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**RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

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New Delhi, 14—17 September 1963

**COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION**

15 nP.

## 1. On the Great Petition

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep satisfaction at the unique success of the campaign for the Great Petition to Parliament organised by the Communist Party since June 1963, which was crowned by the Great March to Parliament in New Delhi on September 13.

In the course of the campaign hundreds of meetings and processions were organised all over the country, in town and village, by the Party and innumerable trade unions for explaining the purpose of the Petition and rousing the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes in its support. Chawl to chawl and hut to hut propaganda was done by Party squads; signatures to the Petition were collected at mill-gates and in urban and rural localities. Mass collections were made literally from lakhs of people for meeting the expenses of the marchers who had to reach Delhi from all over the country.

Nothing less than this gigantic and organised effort to educate and activate the common people, explains the collection of over one crore and two lakh signatures to the Petition and the mobilisation of nearly 2 lakhs of people for the Great March on September 13.

The reactionary press, staggered by the size of the procession and rally of September 13, is trying to minimise the numbers that participated in the demonstration. Not a single observer, with all his hostility to the Communist Party, has, however, failed to admit that the demonstration was the biggest ever witnessed in New Delhi since the attainment of national independence. Never has India seen such a Petition or such a March.

Apart from numbers, an equally important feature of the demonstration commented upon by all observers without exception was its discipline, peacefulness, militancy and purposefulness.

The historic success of the Great March, however, does not lie merely in these features.

It lies in the fact that it was composed of workers, peasants and the middle-class intelligentsia, who constitute the bedrock of Indian democracy, national independence and socialism.

It lies in the fact that it embraced people speaking every language in India, people of every caste, creed and religion, hailing from the remotest parts of the country such as Assam, Kashmir and Kerala. It had a very large contingent of women, and that too from all States.

It lies in the fact that it symbolised the unity of the progressive and healthy forces of our country, the forces of genuine unity and national integration.

It lies in the fact that it indicated the path of combining mass actions with Parliamentary methods for securing national advance and welfare of the people.

It lies in the fact that it demonstrated the vitality of the Communist Party and the love and respect of the people for it despite the efforts of reaction to malign and cripple it in the wake of the Chinese attack.

It lies in the fact that the Communist Party of India has proved by its deeds during the days of the national crisis that the ideology of Marxism-Leninism represents the highest form of patriotism, and has enabled it, while standing for national defence, to demarcate its policies sharply from jingoism, communalism and slavish reliance on imperialist aid.

Speaking concretely, the slogans and policies enunciated in the Great Petition, which were a continuation of the policy adopted by the Party since the Emergency created by the Chinese attack, constitute the correct path for a successful execution of the triple urgent tasks—of national defence, strengthening the economy of the country and improving the living standard of the people.

The Great March, while supporting the national policies of non-alignment, planning and defence, called for the abolition of unjust imposts on the people such as the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, unbearable taxation, spiralling prices, the Gold Control Order, etc. and for the nationalisation of banks, oil industry and foreign trade. Only such a course can weaken and curb the hold of foreign and Indian monopoly capital, give relief to the people and strengthen independence, democracy and freedom.

The Communist Party of India does not claim that it is the only force in the country working with these objectives and in this direction. In fact, our Party strained every nerve to secure the cooperation and support of all progressive parties and elements in the country in the organisation of the Petition and the Great March. These efforts did secure a noteworthy response. It is clear as daylight that only the united efforts of all progressives, democrats and freedom-loving elements in the country can lead to the desired end. The Communist Party of India is pledged to continue its efforts in this direction.

The Communist Party of India greets and welcomes the progressive forces within the Congress and other parties that have raised their voice against the CDS, the Gold Control Order, heavy taxes on the common people, rising prices, and for the nationalisation of banks. It welcomes the removal of certain reactionary Cabinet Ministers. It calls for reorganisation of the Cabinet in a progressive direction. It cannot be denied that the campaign for the Great Petition has been a contributory factor in bringing about a reconsideration of the new imposts on the people by the Government.

The campaign for the Great Petition has served as an important factor in reviving mass activity and unleashing mass struggles in various parts of the country.

The slogan of "Bombay Bandh!" was first put forward by the Communist Party in Bombay. The Party greets the trade unions and other forces that made the slogan a success on August 20. The united peaceful protest strike of the industrial

workers and middle-class employees of Bombay on August 20, as also the Great March are harbingers of other peaceful mass actions to follow.

This means that the Party cannot rest on its oars. Mass movements have to be developed in the States so that the CDS and the Gold Control Order are scrapped and the taxes on the poorer sections of the people drastically reduced, and the nationalisation of banks, oil industry and foreign trade are realised.

The continuous steep rise in prices, the failure to link dearness allowance to cost of living index, and the imposition of a faulty and unreal index on the working class has led to a steep fall in the real wages of the workers and middle-class employees. Therefore, it is necessary to launch in the near future a mighty action of the working class and salaried employees to secure dearness allowance linked up to the cost of living index, a rise in the existing DA scales, and securing stable bonus from the employers in order to overcome the fall in real wages and standards of living of the working people. Trade unions of all shades of opinion in the country should be brought on a common platform of action to achieve this.

In the rural areas, the peasant is fleeced by the capitalists through the high prices of manufactured goods. He is deprived of the true gains of his labour by the wholesalers, money-lenders and bankers. On top of this, new land revenue surcharges have been imposed on him, causing acute hardship and widespread discontent.

The Party and the mass organisations have to focus on these questions in the immediate future and work out proper forms of mass action on the basis of worker-peasant unity.

All the State Councils of the Party should immediately report to the Party ranks and sympathisers in the districts on the significance and achievements of the Great Petition and the March.

The campaign for the Great Petition has thrown up a very large number of new militants who have to be immediately absorbed and consolidated within the Party. Hence mass en-

rolment of new Party members and their education has become an urgent task. The achievements of the Great March must be consolidated and made permanent.

The Central Executive Committee offers its greetings and records its appreciation of the immense toil and efforts of all Party members and sympathisers who worked for the success of the Great Petition and the March. The Committee also warmly greets all those who participated in the Great Petition and the March. Let us move forward with confidence and faith! Let success inspire us to greater toil and endeavour, to greater unity and discipline!

## 2. On Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST Party of India congratulates the Governments of over eighty countries who have by now signed the treaty to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water. The Committee expresses the hope that other countries, which have still not done so, will join hands with the vast majority as early as possible and thus make the ban universal.

Despite its obvious limitations and essentially partial character, the test ban accord has rightly been hailed as a small but precious victory for the worldwide forces of peace. The agreement has been reached following years of relentless struggle by the peoples of the world for disarmament and the banishment of war. This initial step must be followed by further action and struggle towards the goal of general and complete disarmament.

The Communist Party of India hails the test ban accord as a major success of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov. The painstaking and persistent efforts for peace made by the Soviet Government and people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have borne their first fruits. The imperialist makers of war and the votaries of the arms race have received the first blow. The

way has opened up for further progress towards peace; confidence in the strength of the forces of peace has grown; the imperialist war-maniacs are on the defensive.

Ever since the discovery of nuclear energy and its use in manufacturing deadly weapons of mass destruction, ever since the fall-out of nuclear tests began to contaminate the air and water and even the food of the people, all socialist countries and all democratic and peace-loving forces demanded a cessation of tests by the nuclear powers.

The newly-liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America demanded the ban on tests, not only because these tests led to the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and strengthened the imperialist warmongers, but also because territories and waters within and near Africa and Asia, such as the Sahara and the Pacific Ocean Islands, were used by the imperialists for their tests, thus endangering the health of the peoples of the region.

The people, the Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while demanding total disarmament and restricting the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, particularly pleaded for banning of nuclear weapons of mass annihilation, the banning of the atom bomb and the tests which endangered people's health by poisonous fall-out.

The imperialists who hatched schemes of war against the socialist countries and fought the national liberation movement refused to heed the many reasonable proposals of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was compelled to develop its defensive strength in the interests of world peace and thus made the atomic monopoly of the imperialists ineffective.

At one stage the Soviet Union, on its own, stopped the tests unilaterally but they had to be unfortunately resumed as this gesture was not reciprocated by the imperialists of the USA, Britain and France.

The development of the intercontinental ballistic missiles and rockets by the Soviet Union, which could deliver their war-heads to any distance in any part of the world, the development of bombs of the highest megaton capacity superior to

that of the USA was a standing warning to the American imperialists that they could not terrorise and blackmail the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the peace and liberation forces throughout the world.

The intervention of the Soviet Union against imperialists in their attack on Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq, the concrete help that the Soviet Union rendered to countries fighting for liberation such as Algeria, demonstrated to the imperialists that their policy of blackmail and violence was not succeeding, that the forces of socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy were becoming stronger every day and superior to the forces of imperialism.

The imperialists were warned in the most decisive way possible that if they unleashed a world war, with atomic weapons, their own countries, their own people and they themselves would be subject to nuclear annihilation. The protests of the people, especially of the working class, in these countries themselves against the alarming increase in the poisoning of the atmosphere and their food and the growing strength of the World Peace Movement helped to compel the imperialists of the USA and Great Britain to pay some heed to the proposals of the Soviet Union to ban the tests—the most urgent demand of the time.

The Caribbean crisis of last year and the determination shown by the Soviet Union to protect Cuba's freedom and socialism with Soviet missiles and its readiness to fight if a war was forced on the Soviet Union, while being ready to negotiate peace, prepared further ground for negotiations to reduce world tension and for disarmament in which the first step would be the banning of the nuclear tests.

The defence of Cuba by the Soviet Union, in alliance with the Government and the people of Cuba, also showed that the Soviet nuclear power is built not only for its own defence but also for the defence of all countries of the socialist camp and of all freedom-loving countries of the world.

This was the background to the chain of developments that led to the signing of the limited test ban treaty in Moscow on

August 5, 1963, by the Governments of the USSR, the USA and Britain.

Though the test ban treaty is limited in the sense that while tests are banned in the atmosphere, under water and in space, it does not cover underground tests, the treaty is a valuable success in that it stops the most direct and extensive poisoning of people's health and gives new confidence to the democratic peace-loving people throughout the world that the imperialists can be curbed in their mad ventures of nuclear annihilation.

Though the treaty does not rule out manufacture of the atomic weapons and their proliferation, yet in its preamble it proclaims as its principal aim 'the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations, which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons, seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end and desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances. . . .'

It is for the forces of peace throughout the world to ensure that this obligation is translated into practice.

It was not unexpected that the most diehard mad-men among the American imperialists, the West German revanchists who are yearning to possess the atom bomb and General de Gaulle have disapproved of the test ban treaty and insist on their 'right' to poison people's health by their own tests of weapons of mass murder.

But the world communist movement and peace-loving peoples were surprised and shocked to find that the Government and the leadership of the Communist Party of China also denounced the treaty and refused to sign it.

Not only they refused to sign it. They denounced the treaty as a 'fraud' and accused the Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for imposing such a 'fraud' on the

world's progressive and peace-loving people. Going further, they have accused the Soviet Union and its Communist Party of having become agents of American imperialism and the enemies of freedom and democracy.

The statement of the Chinese leadership says:

'The indisputable facts prove that the policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the people of the world.'

Any country may or may not sign the treaty, may not agree to banning the tests, but a socialist country like China has no right to hurl such slanderous accusations against the Soviet Union.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is shocked that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government should make such slanderous statements against the Soviet Union, the first country in the world which, having fought imperialism and successfully built socialism, is now building communism and is the acknowledged vanguard and leader of the world communist movement and the socialist camp and is the mighty defender of all the oppressed and underdeveloped countries of the world. Without the fraternal help of the Soviet people, Party and Government, the Chinese Revolution itself would never have achieved its successes.

The Communist Party of India condemns these statements of the Chinese leadership and calls upon all Party members to combat these slanderous falsehoods which are sought to be spread among the Indian people and the Party ranks.

The propagation of such statements by the Chinese Party and their supporters aims at destroying the love which the working masses of all countries feel for the Soviet Union and at undermining its successes in building socialism, its revolutionary role as a defender of the oppressed and underdevelop-

ed nations, its role as the leader of the international working class and vanguard of the world communist movement.

This mudslinging at the Soviet Union objectively plays into the hands of the worst sections of the imperialists.

To slander the Soviet Union as having gone over to American imperialism, to accuse the CPSU of trying to follow a programme of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and to try to split the socialist camp and the world Communist Parties by such crude slanders is nothing but doing the work of the imperialists. Such slander also seeks to isolate the national liberation movements from the socialist camp. It is totally against the interests of the world's working class and grossly violates proletarian internationalism. Such statements and acts that follow from them are total repudiation of the positions of the Moscow Statement of 81 Parties and negation of Marxism-Leninism.

It was not many years ago that the Chinese leaders themselves fully supported the demand for a test ban and also the unilateral stoppage of tests by the Soviet Union, which was hailed as an act of courage in defence of peace and mankind. Their opposition now, when a ban on tests in the atmosphere, under water and on the surface has been agreed upon even by the American imperialists, reveals a strange and perverse attitude. Their open demand that more and more nations should become nuclear powers is in complete contradiction with their earlier position.

The Communist Party of India calls upon the Chinese leadership to give up this road of disaster, of splitting the socialist camp and the world Communist Parties and come back to the path laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, embodying the unanimous agreement of the world communist movement.

The Communist Party of India expresses its sense of satisfaction that the Government of India was among the first to sign the test ban treaty. India has always supported the goal of complete and general disarmament, and has taken several

initiatives in the UNO and elsewhere for the banning of nuclear tests.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to extend its full support to all proposals which would ensure further progress towards disarmament and, in particular, immediate efforts for the banning of the underground tests, for a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Powers, and for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world.

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of the Indian people to join hands in the coming days in the biggest possible united national campaigns demanding that the test ban accord be followed by further positive steps for disarmament and peace.

The struggle for world disarmament is inextricably linked with the Indian people's struggle to defend the sovereignty and integrity of our Motherland, and with the efforts to preserve and strengthen the policy of non-alignment, against the attacks made on it by the imperialists and their right-reactionary allies in the country.

### **3. On West Bengal 'Democratic Convention'**

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST Party of India has heard the report of the West Bengal POC on the so-called 'democratic convention' held in Calcutta on the 1st of September, 1963. The following facts emerge from the report:

A short handbill calling upon the people to participate in a 'democratic convention' was signed by 25 persons, of whom 14 are prominent Party members, one is a Party member who has been suspended for one year for anti-Party activities, one is a former Party member who has been expelled, and two are those who have ceased to be Party members because they

refused to renew their membership. There were only two non-Party individuals among the signatories.

The Party members who signed the handbill and thus acted as the convenors of the convention belonged to different units of the Party spread over the whole State. They called this statewide convention over the head of the POC and the mass organisations.

They publicly announced the purpose, date and venue of the convention without making any representation to the POC or giving it any information.

As soon as the public announcement became known to the POC, the POC Secretary issued a statement, published in the Party organ, asking the convenors to desist from holding the convention. The majority of the convenors ignored the statement and defied the POC directives. Only a few signatories withdrew their names.

The objective of the convention, as announced in a handbill, was 'to discuss the duty of the masses in the existing situation', in relation to the problems of high taxes, high prices, food crisis and Emergency.

This convention was called at a time when the POC was organising the Great Petition and the Great March to Delhi, precisely on those mass issues which the convention was supposed to discuss. The sponsors who were predominantly or almost exclusively Party members made no reference to the Great Petition and the Great March either in their handbill or during the deliberations of the convention. Most of them, as the POC report states, kept themselves aloof from the Great Petition campaign.

The convention was also held at a time when the POC was having talks with certain Left Parties for devising ways and means to develop a united mass struggle against high taxes and rising food prices, preparatory to a one-day general strike in West Bengal. The talks had not yet concluded.

The convention elected a preparatory committee to guide 'the movement for the release of political prisoners and the demands of the masses.' It decided to organise conventions and

rallies in the districts under the leadership of this 'preparatory committee'.

From the above facts, the Central Executive Committee cannot but come to the conclusion that the calling of this democratic convention was an attempt at setting up a parallel centre of the mass movement, which would inevitably cause disruption in the Party and the existing mass organisations in the state. The convention was obviously not in the nature of an assemblage which was to execute a particular task of the mass movement. The fact that a committee was elected to function as a permanent organ, to lead the mass movement independently of the existing mass organisations, shows that a rival centre was sought to be brought into existence. The convention cannot possibly be treated as an honest attempt to build a broad united front when the key mass organisations were kept out of it.

Furthermore, Party members who sponsored this move have clearly violated the most elementary norms of Party functioning in relation to mass movements. Party members initiating any broad mass organisation must consult Party Committees and comrades working in other mass organisations which are affected thereby. Failure to do so amounts to a flagrant breach of Party discipline.

Finally, the sponsors of the convention, far from furthering the movement for the Great Petition and the Great March, which was an all-India and all-Bengal mobilisation of the masses, made an attempt to sidetrack it. The fact that a convention held by Party members made no reference to the movement of the Great Petition and the Great March in its deliberations at a moment when this was the key mass task for the entire Party, cannot be ignored or treated lightly by the Central Executive Committee.

In view of all this, the Central Executive Committee directs all Party members to dissociate themselves forthwith from the preparatory committee set up by the convention and all its activities. It further directs the Bengal POC that, notwithstanding any steps that it may take in this connection, it should



forward to the CEC any explanation that any of the sponsors of the convention may like to submit to the Central Executive Committee for its consideration.

#### **4. On Release of Communist Detenus**

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST Party of India notes that, while all communist detenus have been released in the states of Andhra, Kerala, Madras, Karnatak, Orissa, Rajasthan and Delhi, hundreds still continue to languish behind the bars in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, the UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura, Manipur and Himachal Pradesh.

The Central Government has not laid down a firm policy on this question to be followed by the states. The State Governments, on the other hand, are allowed by the Centre to act arbitrarily and do whatever they like on such a vital issue which involves the personal freedom and fundamental rights of hundreds of Indian citizens.

An extremely reprehensible aspect of the situation is that several detenus who have been ordered to be released by the High Courts have been immediately rearrested on the spot, or outside the Courts, or have been served orders of rearrest even inside the jail under the Preventive Detention Act. This is a flagrant violation of the rule of law and a blow to democracy.

Eminent jurists of the country have stated unequivocally that the Defence of India Act under which these Communists are being detained is against the provisions of the Constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights. Even the Supreme Court has recently held that the Act is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution on fundamental rights.

Despite this, however, the Supreme Court has expressed its inability to grant any remedy because of suspension by Presidential Order of the right of the detenus to go to the Court for enforcing their fundamental rights. The Presidential Order has thus made a mockery of the Constitution.

It is patent that the continued detention of these Communists, for which there was no justification at any time, is a standing violation of the Constitution.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate repeal of these provisions and the release of all those detained under this unconstitutional law.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all those who believe in the sanctity of the fundamental right of personal liberty, to all those who cherish democratic ideals and stand by the rule of law, to raise their powerful voice against this flagrant violation of our Constitution and democratic principles on which it is based. The issues involved are of a fundamental and basic nature. As such no political or party considerations should stand in the way of raising a united demand for the repeal of such lawless laws.

The Central Executive Committee directs all Party members and units to launch immediately a sustained and vigorous mass campaign and mobilise all sections of the people for undoing this great wrong and securing the release of all detenus.

#### **5. On Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad**

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST Party of India has learnt with grave concern about the serious illness of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad in jail as a result of which he is reported to have been transferred to the hospital.

Already in the seventy-fifth year of his life, the illness of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad has naturally caused anxiety among wide sections of the people and many Members of Parliament have written to the Union Home Minister asking for his immediate release.

The Central Executive Committee urges on the Government to pass orders for his immediate release.