

The fraternal delegation from Indonesia included D. N. Aidit, general secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which is not only one of the foremost political parties of that country but is also the staunchest champion of national liberation and friendly cooperation between India and Indonesia.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has been steadfastly fighting against colonialism and for Asian solidarity and is now engaged in defending the Republic of Indonesia and indeed the Bandung spirit against the present American intervention in Indonesia's internal affairs.

The Communist Party of France occupies the position of the first party of that country and is the only party which is mobilising the French people behind the cause of Algerian independence. It is the French Communist Party which had, in the past, consistently fought for the restoration of the former French possessions in India to our Republic.

Even at this very moment, when certain forces in France are trying to delay and prevent *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to the Republic of India, it is again the French Communists who are, in the French national assembly and outside, supporting the just cause of our country and urging for such immediate *de jure* transfer.

At a time when the friendship and cooperation between freedom-loving forces of Indonesia and France on the one hand and India on the other have become so urgent, this denial of visas would seem totally incomprehensible. It can only obstruct the growth of this friendship and cooperation.

The extraordinary congress strongly protests against this ill-advised action of the Government of India.