

# RED IS OUR FLAG!

As the Red Flag is solemnly hoisted to announce the commencement of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, the millions of toiling people who support the Party will remember with pride and gratitude the sacrifices of the martyrs who gave their lives to see the Party grow into a strong, militant force in the service of the people.

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

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

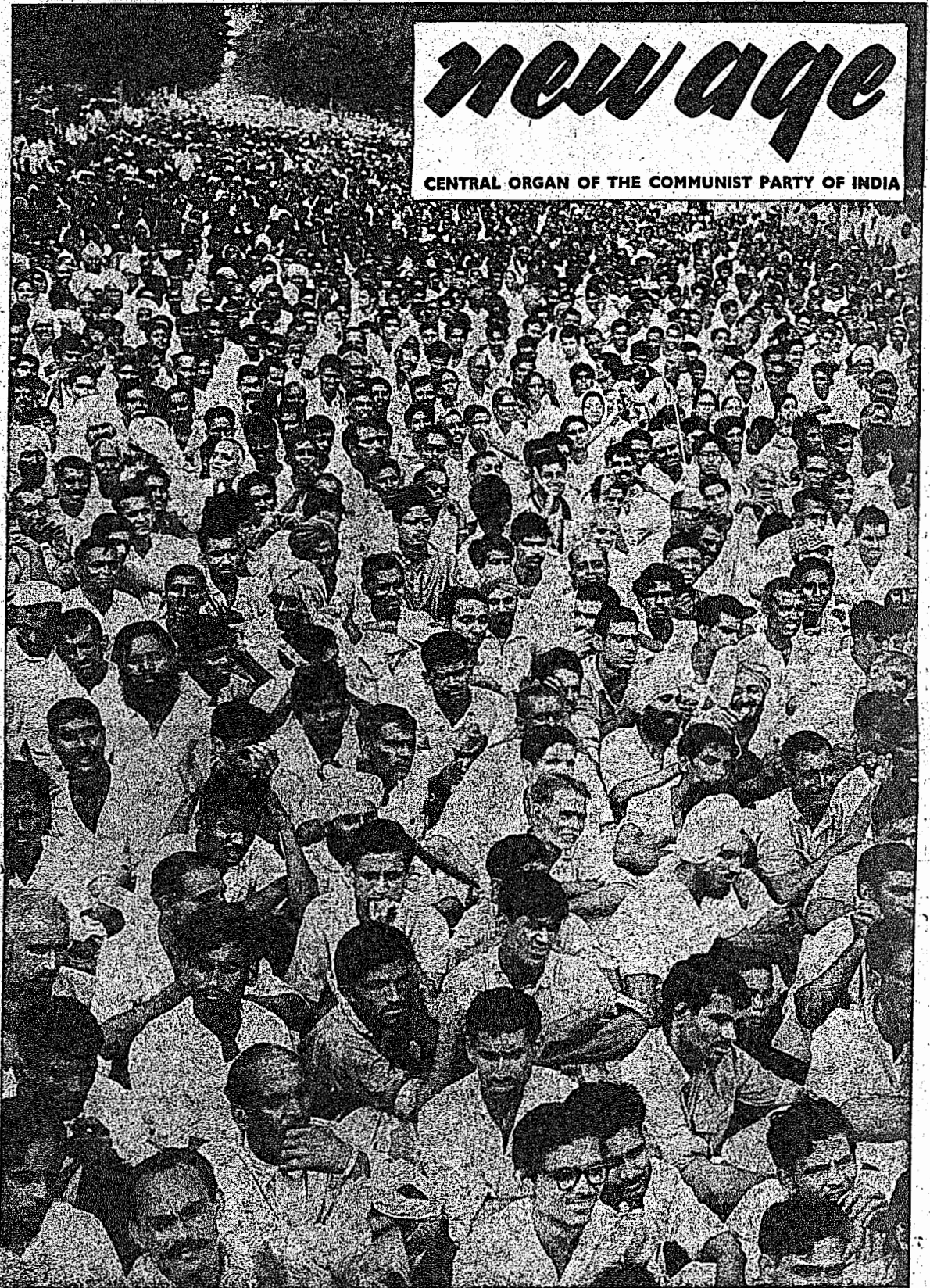
Here at this Seventh Congress will be the veterans of a thousand struggles—of great strike actions of the working class, of kisan marches and satyagrahas, of vast movements on the most burning issues, of demonstrations and mass actions against imperialism and for peace.

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

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

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

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



Great March, September 13, 1963

# COMMUNIST PARTY SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD! OF INDIA



Ajoy Ghosh signing the Moscow Statement

# BUILDING A

a comradesly and fraternal atmosphere in all units of the Party.

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

Our movement has grown. Our responsibilities have grown. But our leadership, especially the central leadership and the leadership in the majority of states, has not grown correspondingly in maturity, capacity and effectiveness.

Our methods of work—absence of specialised study, of individual responsibility, on the basis of collective decisions and regular check-up—have intensified this weakness while neglect of the key task of Party education has meant acute paucity of cadres.

## LACK OF CLARITY

Further, there is lack of ideological clarity on many issues, lack of common understanding on many problems, lack of that unity of will and action which distinguishes a Communist Party and constitutes the main basis of its strength.

Besides this, there are other serious weaknesses as well. Our effective strength, except in the states of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal, is still small. The weakness of the Party is especially marked in the Hindi-speaking areas where live nearly 40 per cent of our people.

No ground, therefore, exists for complacency. We are stronger than ever before. But our strength even today is meagre in relation to the tasks that the Party has to carry out.

The most important task for the overcoming of these weaknesses is the creation of an effective all-India Party Centre which will act as the national-political Centre of the Party.

By electing the National Council and forming the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat and by laying down precise rules for their functioning, Amritsar has taken a major step in the direction of building such a Centre.

The building of a mass Communist Party is no easy task. It will entail hard and persistent work. It will demand the overcoming of the divergence between words and deeds, between decisions and their implementation, between Communist principles and day-

to take the initiative and set an example.

We are undoubtedly the most disciplined Party in the country. This is admitted by everyone—especially our opponents. But we cannot rest content with that. We are, as every Party member knows, far from being as disciplined as a Communist Party should be.

For discharging our tasks, we have to become, in our own consciousness, what we have already become in the consciousness of vast sections of our people. Many of the shortcomings in our work are

## By AJOY GHOSH

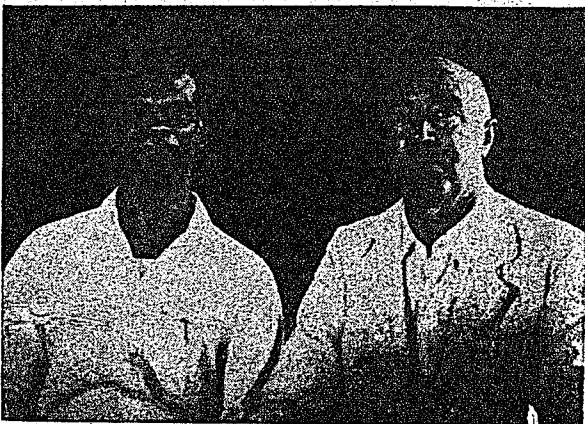
to day practice. Above all, it will demand the ideological remoulding of the Party and its being inspired by consciousness of its historic mission.

All this must inevitably be a long and continuous process. But a beginning has to be made here and now. And that beginning must take the form of combatting of individualism and establishment of discipline in the Party.

This has to start from the top—from the central and state leaderships of the Party. In this, as in every other matter, it is they who have

tremendous responsibilities rest on the shoulders of our Party. With fissiparous and disruptive tendencies growing in the country, alongside with mass radicalisation, it is to our Party that people are increasingly looking for the maintenance and strengthening of the unity of the democratic movement and of the country.

With the growing difficulties of the Plan, the mount-



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



NEW AGE

# MASS PARTY

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

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

Above all, with the crisis of the present Congress leadership deepening, the need for a new alternative national leadership which will unite all that is best in our country and of which our Party will be an important consti-

tuent is becoming a historic necessity.

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

"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 bulwark 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."

The above are extracts from an article which Ajoy Ghosh wrote on the decisions of the Amritsar Congress in the NEW AGE weekly of May 18, 1958

## AJOY GHOSH:

### 'How I Joined The Party'

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

For a few months I was in touch with Roy—I knew nothing about the difference between Royism and Communism and looked upon Roy as a Communist—but afterwards broke with him as the real character of Royism became evident to me.

In 1931 I was arrested again on trumped up charges and during the year and a half in prison I devoted myself to studies,

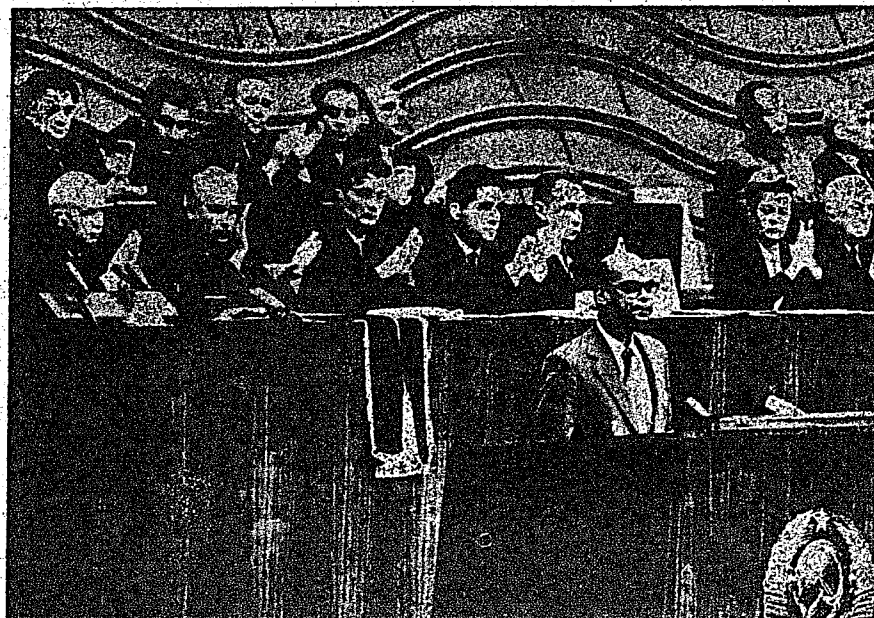
By a strange coincidence Sardesai who had come to Cawnpore was arrested and kept in the same barrack with me for some weeks. Discussions with him finally clarified my ideas and I came out of jail a confirmed Communist in 1933.

Twelve years have passed since then, twelve years which have seen might changes in our land and in the world as a whole.

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

peasantry, a political force. Repression has failed to smother its growth.

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



Ajoy Ghosh at the XXII Congress of the CPSU



Ajoy Ghosh at the Vijayawada Congress of CPI



Ajoy Ghosh at the Palghat Congress of CPI

## UNITY OF LEFT FORCES

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

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD!

broad democratic unity. Our Party, therefore, will intensify efforts to forge such unity.

The period ahead is not only one of partial struggles but of sharpening conflict over policies. The crisis of the Plan and the crisis in the Congress are both manifestations of a deeper crisis—the crisis of bourgeois policies which we analysed in our Palghat resolution. As the crisis matures, sharp and swift changes in the situation may take place.

Reaction in its effort to solve the crisis at the cost of people and in its own way, may resort to desperate measures—scrapping of the progressive features of the Plan, attempt to suppress democracy, attempt to reverse foreign policy with a view to secure imperialist aid.

It would be sheer illusion, therefore, to think that peaceful path means a path of smooth advance, free from crises, free from conflicts, free from determined battle to defend democracy.

and means to overcome them speedily. Certain decisions in this connection have been taken by the Special Congress, decisions embodied in the Resolution on Organisation which was printed in last week's NEW AGE (May 11, 1958).

It is the duty and responsibility of all units of the Party, but above all, of the central leadership of the Party, the National Council, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat to ensure that these decisions are loyally implemented.

Essential for this is the strengthening of the unity of the Party—ideological unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the specific conditions of our country, political unity on the basis of the Resolution adopted in the Congress and its further development, organisational unity on the basis of the new Constitution of the Party and establishment of



# KERALA STATE CPI CONFERENCE

From S. SHARMA

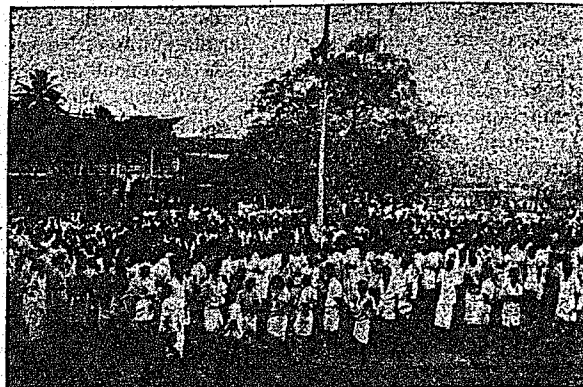
TRICHUR: The Kerala state conference of the Communist Party of India which began here on December 2, concluded on Sunday with a mighty demonstration signifying the strength and influence of the Party among the toiling masses of Kerala and a mammoth rally attended by two lakh people.

THE big demonstration, drew many appreciative comments from the press and of Trichur in many years, political observers and, as has

been described by them, was a demonstration of the strength and striking power of the Party which it has retained in spite of the splitters' disruption.

In the words of MATH-RUBHOOMI daily, the demonstration established the claim of the Party that as far as Kerala is concerned the 'leftists' has not caused any significant erosion of its strength and it was the biggest that the town had witnessed after the "liberation struggle".

Trichur city and suburbs were profusely decorated with red flags, festoons and arches; over 20,000 men and women marched in the procession with thousands of red flags, led by uniformed volunteers.



Flag Saluting at Kerala Conference of CPI

One thousand red volunteers from Trichur had brought in four main processions from four corners of the district, strengthened by rivulets of people from neighbouring districts.

Over 70 buses and cars decorated with red flags and banners came from districts, from Cannanore to Quilon, carrying more people to the rally.

It was a spectacular mobilisation which marked the end of the pre-Congress conferences of the Communist

Party in 1000 centres of nine districts in Kerala. Among those who addressed the rally were Hiren Mukherjee and M. Kalyanasundaram.

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

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# WEST BENGAL CPI CONFERENCE ENDS

From AJAY DASGUPTA

came from as far as the colliery areas of Raniganje, steel cities of Burnpur and Durgapore. And peasants came from Bankura, Birbhum.

From Kshepur in Midnapore came a big procession of peasants and Adibasi people with their big drums beating, all the way on foot, rousing the people en-route. From the railway towns of Kharagpore and Kanchrapara came big contingents. The combined procession from Howrah railway station was perhaps the most colourful.

Representative batches came from far away north Bengal's peasant belts and tea gardens. A large number of processions came from all over Calcutta where also the workers and city poor formed the core. There were the workers of Jay Engineering Works who fought the heroic strike battle of 5 1/2 months only a few months back.

Somnath Lahiri, leader of the Communist group in the West Bengal Assembly presided over the rally. Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the West Bengal state council of the Party placed the resolutions and decisions adopted by the delegates session of the conference.

He pointed out how the Programme which the Party is going to adopt would place before the people the perspective of their struggle to end the raj of monopolists, blackmarketeers, boarders

and adulterators, backed by reaction, domestic and foreign, in the wide context of changed world situation when national liberation forces were marching forward and when socialist camp was daily exercising more decisive influence in the development of world events.

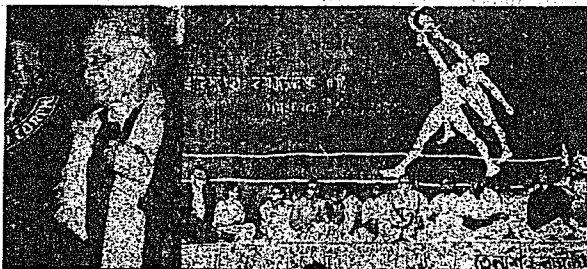
Sen said that the Programme laid before the people of India a way forward to replace the present government by a government of the National Democratic Front and the present state by a state of National Democracy, which will curb foreign capital, nationalise banks and wholesale trade in foodgrains, eliminate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

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, was

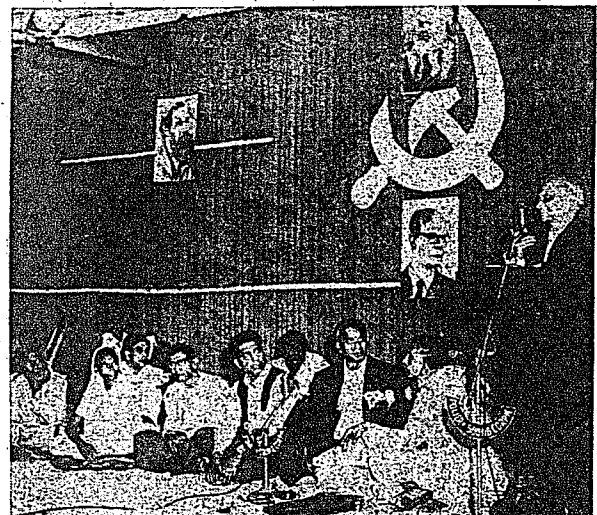
given a big hand by the audience when he rose to speak, and when he called for unity and struggle of all democratic forces against the agents of monopolists and unscrupulous capitalists for immediate relief to the people and eventually to "Bharat Bandh" of workers joined by peasants' action of no rent,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

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

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S. A. Dange addresses rally at Calcutta Maidan (below)



A view of the Presidium of West Bengal Conference of CPI

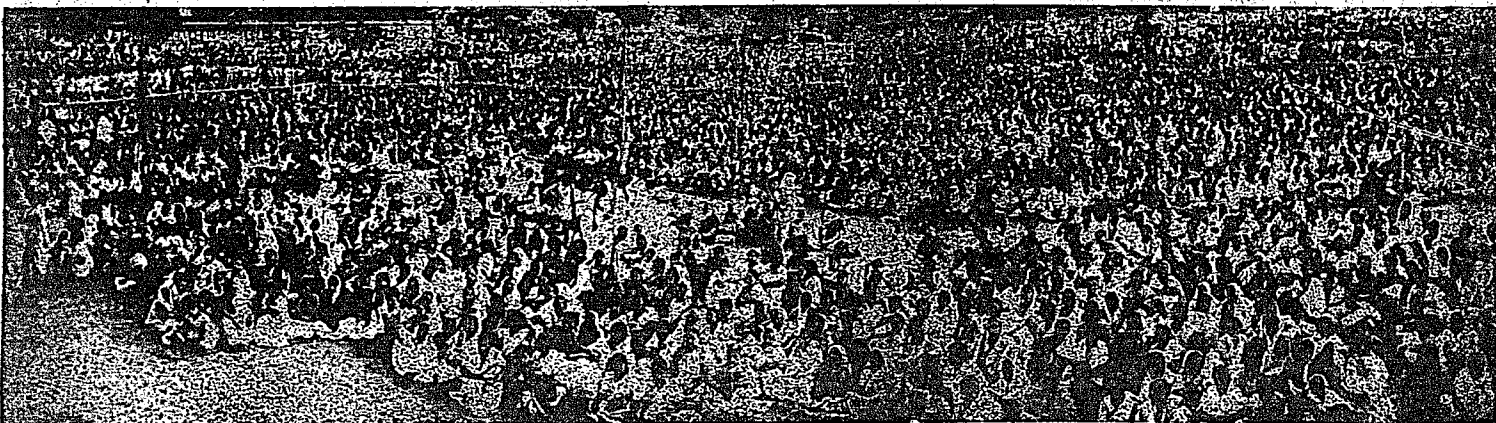
CALCUTTA: Confounding the pundits of a section of the monopoly press who gave the verdict that the Communist Party has no base in West Bengal and all mass following of the Party had gone with the 'left', and the splitters, who claimed that they have finished off the Party in West Bengal, nearly a lakh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

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

From Barrackpore sub-division, from Dum-Dum to Naihati came processions of workers under the banner of respective branch or local committees of the Party.

With them joined the refugee population from Ashokenagar, Belgharia and others and peasants from Haroa, Sandesh Khali, Hasanabad, Basirhat and the immortal Kawkwrip.

Altogether 24 Parganas poured in nearly 10,000 organised workers, peasants, middle-class, with a large number of women who came in a colourful procession from Sealdah railway station.



# SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD! OF INDIA



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

# Bombay Gets Ready For CPI VII Congress

From OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

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

ONE hundred and fifty volunteers in smart khaki uniforms and red scarves are on fulltime duty in the work for the Party Congress. Another three hundred volunteers are working part-time.

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

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

Other gates will be named after celebrated figures in the country's working class movement who died at their posts: Karnal Singh, V. D. Chitale, R. K. Bhogale, P. Jeevanandam, Sudesh Pande, P. Krishna Pillai, Rahul Sankrityayan, Suryakant Wagle.

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

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

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

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

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

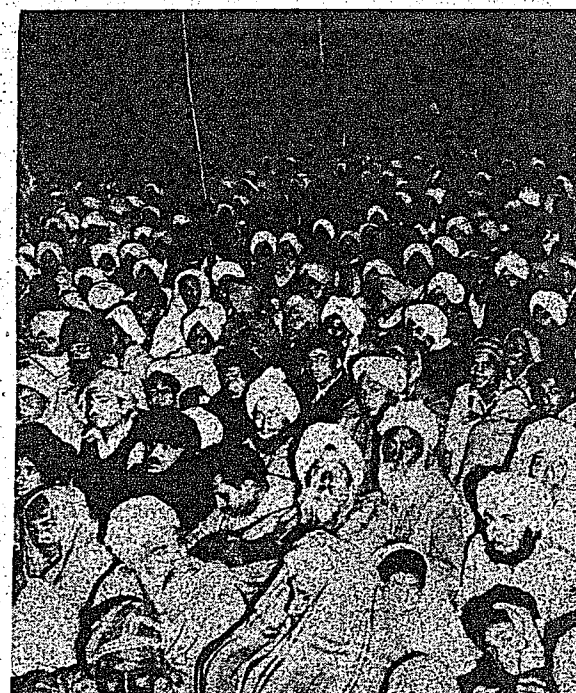
The public rally, planned for Sunday December 20, is expected to be the biggest ever demonstration of Bombay's and Maharashtra's love and support for the Communist Party.

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

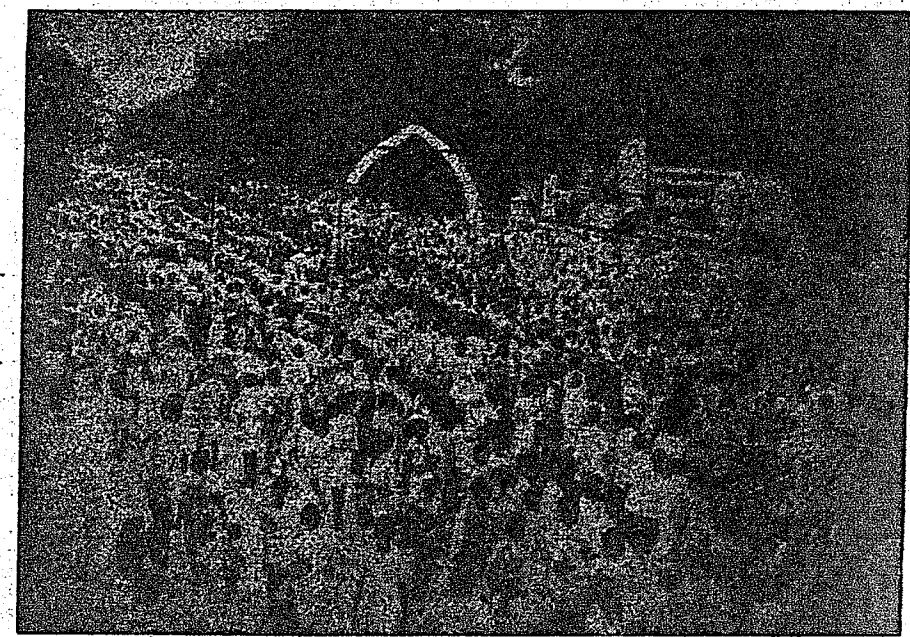
About 600 delegates are expected to attend the Party Congress. They have been elected on the basis of one delegate for 200 members, based on the 1962 membership.

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

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Mass Rallies at Amritsar Congress and Madurai Congress (below) of CPI





Women demonstrate before Parliament for Food, September 7, 1964

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

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

Perhaps, this new landmark is not discernible by the usual data; its unique features can only be gauged in the measure of impact it had in the life of the people. The struggles have been closely identified with the people and fought not in isolation but in unity. The three years have seen a large amount of unity in the ranks of the toilers that transcended the trade union affiliations and the Party banners.

We, Communists, pride ourselves because there has not been one significant struggle during this period in which the Communists had not played an important role; in fact, most of the struggles were carried on, fought to victory or partial success, under our guidance and leadership.

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

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

It is impossible to enumerate all the details of these struggles within the limited scope here; nevertheless some of these can be highlighted.

The three years since Vijayawada were significant with developments that brought about a new dimension and a new think-

ing in the political atmosphere of the country.

At the end of 1961, the tempo around the third general elections grew and naturally the toiling people threw themselves into the battle for electing their representatives.

It is not that there have been



Signing the Great Petition, August-September 1963

## Vijayawada to Bombay BIGGEST MASS

no significant struggles during this period.

In October 1962 came the Chinese aggression on our borders and the country rose as one man for the defence of its independence and integrity. The toiling people suspended themselves to the task of defence and development of the motherland.

This phase continued till late 1963 when, apart from the cessation of hostility, the proposal of Colombo powers for settlement of the border dispute which resulted in a comparative relaxation of tension, a new element entered into the picture.

The toiling people, particularly the working-class realised to their bitterness that the contribution and the sacrifices they made towards the defence and development of the country were not reciprocated by the employers.

### Capitalists' Treachery

The employers sought to fatten their profits out of the extra work done by the workers; the government stood as a helpless spectator and could not enforce the rigorous codes on the employers which the workers had voluntarily accepted.

On top of it, it appeared that the brunt of burden for the defence and development of the country was to be borne by the toiling classes of the country while those who could pay more were being allowed to go unscathed.

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

But this time the form of struggle was different and unique. This was the struggle phase now historically recorded as the Great March and Great Petition. And this new form of struggle provided a very broad platform to the toiling people in consolidating their unity and movement.

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

There followed a period of Great Bands, countrywide hungerstrikes, demonstrations and satyagrahas. And now, the Party is considering the question of Bharat Bandh in cooperation with other parties and trade unions of different affiliations.

The struggle of the working-class against the highhandedness of the employers after the Vijayawada Congress of

At the same time the Party took up the issue of Dowry Prohibition Bill and our members in Parliament and the women's movement in the country fought successfully to have the bill adopted by the House.

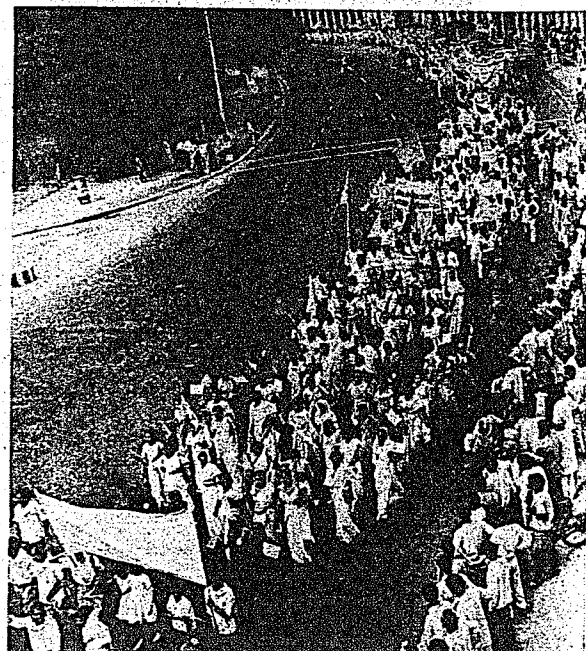
In the months of June and July 1961 came the struggle of the Amaravathi peasants, followed closely by the kisan agitation in Tamilnad. In September the

## by SADHAN MUKHERJEE

our Party began significantly on May 1, 1961.

The management of the Swadeshi Mills in Kanpur imposed a lockout that day as a reply to the workers' demand for normal shift hours which were being staggered by the management.

At the same time an agitation of the textile workers was unleashed throughout the country against the bill enforcing recommendations of the wage board which sought to impose a virtual ban on the workers depriving them of the right of collective bargaining.



Great March, September 1963

West Bengal teachers took to the path of agitation for better working condition.

In the same month, the All-India Trade Union Congress called upon the workers to organise their ranks and strive to secure better wages and amenities.

The last three months of the year were replete with struggles of the workers throughout the country, the struggle for the defence of civil liberties in Punjab, the agitation of the Kerala peasants for tenancy rights, which went on for 43 days.

When the results of the third general elections were out, it was once again established beyond all doubt that the Communist Party was the second biggest and influential Party in the political arena of the country.

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

In the third general elections, the toiling masses elected a large number of Communists who were well-known in the mass movement. Their election indicated the confidence the Party candidates had earned of the toiling people. They expressed the bitterness against the Congress misrule by defeating the Congress candidates.

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

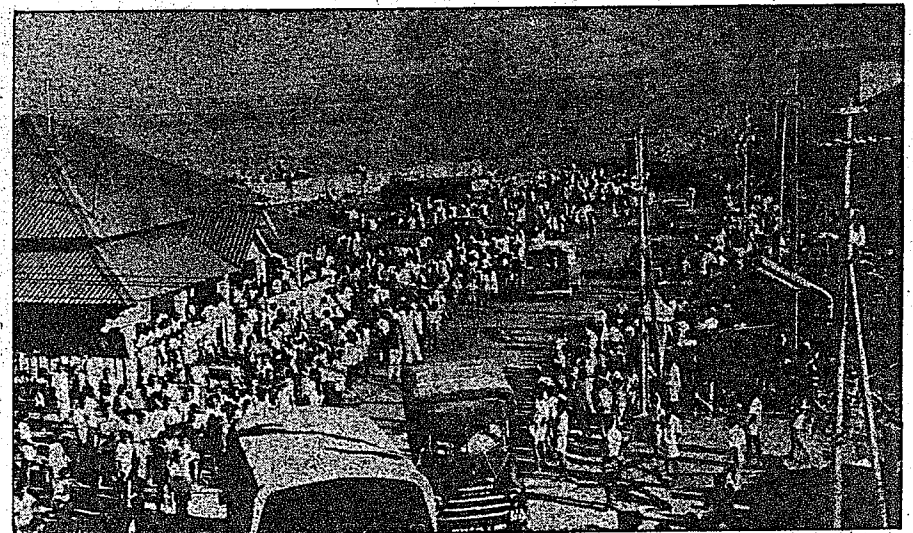
tionary manoeuvres and for the defence of the rights and privileges of the common people which culminated in the Great March of September 13, 1963.

Immediately after the Great March and Great Petition, came the national campaign of the toilers, consolidating the gains of the Great Petition.

The three-phased programme of national campaign embraced widest sections of toiling people irrespective of their trade union affiliations and brought about new change in the character of the working-class movement.

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

Another significant and well-responded campaign of the Party, which is still being carried on is the campaign for nationalisation of banks, export-import trade, state-trading in



Marmagao Dock Workers' Strike, 1962

## ACTIONS

bonus and other benefits steadily increased.

foodgrains etc. This campaign has been supported by the widest sections of the people.

Some of the important struggles fought during 1962 were those of the workers of the Heavy Electricals Ltd. Bhopal, the struggle of the newspaper employees, bank employees, dock workers of

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

by the end of January, to begin in Bombay, then the workers would resort to direct action. In the following months, this brought about substantial results and indices were corrected in a number of states.

In Andhra Pradesh, at the same time, began the preparations for a massive protest against the additional land levy which the Congress government sought to impose on the peasants. This agitation which took the form of satyagraha has been the biggest mass campaign in the state and people from every walk of life and belonging to various political parties participated in it. It continued for several months.

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

The banks and insurance employees observed January 31 as their demands day.

### NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

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

The agitation of the toiling masses which was sweeping the country throughout its length and breadth received a set back when the hydra of communal frenzy was whipped up and a massive massacre followed in several parts of the country resultant of the communal killings in East Pakistan.

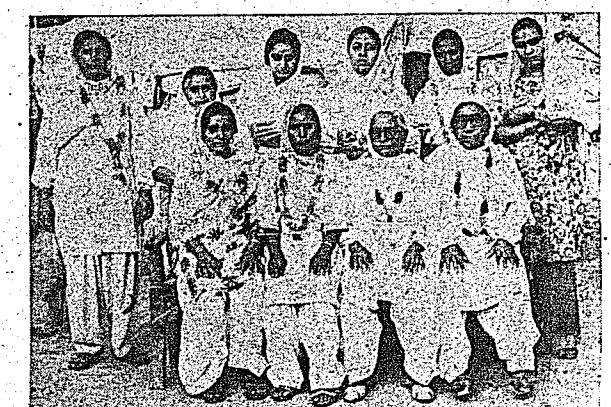
A most important part of the national campaign during this period was the participation of women workers in the movement in large numbers in various places in the country.

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

The workers of Pimpri penicillin factory, a public sector undertaking, were compelled to go on strike on June 12 to press for their demand of interim relief.

The textile workers of Ahmedabad in June voted en bloc for a general strike for their demand of rise in wages, adequate bonus and cent per cent dearness allowance. This decision was carried out successfully.

The Party took up the question of a wage board. This was the first industrywise action in West Bengal in recent times. The HEL troubles flared up again and there were lockout and strikes in the plant.



Women Trade Unionists on Hunger Strike at Amritsar, March 1964



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



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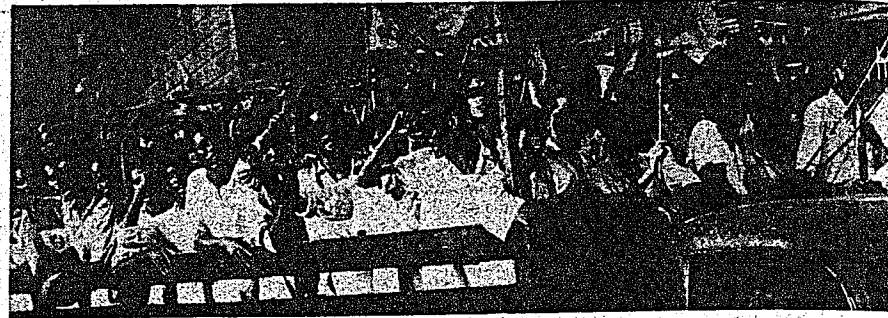
## COMMUNIST PARTY SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD!

NEW AGE

The Party effectively carried on the struggle against the reac-



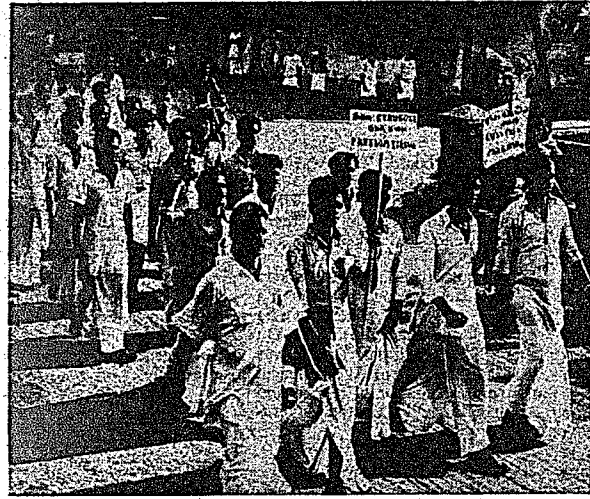
Weaving the Flag from the Blood of Martyrs



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



Artist's Impression of Heroic Struggle of Telengana Peasants



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



RIN Strike, February 1946

# THIS IS THE PARTY

ON a sunny afternoon in September 1963 the streets of New Delhi echoed to the lusty slogans raised by a hundred thousand volunteers: it was the Great March organised by the Communist Party of India to protest against the crushing taxes, the soaring prices, the falling standards of life.

Few can forget that unforgettable afternoon when row upon row of humanity, drawn from all parts of the great subcontinent, marched through the streets of Delhi to Parliament House. Among them were Sikh kisans from Punjab, factory workers from Bombay, office employees of Delhi, women volunteers from Andhra and Tamilnad.

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

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

The Ghadar heroes who collected arms and money and came all the way from the Americas to their homeland, with the solemn determination to free their country and be known as citizens of a Free India. Kama Gata Maru, the ship that carried them to the shores of India, only to be swallowed by the open mouths of the British gales. Bhagat Singh who walked to the gallows with the slo-

gan "Inquilab Zindabad" on his lips, whose very name blew across the country like a thunderstorm driving hundreds of thousands of young boys and girls into the battlefield.

Chandrashekhar Azad, who fell in the battlefield. And many more of his comrades-in-arms.

The great satyagrahas... Champaran... Bardoli... Salt Satyagraha.

The long hunger marches of peasants.

The glorious strike actions... The general strike of Bombay textile workers.

The famous conspiracy cases... Kanpur... Lahore... Meerut.

Kayyoor... The name still rings bells in the hearts of kisans in the remotest corners of the country. They may not know where Kayyoor is, but the name is symbolic to them for four of their brothers who smilingly climbed the gallows to assert the right of the kisan to live.

Comes 1942, Quit India... The mass upsurge following the arrest of the national leaders... The slogan which brought millions into action against the British imperialists.

Many more names still linger in mind... the Chittagong Armoury Raid... The wisp of a college girl in Calcutta who shot at the colonial ruler.

Delhi Chalo!... The battle cry raised by the INA... which was later taken up by lakhs more in India.

The great movement which swept the country for the release of the INA prisoners... The INA battle cry taken up in Calcutta... 36 killed in police firing.

Final stages of the freedom struggle... A continuous upsurge of masses... The last pillars of the forts of imperialism crumbling... The RIN strike... Castle

Barracks in Bombay... the strike spreads to all parts of the country... Madras... Karachi... Calcutta... Indian regiments refuse to fire on their fellow countrymen.

The battle is taken up in distant Kashmir... Quit Kashmir... the brave peasants of Kashmir fight with bare arms against the guns of imperialists.

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

Punnappra-Vayalar... All of the armed might of the autocratic ruler of Travancore are held at bay by the workers of two taluqs... Another chapter in the glorious traditions of the Indian working class.

The great Tebhaga movement of the Bengal kisans... police mow down the Santal kisans who asserted their right to two-thirds of the crop which they raise.

At long last, freedom comes at midnight August 14-15! Workers and peasants acclaim their victory with open hearts. But the struggles for a better life have not ended.

Telengana... The immortal saga of the Andhra peasants who established their ownership on land which rightly belongs to them... Police rushes to the help of the zamindars... firings... repression... manhunt.

The struggle of the Warli kisans in Maharashtra for their right to cultivate the land... More repression... Police zoolium let loose in all parts of the country... Workers and peasants take up the challenge... Hundreds of martyrs, affirm with blood their loyalty to the working class movement and its Party, the Communist Party of India.

The first general elections... Communist Party emerges as the second biggest political party in the country.



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

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

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

The second general elections... Kerala people elect a Communist-led government... its dismissal by the union government and the all-India protest which followed.

A spate of working class actions... The Jamshepur strike... Port and dock workers' all-India action... Railway workers' strike... Kalka firing.

Innumerable kisan struggles... Punjab anti-betterment-levy agitation... the movement in defence of

Kerala Agrarian Relations Act.

Many more struggles of the workers, peasants, toiling masses for better living and working conditions.

This is the history of the Communist Party. It is the Party of martyrs; the Party which grew into the mighty movement; it is today through the sacrifices of innumerable martyrs; the Party which grew drawing into it the best sons and daughters of India, imbuing the glorious traditions of India's freedom struggle, inheriting all that was best in the national movement.

Let us pledge anew that the sacrifices of the martyrs will not be in vain; we will carry forward the Flag which they held aloft proudly till they fell on the way.

—Pauly V. Parakal



Andhra Kisan Satyagraha Against Additional Land Levy, February 1964



Delhi Protest Against Dismissal of Communist Ministry in Kerala, August 1959



# CPI Congress Evokes Interest Abroad

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

MOSCOW: The attention of political observers and representatives of fraternal parties here is turning to the VII Congress of the Communist Party of India which meets in Bombay next week.

In view of the key position that India occupies in the international arena, the period of deliberation and debate, decisive conferences and decisions which the world Communist movement has entered lately, the Congress of the CPI has acquired added international significance for the entire movement.

Delegations from numerous fraternal Parties are going to attend the Congress and the CPSU is sending a high power delegation led by Boris Ponomarev, secretary of the Central Committee and a leading theoretician who plays an important role in the international relations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the over-

whelming majority of the Communist Parties still consistently hold the view that the time has come for a world conference of Communist and Workers Parties, preparations for such a meeting must continue and it cannot be indefinitely delayed.

The CPSU position still is that to abandon the world conference will be certainly wrong in today's situation. But there is no insistence here on any rigid timetable for the preparation and for this purpose the wishes of the participants to the preparatory work will be taken into account.

The recent visit of the Czechoslovak state and Party delegation led by President Novotny to Moscow demonstrated full unanimity

of views between the two Parties and governments. The speeches made on December 3 at the meeting of friendship at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses had important bearing not only on the international situation but also for the world Communist movement.

Novotny said that he regarded as "absolutely correct the opinion of the majority of fraternal Parties that at a meeting of Communist and Workers Parties a joint discussion should take place of the changes that have occurred since the last meeting in 1960, new phenomena should be generalised and a programme platform worked out by which separate Communist and Workers Parties would be guided within the framework of the international Communist movement."

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

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia highly valued and fully supported the efforts of the CPSU at strengthening the unity of the socialist community and the international Communist movement, at overcoming the present differences, the President of Czechoslovakia emphasized.

Brezhnev in his speech declared that the militant solidarity of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the friendship of the two peoples "offer a fine example of fidelity to the great ideas of proletarian internationalism." The slogan of the Czechoslovak people was "For ever with the Soviet Union."

Referring to the unity of the socialist countries Brezhnev said: "It stands to reason that at times complicated problems arise in the relations between the lands of socialism which are not easy to solve. There are people who failing to see the historic prospects, make haste to draw false conclusions from this. Lately bourgeois propagandists, playing up the dif-

iculties of our growth, are striving to refute the ideas of Marx and Lenin on the friendship and fraternity between nations, of their rapprochement under socialism."

The formation and development of an alliance of free nations was a great and lengthy process, the CPSU first secretary said. It was complicated by the very fact that altogether new, unknown-to-history traits of inter-state relations were being blazed, and no small number of diverse survivals of the past remained in the consciousness of the people as a legacy of the overthrown exploiting system and had to be overcome. A great deal of effort, patience and discretion was required in order to gradually and consistently build up new relations between peoples who had taken the road to socialism.

Referring to relations with Czechoslovakia Brezhnev said: "Our friendship has stood the test of time". The two countries help each other in economic development to their mutual advantage. This growing cooperation in all fields leads to a rapprochement between peoples of socialist countries; it a historic necessity and would irresistibly make its headway.

## ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

And President Novotny referring to the same subject emphasised: "We view the rapprochement between our and Soviet economy as something more than an extension of cooperation; we regard it first of all as a transition to qualitatively more progressive forms of cooperation based on the international division of labour, the coordination of economic development plans, the specialisation of production, the coordination of scientific and technical activities etc."

This economic integration was an indispensable process of concentration of forces in overtaking and surpassing capitalism; it strengthened the common forces of socialist countries.

Not a single country had accomplished so much progress in such a short period of time as the Soviet Union, Novotny said. "We believe in the greatness of the Soviet people, in their creative force and are convinced that in future too the idea of communism will guide the Soviet people to new victories".

The policy of peaceful co-existence was again emphasized



Scenes from Andhra Kisan Satyagraha

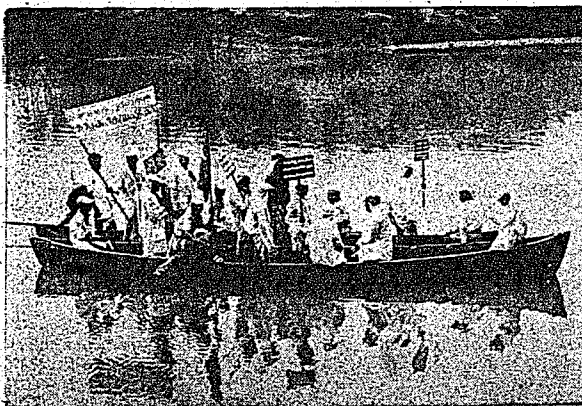
mitted outrages in the much-suffering land of Congo. They had now cast off the camouflage of the UN flag.

Despite the onslaught, the Congolese did not lay down their arms. They had given the interventionists a worthy rebuff and continued their struggle against the imperialist aggressors and their agents, for the freedom and independence of their country. In the long run the imperialists will suffer a complete fiasco, Brezhnev said.

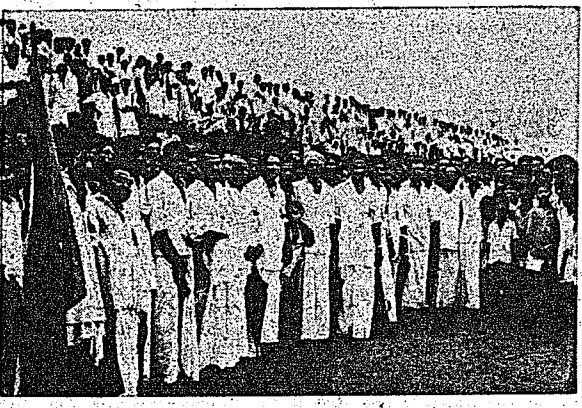
**From**  
**MASOOD ALI KHAN**

"The world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement represent three great revolutionary forces today. They rely now not only on noble and just ideas, but vast material might as well. Co-operating in an anti-imperialist front these forces are capable of paralyzing the aggressive actions of imperialism and colonialism, of achieving a stronger peace and bringing about for free social progress.

"An important condition for successfully rebuffing the imperialists is the militant solidarity of the international working-class and its Communist Parties. The CPSU will continue to do everything possible towards overcoming difficulties in the Communist movement, towards uniting it on the principled basis of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow conferences", Brezhnev said.



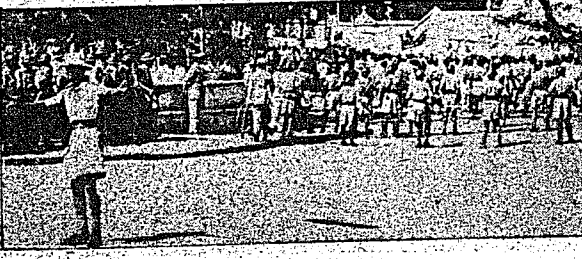
IN DEFENCE OF KERALA AGRARIAN RELATIONS ACT: Kisan Jatha crossing a river; Below: people wait to receive the jatha



Demonstration against increase in land tax, Lucknow



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



# 'Nuclear Shield' Nonsense

## Shastri's London Visit Tarnishes Indian Image Again

Who gave the Prime Minister the bright brainwave about the so-called "nuclear shield", which he is reported to have put forward with so much 'modest' gusto in London? Of course, you must not call it a "shield"—for "shield" is a naughty word, even naughtier perhaps than "umbrella".

I must say frankly that this "bright idea" appears to be one more from the same fertile brain, which put across the one about sending a mission from the Cairo Conference to Peking to persuade Chinese leadership to give up its plans for a nuclear-test explosion.

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

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

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

Now once again, we have the Prime Minister coming forward with a brainwave, which was not seriously examined by government and not put forward as official policy in the most recent foreign policy debate in Parliament. Again, this proposal has not been discussed with friendly anti-imperialist Afro-Asian countries as far as one can gather.

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

guarantees by both the Western powers and the Soviet Union.

Authoritative sources suggest that the US imperialists are behind this proposal because it would enable them to "justify" the retention of the nuclear weapons as a so-called "deterrent". Needless to say, the US and British press are whooping with delight over the fact that the Prime Minister of nonaligned India has swallowed—hook, line and sinker—this dangerous proposal, and put it forward as India's "own" contribution to peace!

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

The Prime Minister, in his address to the recent World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation in New Delhi, had given a stirring call for worldwide efforts in this direction. As a result of that call, the New Delhi Appeal was formulated and unanimously adopted at the conference.

There is every chance that along the lines of that appeal, a worldwide mass movement of the peoples will soon be launched.

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

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

By  
**ROMESH CHANDRA**

the nuclear question following the Chinese test.

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

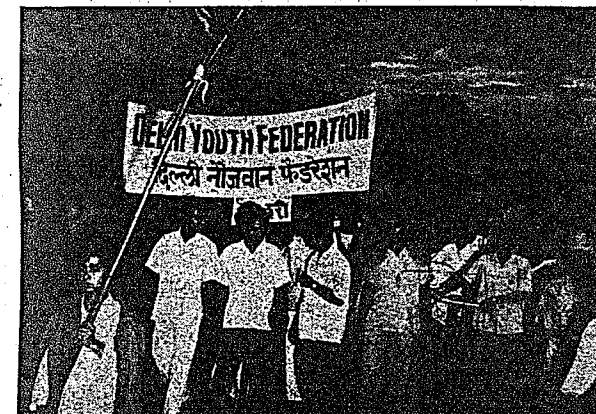
## CONVENIENT HANDLE

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

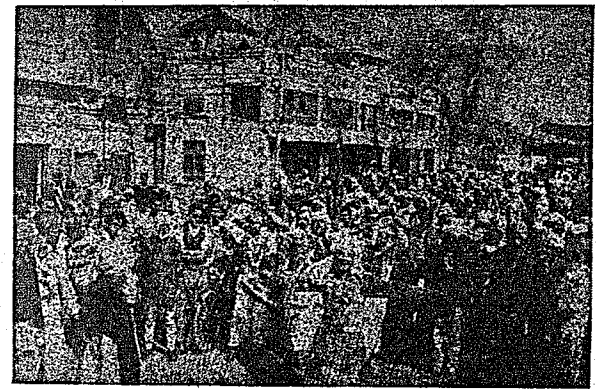
It is to be hoped that better sense will prevail with the Prime Minister and the Government of India, and they will throw away the stinking corpse of the "umbrella", "shield" or whatever you may like to call it.

The only answer to the nuclear threat is the complete banning of nuclear weapons.

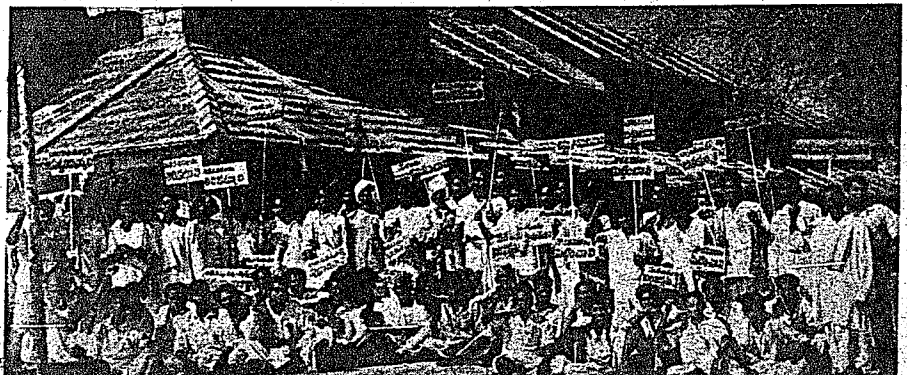
(December 7)



Delhi Youth demonstrates for demands



Scenes from Andhra Kisan Satyagraha, February 1964





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

## BIG RALLY AT CALCUTTA MAIDAN

\*FROM PAGE 6

honour of all Indians and India as a whole.

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

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

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

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

Dange then gave a perspective of actions: one day "Bharat Bandh" action by workers and no tax and no rent action by peasants in several areas in the model of the Bardoli satyagraha.

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

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

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

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

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

The delegates' session which ended late in the night of December 3 adopted the main strategic slogans of the Programme, but wanted the Draft to be strengthened in several respects. After discussing the Political-Organisational report, the Conference adopted a resolution on immediate tasks at various mass fronts and the building of the Party. It gave the call for doubling Party membership within a year, improving standard of the weekly organ and strengthening the financial position.

Resolutions were adopted on struggles and demands of the college, secondary and primary school teachers, congratulating the two-and-a-half lakhs of jute workers on their united strike on December 1, on the food situation, condemning the imperialist aggression in Congo etc. The delegates marched to the consulate offices of USA and Belgium and the British High Commission and presented a memorandum based on the resolution. Another resolution was passed on communal harmony.

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

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

## BIGGEST MASS ACTIONS

\*FROM PAGE 9

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

There was a statewide general strike, a joint action of trade unions, in Kerala on July 31. On August 12, the whole of Maharashtra state was 'bandh'. UP followed the 'bandh' action on August 18. Goa followed the action on August 20.

modification of Bonus Commission report and October 2 was observed a foodgrains trade nationalisation day. In a number of States on September 25, there were general strikes.

The Party assessed these actions as having prepared millions for the actions which are yet to come in the wake of historic 'bandh' actions in several states by creating enthusiasm, hope and confidence in the working people in every corner of the country. These actions helped to strengthen and unify our Party and prepare it better for the coming struggles in the service of the people and in

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD!

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

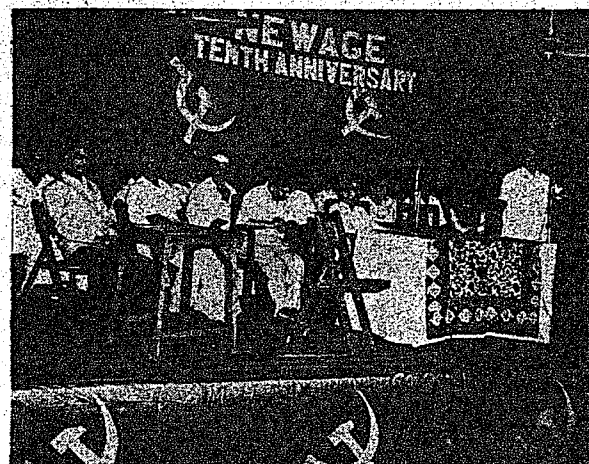
September 25 was observed throughout the country as hartal and bonus demand day protesting against government's retrograde

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

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



Food Satyagraha Scenes at Hyderabad and Shillong (below)



NEW AGE Celebrates Tenth Anniversary, October 1963 On Right: Dange Addressing the National Council

## Bombay Gets Ready

\*FROM PAGE 7

India plane were all mere wishful thinking on their part.

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

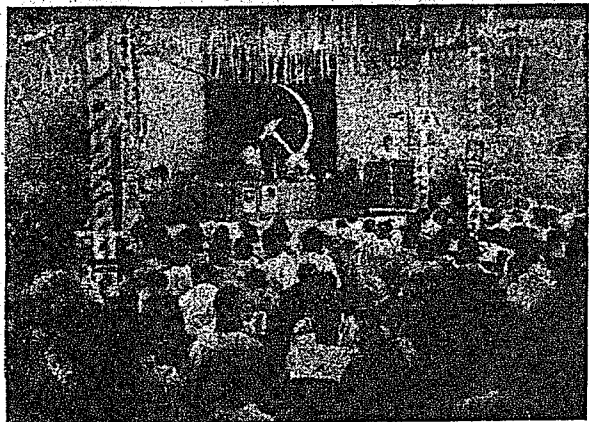
Two Hundred and fifty observers will also attend the Party Congress from all the states.

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

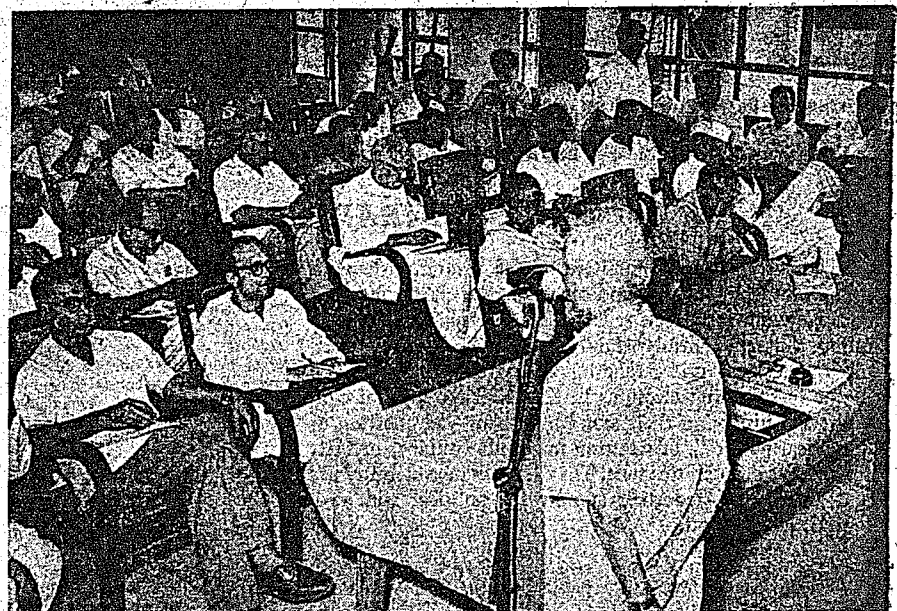
Communist Party of India. Many others have sent messages of greetings.

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

On the agenda of the National Council meeting are: procedural issues connected with the conduct of the Congress, report of the commission on the alleged Dange letters, review report of the National Council to be placed before the Congress, organisational report and delegates to the preparatory committee meeting for the world Communist conference.



Delegates Sessions at Madurai Congress and Palghat Congress (below) of the CPI



## TRICHUR RALLY BREAKS RECORDS

\*FROM PAGE 6

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

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

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

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

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

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

The discussion on ideological questions lasted four hours and 20 comrades participated in it.

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

The conference was unanimous in its forthright condemnation of Chinese Communist Party's violation in spirit and practice of the collective declaration of the world Communist movement leading to grievous split in Communist Parties.

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

Many amendments were moved by delegates. While agreeing generally with the perspective placed before the Indian people by the Draft Programme, of shattering the monopoly rule of the bourgeoisie and replacing it by a government of national democracy pledged to take the country to socialism, the conference also adopted amendments designed to remove certain inadequacies and confusion inherent in the Draft.

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

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

★ Thirdly one of key tasks of the government of national democracy should be to restrict the hold of monopoly over national economy with a view to eliminate it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





# Comment on CPI Draft Programme

\*FROM PAGE 17

the capitalist landlords as well, with varying degrees.

Hence the considerable influence the big bourgeoisie is often seen to wield in the formation and exercise of governmental composition, especially at the state level, and the concessions given to them at the cost of the peasantry. Hence also the specific features of the various state governments and those of the relationship between them and the Union government.

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

Now, the Trivandrum National Council session has adopted an important amendment concerning the definition of the state of national democracy for our country. While distinguishing the state of national democracy from that of the state of people's democracy—the central slogan of our Programme of 1951—it was of course



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



PAGE EIGHTEEN

NEW AGE

necessary to clearly define the government of national democracy as representing the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie, and to mention that the state power would be jointly exercised by all these classes.

At the same time, in order to complete the definition and to present it in its dynamic form, it is equally necessary to state as clearly at this place the fact that in such a government the working-class would have to play an increasingly decisive role.

While considering the contradictions of the capitalist path of

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD!

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

a. Political transformations in our country are preceding the economic transformations, as distinct from a number of newly-liberated African countries particularly, where economic transformations are preceding the political ones.

b. There could be no *a priori* assumption as to why, in case the reaction wins, the economic development would not continue along the capitalist path and the monopoly capital would not grow into state monopoly capital in the long run.

c. But such a path would be a very protracted and painful path for the country. Along with working-class, peasantry, the intelligentsia, a large section of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie are also interested in avoiding such a path, lest they be swallowed up by the giant monopolies.

d. This alternative path, is that of the national democratic transformation. And there is a real possibility for the country taking to such a path—provided that the democratic forces, above all the working-class, play their historical role.

With all the inconsistencies, opportunist shifts and eiecism,

E. M. S. Nambudiripad has been consistent on one point—on his dogmatic economic understanding of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. According to him, it means that since with its uneven development, capitalism is doomed, and the capitalist path in India a blind alley, so the only immediate alternative is to call for the proletarian hegemony which is as immediately given by the splitters.

Here what is kept in view is only the limitation that is imposed upon the development, along the capitalist path in the conditions of the new epoch and the third stage of the general crisis

of capitalism. And what is totally ignored is the other positive aspect—the opening up of an alternative path of development as an intervening stage towards socialism.

In today's world conditions, experience of a number of newly-liberated countries shows that the formation of the government of the national democratic front and the beginning of the non-capitalist path is possible under the leadership of any of the democratic classes: workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie. In some countries in the leadership are progressive intelligentsia, including revolutionary officers.

At the same time it has to be remembered that it is essentially an intervening stage which in a country like ours is bound to experience quick shifts and changes in the correlation of class forces, and which in view of the entrenched positions of the relatively-developed monopoly bourgeoisie, would not be able to pass on to the next stage, that of socialist construction, unless the working-class plays in it an increasingly decisive role.

Chapter X, concerning the "Programme of the National Democratic Government", has got to be more carefully studied and redrafted. It has got involved in too many details, makes too many promises and states them rather too loosely.

In section 96, for instance, it is stated that the national government will "...stop further entry of foreign private capital into



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



the country". It is highly impractical and quite dogmatic. What the national democratic government would do is to dislodge completely foreign capital from strategic position in the economy of the country, to control completely its entry into the country in the interests of the development of national economy etc.

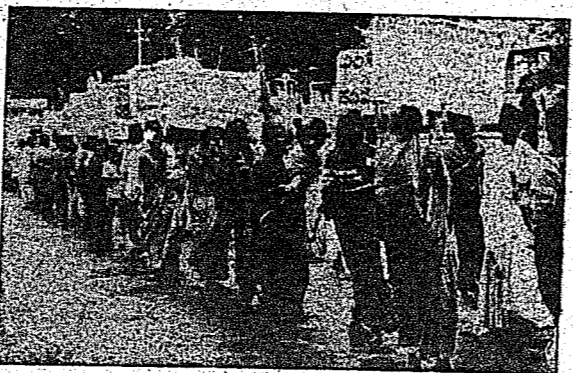
In section 97, a promise has been made to distribute land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants "free of cost".

Such distribution may be possible at some places, but certainly not to all the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and at all places on an all-India scale in view of (a) the rural population composition, (b) its density, (c) its rate of growth and (d) the land availability.

The percentage of rural population according to the 1961 census figures is 82.3. As for the holding and tenural status, 22 per cent of the rural families own no land, and another 53 per cent each. (THE NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY, 5TH ROUND, 1954-55). Nearly 75 per cent of the rural population would have to be given land. And the population rises at the rate of 2 to 2.5 per cent per annum. The solution of the problem is therefore not that simple.

In fact, the whole of section 97 needs re-writing, combining it with section 48 (from chapter V, "Agrarian Question") which could be deleted from there, as it is mainly programmatic. There however the promises are more carefully formulated. But that chapter itself contains a number

The Party Congress should be able to pool together the experiences of its participants, and on the basis of their collective understanding of the present day realities, finalise a Programme that is meant to guide the ideological, political and organisational activity of the Party, enabling it to play its historical role.



DECEMBER 13, 1964

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

SUCH of the fears and misunderstandings that had arisen due to the abruptness of the change and the manner in which it was carried out have now been removed by the statements of Soviet leaders, articles in the Soviet press and the practical application of Soviet policies during the intervening period.

It has been made clear without leaving it would seem, any ground for misinterpretations, that all the basic principles remained the same, the line of the 20th, 21st, 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, the policy of peace, peaceful co-existence, disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests and weapons, anti-imperialist and all-out help to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle, the respect for nonalignment and the important role of nonaligned countries in the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for peace, the consistent policy of friendship and cooperation, aid and assistance in relation to India... all this and much more has been reiterated, reaffirmed and the general continuity of Soviet policies in the international arena has also been shown in practice.

Similarly on ideological issues, a series of PRAVDA articles, Brezhnev's speeches in the Red Square welcoming the three space heroes, at Kremlin receptions and his major programme speech at the October Revolu-

tion anniversary meeting on November 7, while confirming foreign policies have also made clear the adherence of the CPSU to its general line worked out during the last decade.

But, in spite of all this, the propaganda of the dogmatist parties and leadership continues to assert that Khrushchov's exit was due to "his revisionism" and therefore was "a very good thing" etc. THE PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial of November 7 for example, said: "Khrushchov is the chief representative of modern revisionism. He has betrayed Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the path of the October Revolution and the interests of the Soviet people..."

And in the same breath the paper threatens those who, it says, would insist on continuing basic policies of the last period, "sooner or later inevitably spurned by the people. This was so in the past, is so at present and will be so in the future."

There is a big contradiction here in this kind of demagogic line of propaganda which is highly charged with wishful interpretations of the sectarian approach. "Beauty" in this case is definitely in the eyes of the beholder.

For it is obvious that if Khrushchov was removed because of his "revisionism" then, first, those who removed him were against his

## ATTITUDE TO CHANGES IN SOVIET LEADERSHIP

# Chinese Go It Alone

By Masood Ali Khan

"revisionism" and not for it in all basic policies, and second, after removing him they would logically remove his revisionism as well.

But here we find a strange phenomenon that although Khrushchov was removed for "his revisionist mistakes" those who did the removing are also "revisionists"—according to the Chinese propaganda—and insist on continuing the "revisionist" policies.

When this contradiction began to become obvious for the whole world, the Chinese propaganda came out with the new slogan, "Khrushchovism without Khrushchov", and that it will not work etc. From which, of course, it follows that Khrushchov was not removed because of any "revisionism" and there was no such charge against him. This is what the Soviet leadership was explaining clearly to all representatives of the fraternal Parties from the very beginning.

The pro-Chinese sectarian tail of the dogmatist dragon proved to be even more of an optimist than the dragon himself, the tail began to wag even more wishfully and optimistically. The splitters' party and splinter groups began to rub their hands with glee with undue haste, and even sent messages to other Marxist-Leninist Parties asking for recognition by the CPSU and others. For according to them the next step was an approval of their splitters' line and the recognition of their new Party. By now, let us hope, it must have become clear even to them that their wishful illusion was of their own making.

of the situation and change of leadership.

The French Party's report emphasised that the line of the last congresses of the CPSU and the anti-cult orientation and criticism of Stalin's mistakes was correct and that Khrushchov played a positive role in this. The report said that Soviet comrades gave to the French delegation an all-sided appreciation of the activities of Khrushchov and objectively mentioned his merits and faults both. They said that Khrushchov remained a member of the Central Committee.

The decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses are irreversible and the application of the democratic principle will be carried out even more consistently. As far as the questions of the struggle for unity in the world Communist movement are concerned the French Party's report also says that the Soviet leaders did not indicate any change.

Apart from "certain exaggerations" of Khrushchov which had not affected the application of a correct line, there were no mistakes in basic policies. The Soviet leaders said that all the documents which were published such as the letters that were sent to the fraternal Parties on different occasions were entirely valid and unchanged. All of them had been approved by the Presidium of the CPSU.

The report of Georges Marchais also declares that it is still necessary to continue the struggle on two fronts, against dogmatism which is the main danger today and also against opportunism of the right which has not ceased to manifest itself.



## Splitters and the Muslim League

\*FROM PAGE 16

"As far as communalism is concerned, we should stand firmly grounded on the principle of secularism. We have to fight against all attempts of religion seeking to interfere in the political life of the country, we have to systematically do propaganda among the people against trends and tendencies of certain political parties and organisations, and religious leaderships based on sectional and

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

Unfortunately those who have left the Party, including E.M.S., are today hysterically calling for a reversal of this principled stand. But as far as the CPI is concerned it stands foursquare on the above policy and principle. We cannot compromise with forces who seek to divide and split people in the name of religions and community.

Is it not our own bitter experience that if we compromise with such forces on the false illusion that we will be doing so by advancing the interests of backward communities and religious minorities, we will only be reaping the whirlwind of a more dangerous politics of communal, religious reaction that will threaten the very existence of these backward communities and minorities?

That is why the Communist Party has appealed to all the forces in Kerala who believe in democracy and socialism not to take or encourage any step that will help directly or indirectly the disastrous gamble that the official and the "rebel" Congress, the Church, Manonman and the Muslim League are separately and jointly engaged in ushering their corrupt rule over the people of Kerala.



IPTA'S INDIA IMMORTAL. ABOVE: Bombay Red Flag Cultural Squad (1947)



**COMMUNIST PARTY  
SEVENTH CONGRESS ZINDABAD !  
OF INDIA**



# FOR PEACE, AGAINST IMPERIALISM



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

